

Dragon Stones in Context

The Discovery of High-Altitude Burial Grounds with Sculpted Stelae in the Armenian Mountains¹

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“Dragon stones” (Arm. *vishapakar* or, for short, *vishap*) are standing stones carved with animal imagery found in the high-altitude summer pastures of modern Armenia and neighboring regions. So far, their existence has been largely ignored by the international scientific community and their function and dating have remained the object of speculation. In June 2012, an Armenian–German team started the first systematic archaeological investigation of the Armenian dragon stones. This article offers an introduction to the topic and presents the results of the first fieldwork season. Most importantly, it reveals for the first time that the dragon stones are systematically associated with Bronze Age burial mounds. Thus, the dragon stones are unraveled as a monumental feature of a previously unknown high-altitude mortuary landscape, probably connected with the economic exploitation of summer pastures by early transhumant pastoralists.

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Fig. 1. *Imirzek 2* photographed by Marr and Smirnov in 1909 (Marr and Smirnov 1931, Pl. 19).

Three Types of Dragon Stones: piscis, vellus, and hybrida

In the early hours of a summer Sunday in the year 1909, the eminent Russian scholars Nikolai Marr and Iakov Smirnov mounted their horses and followed a local guide on a trek to the Geghama Mountains, Armenia. After a steep and rocky climb, they reached the plateaus between 2000 and 3000 m above sea level, where the summer pastures of the transhumant herders are. Here, lying around in the vast, green meadow landscape, Marr and Smirnov saw a number of sculpted basalt monoliths, some of them weirdly shaped in the form of a huge fish (Fig. 1). Months later, in St. Petersburg, Marr gave the first scientific report on these peculiar artifacts, which he believed to be of great significance.² A century went by and the international echo of Marr and Smirnov's discoveries vanished completely. Only the stones were left, forgotten in their distant places.

In Armenia, however, the *vishaps* are considered part of the national heritage and their existence is acknowledged by many.³ The name may be connected to

² Marr 1931, which is the transcript of a conference held in 1910. See also Mikhankova 1931:49–50 and Gilibert, forthcoming (b).

³ Concerning the traditional name of *vishaps*, Smirnov writes, “Finally we reached the Turkish-Armenian encampment of Azhdaha-Yurt, in Armenian *Vishapner* [...]. This camp owes its name to the stones [found there], which are called by the Turks ‘azhdahaks’ and by the Armenians ‘vishaps,’ both being synonyms of ‘dragons.’” (Smirnov 1931:62, translation by the authors).

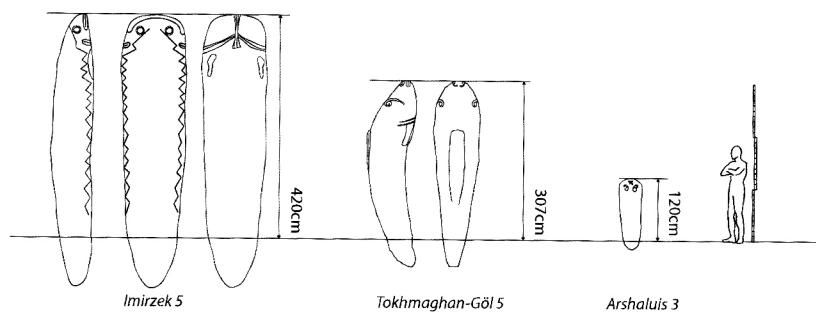


Fig. 2. *piscis* stones. Drawing: A. Gilibert.

local folk tales where dragons are monstrous giant fishes living in the mountains or, perhaps, it may be due to a misunderstanding of the imagery carved on them. In fact, on the Armenian dragon stones there are no dragons in the European, winged reptilian sense of the term. Based on their shape and iconography, we identify three main classes of dragon stones, instances of which exist in varying heights (150–550 cm) and local materials (mainly basalt).

The first class, which we propose to term *piscis*, comprises stones cut and polished into the shape of a fish, often including anatomical details such as nostrils, fins, lateral lines and operculum (Fig. 2).⁴ The mouth of the fish is large and located right at the front of the head, the pectoral fins are usually small, and often a flat, continuous dorsal fin can be recognized. A zigzag motif is sometimes carved at the sides of the fish, standing perhaps for lateral line scales or for a specific body pattern. The monoliths are usually fusiform and their shape is sometimes markedly arcuated. All in all, their shape reminds vaguely of fishes of the carp or barbel family.⁵

The second typological class, which we propose to term *vellus*, comprises stones carved as if the hide of a bovid had been draped (Fig. 3) or spread (Fig. 4) on them. The hides are prepared in a peculiar way: the legs, the tail and the head (including ears and horns) are left attached to the skin and the back of the animal is cut back into one or two thin strips.⁶ The long face framed by twisted horns rather points to a ram or a mouflon, but the possibility that the hide may be that of a bull cannot be ruled out.⁷ Much attention is devoted to

⁴ Labels such as *Imirzek 2* designate single stones after their findspot and follow the numbering system proposed in Gilibert, forthcoming (b) and used here in the Catalogue.

⁵ Manaseryan 2003 suggests a sheath-fish or a fish of the genus *Barbus*, such as the Armenian *chanar* (*Barbus capito*).

⁶ A similar preparation of a sacrificial bull, including the draping of the hide on a stone altar, was practiced in the Southern Caucasus until Medieval times (cf. Ishkol-Kerovpian 1986:80)

⁷ In Armenia, the mouflon (*Ovis orientalis gmelin*) is well represented both in petroglyphs and archaeological sites dating to the Bronze and Iron Age, e.g. Khatunarkh, Mokhrablur, Arevik, Shengavit, Garmi, Metsamor (Mezhlumyan 1988:114–117). On the other hand, big-horned bulls (*Bos taurus primigenius*) are also represen-

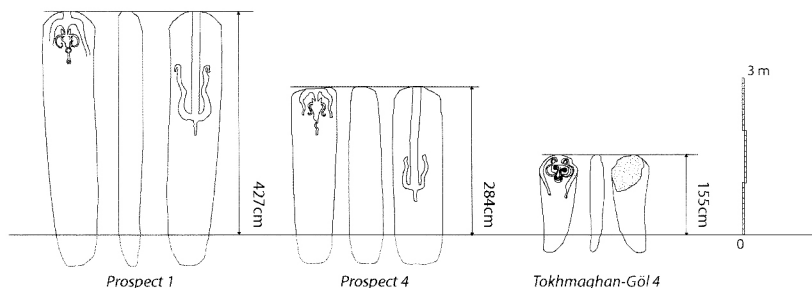


Fig. 3. *vellus* stones with draped hides. Drawing: A. Gilibert.

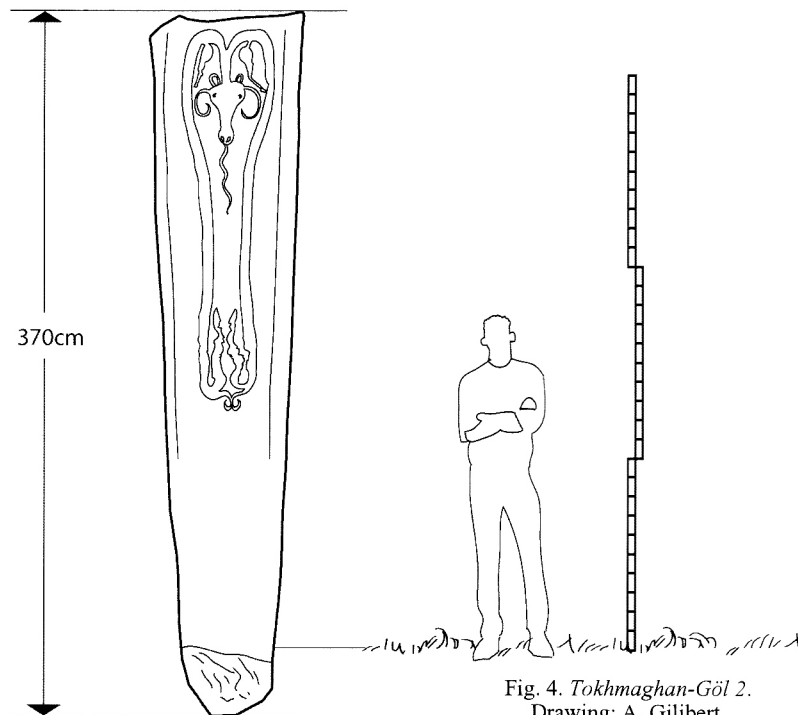


Fig. 4. Tokhmaghan-Göl 2. Drawing: A. Gilibert.

the head, which is often carved in high relief. Sometimes, wavy lines depart from around the snout, signifying perhaps a special preparation of the animal's tongue or the stylized representation of a beard, or else a sacrificial liquid charged with symbolic value (such as water, blood, or oil).⁸

ted in petroglyphs (Mezhlumyan 1972:73; Mezhlumyan 1988:144–146) and have been found in Bronze Age settlements and tombs at Shengavit, Trialeti, Kirovakan, and Lchashen (Mezhlumyan 1972:50, 54–56, 66, 161, 164; Mezhlumyan 1988:124–128).

⁸ Marr identifies the liquid as water and speaks of “filets d’eau” (Marr 1931:91).

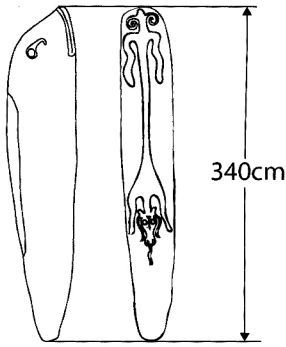


Fig. 5. *Azhdaha-Yurt 2*.
Drawing: A. Gilibert.

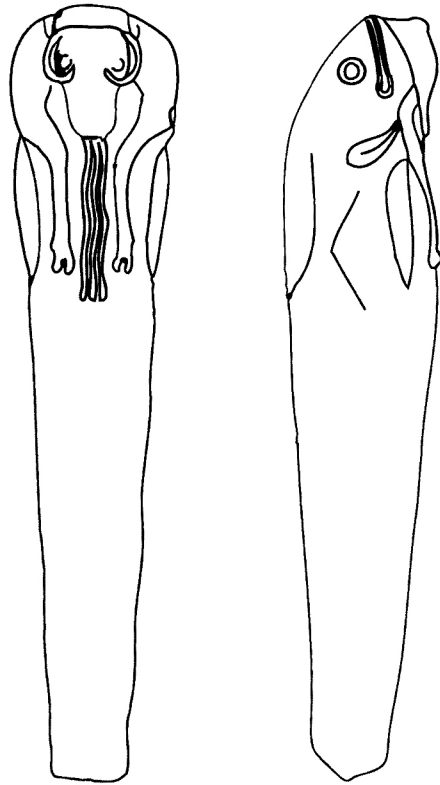


Fig. 6. *Imirzek 2*
(Marr and Smirnov 1931: 94).

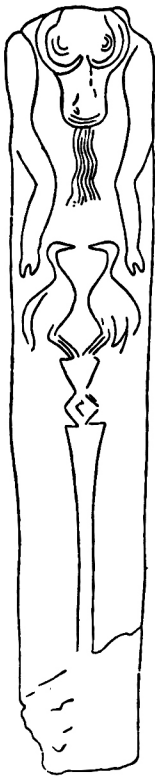


Fig. 7. *Imirzek 1* (Marr and Smirnov 1931, 95).

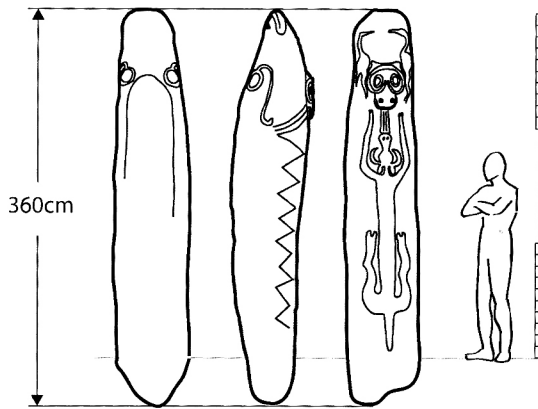


Fig. 8. *Azhdaha-Yurt 5*. Drawing: A. Gilibert.

The third typological class combines the iconographies of the first and the second one; here, we call it the *hybrida* class. *Hybrida* stones are shaped and carved in the form of a fish, with bovid hides spread on their belly (Fig. 5) or “draped” on top of the fish (Fig. 6).

The imagery of the dragon stones is almost exclusively limited to standardized variations of the draped bovid hide, the standing fish, and a combination of both. However, four cases are known where draped hides are combined with images of birds. The birds are always two in number, represented as antithetical couple. On *Imirzek 1* (Fig. 7), the birds are represented perched on a vertical pole that looks as if it was placed in front of the stone. On *Azhdaha-Yurt 5* (Fig. 8), the birds are carved at both sides of a bovid head, taking the place that would otherwise be occupied by the hanging forelegs of the draped hide (perhaps a visual double entendre). On *Tokhmaghan-Göl 1* and on a dragon stone from Gandza, South Georgia,⁹ the birds are combined with horizontal lines. The birds are always large, long-legged wading birds with long necks and straight beaks.¹⁰ They may well be white storks, whose breeding population in late spring sometimes chooses high-altitude pastures as foraging habitat.¹¹

As we shall see, the great majority of dragon stones still in situ lie collapsed or placed in a horizontal position on the ground. All three types of dragon stones, however, are carved and polished on every face but the “tail,” which is invariably left uncarved.¹² This fact indicates clearly that dragon stones were originally standing stones. In most cases, the original standing height can be reasonably inferred by measuring the height of the polished surface.

Evidently, the dragon stones are highly symbolic artifacts, and they raise questions that go well beyond the mere description and identification of their carvings. What is their date? What kind of cultural meaning and affiliations do they have? How long and complex is the history of their use? Were they embedded in specific ritual acts? And, if yes, were these rituals recursive? How do the stones relate to their setting? And, finally, what can they tell us about the cultural and economic exploitation of high-altitude resources in antiquity? In order to tackle these questions, an Armenian–German team led by the authors of this article has now started to prospect for and analyze groups of dragon stones in their archaeological context and landscape. Before going on and describe the results of the first reconnaissance mission in June 2012, it is important to recapitulate the current state of research and to abstract what can be learned from it.

⁹ Melikset-Bekov 1947:34–35, figs. 10–11.

¹⁰ Usually identified as cranes or storks: Manaseryan and Balyan 2002:408.

¹¹ Tryjanowski, Sparks and Profus 2005.

¹² The drawing of a fish with a hide apparently carved along the lower half of the belly in Barseghyan 1968, Pl. LXXVII, fig. 4 has been published upside down by mistake.

Previous Research

Marr and Smirnov were not exactly the first scholars to report on the dragon stones. The scientific establishment discovered their existence at the turn of the century, when the rising interest in the antiquities of the Caucasus prompted scholars to venture into lesser-known mountain regions in search of archaeological remains. The very first scholar to take official note of the dragon stones was the Armenian writer Atrpet,¹³ who, by his own account, saw fish-shaped stones on Mt. Aragats as early as 1885.¹⁴ During their horse-riding trips above Garni in 1909 and 1910, Marr and Smirnov recorded with photographs and drawings nineteen dragon stones in situ, completing what has been until now the most comprehensive overview of the phenomenon.¹⁵ Between 1912 and 1936, archaeologists Kapantsyan, Kalantar, and Piotrovskiy recorded five dragon stones on the south slope of Mt. Aragats¹⁶ and one more in the Geghama Mountains,¹⁷ while an expedition of the Commission for the Preservation of Antiquities of Armenia found five dragon stones of the *piscis* type on the east shore of Lake Sevan.¹⁸ In 1963 and then again in 1967, scholars of the Armenian Academy of Sciences returned to the Geghama Mountains and recorded three previously unknown dragon stones.¹⁹ These two ventures were the last systematic attempt at recording dragon stones in their original environment.

In 1963, the upper half of a dragon stone (*Garni 1*) was found during excavation works at the archaeological site of Garni. *Garni 1* is carved with an Urartian inscription dating to the first half of the 8th century BCE.²⁰ The inscription covers in part the original relief of a bovid hide and has clearly been added after the stone suffered major damage.²¹ Thus, *Garni 1* provides a secure *terminus ante quem*, dating the dragon stones phenomenon to before the Urartian period. In 1980, a further dragon stone was found during hydraulic works near the village of Lchashen (*Lchashen 1*). A salvage excavation led by Emma Khanzadyan found the stone associated with a burial mound of the late Middle Bronze Age (17th–16th centuries BCE).²² *Garni 1* and *Lchashen 1*

¹³ Pen name of Sargis Mubaiajyan.

¹⁴ Atrpet 1929:56.

¹⁵ Marr and Smirnov 1931; Gilibert, forthcoming (b).

¹⁶ *Ahmadi Oba 1, Hayseri Oba 1, Prospect 1-3*. Kapantsyan 1914; Kapantsyan 1952:318; Kalantar 1925; Piotrovskiy 1939; Piotrovskiy 2009: 138, 156–157.

¹⁷ *Tokhmaghan-Göl 4* (Piotrovskiy 1939, Pl. XI).

¹⁸ Berbérian 1927:290; Piotrovskiy 1939:12–13.

¹⁹ The scholars were Laurenti Barseghyan, Zhores Khachatryan, and the late Aram Kalantaryan. Reports are published in Barseghyan, Khachatrian and Kalantarian 1964; Barseghyan 1967; Barseghyan 1968.

²⁰ Arakelyan and Arutyunyan 1966.

²¹ Salvini 2008:351.

²² Khanzadyan 2005. Khanzadyan devoted much attention to the study of dragon stones; she collated her studies in an unpublished manuscript now archived at the “Service for Protection of Historical Environment and Cultural Museum-Reservations” in Yerevan. We had no access to it.

are the only dragon stones to have ever been documented in the course of a controlled excavation. Since the 1960s, a number of dragon stones have been observed more or less by chance, mostly re-employed in later contexts, and left largely unpublished.²³ Twenty-two of these previously unregistered dragon stones have been collated in very short note form in a document entitled *Officially Registered Monuments of the History and Culture of the Armenian Republic*.²⁴ Dragon stones have also been found outside modern Armenia. More than ten dragon stones have been recorded in Trialeti and Javakheti, South Georgia.²⁵ Further stones have also been noticed in Nakhchivan²⁶ and in the easternmost provinces of Turkey: a *vellus* stone has been found in Yol-boyu near Oltu,²⁷ a *piscis* stone from the Kars-Ardahan region is exposed in the garden of the Archaeological Museum in Kars,²⁸ and more dragon stones were seen in the summer pastures around the river Çoruh.²⁹ In conclusion, dragon stones have been found in the highlands of Armenia, in those of the easternmost provinces of modern Turkey, and in southeast Georgia. We do not know of any dragon stones found beyond this greater highland region.³⁰

The significance and the uniqueness of this corpus of high-altitude monuments did not escape scholars, who were immediately intrigued by their apparent incongruity. In 1910, Smirnov remarks, “These stone fishes stay silent about their past, as befits fishes, but they are located at altitudes where they shouldn’t be.”³¹ In his St. Petersburg conference, Marr told the audience, “Our researches must go on, because the vishaps open a window into a wholly new world.”³² However, the systematic archaeological investigations envisaged by Marr never took place. With the passing of the decades, outside Armenia the dragon stones were largely forgotten. Meanwhile, the Armenian academia developed a discourse on their meaning and function solely on the basis of the scant data at hand. The informed opinion of the local population, who saw in the vishaps capstones for ancient tombs, was never seriously explored.³³ Students of Armenian folk traditions engaged with the symbolism of the fish, the bull, and water birds in antiquity, invoking ancient fertility rituals

²³ Muradyan 1985; Petrosyan 2008:76–78; Shahinyan 1976; Xnkikyan 1997; Xnkikyan 2002:114.

²⁴ We consulted this document as issued in 2002 by the Armenian Ministry of Culture. Henceforth we refer to it in abbreviated form as *Heritage List*.

²⁵ Melikset-Bekov 1938; Melikset-Bekov 1947; Sikharulidze 1972; Sanosyan 1989; Narimanishvili and Shanshashvili 2007; Narimanishvili et al., forthcoming.

²⁶ Belli and Sevin 1999:64; Avsharova 2010.

²⁷ Belli 2005a; Belli 2005b; Yıldırım 2007:242–244.

²⁸ We thank Prof. Mirjo Salvini for pointing out this fish to us.

²⁹ Atrpet 1929:55; Atrpet 1931.

³⁰ For connections to northern cultures, see Meshchaninov 1925 and Mikhailov 1992. For a caveat in this sense, see Hnila, forthcoming.

³¹ Smirnov 1931:67 (translation by the authors).

³² Marr 1931:94 (translation by the authors).

³³ “The local population calls these monuments ‘tombs of the giants [oghuze]’ and believes that they were employed as capstones upon cist graves. In reality, there are no cemeteries near the vishaps” (Piotrovskiy 1939:13, translation by the authors).

in the wilderness.³⁴ Other scholars advanced the hypothesis that the dragon stones might have functioned as totemic boundary stones, perhaps defining tribal grazing territories.³⁵

However, a thesis predicating a connection between dragon stones and ancient water management soon became more widely accepted. This thesis was first postulated by Marr³⁶ and then heralded in particular by his student Ashkharbek Kalantar. In 1922 and 1924, Kalantar surveyed the south slope of Mt. Aragats and described a network of ancient canals and artificial reservoirs for the management of meltwater resources.³⁷ He dated this water management system to “pre-Urartian times”,³⁸ when a booming mixed economy based on stock-breeding in the higher pastures and agriculture in the valleys increasingly required water control. Kalantar observed that the dragon stones known to him were located at key places of the water management system, along canals or near important water reservoirs.³⁹ This fact, together with the fish imagery, led Kalantar to see in the dragon stones monuments of a water cult, developed hand in hand with the prehistoric water management system. In Kalantar’s eyes, the dragon stones functioned as symbolic “keepers of the water reserves”.⁴⁰ Archaeologically speaking, Kalantar’s view is today still the most captivating approach to dragon stones. However, Kalantar only saw two stones in situ and, much as Marr did, he felt that more data and more fieldwork were needed in order to get a better picture of the phenomenon.⁴¹

The Armenian-German Project

In winter 2011–2012, following a conference in Yerevan where the lack of secure data about dragon stones was once more made evident,⁴² the authors of this article started a collaboration under the aegis of the Armenian Academy of Sciences in Yerevan and the Freie Universität in Berlin. The general aim of the collaboration is to investigate the dating, function, and socio-economic background of the dragon stones’ phenomenon with the toolbox of contemporary archaeological science, most importantly the landscape survey and the stratigraphic excavation of selected contexts. In June 2012, a first reconnaissance mission took place. The reconnaissance was designed as an exploratory survey to define and calibrate a longer-term research strategy.

³⁴ Abeghyan 1941; Kapantsyan 1945; Kapantsyan 1947:110; Kapantsyan 1952; Mnatsakanyan 1952; Israelyan 1973:11–14, 31–35, 76, 86, 91–104, 168; Petrosyan 1984; Esayan 1985; Xnkikyan 1997; Xnkikyan 2002:114–120. Most recently, see also the discussion of possible religious symbolisms in Ohanian 2012: 541–556.

³⁵ Mansfeld 1996:379.

³⁶ Marr 1931:87.

³⁷ Kalantar 1933(1994).

³⁸ Kalantar 1933(1994):32.

³⁹ Kalantar 1925(1994):24.

⁴⁰ Kalantar 1933(2003):3. Cf. also Piotrovskiy 1939:13.

⁴¹ Kalantar 1933(1994):32.

⁴² Petrosyan, forthcoming.

During the reconnaissance, we took three concerted steps. First, we assessed already existing, yet largely informal evidence and collected new information about the current location of dragon stones. Second, we tested the collected information in the field and recorded both known and previously unknown dragon stones in situ. Third, we started the systematic assessment of the key landscape features associated with dragon stones. In order to implement this third step, the geographers Brigitta Schütt and Jonas Berking of the Freie Universität Berlin joined the authors of this article during the reconnaissance mission and started to investigate the physical environment (geomorphology, geomorphometry and ecosystem) of the dragon stones, setting their focus on the record of traditional water-harvesting measures on Mt. Aragats.

Dragon Stones, Barrows and High-Altitude Ritual Sites

When we began the reconnaissance mission, very little was known about dragon stones in situ. Not only a comprehensive list of dragon stones did not exist, but rumors were that only a single dragon stone was actually still visible in situ (*Ahmadi Oba 1*). Furthermore, it was generally assumed that the stones recorded by Marr and Smirnov in the Geghama Mountains had been lost or removed, and their context irremediably lost. Even the information about the provenance of the six dragon stones re-erected in the city of Yerevan as monuments was scant and contradictory. We decided to focus our fieldwork on the south slope of Mt. Aragats and on the southwestern regions of the Geghama Mountains, where, based on our analysis of previous research, a significant concentration of dragon stones was to be expected. By the end of the month, we were able to collect information on 84 dragon stones, 53 of which we were able to locate and document, including 16 dragon stones previously unknown: the reader is referred to the map attached for their geographical distribution.⁴³ Of the 53 dragon stones visited by us, we found 34 to be still in situ⁴⁴ (including most of the dragon stones seen by Marr and Smirnov⁴⁵),

⁴³ The 16 dragon stones first recorded by us are: *Karmir Sar 1–9* on Mt. Aragats and *Arshaluis 1–3*, *Diktash 1–3* and *Maghalner 1* in the Geghama Mountains. We also recorded two further unpublished dragon stones: *Sarukhan 1* from Lake Sevan (found by Dr. Simon Hmayakyan in 1995) and *Buzhakan 1* from the Pambak Mountains (Mt. Ara) region, found by Dr. Gagik Sargsyan. Finally, we collected written and oral information on the existence of further 29 dragon stones that we did not visit. In the map enclosed, we list the location of these dragon stones as “reported,” as opposed to “known.”

⁴⁴ Mt. Aragats: *Karmir Sar 1–3*, *5–8*; perhaps *Ahamadi Oba 1*. Geghama Mountains: *Arshaluis 1–2*; *Azhdaha-Yurt 1*, *3–4*, *6*; *Diktash 1*, *3*; *Garni 1*; *Göli-Yurt 1–3*, *Imirzek 1–5*, *Maghalner 1*; Lake Sevan: *Lchashen 1*. Vardenis Mountains: *Atash 1*.

⁴⁵ At the site of Tokhmaghan-Göl, Marr and Smirnov saw fragments of dragon stones in the masonry of a medieval barrage. In the 1970s, a modern barrage was built upon the medieval one, incorporating the fragments under its mass. These fragments are lost, or at least cannot be seen as long as the modern barrage remains in use. See also Gilibert, forthcoming (b).

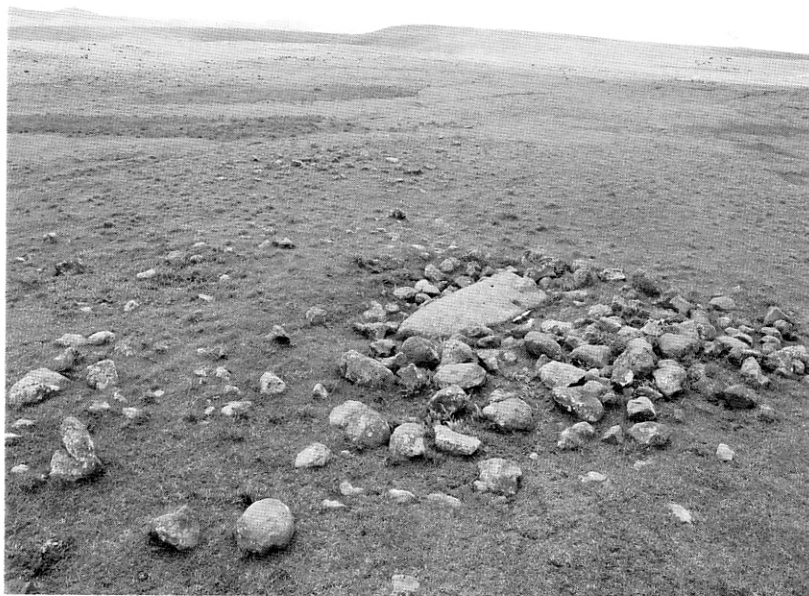


Fig. 9. *Azhdaha-Yurt 6* in situ from NW. Photo: P. Hnila.

or else we were able to determine precisely the in situ location.⁴⁶ A further 13 dragon stones we found in loco,⁴⁷ i.e. few meters away from their original set-up location, now lost or destroyed, or else we were able to track down the geographical site where the stones originally stood.⁴⁸ These collected data allow us to begin understanding the function, distribution patterns, and the dating of dragon stones in a way that had not been possible so far.

Our most significant discovery is that dragon stones are always associated with artificial barrows of medium-sized, unworked stones. The barrows have a diameter ranging from 4 to 10 m and tend to be round, flat structures, sometimes almost sunken in the ground. Most dragon stones in situ lay collapsed or secondarily placed across the center of the barrow⁴⁹, as in the case

⁴⁶ Mt. Aragats: *Hayseri Oba 1; Karmir Sar 4; Prospect 1*. Geghama Mountains: *Azhdaha-Yurt 2, 5; Diktash 2*.

⁴⁷ Mt. Aragats: *Karmir Sar 9; Vosketaz 1*. Lake Sevan: *Sarukhan 1*. Pambak Mountains: *Buzhakan 1*.

⁴⁸ Mt. Aragats: *Prospect 2–5*; Geghama Mountains: *Tokhmaghan-Göl 1–5*.

⁴⁹ The dragon stones appear to have been systematically taken down. We observed in many cases a crust of whitish lichens on the exposed surface of the stones. On stones that had been rolled upon their axes by Marr and Smirnov in 1909, no “new” lichens were observed. On the other hand, lichens crept into a secondary cross carved in *Azhdaha Yurt 1* when the stone was still standing. The cross was carved together with an inscription dated by Marr to the 14th century AD, which



Fig. 10. *Maghalner 1*. Photo: A. Bobokhyan.

of *Azhdaha-Yurt 6* and *Maghalner 1* (Figs. 9–10). However, *Diktash 1* in the Geghama Mountains and perhaps also *Ahmadi Oba 1* on Mt. Aragats are probably still standing in their original, off-center position (Figs. 11–12).⁵⁰

In the South Caucasus, barrows similar to those we found associated with dragon stones are called *kurgans*, or sometimes *cromlechs*,⁵¹ and they are a common form of human burial during the Bronze and Iron Ages.⁵² By the beginning of the second millennium BCE, clusters of *kurgans* started being built not only on the plains and foothills, but also at high-altitude locations between 2000 and 3500 m above sea level. And now, we have archaeological indications that strongly suggest a similar mortuary function for the structures associated with the dragon stones. The first indication comes from the salvage excavation of a *kurgan* associated with a dragon stone 2.5 km southwest of Lchashen village.⁵³ The excavation revealed a burial chamber of wooden construction, which had been robbed in antiquity. The burial pit was oriented north–south and contained a disturbed skeleton with the head placed at the northern end of the quadrangular shaft.⁵⁴ Painted vessels found inside the

thus gives us a terminus post quem for the “falling” of *Azhdaha Yurt 1*.

⁵⁰ *Diktash* is a vernacular version of Turkish *dikilitaş*, meaning “upright standing stone.” *Hayseri Oba 1* was also known under the similar name of “Tikmatash” and was probably still standing in the first decade of the 20th century (s. literature in Catalogue).

⁵¹ Smith, Badalyan and Avetisyan 2009:106–107.

⁵² Edens 1995:55, with further literature; Kushnareva 1997:86–88, fig. 33. The cases of empty burials, or cenotaphs, is also known (Shaparova 2000) and should be kept in mind as a possibility for the dragon stones.

⁵³ Khanzadyan 2005.

⁵⁴ Khanzadyan 2005:88.



Fig. 11. *Ahmadi Oba 1*. Photo: A. Gilibert.



Fig. 12. *Diktash 1* from the NNE. Photo: A. Gilibert.

grave date to the Middle Bronze Age III.⁵⁵ The dragon stone *Lchashen 1* may have been found in secondary position,⁵⁶ but further clues that we gathered observing traces left by uncontrolled diggings suggest that the dragon stones'

⁵⁵ Khanzadyan 2005:90; Avetisyan and Bobokhyan 2008.

⁵⁶ Khanzadyan 2005, fig. 3.



Fig. 13. *Diktash 1* from the south (the cross fourchée is an Early Medieval addition).
Photo: A. Gilibert.

association with burials was of primary nature. We registered seven instances of pits that were the result of recent or less recent uncontrolled diggings at barrows with dragon stones. Five of them⁵⁷ had been dug with the help of

⁵⁷ Mt. Aragats: *Hayseri Oba 1*; *Karmir Sar 4*, *Prospect 1*; Geghama Mountains: *Azh-daha-Yurt 5*, *Diktash 2*.



Fig. 14. *Azhdaha-Yurt 3* seen from the NNW. Photo P. Hnila.

heavy machinery, destroying the archaeological context in its entirety. *Azhdaha-Yurt 3* and *Diktash 1* in the Geghama Mountains, however, have been opened by pick and shovel. This “softer” method of uncontrolled excavation exposed in both cases parts of a shaft tomb lined with stones (Figs. 13–14). This is all the more relevant, since *Diktash 1* is one of the two dragon stones apparently still standing in its original position. Here too, as in the case of *Lchashen 1*, the shaft grave is north–south oriented, with *Diktash 1* standing at the northern end of the grave, main face to the north.

From this series of independent clues we draw the preliminary conclusion that the dragon stones are monuments related to mortuary rituals and that each single dragon stone is associated with a single burial mound.

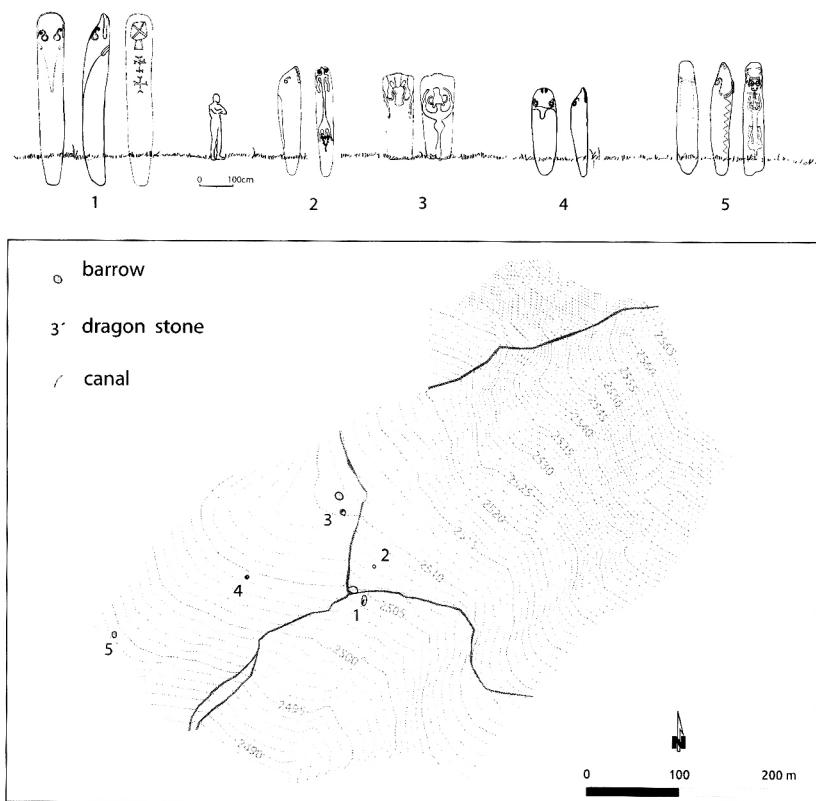


Fig. 15. Overview of Azhdaha-Yurt. Drawing: A. Gilibert; Map: P. Hnila; Topographic data: S. Davtyan.

The distribution pattern of the burial mounds with dragon stones appears to be particularly significant. The territory of modern Armenia is thickly studied with Bronze and Early Iron Age barrows. Sometimes, they are packed together in relatively well-defined necropoleis.⁵⁸ High-altitude barrows tend to spread across the mountain slopes in loose, overlapping clusters, making it often excessively laborious to define where one cluster ends and the next begins.⁵⁹ However, a preliminary analysis of the distribution pattern of barrows associated with dragon stones indicate that these barrows differ significantly from the rest. Barrows with dragon stones are mostly found between 2000 and 3000 m above sea level. So far, we can recognize two clearly distinct patterns of distribution. Most barrows associated with dragon stones are packed in close groups in well-defined meadows, specifically at places

⁵⁸ Cf. the sites of Lchashen, Lori Berd, Verin Naver and Talin: Badalyan and Avetisyan 2007.

⁵⁹ Smith, Badalyan and Avetisyan 2009:106.

where the landscape drops into slight depressions. These secluded meadows, typically ancient satellite volcanic craters, are rich in water, sometimes even marshy, and their concave form significantly reduces their overall visibility in the wider area. Up to now, we have identified four “secluded meadow necropoleis” comprising a minimum of five to a maximum of nine registered barrows with dragon stones: in the Geghama Mountains, the necropoleis of Tokhmaghan-Göl and Azhdaha-Yurt (Fig. 15); on Mt. Aragats, the Prospect necropolis and the necropolis of Karmir Sar (of which more below). In the Geghama Mountains, at Göli-Yurt and at Arshaluis, we also identified smaller clusters of three barrows with dragon stones located in equally well-defined, flat meadows rich in water but lacking the characteristically hollow shape. In sharp contrast to these dragon stones clustered together in well-defined necropoleis, we registered a small number (twelve) of barrows with dragon stones in isolated positions. These stand-alone barrows may be found in relatively secluded meadows⁶⁰ as well as in more exposed spots.⁶¹ Their most conspicuous trait, however, is that they are placed in such a way that from their location no other dragon stone can be seen. In the case of the *Imirzek* group in the Geghama Mountains, the barrows loosely follow the mountain ridge and rigidly avoid intervisibility.⁶²

In conclusion, most barrows with dragon stones tend to cluster together at secluded locations, while some “loners” impress the visitor as solitary landmarks. In both cases, the creation of a “visibility network” across the mountain landscape was consciously avoided: both the clustered vishaps and the “loners” are strongly self-referential, either as a group or as a single standing stone. Thus, barrows with dragon stones construct special places within the wider high-altitude mortuary landscape. We believe that these barrows stand out from the multitude of burial mounds studding the slopes of the Caucasian mountains. Considering that the stones bear inscribed in their material a permanent memory of sacrificial rituals (the carving of a hide as if it were spread on the stone itself), we propose to see in the dragon stones barrows not just burials, but first and foremost a previously unknown typology of high-altitude sacred sites for ritual performances.

The Necropolis of Karmir Sar

The most significant example of a high-altitude sacred site with dragon stones barrows is the necropolis of Karmir Sar (Figs. 16–17). Karmir Sar (Arm. “Red Mountain”) is a cone-shaped accumulation of red pumices on the south slope

⁶⁰ As in the case of *Hayseri Oba 1* on Mt. Aragats and *Maghalner 1* in the Geghama Mountains.

⁶¹ Mt. Aragats: *Ahmadi Oba 1*; Geghama Mountains: *Azhdaha-Yurt 6*, *Diktash 1–3*, *Imirzek 1–5*.

⁶² These results are confirmed by Viewshed Analysis applied by the geographer Norbert Anselm to 35 vishaps of which we know both standing height and original standing location, including, most significantly, the vishaps from Azhdaha-Yurt (clustered in a necropolis) vs. the vishaps from Imirzek (“loners”); Anselm 2012.

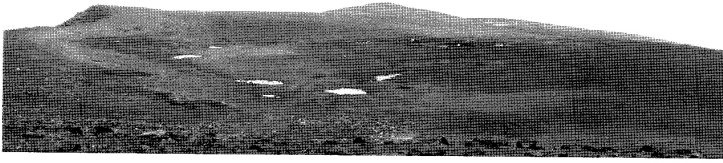


Fig. 16. General view of Karmir Sar from the north. Photo: P. Hnila.

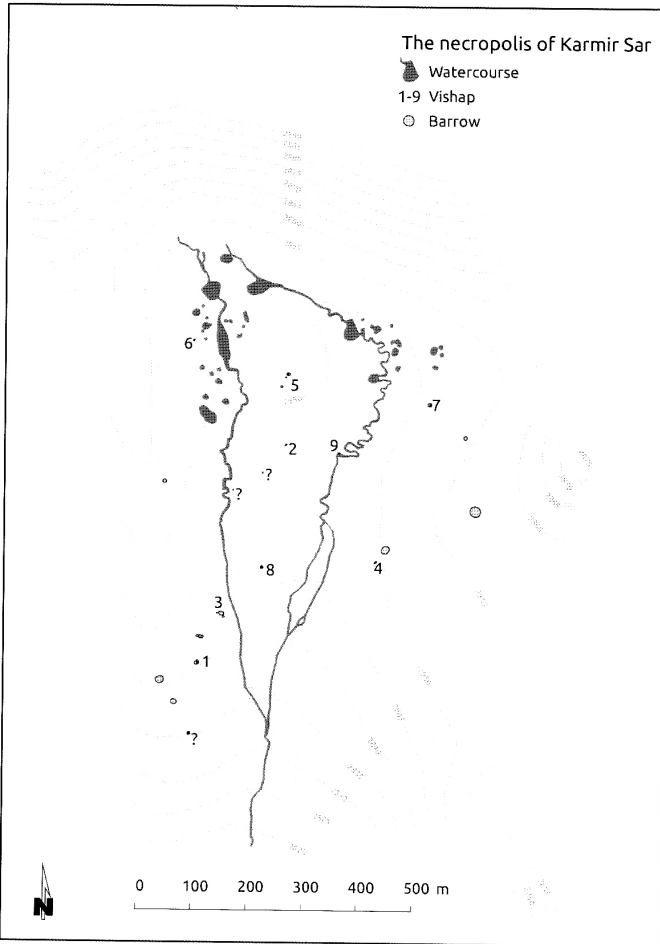


Fig. 17. The necropolis of Karmir Sar. Map: P. Hnila. Topographic data: S. Davtyan.

of Mt. Aragats. The necropolis is located in a vast “hollow meadow” which extends over 40 hectares immediately west of Karmir Sar proper, at a mean altitude of 2850 m above sea level. For those climbing the mountain, the meadow remains hidden behind a false peak until the very last moment. Once there, though, the visitor is met by a stunning panorama, with a rare view of all four summits of Mt. Aragats to the northeast and of Mt. Ararat looming above the clouds to the southwest. When we arrived in June 2012, we felt as if this meadow had been placed at the center of a universe of its own.

The meadow of Karmir Sar is traversed by two slightly meandering rivulets which generations of pastoral groups manipulated and enlarged to create a series of small pools. At the core of the meadow and next to the rivulets and pools, we recorded eight dragon stones in situ or immediately near their original position, plus a carved upper part of a dragon stone out of context. We also identified two, mostly buried, large basalt stones that we believe to be further vishaps. Six dragon stones are visibly associated with a barrow. Confirmation of the same association is also awaited for *Karmir Sar 6* and *Karmir Sar 8* (Fig. 18), whose surrounding context is obscured by alluvial topsoil. A few barrows without dragon stones cluster around the core necropolis. In short, the necropolis of Karmir Sar included a minimum of eight barrows with dragon stones, very likely more. This is the highest concentration of dragon stones registered so far at a single site. Furthermore, the context of at least three dragon stones promises to be exceptionally well preserved. Finally, *Karmir Sar 1* (Fig. 19) is particularly remarkable since it is the only known dragon stone with petroglyphs cut into it. *Karmir Sar 1* still lies within



Fig. 18. The piscis stone *Karmir Sar 6*. Photo: P. Hnila.



Fig. 19. *Karmir Sar 1*. Photo: A. Bobokhyan.

its barrow, but its position indicates that the stone had been repeatedly moved and manipulated (Fig. 20). Its surface was used as a canvas for a layered web of secondary engravings in various techniques (Fig. 21). The best-preserved petroglyph represents a goat with long curved horns. It was pecked near the vishap's head, and its diverging orientation indicates that it was added after the dragon stone was collapsed or laid down. This petroglyph represents a unique chance for the thorny question of dating rock art in the Armenian mountains. On the basis of the depicted subjects, an absolute dating of specific groups of petroglyphs to the Bronze Age or later is possible (as in scenes representing bulls harnessed to a cart).⁶³ Mostly, however, the chronological range of petroglyphs cannot be narrowed down to any period more specific than the 4th-1st millennia BCE range.⁶⁴ Dragon stones entertain complex connections with rock art. In a few cases, both share a common iconography.⁶⁵ Besides, significant groups of petroglyphs are within a short walk of *Ahmadi Oba 1* on Mt. Aragats and *Maghalner 1* in the Geghama Mountains. However, *Karmir Sar 1* is an exceptional case where rock art occurs "stratified" in a datable archaeological context, i.e., directly incised upon a dragon stone. With *Karmir Sar 1*, we found an important dating clue for understanding rock art, dragon stones, and their relationships.

⁶³ Martirosyan and Israelyan 1971; Martirosyan 1973; Martirosyan 1978; Meller, Knoll and Dresely 2011.

⁶⁴ Khechoyan 2007.

⁶⁵ For petroglyphs representing bovine hides or bulls with wavy lines coming out of the mouth, see Martirosyan and Israelyan 1971:176, 236; Martirosyan 1973:37-38, Pl. X; Martirosyan 1978:130-131, 154-157, Pl. XXVIII, XXXIIIa, XXXIII.

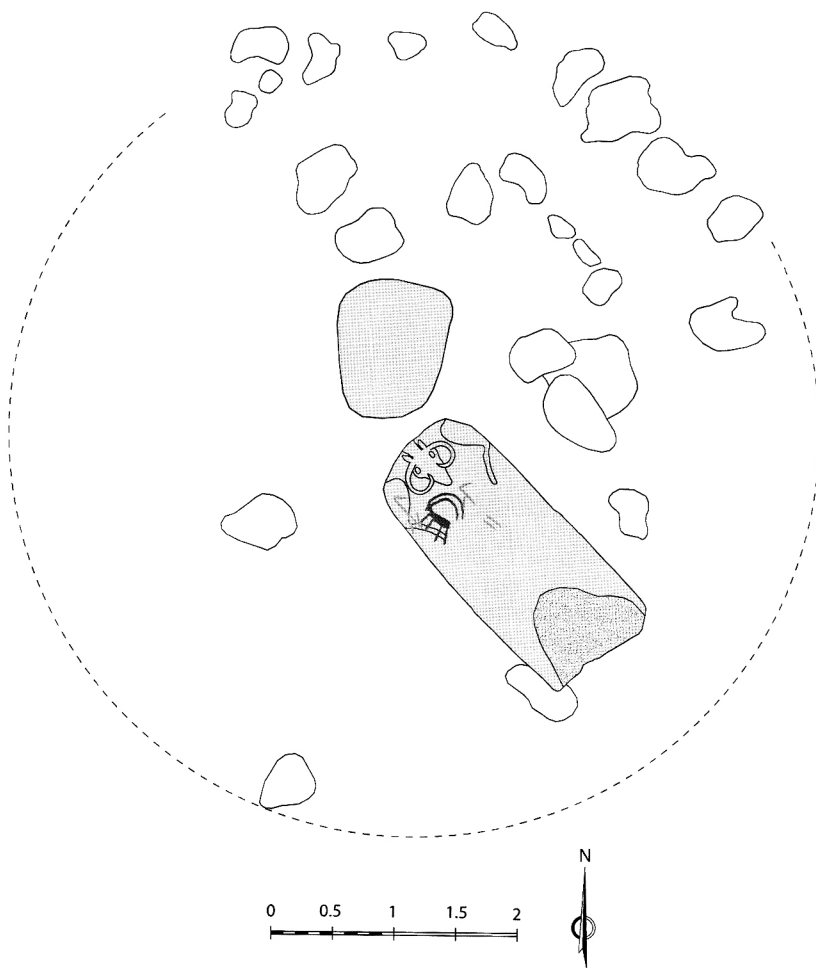


Fig. 20. Field sketch of *Karmir Sar I*'s context. Drawing: A. Gilibert.

Dating the Dragon Stones: A Middle Bronze Age Phenomenon?

Widely different dates have been proposed for the dragon stones, ranging from the Neolithic to the Early Iron Age.⁶⁶ After the discovery of the secondary

⁶⁶ Among Armenian scholars, dragon stones were at first just filed as “prehistoric”: for Atrpet, they are “10–20 centuries earlier than cuneiform inscriptions of Nairi-Urartu” (Atrpet 1926:162). Marr dates vishapakars to an ill-defined, pre-Urartian “japhetid period” (Marr 1931:87; Mikhankova 1931:50). Herzfeld notes that “the very youngest date that may be assigned to them is the old Urartian period, but they may well be older and go back to the 2nd millennium BCE” (Herzfeld 1937:103).

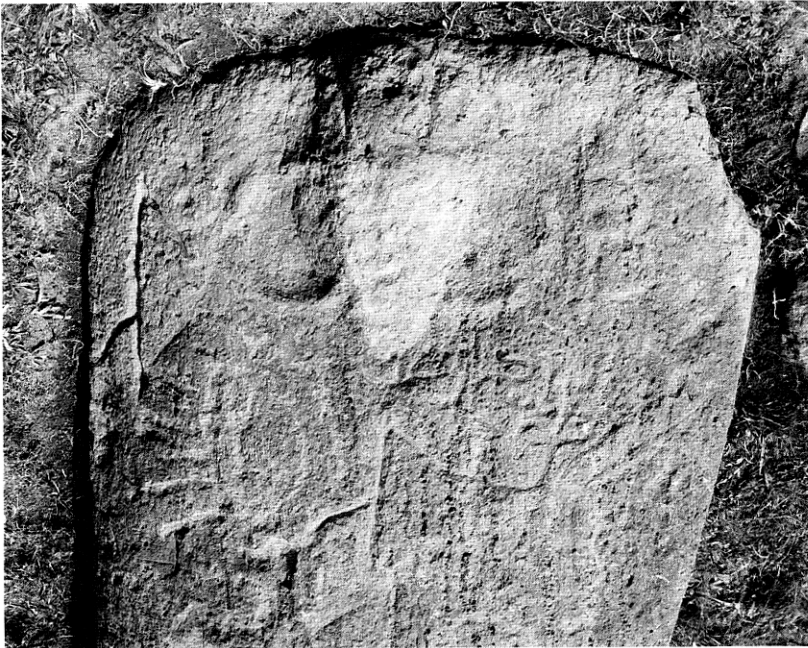


Fig. 21. *Karmir Sar 1*, detail. Photo: P. Hnila.

inscription of the Urartian king Argishti I (786–764 BCE) on *Garni 1*, a date to the second millennium BCE has established itself as most favored guess.⁶⁷ Recently, however, an earlier date has again been taken into consideration,⁶⁸ parallels with the T-shaped pillars of Göbekli Tepe and Nevalı Çori have been drawn, and the placing of dragon stones in the Aceramic Neolithic has been proposed.⁶⁹

So far, dating hypotheses have been basically governed by intuition and none has been argued in detail. At the sites we prospected in June 2012, no surface material was visible, neither on the ground nor within the occasional

Berbérian, Kalantar and Samuelyan believe dragon stones to be a Neolithic or Chalcolithic phenomenon (Berbérian 1927:288; Kalantar 1994:198, 206, 214–215; Samuelyan 1931:161, 197, 283). Piotrovskiy first dates the vishapakars “not earlier than the 1st millennium BCE” (Piotrovskiy 1939:39), but later settles for a Bronze Age date (Piotrovskiy 1949:74, 76). For Kapantsyan, vishapakars date “2000–1500 BCE” (Kapantsyan 1945:128, 152).

⁶⁷ Arakelyan and Harutiunyan 1966:293; Esayan 1980:20; Muradyan 1985:21; Petrosyan 2008:274.

⁶⁸ Khanzadyan has already proposed to date *piscis* stones to the Neolithic/Chalcolithic, *hybrid* to the Early Bronze Age, and *vellus* stones to the Middle and Late Bronze Ages (Khanzadyan 1969: 142; Khanzadyan 2003; 2005: 86–87).

⁶⁹ Belli 2005a; 2005b.

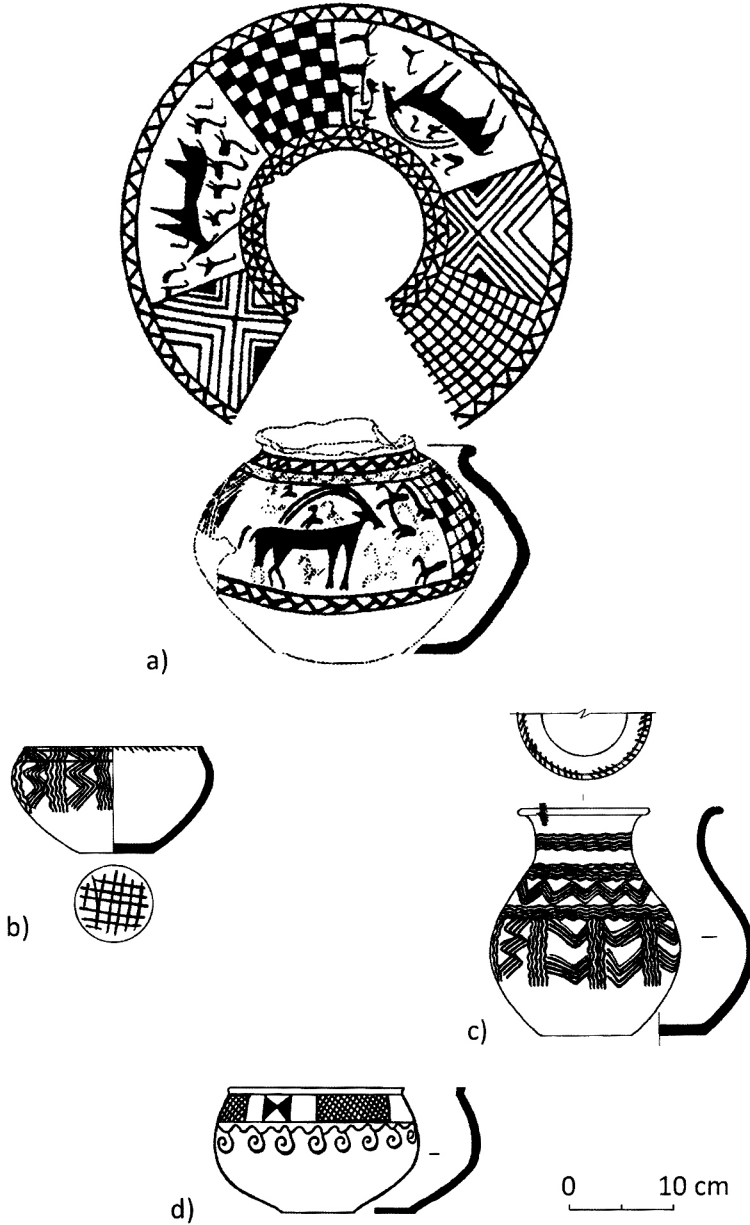


Fig. 22. a) Polychrome painted ware vessel from the Lake Van region, Turkey (Özfiat 2001, Fig. 99:6; b–c) Sevan-Artsakh pottery from Sisian, Armenia (Avetisyan and Bobokhyan 2008, figs. 14.1. and 14.3); d) Karmir Berd, Armenia, Tomb 2. MBA III painted ware bowl (Avetisyan and Bobokhyan 2008, fig. 19.7).

pits dug by modern grave robbers. Evidently, only the controlled excavation of dragon stones in situ may eventually add hard facts to the dating riddle. Meanwhile, we work with a provisional dating to the South Caucasian Middle Bronze Age II–III (c.2200–1600 BCE).⁷⁰ We developed this hypothesis by looking at and combining four independent classes of evidence: iconographic and stylistic parallels on pottery, ritual traditions, and land use.

Iconographic and stylistic parallels on pottery

Imagery and style of the dragon stones' carvings have a number of parallels in the ornamental repertoire of Middle Bronze Age II–III painted pottery (or, less often, contemporary pottery with incised or punctuated decorations) found across the Armenian Highland. On this pottery, images of birds are not uncommon, and are sometimes painted together with caprids (Fig. 22a). Within the same broader ceramic tradition, we also find ornamental details that are close to those on dragon stones, such as garlands of suspended spirals (Fig. 22b), zigzags (Fig. 22c), and wavy lines (Fig. 22d). This kind of pottery is found mostly in graves. Özfirat published examples of this pottery tradition acquired in the last two decades on the antiquity market by museums in Eastern Turkey, arguing strongly that they all come from Middle Bronze Age high-altitude graves of the region around Lake Van. She proposes to speak of “Yayla Cultures”, i.e. “Summer Pasture Cultures.”⁷¹

Ritual traditions

Bovid hides prepared with head and extremities left attached (as in the *vellus* stones) are regularly found in Middle Bronze Age burials.⁷² This depositional practice is already known in central Anatolia and in the South Russian steppe in the third millennium BCE. In Armenia, it spreads throughout the Middle Bronze Age, seems to reach a peak in intensity in the 19th–17th centuries BCE, and fades away at the beginning of the Late Bronze Age.⁷³ Animal hides have been found in large Middle Bronze Age burials at Bedeni, Treli, and Trialeti.⁷⁴ At Vanadzor, in northern Armenia, the pavement of a

⁷⁰ Chronology after Avetisyan 2003, with MBA = c.2400–1500 BCE, MBA I = 2400–2200, MBA II = 2200–1750, MBA III = 1750–1600. See also Smith 2012:671, tab. 35.1.

⁷¹ Özfirat 2001; Özfirat 2005.

⁷² For rituals involving sacrificing bulls, see Stratanovich 1970; Gryaznov 1972; Martirosyan 2003.

⁷³ Abramishvili and Abramishvili 2008. In Karchaghbiur, Armenia a burial mound with traces of a similar ritual deposition dating to the early third millennium BCE was excavated in the 1970s (the data are unpublished; N. Yengibaryan, personal communication, 31.09.2012).

⁷⁴ Kushnareva 1997:92–93, 232.

rich burial chamber was covered with the prepared hides of bulls.⁷⁵ At Lchashen, on the shores of Lake Sevan, bulls, sheep and goats “were buried with the owner of the tomb, but only the hide with the head and hoofs, not the whole carcass.”⁷⁶ At Ketī, on the Shirak plateau, a Middle Bronze Age burial included the skull of a ram decorated with a string of beads.⁷⁷ At Lori Berd and Voskevaz, the remnants of equid and bovid hides (i.e., skulls and long bones in a position consistent with the form of a prepared hide) were found together with painted pottery in graves dating to the Middle Bronze Age II–III.⁷⁸ Furthermore, the practice of draping the prepared hide of a bovid on an *ad hoc*, obelisk-like support and then performing rituals in front of it has interesting parallels in the religious iconography developed in the milieu of the “Old Assyrian colonies” in the first centuries of the second millennium BCE,⁷⁹ when long-distance contacts between the Central Plateau of modern Turkey and the South Caucasus flourished.⁸⁰

Contrary to the relatively well-documented use of animal hides in ritual contexts, not much can be said of fishes. In Armenia, fish bones have been very rarely found in archaeological contexts, to the point that an alimentary taboo has been postulated.⁸¹ From the point of view of the fish as visual and ritual icon, the *piscis* stones stand quite alone in the repertoire of the Caucasus. In fact, the only other pre-Urartian image of a fish known to us appears on the so-called “Karashamb goblet”, a richly ornamented silver vessel found in a late third-millennium elite burial at Karashamb.⁸² The composition is focused around a male figure seated in front of an offering table; on the table, a fish has been placed.⁸³ This iconography indicates that during the Middle Bronze Age the fish was invested with symbolic meaning and that fishes were used in ritualized (funerary?) banquets.

⁷⁵ Piotrovskiy 1949:46.

⁷⁶ Burney and Lang 1971:106. See also Mnatsakanyan 1965 and Kushnareva 1997:124.

⁷⁷ Kushnareva 1997:126. In Georgia, pendants in the shape of a ram’s head have been found in graves dating to the early 2nd millennium BCE (Motzenbäcker 1996:115-116, Pl. 43; Gambaschidze et al. 2001:278-279). This class of artifacts has been dated in the mid-2nd millennium BCE, but an earlier dating already in the first half of the 2nd millennium BCE seems to be possible (Sabine Reinhold, personal communication, 16.11.2012).

⁷⁸ Kushnareva 1997:99, 117. At Lori Berd, Maisian, Tetri Kvebi, Mravaltskali long swords (“rapiers”) for a ritual, *corrida*-like killing of bulls have been found (Gevorgyan and Bobokhyan, forthcoming).

⁷⁹ Particularly significant is a seal impression found at Acemhöyük, near Aksaray, Turkey, bearing the image of a standing stone with two protruding bovine heads and dangling forelegs: Gilibert, forthcoming (a).

⁸⁰ Rubinson 2003; Smith 2012.

⁸¹ Manaseryan 2003.

⁸² Oganessian 1988.

⁸³ Rubinson 2003:133, fig. 6.1-2.

Land use

The third set of evidence pointing to a date in the first half of the second millennium BCE is derived by the landscape distribution of the barrows with dragon stones. First, these barrows are located at high-altitude sites, almost never falling outside of the 2000–3000 m above sea level range. Second, the barrows are located in meadows rich in water, all of which are apt to be used as summer pasturages by pastoralist groups. Third, the barrows are not directly related to agricultural settlements. Finally, dragon stones spread over a remarkably vast region. This situation matches the land use patterns that mark the beginning of the second millennium in the South Caucasus: 1) a very significant decrease both in size and in number of permanent settlements in the lowlands; and 2) the intensive and novel use of mountains and high plateaus as burial grounds.⁸⁴ Both factors have led scholars to infer for this period the development of a subsistence system dominated by groups of mobile pastoralists spending the summer months herding animals in high-altitude pastures: “the population shift to foothill and mountain settings has been viewed as an adaptation that combined a small-scale irrigation agriculture with animal husbandry, especially cattle.”⁸⁵ Ethnographic research shows that migration routes of pastoralist groups in the Tauros and Zagros mountains can easily have a length of 200–250 km, with some tribes following a 600 km-long migration route.⁸⁶ Similar migration routes may be behind the wide regional spread of the dragon stone phenomenon. Finally, the assemblages excavated in early second-millennium graves clearly reflect a differentiated social structure, with some burials, including high-altitude burials,⁸⁷ displaying great wealth. Seen in this frame, the dragon stones and their sacred places may have been a Middle Bronze Age strategy to single out special individuals, thus functioning as archaeological markers of social inequality.

Preliminary Conclusions and Future Perspectives

For too long the Armenian dragon stones have lingered on the fringe of science, where scholars speculated on their context, dating and function. For over a century, dragon stones were believed to mark nodal points of prehistoric irrigation systems. The reconnaissance carried out in June 2012 revises this thesis and indicates that dragon stones are monuments connected with burial mounds at high-altitude sacred sites. We believe that the study of these sacred sites and their surrounding landscape will significantly increase our understanding of what we may term the “domestication of the mountain,” i.e. the socio-economic exploitation of high-altitude resources and the modifications of the mountain landscape that ensued. In particular, we work with the hypothesis

⁸⁴ Edens 1995; Özfırat 2001; Reinhold 2009:99–100; Smith, Badalyan and Avetisyan 2009:27–28, 395; Smith 2012:681–682.

⁸⁵ Edens 1995:55.

⁸⁶ Hammer 2012:38.

⁸⁷ Kushnareva 1997:230.

that these burial mounds belong to the Southern Caucasian Middle Bronze Age II–III (c. 2200–1600 BCE), when high-altitude summer pastures began to be used by pastoralist groups. If this hypothesis is correct, the sacred burial sites with dragon stones may have been symbolic “anchors”⁸⁸ in a complex pastoralist landscape shaped by groups with conflicting territorial claims.⁸⁹ Further, we propose to revisit the “waterwork hypothesis” and explore the possibility of an indirect connection: the same social groups that crafted the dragon stones may have also invested labor in water-harvesting measures, particularly considering that dragon stones are invariably located at sites where melted snow collects. To test our hypotheses and study the social dynamics behind the “domestication of the mountain,” we plan to start an excavation and a landscape survey at the necropolis of Karmir Sar in June 2013, including a collaboration with the Institute for Physical Geography of the Freie Universität (Berlin) to study ancient water management on the south slope of Mt. Aragats. In the following years, we plan to combine and compare the operations on Mt. Aragats with an excavation and survey at Göli-Yurt/Maghalner in the Geghama Mountains.

*Catalogue*⁹⁰

Mt. Aragats

Ahmadi Oba 1 (Fig. 11)

Typ.: vellus; *Mat.*: grey basalt; *Cond.*: weathered ; *M*: 265x106x49; *OrigLoc*: Ahmadi Oba, 2765 m asl; *Feat.*: burial mound(?); *CurLoc*: in situ(?); *Sec.*: recent Armenian Grafiti; *Bibl.*: probably to be identified with the stone described by Kapantsyan 1914:93-95.

Dashtadem 1

Typ.: vellus; *Mat.*: grey basalt, with spots of white and red lichens; *Cond.*: weathered; *M*: 295x124x43; *OrigLoc*: indicated by local informants as Aynalu-Yurt, Zarenja Yayla, or Lusaghbiur, not visited; *Feat.*: unknown; *CurLoc*: cemetery of Dashtadem village; *Sec.*: re-used upside down (in the early 1990s?) as a funerary memorial and ritual focus for offerings on an already existing tomb; *Bibl.*: *Heritage List*, Aragatsotn: Dashtadem 35.10.3.17

⁸⁸ The concept of “landscape anchors” in pastoral nomadism is amply discussed in Hammer 2012. In a similar way, Frachetti speaks of “burials and monuments as anchors for ritual landscapes” (Frachetti 2008:161).

⁸⁹ On burial grounds as sources to understand Bronze Age pastoral nomadism, see Frachetti 2008: “Cemeteries acted as nodes in a ritually designated and socially defined territory [...] Burial grounds offered contexts for social and political interaction as well as the performance of religious rites. [...] The creation of ritual spaces serves as a proxy for the negotiation of social and political relationships” (Frachetti 2008:163–164).

⁹⁰ This catalogue lists the dragon stones seen and recorded by the Armenian–German team in June 2012. The dragon stones are listed first according to their regional provenience, then alphabetically. Abbreviations: *Typ.* = Typology; *Mat.* = Material; *Cond.* = Conditions; *M* = Measures (max HxWxL cm); *OrLoc* = Original location, with altitude; *Feat.* = Associated features; *CurLoc* = Current location; *Sec.* = Secondary use(s); *Bibl.* = Bibliography.

Davtashen 1

Typ.: vellus; *Mat.*: light grey basalt; *Cond.*: weathered; *M.*: 340x128x70; *OrigLoc*: indicated by local informants as Aynalu-Yurt/Zarenja Yayla/Lusaghbiur; *Feat.*: unknown; *Sec.*: Graffiti in Russian language, presumably incised by Soviet soldiers stationed in the local mountains. The stone was taken down from the village's summer pastures in October 1991 by a group of local war veterans and erected upside down in the public gardens at the entrance of the village to honor their friend Atabek Vardanyan, killed in combat during the Karabagh War; *CurLoc*: village of Davtashen, public garden; *Bibl.*: *Heritage List*, Aragatsotn: Davtashen 36.4

Hayseri Oba 1

Typ.: vellus; *Mat.*: grey basalt; *Cond.*: weathered, original lower part broken away; *M.*: c.298x57x64; *OrigLoc*: Hayseri Oba, 2299 m asl; *Feat.*: burial mound; *CurLoc*: in loco – on a hill near the meadow with burial mounds where the stele was originally found. Two smaller fragments of the same monument are still visible at the meadow, near a barrow disturbed by modern illegal excavations.; *Sec.*: What was originally the lower part is covered with secondary cup marks; re-erected upside down near local encampment (according to a local informant, this happened 2009); *Bibl.*: Kapantsyan 1914:96–95; Kalantar 1925:24; Berbérian 1927:282, map on page 296 (“Tikmatache”); Toramanyan 1948:229

Karmir Sar 1 (Figs. 19-21)

Typ.: vellus; *Mat.*: light grey basalt; *Cond.*: broken in two, otherwise in good condition; *M.*: c.300x90x30; *OrigLoc*: Karmir Sar, 2840 m asl; *Feat.*: burial mound; *CurLoc*: in situ; *Sec.*: cup marks; rock art; *Bibl.*: first recorded in 2012

Karmir Sar 2

Typ.: vellus(?); *Mat.*: light grey basalt; *Cond.*: good; *M.*: 300x93 (L not measurable since still covered with earth); *OrigLoc*: Karmir Sar, 2849 m asl; *Feat.*: burial mound; *CurLoc*: in situ; *Sec.*: cup marks; *Bibl.*: first recorded in 2012

Karmir Sar 3

Typ.: vellus(?); *Mat.*: light grey basalt with white lichens, *Cond.*: fragment; a further, uncarved fragment of the same stone was found c.11 m to the west, *M.*: 85x56x25 (fragment: 90x45x25); *OrigLoc*: Karmir Sar, 2843 m asl; *Feat.*: burial mound; *CurLoc*: in situ; *Sec.*: The main face of the fragment has been carved with a cross. Four rust-brown pumice stones also carved with rough crosses are gathered around it, as if to mark a special spot.; *Bibl.*: first recorded in 2012

Karmir Sar 4

Typ.: vellus; *Mat.*: light grey, porous basalt with spots of white lichens; *Cond.*: broken in two, weathered; *M.*: 435x112x40; *OrigLoc*: Karmir Sar, 2849 m asl; *Feat.*: burial mound; *CurLoc*: in loco: original context c.20 m away, disturbed (according to a local informant, by shovel-excavator in the 1970s); *Sec.*: -; *Bibl.*: first recorded in 2012

Karmir Sar 5

Typ.: piscis; *Mat.*: red-brown basalt with spots of white lichens; *Cond.*: incomplete, two fragments preserved, weathered; *M.*: 148x73 (L not measurable); measures of bigger fragment: 100x75x35; *OrigLoc*: Karmir Sar, 2851 m asl; *Feat.*: burial mound; *CurLoc*: in situ; *Sec.*: cup marks; *Bibl.*: first recorded in 2012

Karmir Sar 6 (Fig. 18)

Typ.: piscis; *Mat.*: light grey basalt; *Cond.*: good; *M.*: c.255x70 (L not measurable – still covered with earth); *OrigLoc*: Karmir Sar, c.2852 m asl; *Feat.*: none visible; *CurLoc*: in situ; *Sec.*: -; *Bibl.*: first recorded in 2012

Karmir Sar 7

Typ.: unclear; *Mat.*: grey basalt; *Cond.*: fragment of a lower part of a vishap; *M.*: 165x95x35; *OrigLoc*: Karmir Sar, 2851 m asl; *Feat.*: burial mound(?); *CurLoc*: in situ; *Sec.*: a large hole has been carved into a fragment of the original stone; *Bibl.*: first recorded in 2012

Karmir Sar 8

Typ.: vellus(?); *Mat.*: grey basalt with spots of white lichens; *Cond.*: good; *M.*: c.330x80 (L not measurable – still covered with earth); *OrigLoc*: Karmir Sar, 2846 m asl; *Feat.*: burial mound(?); *CurLoc*: in situ; *Sec.*: -; *Bibl.*: first recorded in 2012

Karmir Sar 9

Typ.: vellus; *Mat.*: grey basalt; *Cond.*: fragmentary and weathered top part; *M.*: 95x80x25; *OrigLoc*: Karmir Sar, 2848 m asl; *Feat.*: unknown; *CurLoc*: in loco, original context not yet identified; *Sec.*: -; *Bibl.*: first recorded in 2012

Prospect 1 (Fig. 3)

Typ.: vellus; *Mat.*: dark grey, fine grained basalt; *Cond.*: good; *M.*: 506x95x65; *OrigLoc*: along Prospect road, c.2770 m asl; *Feat.*: burial mound; *CurLoc*: Yerevan, Margaryan st. 1; *Sec.*: relocated at the entrance of the Physics Institute of the Yerevan State University. According to local informants, the relocation took place in the years 1966–1969; *Bibl.*: Piotrovskiy 1939: 13–14, fig. 9, Pl. 12 – under the name “Karakap, Dzhangir-aga”; Kalantar 1925 (1994): fig. 23 (above); Heritage List, Yerevan: Ajapnyak 1.1.9

Prospect 2

Typ.: vellus; *Mat.*: dark grey basalt; *Cond.*: weathered; *M.*: 264x116x44; *OrigLoc*: along Prospect road, c.2770 m asl; *Feat.*: unknown, presumably burial mound; *CurLoc*: Cosmic Ray Division of the Artem Alikhanyan National Laboratory, Nor Amberd Station; *Sec.*: transported to Nor Amberd by Physics professor Marikian Gerasim in 1969 and set in concrete upside down at a picnic spot next to a spring in the garden of the Alikhanyan Physics Institute; *Bibl.*: Piotrovskiy 1939: 14, third vishap described

Prospect 3

Typ.: vellus; *Mat.*: grey basalt; *Cond.*: weathered; *M.*: c. 340x110x70; *OrigLoc*: along Prospect road, c. 2770 m asl; *Feat.*: unknown, presumably burial mound; *CurLoc*: Cosmic Ray Division of the Artem Alikhanyan National Laboratory (formerly the Yerevan Physics Institute), Aragats Station; *Sec.*: set in concrete upside down at the entrance of the CRD Aragats Station (according to local informants around 1966); *Bibl.*: probably to be identified with the vishap described in Toramanyan 1948:229-230 and Piotrovskiy 1939:14 (second vishap)

Prospect 4

Typ.: vellus; *Mat.*: dark grey, fine grained basalt; *Cond.*: weathered; *M.*: c.350x85x48; *OrigLoc*: along Prospect road, c.2770 m asl (map location approx. ±500m); *Feat.*: unknown, presumably burial mound; *CurLoc*: Byurakan, fruit orchard of Mr. Marat Havakyan; *Sec.*: transported away from its original location and set in concrete upon a high pedestal at a private scenic viewpoint by a party of fifteen friends in 1979; *Bibl.*: Heritage List, Aragatsotn: Byurakan 28.24

Prospect 5 (Fig. 3)

Typ.: vellus; *Mat.*: grey basalt; *Cond.*: weathered; *M.*: 231x73; diameter 223 cm; *OrigLoc.*: along Prospect road, c.2770 m asl (map location approx. ±500 m); *Feat.*: unknown, presumably burial mound; *CurLoc.*: near the village of Voskevaz; *Sec.*: removed from Prospect in the late 1980s by a party of young people and, following the pattern initiated by Prospect 4, relocated on a high concrete pedestal at a scenic viewpoint near the ruins of Badali Zham; *Bibl.*: Heritage List, Aragatsoṭn: Vozkevaz 87.26

Verin Sasnashen 1

Typ.: piscis; *Mat.*: rust-brown basalt; *Cond.*: good; *M.*: 130x40x33; *OrigLoc.*: according to local informers Aghbyurner Handamas, c.2018 m asl; *Feat.*: unknown; *CurLoc.*: village of Verin Sasnashen; *Sec.*: relocated from summer pastures to the municipality's garden; *Bibl.*: Heritage List, Aragatsoṭn: Verin Sasnashen 104.5

Vosketas 1

Typ.: hybrida(?); *Mat.*: dark grey basalt; *Cond.*: weathered; *M.*: 282x76x70; *OrigLoc.*: c.1 km NW of Vosketas, 2072 m asl; *Feat.*: unknown; *CurLoc.*: in loco; *Sec.*: found in the 1990s during agricultural works, then re-erected on a hill near the find-spot; traces of contemporary ritual use; when visited, thin wax crosses were plastered on the stone at eye level; *Bibl.*: Heritage List, Aragatsoṭn: Vosketas 85.3

Geghama Mountains

Arshaluis 1

Typ.: vellus; *Mat.*: dark grey basalt; *Cond.*: good; *M.*: 220x72x33; *OrigLoc.*: Arshaluis pastures, 2639 m asl; *Feat.*: burial mound, apparently looted in antiquity; *CurLoc.*: in situ; *Sec.*: -; *Bibl.*: first recorded in 2012

Arshaluis 2

Typ.: vellus(?); *Mat.*: grey basalt; *Cond.*: unknown; *M.*: impossible to record (most of the stone still beneath ground surface); *OrigLoc.*: Arshaluis pastures, 2645 m asl; *Feat.*: burial mound; *CurLoc.*: in situ; *Sec.*: -; *Bibl.*: first recorded in 2012

Arshaluis 3 (Fig. 2)

Typ.: piscis; *Mat.*: light brown basalt; *Cond.*: good; *M.*: 140x35x35; *OrigLoc.*: Arshaluis pastures, 2714 m asl; *Feat.*: -; *CurLoc.*: in loco, context disturbed; *Sec.*: -; *Bibl.*: first recorded in 2012

Azhdaha-Yurt 1

Typ.: piscis; *Mat.*: basalt, light grey and porous, with lichens; *Cond.*: weathered; *M.*: 510x73x35; *Feat.*: burial mound; *OrigLoc.*: Azhdaha-Yurt, 2505 m asl; *CurLoc.*: in situ; *Sec.*: Medieval graffiti and inscription on the belly of the fish; *Bibl.*: Barseghyan 1968:290, Pl. LXXVII, no. 3; Marr and Smirnov 1931, Pls 2 and 7; Smirnov 1931:63; Marr 1931:89

Azhdaha-Yurt 2 (Fig. 5)

Typ.: hybrida; *Mat.*: basalt, dark grey; *Cond.*: slightly weathered; *M.*: 340x55x75; *OrigLoc.*: Azhdaha-Yurt, 2508 m asl; *Feat.*: burial mound; *CurLoc.*: Yerevan, Oghakadsev Zbosaygi (Poplavok Gardens); *Sec.*: Transported to Yerevan in the late 1960s and relocated as a monument in the city center; *Bibl.*: Barseghyan 1968:290–291, Pl. XXVII, no. 4; Marr and Smirnov 1931, Pls 3–4; Marr 1931:89; Ohanian 2012: 542

Azhdaha-Yurt 3 (Fig. 14)

Typ.: vellus; *Mat.*: basalt, light grey and porous, with white lichens; *Cond.*: slightly weathered; *M.*: 250x170x47; *OrigLoc*: Azhdaha-Yurt, 2510 m asl; *Feat.*: burial mound; *CurLoc*: in situ; *Sec.*: -; *Bibl.*: Barseghyan 1968:290, Pl. LXXVIII, no. 5; Marr and Smirnov 1931, Pl. 5b; Smirnov 1931: 65 (with sketch)

Azhdaha-Yurt 4

Typ.: piscis; *Mat.*: vesicular basalt, light grey, with spots of white lichens; *Cond.*: slightly weathered; *M.*: 260x80x45; *OrigLoc*: Azhdaha-Yurt, 2505 m asl; *Feat.*: burial mound; *CurLoc*: in situ; *Sec.*: -; *Bibl.*: Barseghyan 1968:290, Pl. LXXVII, no. 2; Marr and Smirnov 1931, Pl. 6; Marr 1931:90

Azhdaha-Yurt 5 (Fig. 8)

Typ.: hybrida; *Mat.*: grey basalt; *Cond.*: slightly weathered; *M.*: 360x60x90; *OrigLoc*: Azhdaha-Yurt, 2494 m asl; *Feat.*: burial mound; *CurLoc*: Sardarapat Museum; *Sec.*: Transported to Sardarapat Museum in the late 1960s and re-erected on the terrace in front of the museum's main entrance; *Bibl.*: Barseghyan 1968:290, Pl. LXXVII, no. 1; Marr and Smirnov 1931, Pls 8–9; Marr 1931:90; Piotrovskiy 1939, Pl. V (photo probably from Smirnov's archive); Smirnov 1931:63–64

Azhdaha-Yurt 6 (Fig. 9)

Typ.: vellus; *Mat.*: grey basalt, porous; *Cond.*: weathered; *M.*: 330x100x25; *OrigLoc*: Zvartnots-Yurt, 2472 m asl (1 km SE of Azhdaha-Yurt); *Feat.*: burial mound; *CurLoc*: in situ; *Sec.*: two cup marks carved on the flat polished surface of the stone's main face; *Bibl.*: Marr and Smirnov 1931, Pl. 5a; Smirnov 1931:65

Diktash 1 (Figs. 12-13)

Typ.: vellus; *Mat.*: dark grey basalt; *Cond.*: good; *M.*: 287x80x27; *OrigLoc*: Diktash, 2936 m asl; *Feat.*: burial mound, recently looted; *CurLoc*: in situ; *Sec.*: carved cross on back face; traces of contemporary ritual libations; *Bibl.*: first recorded in 2012

Diktash 2

Typ.: piscis; *Mat.*: light grey, fine grained basalt; *Cond.*: broken and slightly weathered; *M.*: 358x33x59; *OrigLoc*: between Diktash and Derbent, 2990 m asl; *Feat.*: burial mound, recently looted; *CurLoc*: in loco, original context disturbed; *Sec.*: line of cup marks carved on the back of the fish; *Bibl.*: first recorded in 2012

Diktash 3

Typ.: piscis; *Mat.*: grey, fine grained basalt; *Cond.*: weathered; *M.*: 132x48x15; *OrigLoc*: above Diktash, 3174 m asl; *Feat.*: burial mound; *CurLoc*: in situ; *Sec.*: -; *Bibl.*: first recorded in 2012

Garni 1

Typ.: vellus; *Mat.*: dark grey basalt; *Cond.*: upper half of a dragon stone; weathered; *M.*: 153x79x42; *OrigLoc*: Garni, 1390 m asl; *Feat.*: s. secondary uses; *CurLoc*: Garni Temple Archaeological Site; *Sec.*: The stone was inscribed with a royal text by the Urartian king Arghishti I (first half of the 8th century BCE) and was re-employed in the foundations of a 3rd century AD palatial complex; *Bibl.*: Arakelyan and Arutyunyan 1966; Khanzadyan 1969: 136–138; Salvini 2008: 351; Heritage List, Kotayk: Garni 6.21.4.10

Goght 1

Typ.: vellus; *Mat.*: brown-yellow, fine grained basalt; *Cond.*: slightly weathered; *M.*:

280x101x41; *OrigLoc*: unknown; *Feat.*: unknown; *CurLoc*: Yerevan, outside the Institute of Architecture. Moved there from the village of Goght, near Garni, where it was re-employed in the local cemetery.; *Sec.*: numerous regular incisions (“channels”) and three cup marks; *Bibl.*: probably Heritage List: Kotayk: Goght 6.26.23

Göli-Yurt 1

Typ.: piscis; *Mat.*: light grey, fine grained basalt; *Cond.*: broken, yet in good conditions; *M*: 319x52x67; *OrigLoc*: Göli-Yurt, 2968 m asl; *Feat.*: burial mound, disturbed by improvised football playground; *CurLoc*: in situ; *Sec.*: -; *Bibl.*: Barseghyan 1968:292, Pl. LXXIX, no. 14; Marr and Smirnov 1931, Pl. 16; Piotrovskiy 1939, Pl. VI

Göli-Yurt 2

Typ.: hybrida(?); *Mat.*: grey, fine grained basalt; *Cond.*: fragmentary and weathered; *M*: 243x59x51; *OrigLoc*: Göli-Yurt, 2964 m asl; *Feat.*: burial mound; *CurLoc*: in situ; *Sec.*: Apparently re-erected on the spot in modern times by transhumant pastoralists camping nearby, and then fallen over once again; *Bibl.*: Barseghyan 1968, Pl. LXXIX, no. 15; Marr 1931:90–91; Marr and Smirnov 1931, Pl. 17

Göli-Yurt 3

Typ.: piscis(?); *Mat.*: grey basalt; *Cond.*: weathered; *M*: half buried; measurable height 145 cm; width 44 cm; length 23 cm; *OrigLoc*: Göli-Yurt, 2963 m asl; *Feat.*: burial mound; *CurLoc*: in situ; *Sec.*: -; *Bibl.*: Marr 1931:90–91

Imirzek 1 (Fig. 7)

Typ.: vellus; *Mat.*: light brown basalt; *Cond.*: good; *M*: 500x90x64; *OrigLoc*: Imirzek plateau, 2100 m asl; *Feat.*: none visible; *CurLoc*: in situ; *Sec.*: -; *Bibl.*: Barseghyan 1968, Pl. XXX, no. 17; Marr 1931:94–95; Marr and Smirnov 1931, Pl. 18; Mikhankova 1931

Imirzek 2 (Fig. 1, 6)

Typ.: hybrida; *Mat.*: rust-brown basalt; *Cond.*: good; *M*: 400x70x40; *OrigLoc*: pastures above Imirzek plateau (aka Dava Gözi), 2256 m asl; *Feat.*: burial mound; *CurLoc*: in situ; *Sec.*: -; *Bibl.*: Barseghyan 1968, Pl. LXXIX, no. 16; Marr 1931:94; Marr and Smirnov 1931, Pls 19–20

Imirzek 3

Typ.: hybrida(?); *Mat.*: dark grey basalt; *Cond.*: heavily weathered; *M*: Length 390 cm; *OrigLoc*: pastures above Imirzek plateau (aka Dava Gözi), 2258 m asl; *Feat.*: burial mound; *CurLoc*: in situ, partly under water; *Sec.*: -; *Bibl.*: Barseghyan 1968, Pl. LXXX, no. 18; Marr 1931:93 (“vishap monstrueux”), 95 (drawing); Marr and Smirnov 1931, Pls. 21–22

Imirzek 4

Typ.: piscis; *Mat.*: dark grey basalt; *Cond.*: good; *M*: 410x75x65; *OrigLoc*: pastures above Imirzek plateau (aka Dava Gözi), 2292 m asl; *Feat.*: burial mound; *CurLoc*: in situ (*pace* Bauer-Mannhoff 1984:63); *Sec.*: -; *Bibl.*: Barseghyan 1968:293, Pl. LXXX, no. 20; Marr 1931:94–95; Marr and Smirnov 1931, Pl. 23; Mikhankova 1931: 49 (unclear: it could also be *Imirzek 5*)

Imirzek 5 (Fig. 2)

Typ.: piscis; *Mat.*: dark grey basalt; *Cond.*: good; *M*: 520x120x75; *OrigLoc*: pastures above Imirzek plateau (aka Dava Gözi), 2338 m asl; *Feat.*: burial mound; *CurLoc*: in situ; *Sec.*: -; *Bibl.*: Barseghyan 1968, Pl. XXX, no. 19; Marr 1931:94–95; Marr and Smirnov 1931, Pl. 24

Maghalner 1

Typ.: piscis; *Mat.*: grey, fine grained basalt; *Cond.*: good; *M*: 270x68 (Length not measurable); *OrigLoc*: Göli-Yurt/Maghalner, 3013 m asl; *Feat.*: burial mound, petroglyphs nearby; *CurLoc*: in situ; *Sec.*: -; *Bibl.*: first recorded in 2012

Tokhmaghan-Göl 1

Typ.: vellus; *Mat.*: rust-red basalt; *Cond.*: weathered; *M*: 400x150x65; *OrigLoc*: Tokhmaghan-Göl, c.2700 m asl; *Feat.*: unknown; *CurLoc*: next to Lake Vishap; *Sec.*: Retrieved from its in situ position in the early 1970s, when Lake Vishap was enlarged, and re-erected on an adjacent hill. Now regularly visited by organized tourist groups.; *Bibl.*: Barseghyan 1968: 292, Pl. LXXVIII, no. 9 [incorrectly labeled no. 8]; Marr and Smirnov 1931, Pls 11(?)–12, 14a; Marr 1931:91–92; Heritage List, Kotayk: Geghard 9.1

Tokhmaghan-Göl 2 (Fig. 4)

Typ.: vellus; *Mat.*: dark grey, fine grained basalt; *Cond.*: good; *M*: 370x85x70; *OrigLoc*: Tokhmaghan-Göl, c.2700 m asl; *Feat.*: lost; *CurLoc*: Yerevan, “Massiv II” Neighborhood Park at Gay Prospect; *Sec.*: Retrieved from its in situ position presumably in the early 1970s, when Lake Vishap was enlarged, and relocated as a standing monument in a neighborhood park with an archaeological theme.; *Bibl.*: Barseghyan 1968:291–292, Pl. LXXVIII, no. 8; Marr and Smirnov 1931, Pls 13–14b; Marr 1931:90–91; Heritage List, Yerevan: Nor Nork 1.8.18

Tokhmaghan-Göl 3

Typ.: hybrida; *Mat.*: dark grey, fine grained basalt; *Cond.*: slightly weathered; *M*: 200x48x34; *OrigLoc*: Tokhmaghan-Göl, c.2700 m asl; *Feat.*: lost; *CurLoc*: Yerevan, Matenadaran Museum; *Sec.*: Retrieved from its in situ position presumably in the early 1970s, when Lake Vishap was enlarged, and relocated as a standing monument in the front courtyard of the Matenadaran Museum.; *Bibl.*: Barseghyan 1968:292; Marr and Smirnov 1931, Pl. 15a; Heritage List, Yerevan: Zentrum 1.6.81.10.7

Tokhmaghan-Göl 4 (Fig. 3)

Typ.: vellus; *Mat.*: brownish-yellow, fine grained basalt; *Cond.*: good; *M*: 205x76x24; *OrigLoc*: Tokhmaghan-Göl, c.2700 m asl; *Feat.*: lost; *CurLoc*: Lake Vishap; *Sec.*: Retrieved from its in situ position presumably in the early 1970s, when Lake Vishap was enlarged, and re-erected on an adjacent hill. Now regularly visited by organized tourist groups.; *Bibl.*: Barseghyan 1968:291, Pl. LXXVIII, no. 6; Piotrovskiy 1939, Pl. XI; Heritage List, Kotayk: Geghard 9.2

Tokhmaghan-Göl 5 (Fig. 2)

Typ.: piscis; *Mat.*: dark grey, fine grained basalt; *Cond.*: good; *M*: 343x43x83; *OrigLoc*: Tokhmaghan-Göl, c.2700 m asl; *Feat.*: lost; *CurLoc*: Yerevan, “2nd Massiv” Neighborhood Park at Gay Prospect; *Sec.*: Retrieved from its in situ position presumably in the early 1970s, when Lake Vishap was enlarged, and relocated as horizontal monument in a neighborhood park with an archaeological theme; *Bibl.*: Barseghyan 1968:291, Pl. LXXVIII, no. 7; Kalantar 1925 (1994): 23 (below, photo taken in the 1970s); Heritage List, Yerevan: Nor Nork 1.8.17

Lake Sevan

Lchashen 1

Typ.: vellus; *Mat.:* dark grey basalt; *Cond.:* good; *M:* max. height 370 cm; max. diam. lower half 47 cm; max. diam. upper half 72 cm; *OrigLoc:* Lchashen, c.1900 m asl; *Feat.:* burial mound; *CurLoc:* Metsamor Archaeological Site; *Sec.:* The stone was found re-employed in a MBA III burial mound. It was removed from in situ position by archaeologist E. Khanzadyan and relocated within the Metsamor site compound right outside the entrance to the Metsamor Archaeological Museum in 1980; *Bibl.:* Khanzadyan 2005; Heritage List, Armavir: Taronik 3.93.3.1.5.1

Sarukhan 1

Typ.: vellus; *Mat.:* grey-brown basalt; *Cond.:* broken in two, only upper half recovered; lichens; otherwise good; *M:* 127x72x46; *OrigLoc:* a field outside the village of Sarukhan, 2012 m asl; *Feat.:* unknown; *CurLoc:* in situ?; *Sec.:* Found in the late 1990s during ploughing (in situ?); *Bibl.:* unpublished; first recorded by Dr. Simon Hmayakyan

Pambak Mountains (Mt. Ara region)

Buzhakan 1

Typ.: vellus; *Mat.:* grey-brown basalt; *Cond.:* weathered; *M:* 127x72x46; *OrigLoc:* in a field near the village of Buzhakan, 1820 m asl; *Feat.:* unknown; *CurLoc:* in loco, shoved mechanically at the field's edge; *Sec.:* -; *Bibl.:* unpublished; first recorded by Dr. Gagik Sargsyan

Vardenis Mountains

Attash 1

Typ.: vellus; *Mat.:* grey basalt; *Cond.:* weathered; *M:* 175x60 (max HxW); *OrigLoc:* found by a tractor driver in 1982 covered with earth in a marshy field near the village of Attash, at 2285 m asl; *Feat.:* unknown; *CurLoc:* in loco; *Sec.:* -; *Bibl.:* Biscione et al. 2002:197, 378; Xnkikyan 1997; Xnkikyan 2002:114, Pl. 97.2; Heritage List, Geghardkunik: Madina 4.62.11

Selim Pass 1

Typ.: vellus; *Mat.:* grey basalt; *Cond.:* weathered; *M:* 270x110 (max HxW); *OrigLoc:* at the Selim Pass, exact findspot and altitude unknown; *Feat.:* unknown; *CurLoc:* Momik Public Gardens, Eghegnadzor; *Sec.:* re-erected as monument in the central city park; *Bibl.:* Xnkikyan 2002: 114, Pl. 97.1; Heritage List, Vayots Dzor: Eghegnadzor 9.1.14

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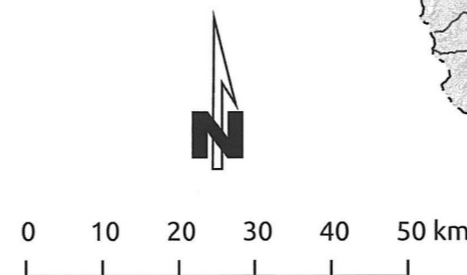
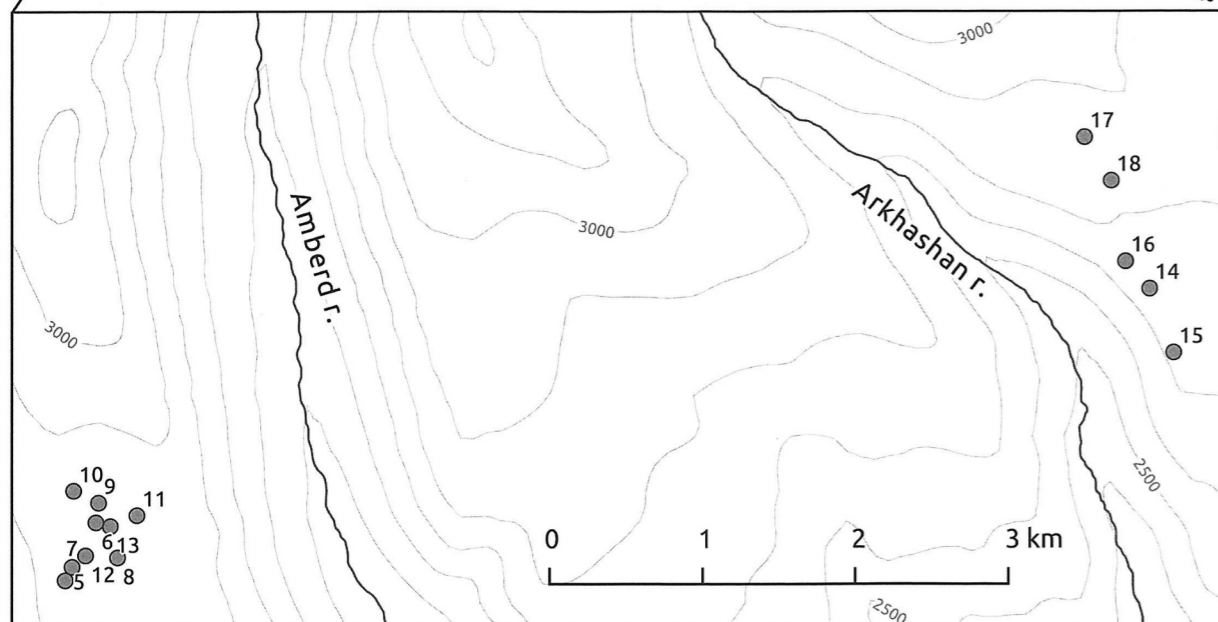
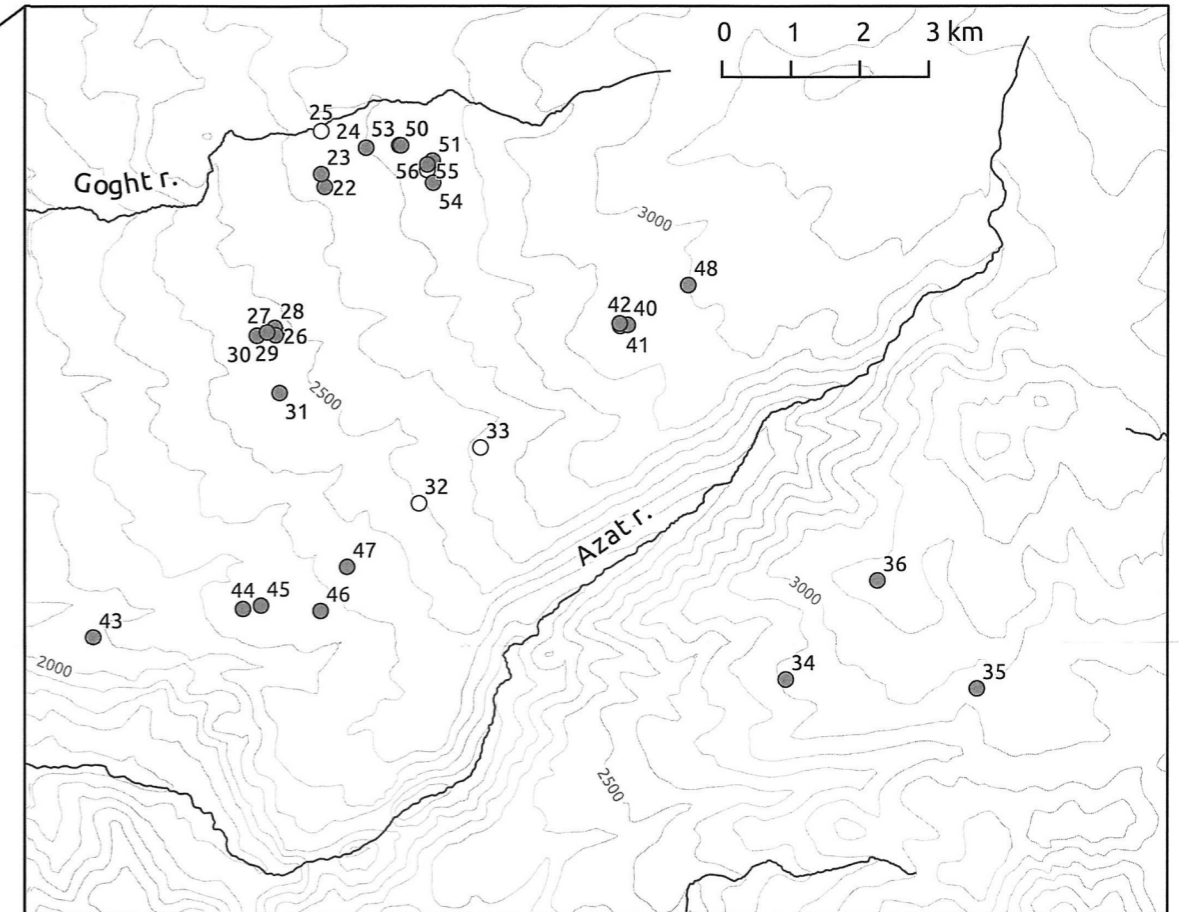
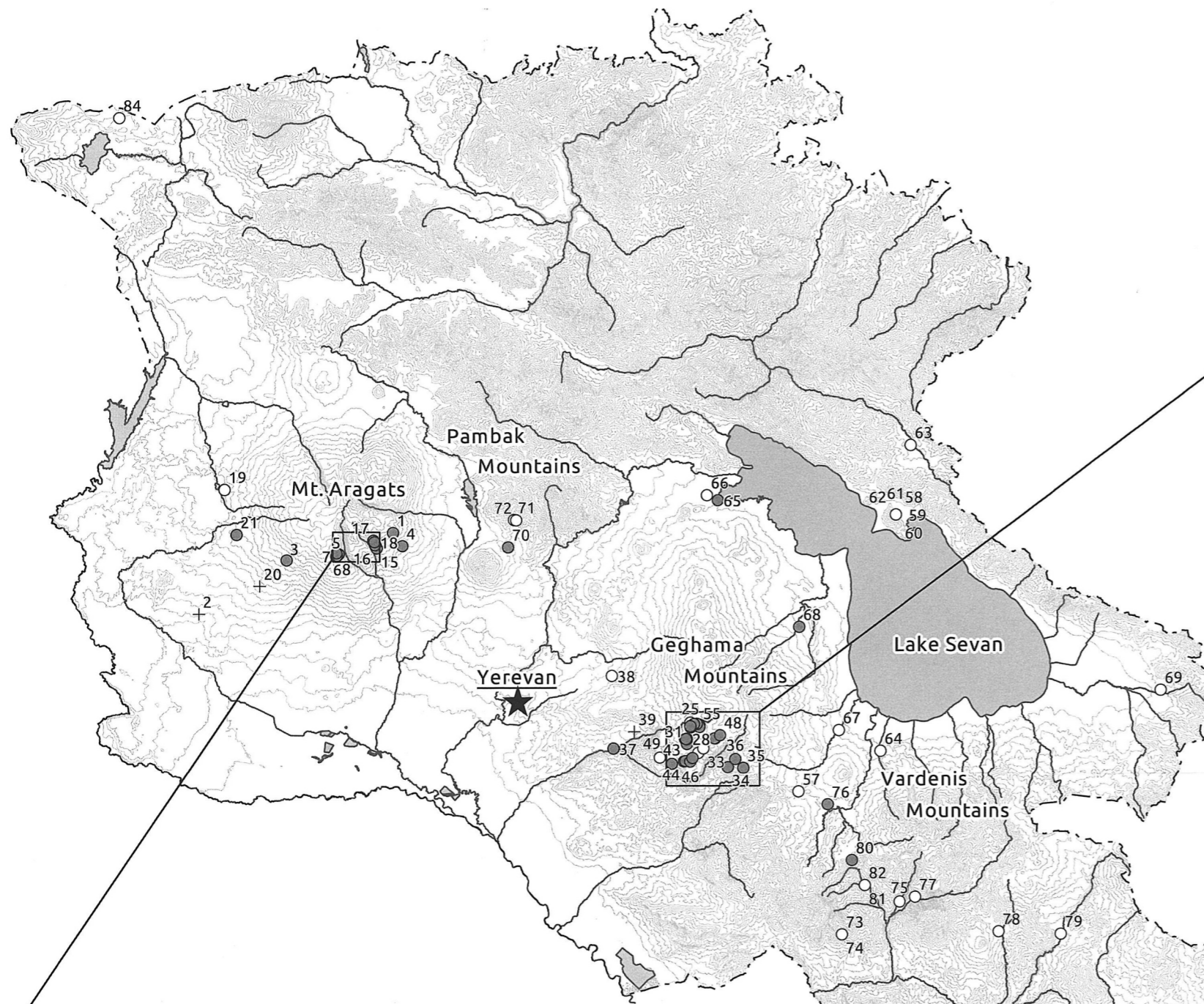
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Dragon Stones in the Republic of Armenia

- Original findspot localized
- + Displaced, findspot unknown
- Reported, not visited

Map: P. Hnila; Catalogue: A. Bobokhyan, A. Gilibert, P. Hnila
 Topographic data: Acopian center for the Environment
 Projection: WGS 84, UTM Zone 38N



Mount Aragats

- 1 Ahmadi-Oba 1
- 2 Dashtadem 1
- 3 Davtashen 1
- 4 Hayseri-Oba 1
- 5 Karmir Sar 1
- 6 Karmir Sar 2
- 7 Karmir Sar 3
- 8 Karmir Sar 4
- 9 Karmir Sar 5
- 10 Karmir Sar 6
- 11 Karmir Sar 7
- 12 Karmir Sar 8
- 13 Karmir Sar 9
- 14 Prospect 1
- 15 Prospect 2
- 16 Prospect 3
- 17 Prospect 4
- 18 Prospect 5
- 19 Sarnaghbyur 1
- 20 Verin Sasnashen 1
- 21 Vosketas 1

Geghama Mountains

- 22 Arshaluis 1
- 23 Arshaluis 2
- 24 Arshaluis 3
- 25 Arshaluis 4
- 26 Azhdaha-Yurt 1
- 27 Azhdaha-Yurt 2
- 28 Azhdaha-Yurt 3
- 29 Azhdaha-Yurt 4
- 30 Azhdaha-Yurt 5
- 31 Azhdaha-Yurt 6

- 32 Davagözi 1
- 33 Davagözi 2
- 34 Diktash 1
- 35 Diktash 2
- 36 Diktash 3
- 37 Garni 1
- 38 Geghashen 1
- 39 Goght 1
- 40 Göli-Yurt 1
- 41 Göli-Yurt 2
- 42 Göli-Yurt 3
- 43 Imirzek 1
- 44 Imirzek 2
- 45 Imirzek 3
- 46 Imirzek 4
- 47 Imirzek 5
- 48 Maghalner 1
- 49 Pokr Gilanlar 1
- 50 Tokhmaghan-Göl 1
- 51 Tokhmaghan-Göl 2
- 52 Tokhmaghan-Göl 3
- 53 Tokhmaghan-Göl 4
- 54 Tokhmaghan-Göl 5
- 55 Tokhmaghan-Göl 6
- 56 Tokhmaghan-Göl 7
- 57 Zolakar 1

Lake Sevan

- 58 Artanish 1
- 59 Artanish 2
- 60 Artanish 3
- 61 Artanish 4
- 62 Artanish 5
- 63 Chambrak 1

- 64 Geghovit 1
- 65 Lchashen 1
- 66 Lchashen 2
- 67 Lichk 1
- 68 Sarukhan 1
- 69 Sotk 1

Pambak Mountains

- 70 Buzhakan 1
- 71 Buzhakan 2
- 72 Buzhakan 3

Vardenis Mountains

- 73 Aghavnadzor 1
- 74 Aghavnadzor 2
- 75 Artabuynk 1
- 76 Attash 1
- 77 Eghegis 1
- 78 Karmrashen 1
- 79 Kechut 1
- 80 Selim Pass 1
- 81 Taratumb 1
- 82 Taratumb 2

Others

- 83 Angeghakot 1
- 84 Darik 1
- 85 Goris 1
- 86 Goris 2