

An Evaluation on Eastern Anatolia Late Iron Age (Persian/Achaemenid Period)

[DOĞU ANADOLU BÖLGESİ'NİN GEÇ DEMİR ÇAĞI
(PERS/AKHAEMENİD DÖNEMİ) ÜZERİNE BİR DEĞERLENDİRME]

Murat TOSUN-Umut PARLITI-Eyüp CANER

Anahtar Kelimeler

Doğu Anadolu Bölgesi, Pers/Akhaemenid, Geç Demir Çağı, Kırsal Yerleşim, Genel Değerlendirme.

Keywords

Eastern Anatolia Region, Persian/Achaemenid, Late Iron Age, Rural Settlement, Evaluation.

ÖZET

Doğu Anadolu Bölgesi'nin Geç Demir Çağında önemli bir süreci yaşayan Pers/Akhaemenid kültür evresine ilişkin oldukça az sayıda çalışma yürütülmüş ve arkeolojik olarak az sayıda bulgu ele geçmiştir. Doğu Anadolu Bölgesi'nde Pers/Akhaemenid Dönem öncesinde bölgenin her anlamda kültürel olarak etkileyici krallığı Urartu olmuştur. Ancak, Doğu Anadolu'da yapılan kazı çalışmaları ışığında Urartu Krallığı'nın çöküşü ile neredeyse tüm bölge genelinde bir hiatus (boşluk) durumu söz konusudur. Bu durum, seramik verileri ve karbon analizleri ışığında MÖ 5. yüzyıl sonu ile MÖ 4. yüzyıl başlarında değişerek eski yerleşim alanlarına yeniden bir dönüş olduğunu göstermektedir. Tüm bu olgular, yüksek olasılıkla Doğu Anadolu Bölgesi'nde Pers/Akhaemenid Döneminin ilerleyen evresinde yeni bir kültürel oluşum sürecine girildiğine ve merkezi alanlardan çok kırsallarda (Sazlıkyanı Höyük gibi) yaşamaya başlanıldığına işaret etmektedir. MÖ 5. yüzyıl sonlarından itibaren ise eski merkezi yerleşim alanlarına her ne kadar yeniden bir dönüş olsa da, arkeolojik olarak bu merkezlerde görülen yerleşim ancak cıvz verileri ışığında tespit edilebildiği için, kırsal yaşam geleneğinin de devam ettiği anlaşılmaktadır.

ABSTRACT

Very few studies have been carried out on the cultural phase of the Persian/Achaemenid Period known as Late Iron Age in Eastern Anatolia Region and a small number of archaeological findings have been obtained. Before the Persian/Achaemenid Period in the Eastern Anatolia Region, Urartu was the most culturally profound kingdom of the region in every sense. However, in the light of excavations carried out in Eastern Anatolia, the collapse of the Kingdom of Urartu may have created a hiatus (gap) situation in almost the whole region. This situation has been changing with the ceramic data and carbon analysis and the data reveal that there was a return to the old settlement areas at the end of 5th century BC and early 4th century BC. All these facts probably point out that a new cultural formation process started in the later phase of the Persian / Achaemenid Period in the Eastern Anatolia Region and that people began to live in rural areas (such as Sazlıkyanı Höyük) rather than central areas. Although there had been a return to the old central settlements since the end of the 5th century BC, it is understood that the rural life tradition continued, as the settlement seen in these centers can only be determined archaeologically considering the weak data.

1. Introduction

It is stated that the names Persian and Median are mentioned for the first time in the stele of Karagündüz, which was built by Menua, son of Ispuni, the great king of the Kingdom of Urartu

which was the first central state of the Eastern Anatolia Region, near the northeast shore of Lake Erçek. King Menua reports that he defeated Persia (Parsua) and Med (Mesta) in this stele.¹

¹ Salvini, 2006: 50.

After the collapse of the Kingdom of Urartu, which manifested its power in the previous periods in the Eastern Anatolian Region at the end of the 7th century BC, the Late Iron Age period began with the mid-6th century BC.² This period, which started with the dominance of the Persian/Achaemenids, who rose as a new power in Iran, in Eastern Anatolia and then all over Anatolia, continued until the end of the 4th century BC (Fig. 1).³ However, the information that will guide us about the Achaemenid period in Eastern Anatolia is rather scarce. It is possible to attribute the main reason for this to the continuity of the sheltered settlement model in mountainous areas with the authority gap formed after the collapse of the Kingdom of Urartu.⁴ In parallel with the scarcity of archaeological remains, almost no trace was left, except for a trilingual inscription identified in the Van Fortress and works by ancient writers such as Herodotus and Xenophon. In this mystery, there is a need to reevaluate the archaeological studies from different perspectives and enhance the researches in order to enlighten the Achaemenid civilization, which was the only central power in Anatolia for more than 200 years.

2. Persian/Achaemenid Period of Eastern Anatolia Region in the Light of Ancient Sources

Regarding the political situation of the Eastern Anatolian Region under Persian/Achaemenid rule, Herodotus mentions that the Persians divided their lands into 20 satrapies by separating them into races living under their yoke or nations neighboring each other⁵ or thought to have racial affiliation with each other, and that the

Persians taxed these satrapies by assigning one person in charge at the head of each satrapy (Fig. 2).⁶ According to the information conveyed by Herodotus, Persians, especially the Armenians and their neighbors living in the region from the north of the Tigris, which was the old Urartian border in Eastern Anatolia, to the Black Sea, were included in the 13th satrapy and paid 400 talents annually; Matiens living in Northwest Iran, Saspeirs living in the Caucasus and Alarodians living around Van were included in the 18th satrapy and paid 200 talents a year.⁷ Another information transferred from Herodotus states that the Persians/Achaemenids used Armenians, Matiens, Alarodians and Saspeirs in the Persian/Achaemenid armies during their expeditions to continental Greece during the Xerxes Period.⁸

From what we have learned from Herodotus, it is assumed that there were two satrapies in Eastern Anatolia during the Late Iron Age and these satrapies were created by taking into account the fact that they were related societies. In this case, each society must have been ruled by a Satrap within its own autonomous administration. Satrap, who was the ruler, was responsible for sending troops to the Persian army during war, allocating taxes and managing his own Satrapy center under the Persian central administration.⁹

On the political and economic situation of Eastern Anatolia under Persian/Achaemenid rule, Xenophon, in his book titled “Kyrou Paideia” on the Education of Cyrus, reports that Cyrus solved problems such as the authority and looting that occurred in Satrapy of Armenia in Eastern Anatolia with the troops consisting of Persian, Median and Armenian armies. Also, Cyrus wanted the people living in the mountains to rent the lands of the Armenian Satrap in return for not plundering the Armenian lands in the plain, and the Armenians to carry out animal husbandry activities in these mountainous regions with a certain rent.

2 Sevin 2004: Table 2; Kalkan 2008: 44.

3 While making the map, ArcMap interface of ArcGIS 10.5 software, which is one of the GIS (Geographic Information Systems) software, was used. Locations were added with coordinates on the digital elevation model data of the ASTER satellite with a resolution of 30 m and confirmed by satellite images. While creating the route, archaeological information in the literature and suitability in the form of land were taken into account. We would like to thank Senior Archaeologist Nilüfer PARLITI from Erzurum Regional Board of Cultural Heritage Preservation for sharing the coordinates of the centers used in mapping with us.

4 Sevin 2012: 351-368; Kroll 2014: 203-205.

5 In the Behistun Inscription, the number of these satrapies was determined as 23. See, Hewsen 1983: 125.

6 Hdt.: 3.88, 94.

7 Hdt.: 3.93-94; However, see Kalkan 2008: 35-36 for the information about Herodotus who may have been wrong about these satrapies as they cannot coexist geographically.

8 Hdt.: 7.72-73, 79.

9 Sevin 1982a: 315; Duran 2015: 61.

Moreover, in order to make all these situations secure, he suggested that the Persian guards be positioned in the outposts of mountainous areas.¹⁰

In as much as we have learned from Xenophon, we see that especially Persians/Achaemenids stood next to the satrap they appointed in order to receive regular taxes from Eastern Anatolia. However, we understand that the satrap intervened in the problems with the people living in his existing areas of responsibility as a central administration when necessary and provided security with his own guard forces through mediation.

Additionally, we find significant insight into the political and economic situation of Eastern Anatolia in “Anabasis”, which is another work of Xenophon about the March of Ten Thousand. Xenophon conveyed important information such as the wars with the Corduenes living in the mountains during their advance to the Eastern Anatolia Region,¹¹ especially when the army under the leadership of Xenophon followed the Tigris River and headed northward, and welcome with feasts in Armenian villages after the agreement with the Western Armenia Governor in Eastern Anatolia.¹² Moreover, it is reported that the Persian language was spoken as a *lingua franca* in the borders of Armenian Satrapy and they could communicate by means of translators or, especially, with the help of Armenian women with arm and hand movements during their travels.¹³

In Xenophon’s Anabasis, we learn that the passages on the Eastern Anatolian border, especially in the south of Armenia, were occupied by the people living in the mountains and they were predators, and in Armenia, people lived in villages and had better living conditions than the people living in the mountains. The living conditions of the people of Armenia, which were better than the other Eastern Anatolian people, coincide with the information in Kyrrou Paideia, another work of Xenophon, and

this could be associated with the fact that they paid twice as much tax to Persia / Achaemenids compared to the people living in the mountainous regions of Armenia. It makes it more plausible that the people of the 18th Satrap occasionally plundered the villages of the 13th Satrap, probably due to the fact that many villages of the 13th Satrap in Eastern Anatolia were better off compared to the mountain people of the 18th Satrap, according to Herodotus. In addition, the knowledge that Persian / Achaemenid language was spoken in the Satrapy of Armenia in Xenophon’s book The March of the Ten Thousand probably strengthens the possibility that the Armenians adopted the Persian / Achaemenid culture more than the other peoples in Eastern Anatolia.

3. Persian / Achaemenid Period of Eastern Anatolia Region in the Light of Epigraphic Data

Except for ancient sources, archaeological data on the Late Iron Age in Eastern Anatolia is very scarce, and the trilingual “Xerxes Inscription” belonging to the Persian / Achaemenid King Xerxes (485-465 BC) in Van Fortress is again one of the epigraphic documents that provide important information (Fig. 3a).¹⁴ This inscription writes:

*“Ohrmazd, (Ahura Mazda)” the greatest of the gods is the supreme God. He is the one who created this world, this paradise, created mankind, gave happiness to humanity, made Xerxes the king, the only king of many kings, the only master of many. I am Xerxes, the Great King, the king of kings, the king of the provinces where many languages are spoken, the king of these great lands far and near, the son of Achaemenid Darius, King Xerxes says; King Darius, My Father, did a lot of work with Ohrmazd’s guard and ordered a niche be carved on this hill, but no inscription was written. I then ordered the preparation of this inscription. Ohrmazd, bless me, my kingdom and my deeds with all the other gods!”*¹⁵

From this inscription, King Darius (521-486 BC) paid attention to the “Achaemenid” propaganda around Van in Eastern Anatolia and made efforts

10 Ksen. Kyr. Pa.: 3.2.

11 For an idea about the route of Xenophon and his army, see Schachner and Sağlamtimur 2008: 411-417, Fig. 2; Polat 2014: Map 3-5. In addition, for a general study that deals with the March of Ten Thousand in the context of historical geography and archaeology, see Polat 2014.

12 Ksen. An.: 4.1-5.

13 Ksen. An.: 4.5.33.

14 Tarhan 2011: 319, Fig. 15.

15 Layard 1853: 394; Lynch 1882: 678; Lynch 1901: 66; Belck 1893: 61, 82; Weissbach 1911: 116-119; Lehman-Haupt 1926: 159-161. Also, for the Turkish translation of the inscription, see Kalkan 2011: 52.

in this regard. Similarly, his son King Xerxes (485-465 BC) seems to have continued this propaganda in order to strengthen his dominance in the region by following his path. In addition, Xerxes, who probably intimidated the regional rulers with the word of the king of kings, points out that his kingdom was bestowed to him by Ahura Mazda (Ohrmazd), the greatest of the gods, and draws attention to the divine power in this respect.

4. A General Evaluation Regarding the Persian / Achaemenid Period of the Eastern Anatolia Region

4.1. Architectural Building Ruins

Architectural remnants of Late Iron Age, Persian / Achaemenid structures can be seen in very limited numbers. Except for the ruins of a building in Erzincan Altintepe,¹⁶ which is thought to have an Apadana structure in the light of the existing findings, no architectural remains in Eastern Anatolia have been fully associated with the Persians so far. There are still debates on whether the Apadana building in Altintepe, Erzincan is related to the Persian / Achaemenid Period.¹⁷ Especially the structure in Altintepe, which displays a typical Apadana plan with the architectural layout pattern of the Persian / Achaemenid Period, and the very weak ceramic samples found in this building could not be associated with the certain contexts. For this reason, the interpretation of the building directly in relation to the Persian / Achaemenid Period does not seem very sound in the light of available data.¹⁸ Moreover, the wall paintings observed in the building are still controversial to the possibility of whether the building was used in the Persian / Achaemenid Period as it revealed an effective Neo-Assyrian workmanship¹⁹ rather than the Persian / Achaemenid Period. However, Late Iron Age painted ceramics found in Erzincan and Altintepe excavations, some weak architectural remains associated with

the Late Iron Age and some grave remnants are the findings of Erzincan, Altintepe proving their Persian / Achaemenid process.²⁰

Apart from Erzincan Altintepe, settlements in Eastern Anatolia showing the architectural findings related to the Persian / Achaemenid Period consist of a few centers that present very poor evidences. Only in the light of Persian / Achaemenid Period, ceramic finds uncovered during excavations such as Sos Höyük,²¹ Büyüktepe,²² Patnos,²³ Kaleköy²⁴ and İmikuşağı²⁵ in the Eastern Anatolia Region, the foundation remains of some buildings can be associated with the Persian / Achaemenid Period.²⁶ However, although many Persian / Achaemenid Period ceramics were encountered in settlements such as Van Karagündüz²⁷ and Van Kalesi Höyüğü,²⁸ these findings cannot be explained by any architectural remains.

Besides, it is thought that the Umudum Rock Tomb in Erzurum, Doğubayazıt Rock Tomb in Ağrı and Küçük Horhor Rock Tombs in Van may be related to the Persian / Achaemenid process. (Fig. 3b-d).²⁹ While the Rock Tomb in Doğubayazıt (Fig.3b) resembles Urartian tombs with its multi-chambered tomb structure, yet, as it does not have any path to the tomb as it is in Urartian tombs, and the relief made on the façade of the tomb is similar to the Sahn tomb, especially related to the Median process in Eastern Anatolia, we can contend that it is one of the

16 Kleiss 1976: 37-38; Summers 1993: 95, Fig. 4; Çilingiroğlu 1997: 79-80; Karaosmanoğlu and Korucu 2012: 131-147, Fig. 1-19; Karaosmanoğlu et al. 2015: 117-119, Illus. 2, Pic 2.

17 For the latest study on this subject, see. Yılmaz and Karaosmanoğlu 2019: 323-331, 333-350, Fig. 1-7.

18 Yılmaz and Karaosmanoğlu 2019: 329-331.

19 Nunn 2012: 332, 336; Yılmaz and Karaosmanoğlu 2019: 326-327.

20 Yılmaz and Karaosmanoğlu 2019: 346-350, Fig. 1-7.

21 Sagona and Sagona 1995: 193-218; Sagona et al. 1996: 27-52; Sagona and Sagona 2003: 101-109.

22 Sagona et al. 1992: 29-46; Sagona et al. 1993: 69-83; Sagona et al. 1996: 27-52.

23 Kalkan 2011: 56, Fig. 1.

24 Bakır and Çilingiroğlu 1980: 219-221; Bakır and Çilingiroğlu 1987: 157-182.

25 Sevin 1982b: 121-130; Sevin 1983: 137-142; Sevin 1988: 299-321; Sevin 1995: 47-67.

26 For the Eastern Anatolian Late Iron Age (Persian / Achaemenid Period) sites, see. Kalkan 2011: 56, Fig. 1.

27 Sevin 1998: 575-576; Yiğitpaşa 2010: 194; Yiğitpaşa 2015: 518.

28 The simple earth grave uncovered on only one Urartian layer in the Van Fortress Mound is associated with the Late Iron Age (Persian / Achaemenid Period). See. Tarhan and Sevin 1991: 433; Tarhan and Sevin 1993b: 848-849, Pic. 12; Yiğitpaşa 2010: 196-197.

29 Işıklı and Parlıtı 2019: 184-185, Fig. 2a-c.

structures bearing Persian / Achaemenid traces³⁰. However, the thoughts that the iconography seen on the front of the tomb³¹ contains elements encountered on many different bronze works unique to Urartu, causes us to suspect that the tomb is related to the Persian / Achaemenid process. Umudum Rock Tomb (Fig. 3c) in Erzurum is facing the southern slope of Umudum Tepe Fortress and has a triangle-shaped entrance. The tomb is about 7 m. long with anterior chamber and then a three-leveled door to the burial chamber. In addition to the thoughts that it was built in the Urartian Period,³² it is also suggested as a Persian / Achaemenid Period structure, based on the thought that it may belong to a local lord during the Persian / Achaemenid Period or it may have been used as a fire temple (Atashkadeh) based on the bench carved into the bedrock of the tomb.³³ The Küçük Horhor Rock Tomb in Van displays a very similar workmanship to the burial chamber of Darius I in Iran, especially with its four dead beds positioned in a north direction to its rectangular main chamber.³⁴ Therefore, it is possible to evaluate it as a tomb structure specific to the Persian / Achaemenid Period (Fig. 3d).³⁵

4.2. Satraps in Anatolia through Ancient Sources

Persian / Achaemenids established satraps similar to the federal system in order to keep mixed peoples in Anatolia together. It is possible to say that the Achaemenids may have implemented the local decentralization model in this system, which was derived from the Assyrian Empire, by not applying pressure that would isolate local people from their identities. It is possible to understand the usefulness of this model, which the Persians applied through satraps, from their dominance that lasted for about two hundred and twenty (220) years.³⁶ In this period, we can say that especially satraps were very close to each other in Western Anatolia. These were formed at Daskyleion and Sardis. In the inner parts of

Anatolia, it was probably designed as the Mazaka centered Kappadokia and the Satrap of Armenia, whose central location is not known exactly in Eastern Anatolia.³⁷ Local administrative control and loyalty to the king were essential in these satraps. However, the most important point here was the “*King’s Way*”, which ensured that the taxes were collected regularly and the collected taxes were transferred to the center securely. Darius I built castles, outposts and accompanying royal residences to keep communication on the royal road from Sardis to Susa. Thanks to this way, the Persian / Achaemenid postal service was able to convey the political intelligence in Anatolia to the center much faster (Fig.2).³⁸

Thus, Persians managed to strengthen the political unity in Anatolia even though their administrative form was first shaken by the “Ionian Revolt”³⁹ led by Miletus at the beginning of the 5th century BC and then by the “Satrap Uprisings”⁴⁰ that emerged between 366-360 BC.⁴¹

Although information has been obtained from historical data about the above-mentioned incidents in the 5-4 BC centuries, this is a complete mystery especially about the 13th and 18th Satraps in Eastern Anatolia which was mentioned by Herodotus. Much available information regarding the involvement of these satraps in the uprising has not yet been explained by both historical and archaeological findings. This situation is not in a position to provide sufficient evidence with the excavations carried out so far. Especially, the absence of archaeological data showing how these satrap revolts of the Late Iron Age of the Eastern Anatolia Region occurred, which is the subject of our article, may not be explained in a long period of time.

There is no satrapy center in the Eastern Anatolia Region ascertained so far. Research on this subject is mostly in the form of searching for satrapy centers in a place that could be a *paradeisos* (hunting garden). Accordingly, one of the areas recommended as a satrapy center is Saztepe

30 Köroğlu 2008a: 33.

31 Konyar 2017: 21-22, Fig. 2-6. Also, for the thought that it is the Urartian Period, see. Köroğlu 2008a: 33.

32 Çilingiroğlu 1980: 194; Başgelen 1989: 22-25.

33 Işıklı and Parlıtı 2019: 184, footnote 13, 215, Fig. 2b.

34 Schmidt 1970: 80-82, Fig. 31.

35 Köroğlu 2008a: 34, Fig. 12.

36 Işıklı and Parlıtı 2019: 183.

37 All satraps may have changed periodically, for Darius I Period satraps, see Hdt.: 3.90-94.

38 Hdt.: 5.52-54, 8.98; Kalkan 2014a: 451, 454-455, Fig. 1.

39 Hdt.: 6.1-33.

40 Diod.: 15.90.1.

41 Diod.: 15.91.1.

located near Ekşisu Sazlığı in Erzincan Plain⁴². Another suggestion of a place to be a center of satrapy is the former capital of the Kingdom of Urartu proposed by H. Kalkan⁴³. Epigraphic findings such as the Xerxes Inscription on the rocks of Van Fortress strengthen the possibility of this area being the center of satrapy.

4.3. Iconographic Works

Apart from the limited information obtained from the epigraphic and ancient sources of the Persian / Achaemenid Period in the Eastern Anatolia Region, some iconographic documents reveal significant information especially about the Satrapy of Armenia. These iconographic documents can be seen in the Reception Palace (Apadana) in Persepolis, the capital of the Persian / Achaemenids.⁴⁴ In these reliefs depicting satrap ambassadors bringing gifts to the Persian / Achaemenid King Darius or Xerxes, each group is accompanied by a guide dressed in Median or Persian clothing. These high-ranking bureaucrats often wore “*torgues*” (Median or Persian / Achaemenid clothing). The wands they carry are a clear indication that they were Persian. Each Persian leader keeps the hand of the group leader next to him and puts them in order before they appear before the king.⁴⁵ The nations on the boards are understood by the gifts they bring with them, specific to their own land. Ambassadors from the Satrap of Armenia are located in the third row of the panels with reliefs.⁴⁶ One of the most striking figures in one of the reliefs is the tankard carrying a Urartian or Post Urartian ceramic form (Fig. 4).⁴⁷

Iconographically, the reliefs that bring gifts from Satrap of Armenia to Persepolis are of course in the style of the capital, and the Eastern Anatolian Region is far from giving any information about

the Persian / Achaemenid Period plastic arts. In Eastern Anatolia, data in the form of relief that can be associated with the Persian / Achaemenid specific to this period have not been detected so far. However, some rhytonic ceramics provide more or less information about the plastic arts. Especially in the Erzurum Archeology Museum, a horse shaped rhyton (Fig. 5a)⁴⁸ with the Inventory No.144-81 is depicted as a typical Persian / Achaemenid horse⁴⁹ with its manes tied with a sash above its head.⁵⁰ Apart from the sample from Erzurum Meseum, there are plastic works of art showing Achaemenid characteristics in Van Archeology Museum (Fig. 5b),⁵¹ Adana Museum (of Patnos-Malazgirt origin?) (Fig. 5c)⁵² and Diyarbakır Museum (Fig. 5d).⁵³ The neck straps, crest, bridle rings and gem decorations painted on these works reflect the fine details of Persian art. Giving the horse rider (*asabara*) a hood protecting his ears from dust and sandstorm is a typical reflection of Persian art.⁵⁴ Except for a small number of such horse-shaped rhytons, which can also be examined in plastic arts in the Eastern Anatolian Region, there is not much of a Persian / Achaemenid effect to be mentioned.

48 Kalkan 2008: 256, Fig. 88; Müz. 2, Pic. 8; Müz. 2a-c; Kalkan 2009: 48-49, 51, floor. 4, Illus. 4, Fig. 6b-c.

49 For the visual of tying the manes of horses above their heads, which is a characteristic of Anatolian-Persian / Achaemenid art, see. For the equestrian figure in Yalnızdam Mezar Steli, see. Özüdoğru 2012: 118. For the mounted figure in Altıkulaç (Çan) Lahti, see. Polat 2012: 80; Tombul 2012: 120-123; Lintz 2012: 152. For Hekatomnos Tomb in Milas, see. URL 1. For an example of Persepolis reliefs outside Anatolia, see. Walser 1966: Fig. 16; For the horse figure on the Pazirik Carpet found in the Pazirik Kurgan in Siberia, see. Lintz 2012: 152.

50 The part made as the liquid pouring hole area on the top of the head corresponds to the area where the horse's manes are collected.

51 Kalkan 2008: Fig. 88, Müz. 2.

52 Kalkan 2008: 194, Müz. 4.

53 Yücel 2018: 46-48, Fig. 3a; It is not known where these artifacts were obtained from, which were acquired by the Diyarbakır Museum; however, the workmanship characteristics are also seen in Eastern Anatolia. From this point of view, even if it is considered that the work originates from Southeastern Anatolia, it is observed that there were similar craftsmanship materials between the Eastern and Southeastern Anatolian Regions in the Persian / Achaemenid Period, just like the ceramic samples.

54 Değirmencioğlu 2017: 550, 554.

42 Yiğitpaşa 2010: 111; Işıklı and Parlıtı 2019: 188; Yılmaz and Karaosmanoğlu 2019: 331.

43 Kalkan 2008: 22.

44 Walser 1966: 72; Klinkott 2005: 453, 483.

45 For detailed information on this subject, see. Gropp 2009: 327-351, Abb. 5-13.

46 Gropp 2009: 293, 329, Abb. 6b.

47 For the interpretation that such vessels probably emerged in the last phase of the Urartu Kingdom, see. Sevin 2012: 359. For the interpretation that such vessels are peculiar to the Post Urartu Period, see. Kalkan 2014b: 211-214, Pic. 1-8.

Although it is a ceramic form, some Eastern Anatolian origin samples depicted in the form of a woman's face embossed on the body are of the kind that we can consider as iconographical. After the ceramic form was created, the female faces made in molds were applied to the body of the ceramics. It is understood from the retouches applied afterwards to the relief that both the ceramic form and the relief were applied when wet. These women's faces are generally embroidered with a narrow forehead, round face, almond eyes, crescent-shaped scowling eyebrows, bulging lips, slightly pointed noses, fleshy, full cheeks and smiling expression. Also, black in eyebrows, eyes and pupils and red paint application was used on the lips. A few common examples of this type have been identified in the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations and Ahlat Museum in Turkey and overseas samples were encountered in a collection in Germany. These female face reliefs are considered to be related to the Persian / Achaemenid Period, based on the festoon and triangle motifs on the ceramics on which they were applied.⁵⁵

4.4. Ceramics

The Persian / Achaemenid Period ceramics in the Eastern Anatolia Region are explained by the fact that the traditional understanding of Urartian ceramics continued until the mid-6th century BC and then until the end of the 5th century BC, there was a hiatus (gap) throughout the region.⁵⁶ However, the late 5th, early 4th century BC and the red-colored paste, cream and white coated ceramics painted in monochrome, bichrome and polychrome shapes with triangle ware or festoon ware are noteworthy.⁵⁷ It is possible to define the most characteristic form of the Persian / Achaemenid Period as examples of bowls with an everted-slanted rim, with sharp bodies and smooth transitions.⁵⁸

55 Köroğlu 1995: 25-28, Fig. 1-4.

56 Kalkan 2011: 49-50.

57 Tarhan 1989: 383, 387; Tarhan and Sevin 1990: 360-363; Tarhan and Sevin 1991: 433-437; Sevin 1998: 715-726; Dyson 1999a: 115-144; Dyson 1999b: 101-110; Sevin 2002: 475-482; Kalkan 2008: 44; Kalkan 2011: 49-50; Yiğitpaşa 2015: 514.

58 Kandaz 2016: 79-82, 89-92, 105-108, Table 3A-D, 4A-D, 5A-D.

Especially, such finds in the Van Lake Basin Karagündüz,⁵⁹ Evditepe,⁶⁰ Aşağı Keçikıran,⁶¹ Yeşilaliç II, Van Kalesi Höyük,⁶² Aşağı Elmalık,⁶³ Çavuştepe,⁶⁴ Eski Norgüh,⁶⁵ Ayanis (Fig. 6b),⁶⁶ Büyüktepe,⁶⁷ Çengiler,⁶⁸ Sos,⁶⁹ Altıntepe (Fig. 6c),⁷⁰ Saztepe⁷¹ in Northeast Anatolia, in the Malatya-Elazığ Section, centers such as İmikuşağı,⁷² Köşkerbaba (Fig. 6d)⁷³ and Kaleköy⁷⁴ are remarkable⁷⁵. Both geometric and figured decorations are seen on some ceramics specific to the Eastern Anatolian Region, and many of these ceramics are still in the museums of the region, and the exact location of most of them is not known.⁷⁶

4.5. Lifestyle and Religious Belief

Considering their dominance of Persians / Achaemenids in 6th-4th centuries BC, it is possible to mention that they displayed an image originating from the understanding of imitating

59 Sevin et. al. 2000: 852-855, Pic. 10, 12/3; Kalkan 2011: 51; Sevin 2012: 361; Kalkan 2015: 29.

60 Sevin 2014: 357.

61 Sevin 2006: 668.

62 Tarhan and Sevin 1993a: 410; Summers 1993: 86-87; Konyar and Avcı 2014: 279, Pic. 5; Konyar et. al. 2013: 361, Pic. 4.

63 Sevin 1985: 288, Pic. 1/1-4.

64 Erzen 1978: 258.

65 Tarhan and Sevin 1977: 290-291, Lev. XVII.

66 Erdem and Batmaz, 2008, Fig. 10.

67 Sagona et. al. 1993: 76-77, Fig. 4, 4-10.

68 Parker 1999: 138.

69 Sagona et. al. 1992: 34, Fig. 5: 1, 3.

70 Emre, 1987: Lev. IV.1-4, Lev. V.1-4; Kalkan 2008: 49-51, Fig. 7.

71 Işıklı 2008: 266-272; Karaosmanoğlu, Işıklı and Cander 2014: 507, Pic. 8; Işıklı and Özdemir 2019: 354-356, Fig. 1-5.

72 Sevin 1982b: 121-130; Sevin 1983: 137-142; Sevin 1988: 299-321.

73 Bilgi 1980: 113-119; Bilgi 1981: 83-86; Bilgi 1982: 89-94; Bilgi 1983a: 252-253; Bilgi 1983b: 113-116; Bilgi 1984: 49-54; Bilgi 1987a: 28, Fig. 02.11, 1-2; Bilgi 1987b: 1-5; Ökse 1988: 34-37, Abb. 590, 591.

74 Bakır and Çilingiroğlu 1980: 219-221; Bakır and Çilingiroğlu 1987: 157-182.

75 Such ceramics found in a small number of centers in Eastern Anatolia are valid in the Southeastern Anatolia Region. Especially triangle ware and festoon ware type ceramics were found in mounds such as Ziyaret Tepe, Kavuşan, Salat Tepe, Gricano, Hirbemerdon and Üçtepe. See. Köroğlu 2008b: 337, 344, fig. 1-5.

76 Yiğitpaşa 2013: 612-628, Illus. 1-21, Pic. 1-12.

the king (*Imitatio Regis*), especially by local lords and satraps in Western Anatolia.⁷⁷ However, according to Herodotus, there is not enough data about the tradition of living by imitating the king (*Imitatio Regis*) in the 13th and 18th Satraps known to be in the Eastern Anatolia Region. In addition, considering the inadequacy of the cultures belonging to the ancient kingdoms or principalities in the Eastern Anatolian Region in the archaeological-epigraphic field and not having enough data about their religious beliefs, it does not seem possible to comment on these issues for now.⁷⁸

5. Conclusion

The aforementioned findings we have combined reveal that communities with very different cultures lived together in the Persian / Achaemenid Empire during the 6th-4th centuries BC. Furthermore, all cultures probably melt into each other in this period and the cultures of the past period were still maintained in this process. Unlike the Persian / Achaemenid lifestyle felt in Western Anatolia, there is not much data to prove this situation in Eastern Anatolia. Although there are few data in Eastern Anatolia, the fact that the Persian / Achaemenid King Xerxes has left the epigraphic data behind, emphasizing the dominance in the region, is likely to be more than a lifestyle like imitating the king (*Imitatio Regis*) in Eastern Anatolia, as in Western Anatolia. It presents a model that preserves local / regional characteristics.

In addition, as we understand from Herodotus and Xenophon that the people of the region were also engaged in the chaos within themselves, although they were affiliated with the Persian / Achaemenid Dynasty. Especially in this period, one of the reasons for the existence of the peoples living in mountainous areas or higher than their surroundings may have stemmed from both the tension within the Urartian successors and the reflection of the tension between the Satrapies of Armenia (13th and 18th Satraps according to Herodotus) and the whole region. It is possible to say that due to some tensions experienced throughout the region, in contrast to a strong

settlement model like in the Kingdom of Urartu, weak residential areas must have been preferred.

Considering their geographical and cultural proximity, especially the Persian / Achaemenid culture did not impose too much sanctions on the existing order in the Eastern Anatolian Region. Even in the light of ancient texts and archaeological remains, the Persian / Achaemenid dynasty did not penetrate the region too much. It is possible to say that they turned the dominance in their favor using the authority gap and the tensions between the tribes in Eastern Anatolia.

It is clear that there are still many problems waiting to be solved due to the lack of sufficient excavations in Eastern Anatolia to illuminate the Persian / Achaemenid Period and the existing data need more explanatory studies. More importantly, a short period after the Urartu Period, the lack of evidence of the existence of the Median community in the region with a successor tradition of Urartu, and the lack of research in the centers of the Persian / Achaemenid Empire in the region and its countryside for more than 200 years, are the main reasons for the barrenness of the data.

References

Ancient Literature

Diod.: (=Diodorus Siculus) Loeb Classical Library: Diodorus Siculus Library of History, Books XV.20-XVI.65, (Trans. C.L. Sherman), London, 1952.

Hdt.: (=Herodotos) Herodot Tarihi, (Trans. M. Ökmen-A. Erhat), İstanbul, 1973.

Ksen. An.: (=Ksenophon, Anabasis) Anabasis (Onbinlerin Dönüşü), (Trans. T. Gökçöl), İstanbul, 1984.

Ksen. Kyr. Pa.: (=Ksenophon, Kyrou Paideia) Kyros'un Eğitimi (Kyrou Paideia), (Trans. F. Akderin), İstanbul, 2006.

Modern Literature

BAKIR and ÇİLİNGİROĞLU 1980: T. Bakır, A. Çilingiroğlu, "Kaleköy 1979" *AnSt* XXX, 219-221.

BAKIR and ÇİLİNGİROĞLU 1987: T. Bakır, A. Çilingiroğlu, "Kaleköy Excavations 1978-1979" *Aşağı Fırat Projesi 1978-1979 Çalışmaları, TEKDAM I (3)*, 157-182.

BAŞGELEN 1989: N. Başgelen, "Umudum Tepe Kaya Mezarı", *Arkeoloji ve Sanat* 42-45, 22-25.

BELCK 1893: W. Belck, *Archäologische Forschungen in Armenien*, Berlin.

77 Ksen. Kyr. Pa.: 8.6, 10.

78 For the interpretation of the Karagündüz Achaemenid bowl finds group within the scope of imitatio regis, see. Kalkan 2013: 710-715, Abb. 4-5, 8.

- BİLGİ 1980: Ö. Bilgi, "Köşkerbaba Höyük Kazısı 1979", *KST II*, 113-119.
- BİLGİ 1981: Ö. Bilgi, "Köşkerbaba Höyük Kazısı 1980 Yılı Sonuçları", *KST III*, 83-86.
- BİLGİ 1982: Ö. Bilgi, "Köşkerbaba Höyük Kazısı 1981 Dönemi Kazıları", *KST IV*, 89-94.
- BİLGİ 1983a: Ö. Bilgi, "Köşkerbaba Höyük 1982", *AnSt* 33, 252-253.
- BİLGİ 1983b: Ö. Bilgi, "Köşkerbaba Höyüğü Kazıları-1982" *KST V*, 113-116.
- BİLGİ 1984: Ö. Bilgi, "1983 Dönemi Malatya-Köşkerbaba Höyük Kurtarma Kazıları" *KST VI*, 49-54.
- BİLGİ 1987a: Ö. Bilgi, "Iron Age Pottery from Köşkerbaba Höyük", In A. Çilingiroğlu, D.H. French (Eds.), *Anatolian Iron Ages 2: The Proceedings of the Second Anatolian Iron Ages Colloquiumheld at Izmir, British Institute at Ankara, Oxbow Books*, 11-28.
- BİLGİ 1987b: Ö. Bilgi, "Köşkerbaba Höyük Demir Çağ Mimarisi", In A. Çilingiroğlu (Ed.), *Anadolu Demir Çağları I*, İzmir, 1-5.
- ÇİLİNGİROĞLU 1980: A. Çilingiroğlu, "Diauehi'de bir Urartu Kalesi: Umudum Tepe", *Anadolu Araştırmaları VIII*, Ankara, 191-203.
- ÇİLİNGİROĞLU 1997: A. Çilingiroğlu, *Urartu Krallığı Tarihi ve Sanatı*, İzmir.
- DEĞİRMENCİOĞLU 2017: H. Değirmencioğlu, "Persler'de At ve Atın Kullanım Alanları", In P. Pınarcık, B. Gökce, M.S. Erkek, S. Coşğun Kandal (Eds.), *Prof. Dr. Recep Yıldırım'a Armağan, Bilgin Kültür Sanat Yayınları*, Ankara, 545-565.
- DURAN 2015: M. Duran, "Satraplık Sisteminin Pers Yönetim Teşkilatındaki Yeri", *Süleyman Demirel Üniversitesi Fen Edebiyat Fakültesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 34, 61-86.
- DYSON 1999a: R.H. Dyson, "Triangle-Festoon Ware Reconsidered", *IrAnt XXXIV*, 115-144.
- DYSON 1999b: R.H. Dyson, "The Achaemenid Painted Pottery of Hasanlu IIIA", *AnSt* 49, 101-110.
- ERDEM and BATMAZ 2008: A. Erdem, A. Batmaz, "Contributions of the Ayanis Fortress to Iron Age Chronology" *AncNearEastSt XLV*, 69-90.
- ERZEN 1978: A. Erzen, "Van Bölgesinde Yeni Urartu Araştırmaları (1974'ten 1976' ya kadar)", *TTKY VIII*, 251-262.
- GROPP 2009: G. Gropp, "Die Darstellung der 23 Völker auf den Reliefs des Apadana von Persepolis", *IrAnt XLIV*, 283-359.
- HEWSEN 1983: R.H. Hewsen, "Introduction to Armenian Historical Geography II: Boundaries of Achaemenid Armenia", *REArm XVII*, 123-143.
- IŞIKLI 2008: M. Işıklı, "Erzincan Altıntepe Kalesi Yüzey Araştırmaları 2006-2007 Çalışmalarının Genel Bir Değerlendirmesi" *AST* 26.1, 253-266.
- IŞIKLI and ÖZDEMİR 2019: M. Işıklı, M.A. Özdemir, "Saztepe (Cimintepi II), Erzincan: A Regional Centre for the Achaemenid Period", In A. Özfirat, Ş. Dönmez, M. Işıklı, M. Saba (Eds.), *Central and Eastern Anatolia Late Iron Age: Post-Urartu, Median and Achaemenid Empires*, Ege Yayınları, 351-382.
- IŞIKLI and PARLITI 2019: M. Işıklı, U. Parliti, "The Late Iron Age in East Anatolia: Problems and Analytical Perspectives", In A. Özfirat, Ş. Dönmez, M. Işıklı, M. Saba (Eds.), *Central and Eastern Anatolia Late Iron Age: Post-Urartu, Median and Achaemenid Empires*, Ege Yayınları, 181-216.
- KALKAN 2008: H. Kalkan, *M.Ö. 6-4. Yüzyıllarda Doğu Anadolu: Arkeolojik Veriler Işığında Tarihsel ve Kültürel Değerlendirme*, Yayınlanmamış Doktora Tezi, Ege Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, İzmir.
- KALKAN 2009: H. Kalkan, "Akhaimenid Armenia, At ve Rhyta" *ADerg XIII/I*, 141-148.
- KALKAN 2011: H. Kalkan, "Doğu Anadolu da Geç Demir Çağ Sorunlar ve Gözlemler" *Olba XIX*, 47-56.
- KALKAN 2013: H. Kalkan, "Eine Königliche Tradition auf dem Siedlungshügel Karagündüz: Imitatio Regis?", *International Journal of Human Sciences*, Vol. 10/2, 707-718.
- KALKAN 2014a: H. Kalkan, "Ephesos-Hypaipa-Sardeis Yolu Üzerine Yeni Gözlemler ve Pers Kral Yolu", *International Journal of Human Sciences* Vol. 11/1, 448-456.
- KALKAN 2014b: H. Kalkan, "Doğu Anadolu'da Bir Post Urartu Formu: Tankard", In A. Özfirat (Ed.), *Scripta: Essays in Honour of Veli Sevin A Life Immersed in Archaeology*, İstanbul, 211-214.
- KALKAN 2015: H. Kalkan, "Van Havzası'ndan Post Urartu, Med ve Akhemenid Dönemlerin Kültürel Tanımı Üzerine", In M. Işıklı, B. Can (Eds.), *Uluslararası Doğu Anadolu Güney Kafkasya Kültürleri Sempozyumu Bildiriler II*, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 29-36.
- KANDAZ 2016: C. Kandaz, *Oluz Höyük Kazıları Işığında Akhaimenid Kaseler ve Anadolu'daki Yayılımı*, Yayınlanmamış Yüksek Lisans Tezi, İstanbul Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, İstanbul.
- KARAOŞMANOĞLU et al. 2014: M. Karaosmanoğlu, M. Işıklı, E. Caner, "Erzincan-Altıntepe Çevresi Yüzey Araştırmaları", In H. Kasapoğlu, M.A. Yılmaz (Eds.), *Anadolu'nun Zirvesinde Türk Arkeolojisinin 40 Yılı*, Ankara, 505-514.
- KARAOŞMANOĞLU et al. 2015: M. Karaosmanoğlu, H. Korucu, M.A. Yılmaz, "Altıntepe Urartu Kalesi (2012) Kazı ve Onarım Çalışmaları", *Atatürk Üniversitesi Güzel Sanatlar Enstitüsü Dergisi* 34, 116-132.

- KARAOŞMANOĞLU and KORUCU 2012: M. Karaosmanoğlu, H. Korucu, "The Apadana of Altıntepe in the Light of the Second Season Excavations", *Anatolian Iron Ages 7*, Leuven: Peters, 131-147.
- KLINKOTT 2005: H. Klinkott, *Der Satrap, ein Achämenidischer Amsträger und Seine Handlungsspielräume*, Frankfurt.
- KONYAR et. al. 2013: E. Konyar, C. Avcı, B. Genç, R.G. Akgün, A. Tan, "Eski Van Şehri, Kalesi ve Höyüğü Kazıları 2012 Yılı Çalışmaları", *KST* 35.2, 358-370.
- KONYAR and AVCI 2014: E. Konyar, C. Avcı, C. "Eski Van Şehri Kalesi ve Höyüğü Kazıları 2013 Çalışmaları", *KST* 36. 2, 266-275.
- KÖROĞLU 1995: K. Köroğlu, "Doğu Anadolu Kökenli İnsan (Kadın) Yüzlü Kaplar", *Arkeoloji ve Sanat* 68, 25-32.
- KÖROĞLU 2008a: K. Köroğlu, "Urartu Kaya Mezar Geleneği ve Doğu Anadolu'daki Tek Odalı Kaya Mezarlarının Kökeni", *Arkeoloji ve Sanat* 127, 21-38.
- KÖROĞLU 2008b: K. Köroğlu, "Yukarı Dicle Bölgesinde Yeni Assur Krallığı Sonrasına İlişkin Kültürel Değişimin Tanımlanması: Geç Demir Çağı ve Hellenistik Dönemin İzleri", In T.Tarhan, A.Tibet and E. Konyar (Eds.), *Muhibbe Darga Armağanı, İstanbul, Sadberk Hanım Müzesi*, 335-344.
- KROLL 2014: S. Kroll, "Notes on the Post-Urartian (Median) Horizon in NW-Iran and Armenia", In A. Özfirat (Ed.), *Scripta: Essays in Honour of Veli Sevin A Life Immersed in Archaeology*, İstanbul, 203-210.
- LAYARD 1853: A.H. Layard, *Discoveries in the Ruins of Niniveh und Babylon/Nebst Beschreibung Seiner Reisen in Armenien, Kurdistan und der Wüste*, Leipzig.
- LEHMANN HAUPT 1926: CF. Lehman Haupt, *Armenian Einst und Jetzt II/I*, Berlin-Leipzig.
- LINTZ 2012: Y. Lintz, "Anadolu Pers Sanatı", *Aktüel Arkeoloji* 25, 152-159.
- LYNCH 1882: H.F.B. Lynch, "The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Van", *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society IV*, 377-732.
- LYNCH 1901: H.F.B. Lynch, *Armenia II, Travels and Studies The Turkish Provinces*, London.
- ÖKSE 1988: T. Ökse, *Mittleisenzeitliche Keramik Zentral-Ostanatoliens: Mit dem Schwerpunkt Karakaya-Stauseegebiet am Euphrat, Berliner Beiträge zum Vorderen Orient Band 9*, Berlin.
- ÖZÜDOĞRU 2012: Ş. Özüdoğru, "Likya'da Persler: Pers Egemenliğinde Likya Tarihi ve Yönetimi", *Aktüel Arkeoloji* 25, 104-119.
- PARKER 1999: A. Parker, "Northeastern Anatolia: On the Periphery of Empires", *AnSt* Vol. 49, 133-141.
- POLAT 2012: G. Polat, "Anadolu Pers Heykeltıraşlığı", *Aktüel Arkeoloji* 25, 78-89.
- POLAT 2014: E. Polat, *Onbilerin Dönüş Yolunda Tarihi Coğrafya ve Arkeoloji*, Yayınlanmamış Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Yüzüncü Yıl Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Van.
- SAGONA et al. 1992: A. Sagona, E. Pemberton, I. McPhee, "Excavations at Büyüktepe Höyük 1991: Second Preliminary Report", *AnSt* 42, 29-46.
- SAGONA et al. 1993: A. Sagona, E. Pemberton, I. McPhee, "Excavations at Büyüktepe Höyük 1992 Third Preliminary Report", *AnSt* 43, 69-83.
- SAGONA et al. 1996: A. Sagona, M. Erkmen, C. Sagona, I. Thomas, "Excavations at Sos Höyük 1995: Second Preliminary Report", *AnSt* 46, 27-52.
- SAGONA and SAGONA 1995: A. Sagona, C. Sagona, "Excavations at Sos Höyük 1994: First Preliminary Report", *AnSt* 45, 193-218.
- SAGONA and SAGONA 2003: A. Sagona, C. Sagona, "The Upper Levels at Sos Höyük, Erzurum: A Reinterpretation of the 1987 Campaign", *Anatolia Antiqua XI*, 101-109.
- SALVINI 2006: M. Salvini, *Urartu Tarihi ve Kültürü*, Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları, İstanbul.
- SCHACHNER and SAĞLAMTIMUR 2008: A. Schachner, H. Sağlamtımur, "Xenophons Überquerung des Kentrites-ein archäologischer Nachtrag", *IstMitt* 58, 411-417.
- SCHMIDT 1970: E.F. Schmidt, *Persepolis III: The Royal Tombs and Other Monuments*, Chicago.
- SEVİN 1982a: V. Sevin, "Anadolu'da Pers Egemenliği", *Anadolu Uygarlıkları, Görsel Anadolu Tarihi Ansiklopedisi*, Ankara, 310-332.
- SEVİN 1982b: V. Sevin, "İmikuşağı Kazıları 1981", *KST* IV, 121-130.
- SEVİN 1983: V. Sevin, "İmikuşağı Kazıları 1982", *KST* V, 137-147.
- SEVİN 1985: V. Sevin, "Van Bölgesi Yüzey Araştırması, 1984", III. AST, 287-296.
- SEVİN 1988: V. Sevin, "İmikuşağı Kazıları 1986", *KSTIX/I*, 299-321.
- SEVİN 1995: V. Sevin, *İmikuşağı I (6. – 1. Yapı Katları)*, Ankara.
- SEVİN 1998: V. Sevin, "Van/Karagündüz Kazılarının Işığı Altında Doğu Anadolu Geç Demir Çağ Çanak-Çömleği", In G. Arsebük et al (Eds.), *Karatepe'deki Işık: Halet Çambel'e Sunulan Yazılar*, İstanbul, 715-726.
- SEVİN 2002: V. Sevin, "Late Iron Age Pottery of the Van Region Eastern Anatolia: In the Light of the Karagündüz Excavations", In R. Arslan et al. (Eds.), *Festschrift für Manfred Korfmann-Mauer Schau Band I*, Remshalden-Grumbach, 475-482.
- SEVİN 2004: V. Sevin, "Son Tunç/Erken Demir Çağı Van Bölgesi Kronolojisi, Kökeni Aranan Bir Devlet: Urartu" *Bellekten* LXVIII, 355-386.

- SEVİN 2006: V. Sevin, “Keçikıran: Van Bölgesi’nde Yarım Kalmış Bir Urartu Projesi”, In A. Erkanal Öktü, E. Özgen, S. Günel (Eds.), *Hayat Erkanal’a Armağan: Kültürlerin Yansımaları*, Homer Yayınları, İstanbul, 667-674.
- SEVİN 2012: V. Sevin, “Van Bölgesinde Post-Urartu Dönemi: Yıkıntılar Üzerinde Yeni Bir Yaşam” *Belleten* LXXXVI, 351-372.
- SEVİN 2014: V. Sevin, “Van/Ernis-Evditepe ve Alacahan Mezarlık ve Yerleşimleri Işığında Kimi Düşünceler: Demir Çağlar Sorunu”, In N. Çınarlı, A. Aykurt (Eds.), *Anadolu Kültürlerine Bir Bakış, Armağan Erkanal’a Armağan*, Ankara, 355-367.
- SEVİN et. al. 2000: V. Sevin, A. Özfırat, E. Kavaklı, “Van Karagündüz Höyüğü Kazıları (1997 Yılı Çalışmaları)”, *Belleten* LXIII/238, Ankara, 847-868.
- SUMMERS 1993: G.D. Summers, “Archaeological Evidence for the Achaemenid Period in Eastern Turkey” *AnSt* 43, 85-108.
- TARHAN 1989: M.T. Tarhan, “Van Kalesi ve Eski Van Şehri Kazıları 1987”, *KST* X/I, 369-417.
- TARHAN 2011: M.T. Tarhan, “Başkent Tuşpa”, In K. Köroğlu, E. Konyar (Eds.), *Urartu Doğu’da Değişim, Yapı Kredi Yayınları*, İstanbul, 288-337.
- TARHAN and SEVİN 1977: M.T. Tarhan, V. Sevin, “Van Bölgesinde Urartu Araştırmaları (I): Askeri ve Sivil Mimariye ait Yeni Gözlemler”, *Anadolu Araş* IV-V, 273-345.
- TARHAN and SEVİN 1990: M.T. Tarhan, V. Sevin, “Van Kalesi ve Eski Van Şehri Kazıları 1988”, *KST* XI/I, 355-389.
- TARHAN and SEVİN 1991: M.T. Tarhan, V. Sevin, “Van Kalesi ve Eski Van Şehri Kazıları 1989”, *KST* XII/II, 429-456.
- TARHAN and SEVİN 1993a: M.T. Tarhan, V. Sevin, “Van Kalesi ve Eski Van Şehri Kazıları, 1991”, *XIV. KST* I, 407-429.
- TARHAN and SEVİN 1993b: M.T. Tarhan, V. Sevin, “Van Kalesi ve Eski Van Şehri Kazıları 1990 Yılı Çalışmaları” *Belleten* LVII, 843-861.
- TOMBUL 2012: M. Tombul, “Troas’ta Pers İzleri”, *Aktüel Arkeoloji* 25, 120-130.
- WALSER 1966: G. Walser, *Die Völkerschaften auf den Reliefs von Persepolis: Historische Studien über den sogneannten Tributzug an der Apadanatreppen*, Berlin.
- WEISSBACH 1911: F.H. Weissbach, *Die Keilschriften der Achämeniden*, Leipzig.
- YILMAZ and KARAOSMANOĞLU 2019: M.A. Yılmaz, M. Karaosmanoğlu, “Post-Urartian Problem at the Erzincan-Altıntepe Fortress: A General Evaluation of Late Iron Age Data”, In A. Özfırat, Ş. Dönmez, M. Işıklı and M. Saba, *Central and Eastern Anatolia Late Iron Age: Post-Urartu, Median and Achaemenid Empires*, İstanbul, 323-350.

YİĞİTPAŞA 2010: D. Yiğitpaşa, *Arkeolojik Veriler Işığında Doğu Anadolu Geç Demir Çağı (MÖ 6.-4. Y.Y.) Çanak Çömleği*, Yayınlanmamış Doktora Tezi, Yüzüncü Yıl Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Van.

YİĞİTPAŞA 2013: D. Yiğitpaşa, “Doğu Anadolu Geç Demir Çağ Seramikleri Üzerinde Görülen Figürlü ve Bitkisel Bezemeler”, *Uluslararası Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi* 6/25- Prof. Dr. Hamza Gündoğdu Özel Sayısı, 612-628.

YİĞİTPAŞA 2015: D. Yiğitpaşa, “Arkeolojik Veriler Işığında Doğu Anadolu Geç Demir Çağı (MÖ 7.-4. Y.Y.) Çanak Çömleği”, *Uluslararası Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi* 8/37, 512-538.

YÜCEL 2018: Ç. Yücel, “Diyarbakır Müzesi’nden Bir Grup Pers Süvari Figürini”, *Researcher Social Science Studies* 6/2, 42-56.

Internet Sources

URL 1: <http://www.timestopsmugla.com/tr/milas/tarih/hekatomnos-lahti-ve-kutsal-alani>. (Retrieved on 12.01.2020).

Makale Gönderim Tarihi: 29.12.2020

Makale Kabul Tarihi: 16.02.2021

MURAT TOSUN

Orcid ID: 0000-0003-0595-8587

İstanbul-TURKEY.

muratsn@windowslive.com

UMUT PARLITI

Orcid ID: 0000-0001-9895-4926

Atatürk University, Faculty of Letters,
Department of Archaeology,

Erzurum-TURKEY.

umutparliti62@gmail.com

EYÜP CANER

Orcid ID: 0000-0003-3411-9723

Batman University, Sason Vocational School
Department of Art Protection,

Batman-TURKEY.

eyupcaner@batman.edu.tr.

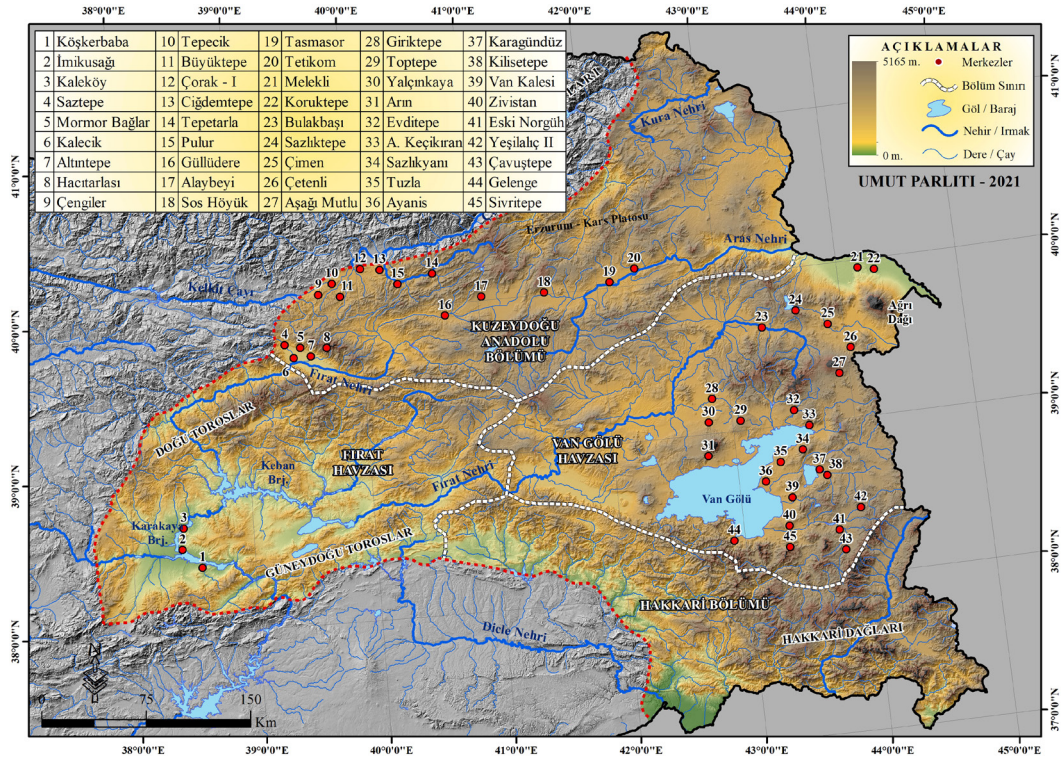


Fig. 1: The centers mentioned in the article.

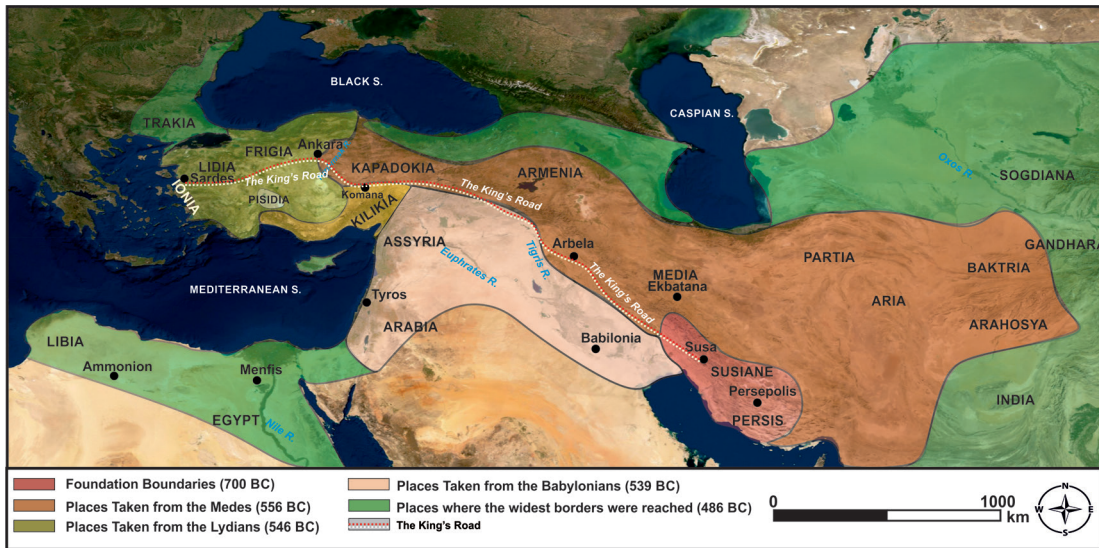


Fig. 2: The Persian King Road and the spreading geography of the Achaemenid kingdom (prepared by. Eyüp CANER).

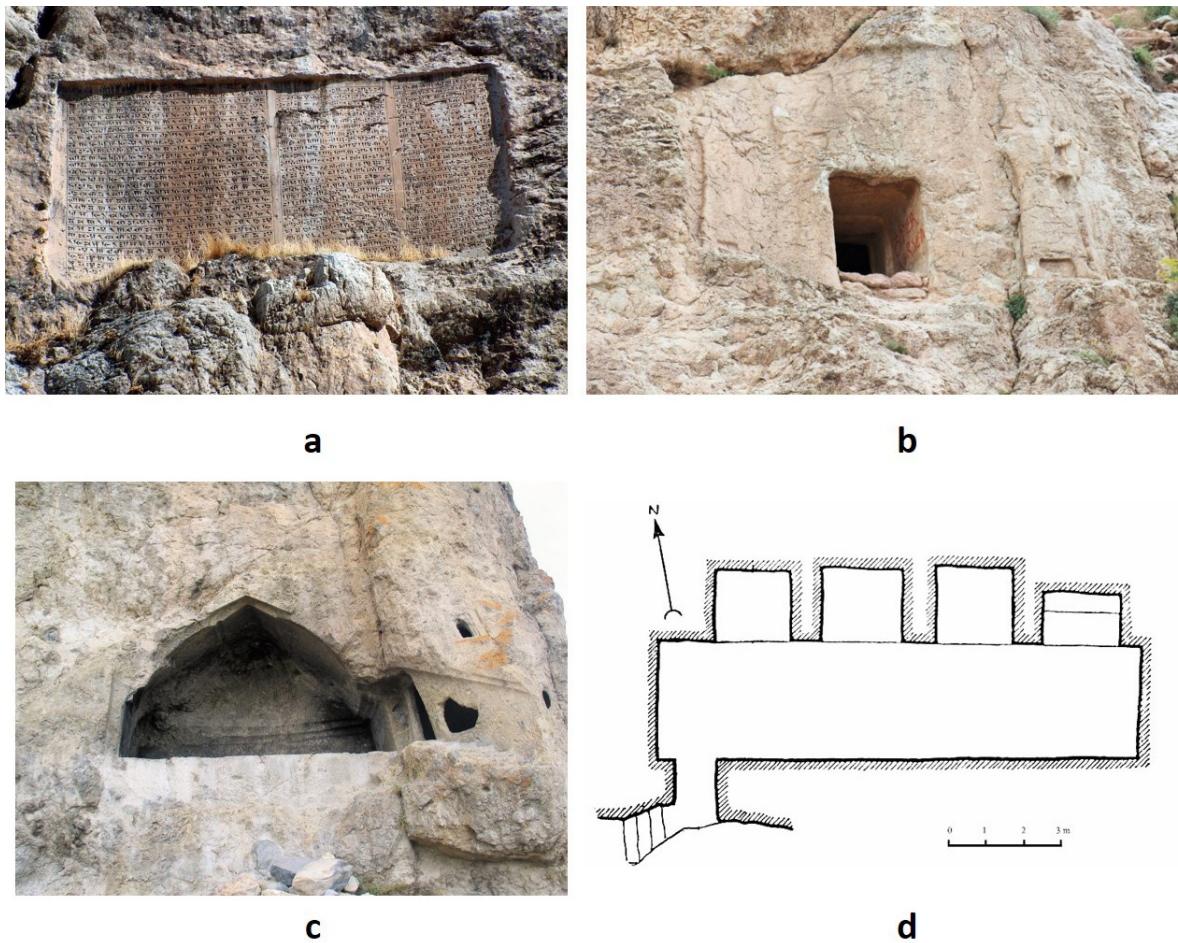


Fig. 3: a. Xerxes Inscription (Tarhan 2011: Fig. 15); b. Doğubayazıt Rock Tomb (Işıklı and Parlı 2019: Fig. 2a); c. Erzurum Umudumtepe Rock Tomb (Işıklı and Parlı 2019: Fig. 2b); d. Van Küçük Horhor Rock Tomb (Koroğlu 2008: Fig. 12).



Fig. 4: Relief in Persepolis Reception Palace (Apadana) depicting the ambassadors from the Satrap of Armenia (Walser 1966: Tafel 10: 3).



Fig. 5: a. Rhyton Sample from Erzurum Archeology Museum (Kalkan 2008: Fig. 88, Mus. 2); b. Rhyton from Van Archeology Museum (Kalkan 2008: Fig. 88, Mus. 2); c. Rhyton from Adana Museum (Kalkan 2008: 194, Mus. 4); d. An Example of Mounted Troops from Diyarbakır Museum (Yücel 2018: Fig. 3a).

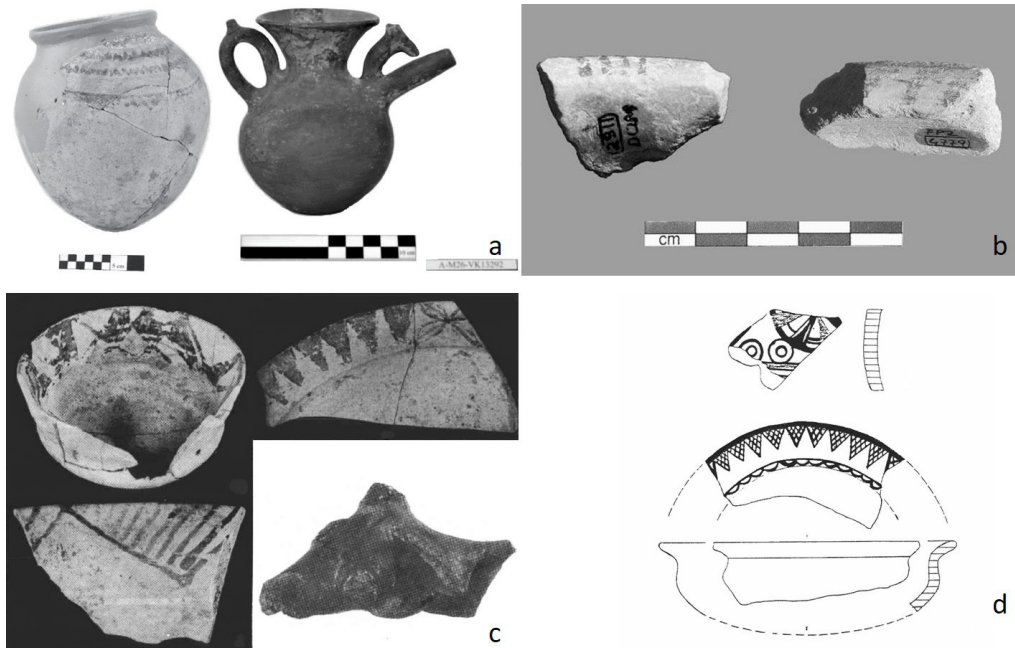


Fig. 6: a. Festoon Ware type vessel in Van Fortress Mound and Rhyton vessel with mountain goat figurine attachment (Konyar and Avcı 2014: 279, Picture 5; Konyar, Avcı, Genç, Akgün and Tan 2013: 361, Picture 4); b. Triangle amorphous ceramic samples from Ayanis Fortress (Erdem and Batmaz 2008: Fig. 10); c. Examples of triangle cups from Altintepe (Emre 1987: Lev IV.1-4); d. Triangle container samples from Köşkerbaba (Bilgi 1987a: 28, Fig. 02.11, 1-2).