

# ANCIENT CIVILIZATIONS FROM SCYTHIA TO SIBERIA

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# ASIAN INFLUENCE ON EUROPEAN SCYTHIA

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The present stage of archaeological research on European Scythia testifies to the complicated and versatile character of the processes going on there in the 1st mill. B.C. One of the most acute problems, which brought forth many contradictory opinions, is the problem of the origin of the peoples mentioned by ancient authors, of their location and of their connection with certain archaeological cultures.

At present there are no less than three principal theories explaining the origin of the Scythians (the Northern-Black-Sea coast, the Near Eastern and the Central Asian one) and at least six versions of ethnic maps suggested by Russian scholars only.<sup>1</sup> As for the accuracy of identification of certain ethnic groups with archaeological cultures, hardly any comments are needed: so far no reliable method has been developed in this field.

The traditional point of view on the origin of the European Scythians is present, with some modifications, in many works treating this subject.<sup>2</sup> It identifies the Cimmerians with the people inhabiting the southern steppes of Russia in the Late Bronze Age period, 9th-beginning of the 7th cent. B.C., i.e. with the later stages of the Log-hut culture (the Chernogorovo and the Novocherkassk stages), while the appearance of the Scythians and the beginning of the Scythian period is dated to the 7th cent. B.C. In this case different ethnic groups and the archaeological cultures attributed to them seem to belong to distinct periods within the chronological scheme suggested for the Northern-Black-Sea coast area: the Cimmerians are confined within the Late Bronze Age, while the appearance of the Scythians signify the beginning of a new period.<sup>3</sup> Many scholars trace certain genetic continuity between the two ethno-cultural blocks and mark the similarity of the two material cultures: the presence of mounted warrior-

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<sup>1</sup> A.I. Terenozhkin, "Skifskij vopros," in: *Skify Severnogo Prichernomor'ya* (Kiev: 1987).

<sup>2</sup> A.I. Dovatur, D.P. Kallistov, I.A. Shishova, *Narody nashej strany v Istorii Gerodota* (Moscow: 1982) 170 f.

<sup>3</sup> A.I. Terenozhkin, *Kimmerijtsy* (Kiev: 1976).

complexes is characteristic of both of them.<sup>4</sup> In this case, however, it is not clear what criteria were accepted to enable the division of these complexes within the suggested chronological scheme. It appears to be in some contradiction with the demand for a dialectic division of material: connections between the complexes belonging to a definite archaeological stage are expected to be stronger than those between complexes attributed to different stages or periods. Thus A.I. Terenozhkin, a prominent investigator of the Scythian culture, was stating on the one hand that "the Chernogorovo stage is marked with a complete, or almost complete disappearance of the whole complex of bronze objects and of other objects characteristic of the time, which were dominant at the Belozersk stage" (i.e., at an earlier stage corresponding to the Late Bronze Age—N.B.). On the other hand he attributed Chernogorovo and Novocherkassk monuments to the final stage of the Log-hut culture of the Late Bronze Age, in spite of their mounted warrior-complex features.<sup>5</sup> Similar contradictions are inherent in other chronological schemes suggested for the Scythian period by different authors. Later O.R. Dubovskaya distinguished within the Chernogorovo culture three different layers of cultural components which, from her point of view, had been of different origin: purely Chernogorovo, of the Late Log-hut culture and imported. Proving the autochthonous (i.e., from the Late Log-hut culture) origin of the Chernogorovo culture Dubovskaya at the same time demonstrated that the principal mounted warrior-complexes were concentrated in the north-eastern part of the Northern-Black-Sea region, within the Don basin and along the middle course of the Volga.<sup>6</sup> Thus the suggestion, concerning certain impulses from the East in the pre-Scythian period (10th-9th centuries) made by Terenozhkin and then developed by V.I. Klochko and V.Yu. Murzin,<sup>7</sup> come to be confirmed by new arguments.

Literary sources also do not make it possible to attribute the Cimmerians and the Scythians to different periods. Herodotus is speaking about Scythians who follow the Cimmerians being pressed by the Massagetae (I, 15; IV, 11; VII, 6),

<sup>4</sup> A.A. Iessen, "Nekotorye pamyatniki VIII-VII vv. do n.e. na Severnom Kavkaze," in: *Voprosy skifo-sarmatskoj arkeologii* (Moscow: 1954) 112-131; Klochko, Murzin, 1989, 61-71.

<sup>5</sup> A.I. Terenozhkin, "Kimmerijtsy ..." 186, 207.

<sup>6</sup> O.R. Dubovskaya, *Voprosy slozheniya inventarnogo kompleksa Chernogorovskoj Kul'tury. Arkheologicheskij al'manah* (Donetsk: 1993) fig. 72-73.

<sup>7</sup> V.M. Klochko, V.Yu. Murzin, "O vzaimodejstvii mestnyh i privnesennyh elementov skifskoj kul'tury," in: *Skify Severnogo Prichernomor'ya* (Kiev: 1987) 12-19; eidem, "Etapy proizvodzeniya protoskifov v stepnye rajony Vostochnoj Evropy," in: *Istoricheskie chteniya pamyati M.P. Gryaznova* (Omsk: 1987) 169-170.

Aristeus (in Herodotus' paraphrase) is mentioning Scythians as the contemporaries of the Cimmerians and the Issedones (IV, 13).

The most reasonable position in this connection is probably that by A.A. Iessen, who, already in the 1950s, suggested to consider the mounted warrior-complexes of the 8th-7th century as "Scythian" in a wider sense of this term, their real ethnic attribution being still questionable.<sup>8</sup> A similar point of view on the Cimmerians—not the name for an ethnic group but a term defining the mounted warriors of Asia—were held by I.M. D'yakonov.<sup>9</sup> Considering the evidence of the earliest Greek sources mentioning Scythians and Cimmerians I.V. Kuklina convincingly proved that neither of them had been the original inhabitants of the Northern-Black-Sea area at the time preceding their 7th century Asiatic campaigns.<sup>10</sup> Several other scholars came to the same conclusion by comparing Near Eastern sources with archaeological data.<sup>11</sup> It appears that the most fruitful way to understand the ancient history of the Northern-Black-Sea area is to renounce for a while any attempts to find direct connections between archaeological cultures and ethnic groups mentioned in written sources.

Now we are aware that, as a cultural phenomenon, European Scythia presents a very complicated and versatile picture, including components borrowed from different periods and different regions. The identification of these cultural components and of their sources is of primary importance, since it could solve many of the acute problems accumulated in the field of Scythian studies. Thus, for example, it became possible to trace how pre-Scythian and Early Scythian pottery has been influenced by the ceramic complexes of the Saharna-Soloncheny type.<sup>12</sup> It is evident now, that certain elements of the Thracian culture were borrowed by the Scythians who, in their turn, contributed something to the Thracians.<sup>13</sup> The same concerns the relations between the Scythian and the Koban culture.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>8</sup> A.A. Iessen, "Nekotorye pamyatniki ..." 130.

<sup>9</sup> I.M. D'yakonov, *Istoriya Midii ot drevnejshih vremen do kontsa IV veka do n.e.* (Moscow-Leningrad: 1956).

<sup>10</sup> I.V. Kuklina, *Etnogeografiya Skifii po antichnym istochnikam* (Leningrad: 1985) 192.

<sup>11</sup> A.Yu. Alekseev, N.K. Kachalova, S.R. Tohtas'ev, *Kimmerijsy: etnokul'turnaya prinadlezhnost'* (St Petersburg: 1993).

<sup>12</sup> G.I. Smirnova, "O formirovanii pozdnechenoleskoj kul'tury na srednem Dnepre," *ASGE (Arheologicheskij Sbornik Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha)* 25 (Leningrad: 1984) 58.

<sup>13</sup> A.I. Melyukova, *Skifiya i frakijskij mir* (Moscow: 1979).

<sup>14</sup> V.I. Kozenkova, "K voprosu o rannej date kinzhalov tak nazyvaemogo kabardino-pyatigorskogo tipa," in: *Frako-skifskie svyazi* (Sofia: 1975) 100; eadem, "Tipologiya i chronologicheskaya klassifikatsiya predmetov kobanskoy kul'tury," *SAI*, fasc. 2-5 (Moscow: 1982).

The Asian connections of the Scythian culture are not so easily traceable, even though the theory of the eastern origin of the Scythians goes back to Herodotus. Many scholars, including M.I. Rostovtsev,<sup>15</sup> contributed to its development. There, however, were little evidence on these connections. Only after the "royal" barrow of Arzhan in Tuva had been excavated (most scholars date it now to the 8th cent. B.C.)<sup>16</sup> it became possible to prove the reality of the facts narrated by Herodotus. In the pre-Scythian period there were already limited groups of settlers coming to what later became the European Scythia from the East. They were followed by larger groups of aggressive nomadic peoples, their migrations becoming more and more systematic.<sup>17</sup> In most cases the character of these intrusions is not clear, as well as the origin of the intruders "coming from somewhere in Asia". We can only mark certain elements in the culture of the European Scythia which doubtless have an Asiatic origin and are connected with the Bronze Age cultures of Asia.

There are few cultural components which can definitely mark the migrations of ethnic groups. First of all these are specific funeral rites, constructions, monumental art (rock-engravings), complicated artistic patterns having definite meaning and executed in a specific style, certain sets of functional objects (like arms and armour).

The Scythian period burials of warriors with horses and horse-harness are characteristic of the plains of Asia, especially at the earlier stage. In Kazakhstan and in the Sayan-Altay region it is possible to distinguish five variants of the 9th-7th century warrior-burials revealing distinctive local features:<sup>18</sup>

<sup>15</sup> M.I. Rostovtsev, *Ellinstvo i Iranstvo na yuge Rossii* (Petrograd: 1918) 34-35.

<sup>16</sup> M.P. Gryaznov, *Arzhan-tsarskij kurgan ranneskijskogo vremeni* (Leningrad: 1980) 54; L.S. Marsadolov, "Hronologiya kurganov Altaya (VIII-IV vv. do n.e.)." Abstracts of Masters thesis. (Leningrad: 1985) 10.

<sup>17</sup> Terenozhkin, "Kimmerijtsy . . ."; Klochko, Murzin, "O vzaimodejstvii . . ."; G. Kossak, *Von den Anfängen des skytho-iranischen Tierstils. Skythika* (München: 1987); N.A. Bokovenko, "K voprosu o vostochnyh impul'sah v ranneskijskoj kul'ture Severnogo Prichemomorja," in: *Ski-fiya i Bospor* (Novocherkassk: 1989); Medvedskaya, "Periodizatsiya skifskoj arhaiki i Drevnij Vostok," *Rossijskaya Arkheologiya* (Moscow: 1992) No. 3; A.Yu. Alekseev, *Skifskaya hronika* (St Petersburg: 1992); G.N. Kurochkin, A.V. Subbotin, "Boevye chekany (klevtsy) s golovkoj hischnoj ptitsy mezhdju bojkom i vtukoj v aziatskoj i evropejskoj chastyah skifskogo mira," in: *Antichnaya tsivilizatsiya i varvarskij mir*. Part 2 (Novocherkassk: 1993) 59-64, etc.

<sup>18</sup> N.A. Bokovenko, "Nekotorye osobennosti formirovaniya pogrebal'nogo obryada rannih kochevnikov Sayano-Altaya i Kazahstana," in: *Skifskaya epoha Altaya* (Barnaul: 1986) 46-48.

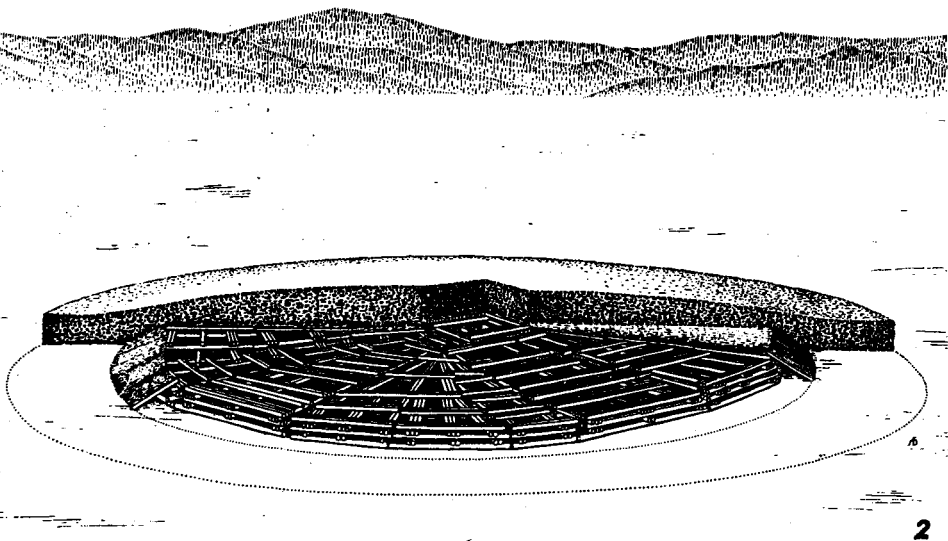
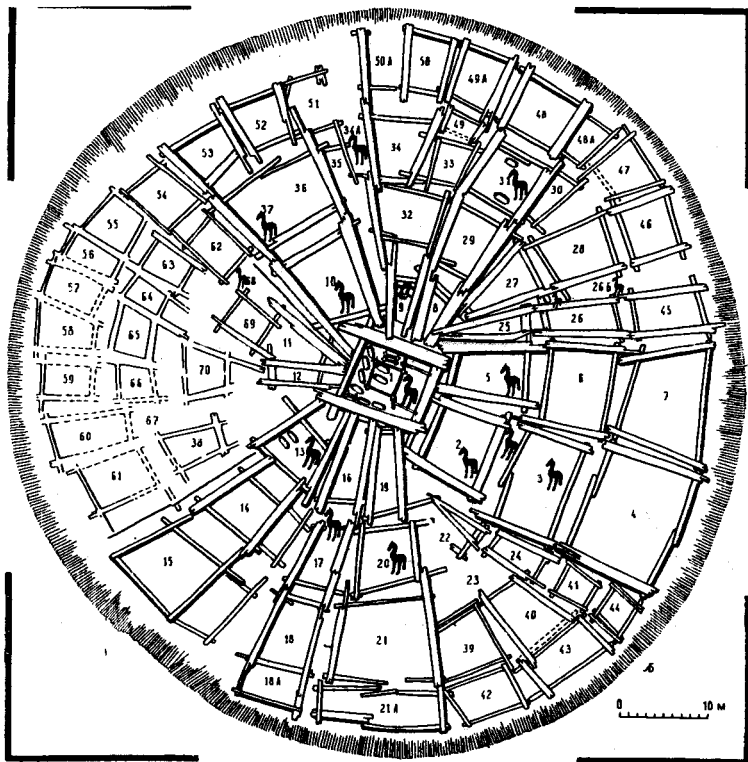


Fig. 1. The barrow of Arzhan. Reconstruction by M.P. Gryaznov.

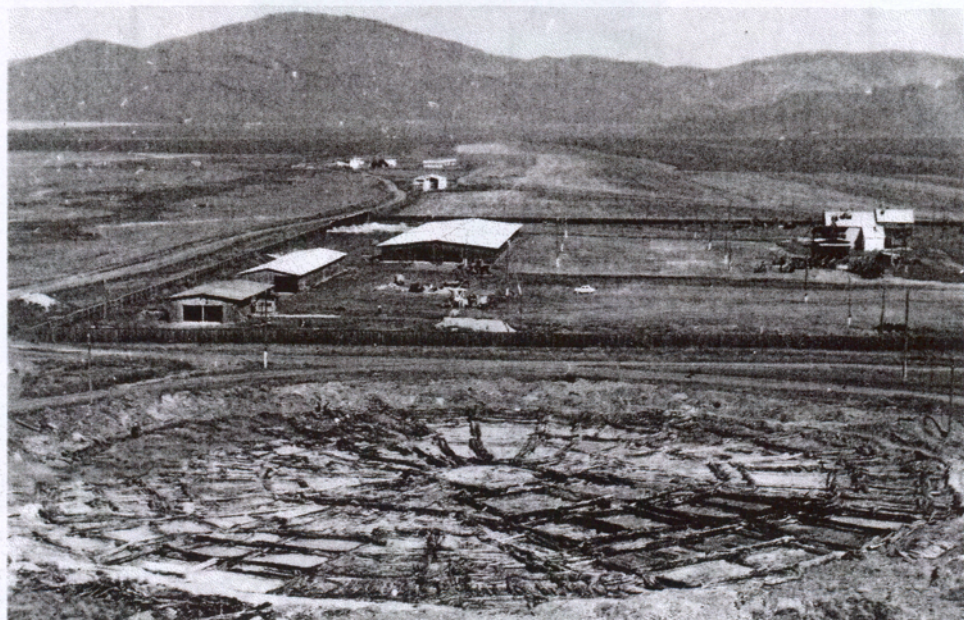


Fig. 2. The barrow of Arzhan. General view.

1. Burials of a warrior and a fully equipped horse on the ancient daylight surface in log-huts or shallow graves (Kurtu II, Chernyj Anujm Ust'-Kuyum, Koksus—the Altay region; Arzhan and Badanka IV—the Sayan range).

2. Burials of a warrior and horse-harness on the ancient daylight surface (Ujgarak and Tagisken in Kazakhstan).

3. Burials of a warrior in a ground pit and of horse-harness on the ancient daylight surface (Aldy-Bel' I, Hemchik-bom III, Ortaa-Hem, Badanka IV—in Tuva and the Sayan region; Kotanemel I and Izmajlovka in Kazakhstan).

4. Burials of a warrior, a horse-hide and harness in the same ground pit (Tasmola I, V, VI in Kazakhstan).

5. Burials of a warrior and horse-harness in the same ground pit (Blizhnie Elbany XIV, Solnechnaya, Grishkin Log, Surtajka—in the Sayan-Altay region; certain of the Tagisken and Ujgarak complexes in Kazakhstan).

In Late Bronze Age cultures of South Siberia no burial complexes of “the most noble and powerful” mounted warriors, the predecessors of the Arzhan-type barrows, have been distinguished so far. There are, as well, no burials with chariots and horses. Either this practice had not yet been developed there by that time, or it could be just difficult to find such burials made directly on the ancient daylight surface.



Fig. 3. Arzhan. Chamber 31.

As for the stone constructions of the Arzhan barrow, the most representative of the Early Scythian complexes, some scholars derive them from the Mongun-Tajga culture of Tuva.<sup>19</sup> Others, on the contrary, deny any ties between Arzhan and the preceding cultures of Tuva,<sup>20</sup> connecting it with the sophisticated Bronze-Age constructions of the South Urals.<sup>21</sup>

It is true, that barrows with chariots and horses are well represented in Sintashta in the South Urals, where they were interpreted as the burials of the

<sup>19</sup> V.A. Semenov, K.V. Chugunov, "Rol' mestnogo substrata v slozhenii kul'tur skifskogo oblika v Tuve," in: *Problemy arkheologii Stepnoj Evrazii*. Pt. 2 (Kemerovo: 1987); V.A. Semenov, "Kurgan Arzhan—prostranstvennaya kartina mira i tseremonial'nyj tsentr rannih kochevnikov Tuvy," in: *Severnaya Evraziya ot drevnosti do srednevekov'ya* (St Petersburg: 1992); K.V. Chugunov, "Mongun-Tajginskaya kul'tura epohi pozdnej bronzy Tuvy (tipologicheskaya klassifikatsiya pogrebal'nogo obryada i otnositel'naya hronologiya)," *PAV* (St Petersburg: 1994) 43-53.

<sup>20</sup> A.D. Grach, *Drevnie kochevniki v tsentre Azii* (Moscow: 1980) 71.

<sup>21</sup> D.G. Savinov, "Sintashta i Arzhan," in: *Elitnye kurgany stepej Evrazii v Skifo-sarmatskuyu epohu* (St Petersburg: 1994) 170-175.





Fig. 4. Arzhan. Bronze dagger.

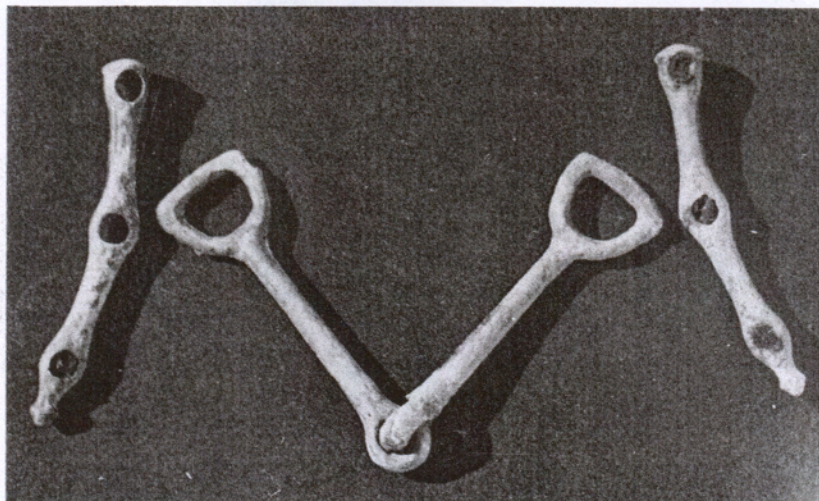


Fig. 5. Arzhan. Bronze horse-bits and cheek-pieces.

Indo-Aryan elite.<sup>22</sup> In the Andron culture burials of chiefs or chariot-drivers (the Petrovo stage, 17th-15th cent. B.C.) the body was placed in a vast grave, in doubled up position, head to the west, two horses, fully equipped, were laid side-up, their heads also towards the west, on the ancient daylight surface to the north and to the south of the grave.<sup>23</sup> There were several ways of arranging horses' trunks in relation to the human burial:

1. In pairs, in front of a grave (Sintashta).
2. By the sides of a grave, to the north and to the south (Berlik, I and II).
3. To the north of a grave, sometimes in a shallow pit (Ulubaj I, Semipalatnoe).

<sup>22</sup> V.F. Genning, "Mogil'nik Sintashta i problemy rannih indoarijskikh plemen," SA, No. 4 (Moscow: 1977) 53-73.

<sup>23</sup> G.B. Zdanovich, "Osnovnye karakteristiki petrovskih kompleksov Uralo-Kazahstanskih stepej," in: *Bronzovyy vek stepnoj zony Uralo-Irtyskogo mezhdurechya* (Chelyabinsk: 1983) 48-68.



Fig. 6. Arzhan. Decorated dagger-pommel.

Similar burials occur less often at the Alakul stage (15th-14th cent. B.C., Alypkash) and disappear completely at the later stages of the Andron culture. At the same time rich burials with chariots appear in China of the Yin and Western Chou periods (14th-8th cent. B.C.), where they are accepted as a feature brought from the outside, most probably by the Andron tribes.<sup>24</sup> This gradual, step by step, spread of the "chariot-driver" burials from the Urals to the southeast, as far as China, most probably testify to the penetration into Central Asia of some aggressive and mobile groups of population originating from the Andron environment.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>24</sup> E.E. Kuz'mina, *Otkuda prishli indoarii* (Moscow: 1994); S.A. Komissarov, "Arkheologiya Zapadnogo Chzhou—1027-770 gg. do n.e.," in: *Drevnie kul'tury Kitaya* (Novosibirsk: 1985) 86-111.

<sup>25</sup> N.A. Bokovenko, "K probleme proishozhdeniya vsadnicheskogo pogrebal'nogo obryada Yuzhnoj Sibiri," in: *Vtorye istoricheskie chteniya pamyati M.P. Gryaznova* (Omsk: 1992) 99-100.

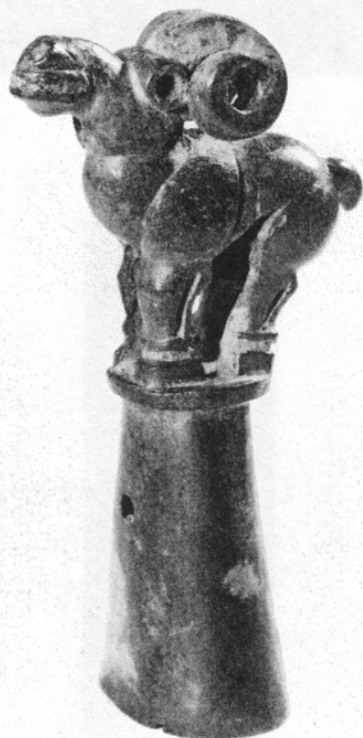


Fig. 7. Arzhan. Bronze decoration.

In this way we get new arguments in favour of the suggestion made by L.R. Kyzlasov<sup>26</sup> on the origin of the Arzhan culture from the Sacae. At the same time we can not completely exclude the possibility of the Mongolian origin of the mounted warrior burial custom—this region so far has been explored too superficially to be sure of its absence there. Numerous Bronze-Age rock-engravings representing chariots of various types are present in Kazakhstan, Mongolia and the Sayano-Altay region, therefore we can expect to find somewhere within this area burials of mounted warriors and sets of grave-goods typologically preceding the Arzhan complex. In fact, there are objects characteristic of the mounted-warrior complex, apparently of the pre-Arzhan period (so-called

<sup>26</sup> L.R. Kyzlasov, "Uyukskij kurgan Arzhan i vopros o proishozhdenii sakskoj kul'tury," SA, No. 2, 1977, 69-89.



Fig. 8. Arzhan. Bronze pectoral horse-decoration.

Cimmerian-Karasuk daggers, swords with mushroom-shaped pommels, two-fold stirrup-shaped horse-bits, complex “strict” cheek-pieces, etc.) coming, unfortunately, from chance finds, obviously from burials made upon the daylight surface level and destroyed by ploughing.<sup>27</sup> The early nomadic burials of the Sayan-Altay region proceeded with the same tradition of surface burials. It is possible to attribute to this stage a whole series of Central Asian “stag-stones” representing a set of arms and decorations of the “Karasuk” type,<sup>28</sup> although their connection with the Karasuk culture itself is questionable.<sup>29</sup>

Summing up the available facts we can surely enough connect the origin of the “royal” mounted warrior burials of Arzhan with the reformation of the burial rites developing among the social elite of the Andron society the “chariot-rider” chiefs. The initial stage of the Early Nomadic period in Central Asia (burials of

<sup>27</sup> N.A. Bokovenko, “Nachal’nyj etap kul’tury rannih kochevnikov Sayano-Altaya.” Abstracts of Masters thesis. (Leningrad: 1986) 20.

<sup>28</sup> V.V. Volkov, *Olennye kamni Mongolii* (Ulan-Bator: 1981); Novgorodova, 1989.

<sup>29</sup> S.V. Havrin, “Karasukskaya problema,” PAV, 8 (St Petersburg: 1994) 104-113.

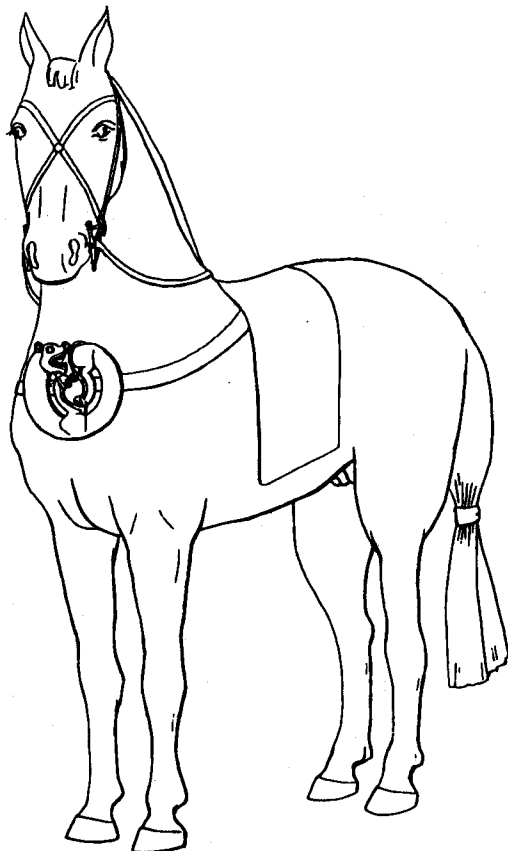


Fig. 9. Reconstruction of a mounted horse from chamber 2 of the Arzhan barrow.

horse-riders on the daylight surface level) can be, in our opinion,<sup>30</sup> divided into two parts: 1. the “hidden” stage, approximately the end of the 10th-9th cent. B.C., the invention of horse-riding and, in connection with the development of a new conception of after-life, the appearance of burials with horses and the forming of the elite set of grave-goods (including armament, bronze horse-bits and dress); 2. the Arzhan stage, 8th-early 7th cent. B.C., the final stage of development of the Early Scythian complex and the forming of certain elite tradition in all spheres of culture, first of all in funerary rites. Burial pits appear at further stages of the Early Nomadic culture of Eurasia.

<sup>30</sup> N.A. Bokovenko, “Problemy genezisa pogrebal’nogo obyryada rannekochevnicheskoy znati Tsentral’noj Azii,” in: *Elitnye kurgany stepej Evrazii v skifo-sarmatskuyu epohu* (St Petersburg: 1994) 44.

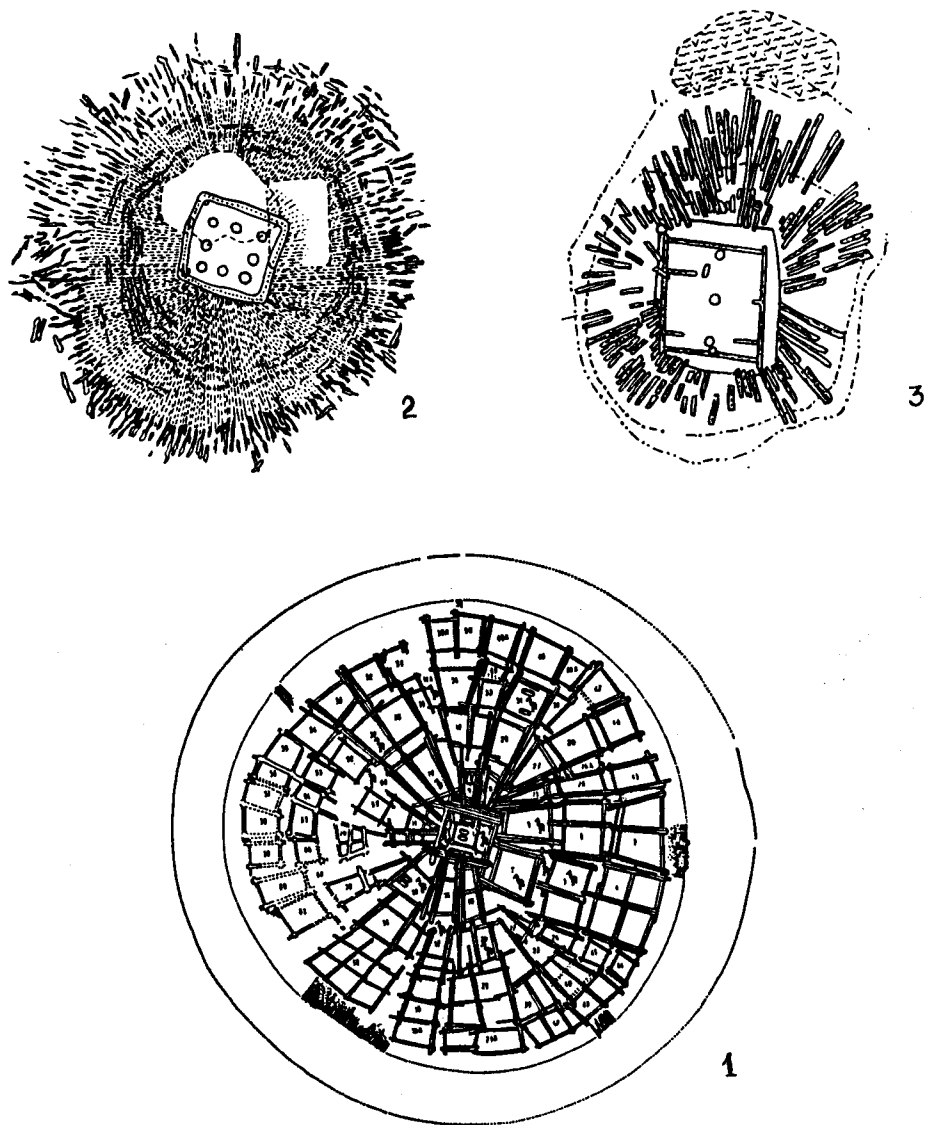


Fig. 10. Tent-shaped constructions: 1. Arzhan, Tuva; 2. Flyarovka, N. Black Sea coast; 3. Durovka, N. Black Sea coast.

Even the preliminary analysis of the Arzhan materials testify to the presence of a well-developed Saco-Scythian complex as early as the 8th cent. B.C. Besides the burial of a tribal chief, probably a ruler over a confederation of Central Asian tribes, and of his suite (17 nobles buried along with 160 mounted horses)

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	<b>I</b>					<b>II</b>			<b>III</b>		<b>IV</b>		
	<b>Т И П Ы</b>												

Fig. 11. Typological development of horse-bits in Central Asia of the Scythian period (9th-7th cent. B.C.).

it reveals a very complicated semantics of burial rites, not speaking about the constructive features of the barrow itself.<sup>31</sup>

The Arzhan-type of tent-shaped daylight-surface burial construction is recorded in Northern Kazakhstan (burial grounds of Kenes, barrow 1). There it is dated to the Scythian period.<sup>32</sup> To the same time we can date several known tent-shaped constructions of the Northern Black Sea Coast area (Kvitki and Flyarovka in the Cherkassk district, the river Tyasmin area, etc.).<sup>33</sup> The rest can be dated to the 6th-5th cent. B.C.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Gryaznov, "Arzhan ..." 63; N.A. Bokovenko, "Tsarskij kurgan Arzhan. Voprosy interpretatsii," in: *Istoriografiya i istochniki izucheniya istoricheskogo opyta izucheniya Sibiri* (Novosibirsk: 1988) 71-72.

<sup>32</sup> M.K. Habdulina, "Pogrebal'nyj obryad naseleniya rannego zheleznoogo veka Severnogo Kazahstana," in: *Rannij zheleznyj vek Uralo-Irtyshskogo mezhdurechya* (Chelyabinsk: 1987) 7.

<sup>33</sup> Kovpanenko, Gupalo, "Pogrebeniye voina ..." 65-57.

<sup>34</sup> Kovpanenko, "Chervona mogila ..." 112-113; Murzin, "Skifskaya arhaika ..." 50.

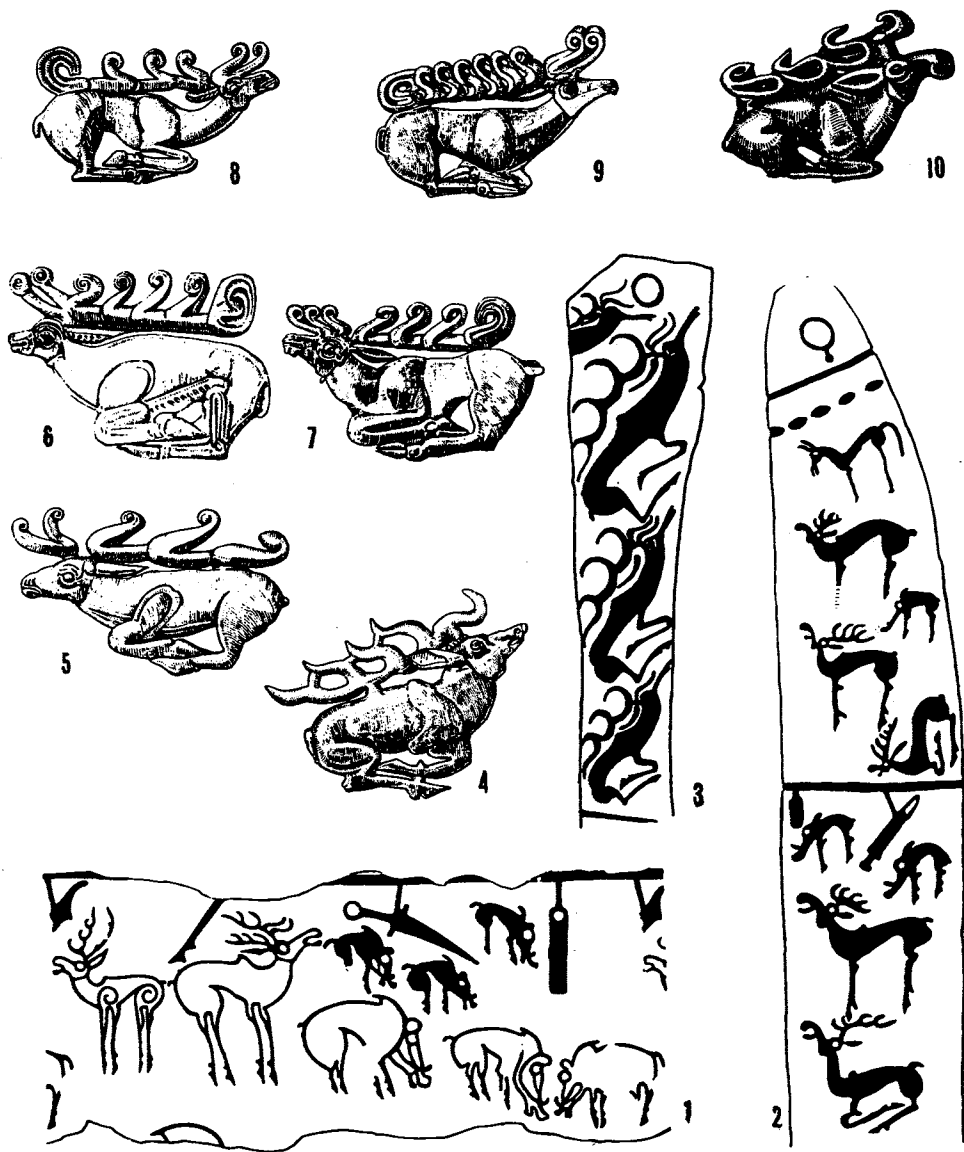


Fig. 12. Eurasian stag images.

The Arzhan-type tent-shaped construction on the level of the ancient daylight surface is found in Northern Kazakhstan (the Kenes burial grounds, bar-





Fig. 13. Eurasian stag images.



Fig. 14. Curled-up feline animals.

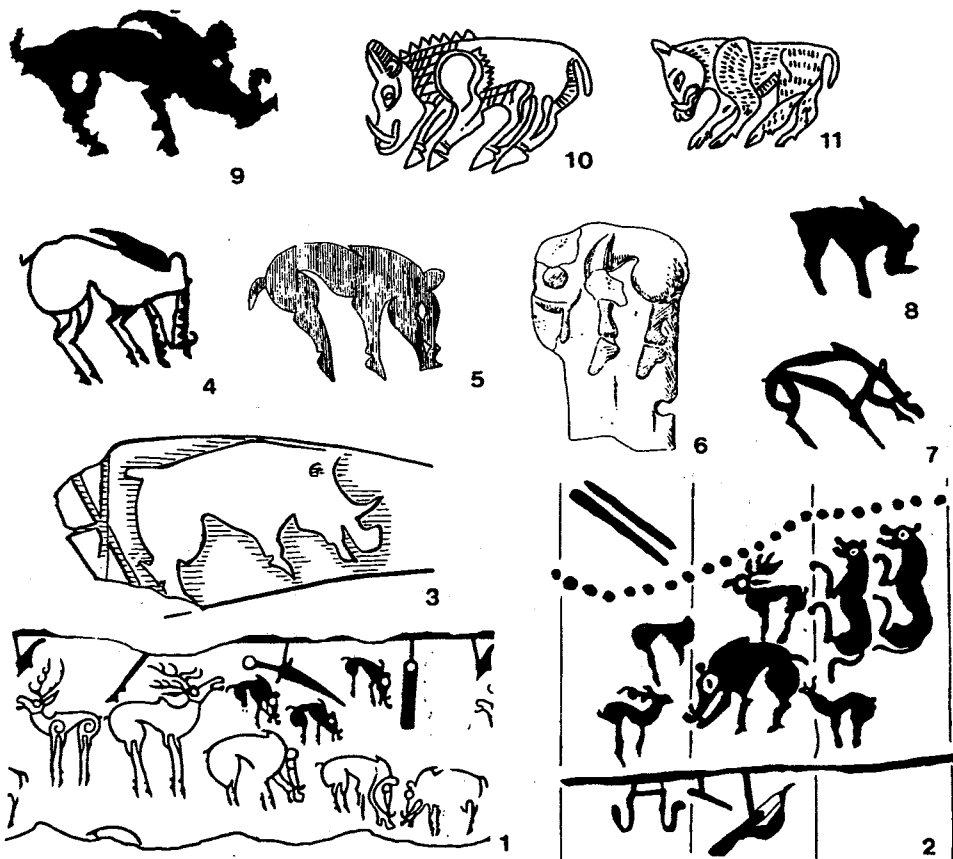


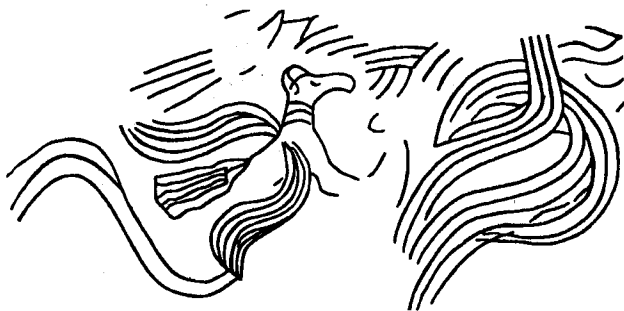
Fig. 15. The images of wild boar.

row 1). There it is dated to the Early Scythian period.<sup>35</sup> To the same period are dated those few tent-shaped complexes of the Northern Black Sea area (Kvitki and Flyarovka in the Cherkassk region, the Tyasmin basin, etc.). The earliest are dated to the 7th cent. B.C.,<sup>36</sup> the rest to the 6th-5th cent. B.C.<sup>37</sup> Burials

<sup>35</sup> M.K. Habdulina, "Pogrebal'nyj obryad naseleniya rannego zheleznoogo veka Severnogo Kazahstana," in: *Rannij zheleznyj vek i srednevekov'e Uralo-Irtyshskogo mezhdurech'ya* (Chelyabinsk: 1987) 7.

<sup>36</sup> G.T. Kovpanenko, N.D. Gupalo, "Pogrebenie voina u s. Kvitki," in: *Vooruzhenie skifov i sarmatov* (Kiev: 1984) 56-57.

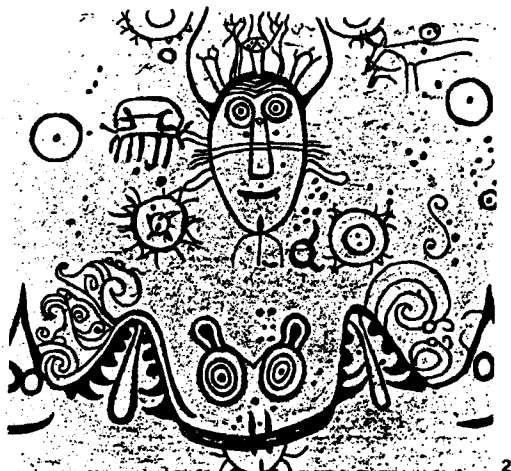
<sup>37</sup> G.T. Kovpanenko, "'Chervona mogila' u s. Flyarovka," in: *Drevnosti Evropy v skifosarmatskoe vremya* (Moscow: 1984) 107-113; V.Yu. Murzin, *Skifskaya arhaika Severnogo Prichernomor'ya* (Kiev: 1984) 50 f.



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Fig. 16. Griffin in the art of the Sayan-Altay region: 1. Bele; 2. Minusine basin; 3. Altay-Bergen.

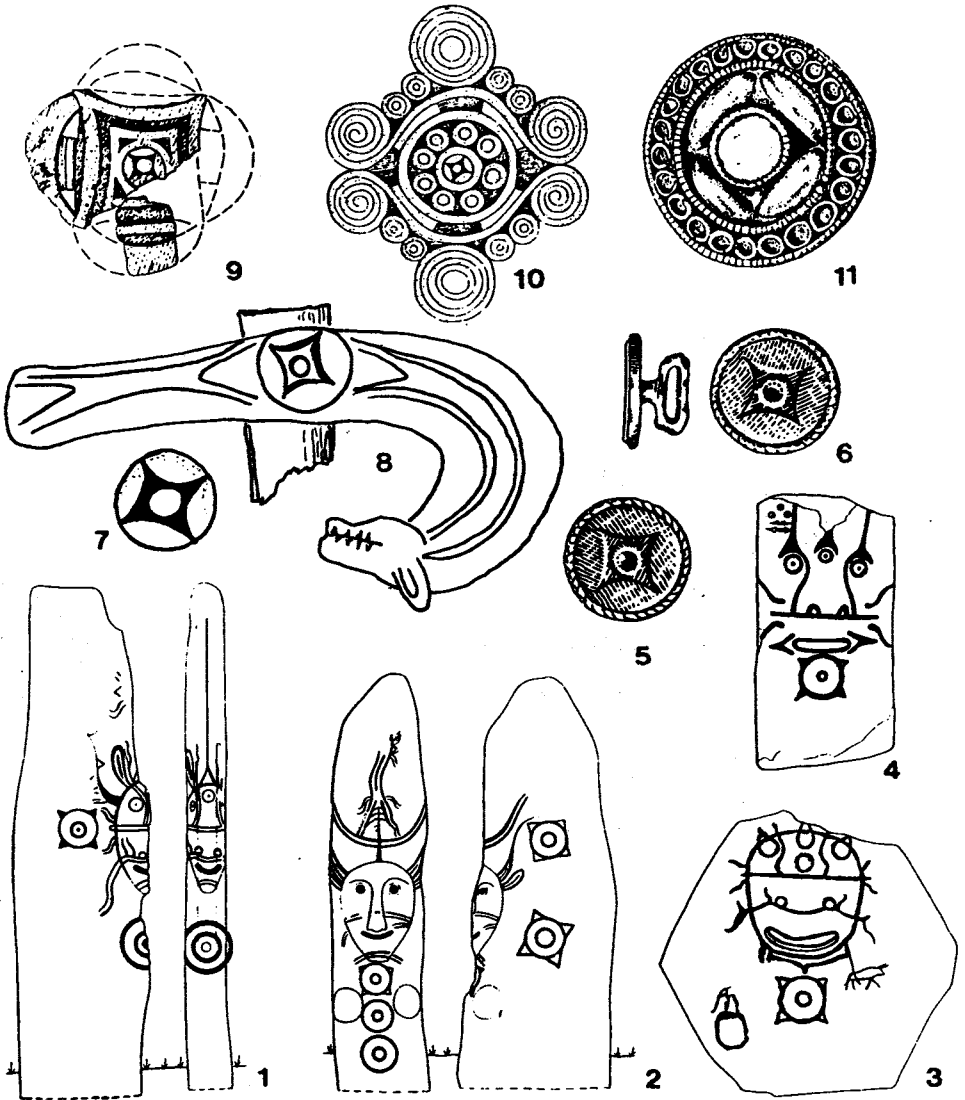


Fig. 17. Solar symbols.

of the Northern Black Sea area have similar tent-shaped constructions in rich barrows (the Ula and Kostroma barrows)—in the last case it is difficult to trace the features of these constructions in full detail relying on the available archaeological records.<sup>38</sup> Accompanying horse-burials are also numerous: on the level

<sup>38</sup> M.I. Artamonov, *Sokrovishcha skifskikh kurganov* (Moscow-Prague: 1966) 27.

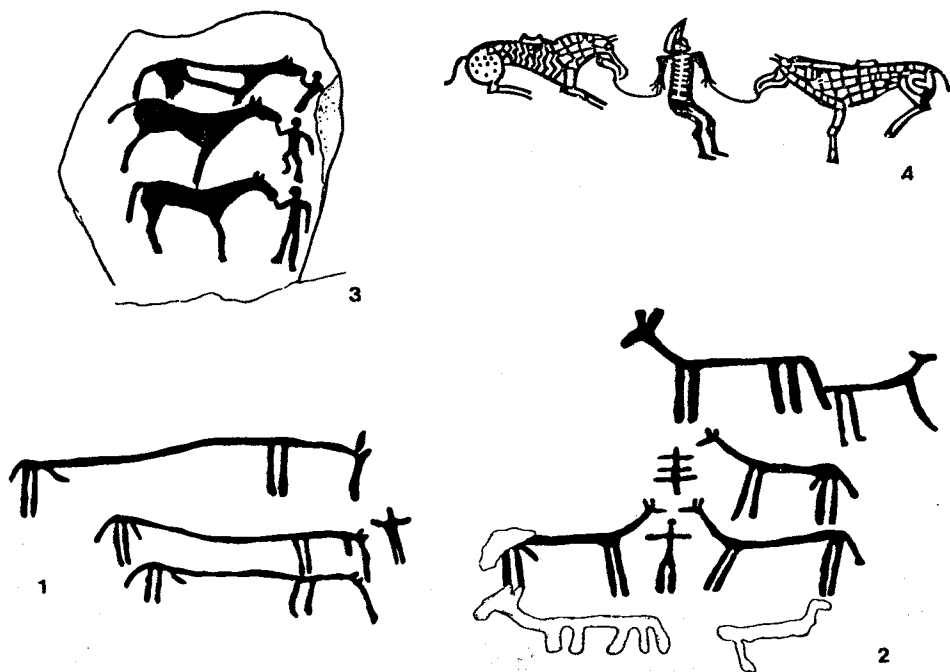


Fig. 18. People, horses and the tree of life.

of the ancient daylight surface remains of tens or even hundreds of horses are found.<sup>39</sup> Burials of warriors with horse-bridles become characteristic of the partially wooded steppe zone of the Northern Black Sea area in the 7th-5th cent. B.C.<sup>40</sup>—in this connection they find certain parallels with the five variants of burials of Kazakhstan and the Sayan-Altay region, where mounted warrior burials become traditional among the nomads from the 8th century or even earlier.

In many scholars' opinion it is necessary to distinguish the following of the cultural components of the European Scythia genetically tied with the East: daggers with butterfly-shaped guards, rhombic and bullet-shaped arrowheads, helmets of the Kelermes type, spiked battle-axes, stirrup-shaped horse-bits, cheek-pieces of the Chernogorovo and Zhabotinsk type, bordered mirrors, stone plates,

<sup>39</sup> Kurochkin, "Gipoteticheskaya rekonstruktsiya pogrebal'nogo obryada skifskikh tsarej VIII-VII vv. do n.e. i kurgan Arzhan," in: *Skifo-Sibirskoe kul'turno-istoricheskoye edinstvo* (Kemerovo: 1980) pl. 4.

<sup>40</sup> V.A. Il'inskaya, A.I. Terenozhkin, *Skifiya VII-IV vv. do n.e.* (Kiev: 1983) 314.

bronze cauldrons of the Beshtaigor type and "stag-stones."<sup>41</sup> This list of cultural components deriving from Central Asian prototypes can be extended. During the last years new monuments were discovered in the eastern parts of the Eurasian steppes and new groups of objects studied, which opens new possibilities to trace the origin of some of the Scythian cultural components.

N.L. Chlenova has proved the typological succession of mushroom-pommel daggers with no guards and of long daggers and swords with straight guard (the so-called Karasuk-Cimmerian type) in all regions of the Sayan-Altay and Kazakhstan.<sup>42</sup> Certain transitional forms were penetrating to the Northern Black Sea Area (Subbotovo, Gerbino, Kiev, Obuhovka). The same concerns the 7th-6th cent. B.C. Scythian swords with butterfly-shaped guards: in Siberia they present several variants of design for guards and hafts,<sup>43</sup> but only one of these variants penetrates to the west.<sup>44</sup> It should be mentioned, however, that some scholars derive Scythian akinaks from the Northern Caucasus and the Transcau-

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<sup>41</sup> Iessen, "Nekotorye pamyatniki ..." 1954, 129; Terenozhkin, "Kimmerijskie mechi i kinzhaly," in: *Skifskij mir* (Kiev: 1975) 3-34; *ibid.*, "Kimmerijsy ..." 1976, 207; Klochko, Murzin, "O vzaimodejstvii ..." 1987, 15; *eidem*, "Etapy prodvizheniya ..." 1987a, 169-171; N.L. Chlenova, "O svyazyah Severo-Zapadnogo Prichernomor'ya i Nizhnego Dunaya s vostokom v kimmerijskuyu epohu," in: *Frako-skifskie kul'turnye svyazi* (Sofia: 1975) 89; D.G. Savinov, N.L. Chlenova, "Zapadnye predely rasprostraneniya olennykh kamnej i voprosy ih kul'turno-etnicheskoj prinadlezhnosti," in: *Arkheologiya i etnografiya Mongolii* (Novosibirsk: 1978) 94; V.A. Grach, "Bronzovye udila skifskogo vremeni. Voprosy proishozhdeniya, hronologii i rasprostraneniya," SA, No. 4, 1973, 34-36; B.B. Piotrovskij, "Skify i Urartu," VDI, No. 4, 1989; N.A. Bokovenko, "Bronzovye kotly epohi rannih kochevnikov v aziatskih stepyah," in: *Problemy zapadno-sibirskoj arheologii. Epoha zheleza* (Novosibirsk: 1981) 42-52; *ibid.*, "Skifskie bronzovye kotly Severnogo Prichernomor'ya," in: *Drevnie pamyatniki Kubani* (Novocherkassk: 1990) 166-174; T.M. Kuznetsova, "O haraktere rasprostraneniya zerkal 'Skifskogo tipa'," in: *Problemy arheologii stepej Evrazii* (Kemerovo: 1978) 8-10; H.G. Huttel, "Remenbesatz vom Typ Arzan," in: *Kimmerische Leitform. Beiträge zur allgemeinen und vergleichender Archaeologie* 3 (München: 1983) 29-44; Kossak, "Von der Anfängen ..." 1987; R.B. Ismagilov, "Pogrebenie Bol'shogo Gumarovskogo kurgana v Yuzhnom Priural'e i problema proishozhdeniya skifskoj kul'tury," *ASGE*, 29 (Leningrad: 1988) 45; Medvedskaya "Periodizatsiya ..."; Alekseev, "Skifskaya hronika ..." 1992; Kurochkin, Subbotin, "Boevye chekany ..." 1993, 59-69; M.K. Habdulina, *Stepnoye Priishim'e v epohu rannego zheleza* (Almaty: 1994) pl. 50, 52; A.V. Varenov, "Bronzovye shlemy na granitsah chzhouskogo Kitaya i ih kubanskije analogii," in: *Istoriya i kul'tura vostoka Azii* (Novosibirsk: 1994) 86.

<sup>42</sup> N.L. Chlenova, *Karasukskie kinzhaly* (Moscow: 1976).

<sup>43</sup> A.M. Kulemzin, "Ob evolyutsii tagarskih kinzhalov," ILAI 5 (Kemerovo: 1974) fig. 32.

<sup>44</sup> A.I. Terenozhkin, "Kimmerijskie mechi ..." fig. 22.

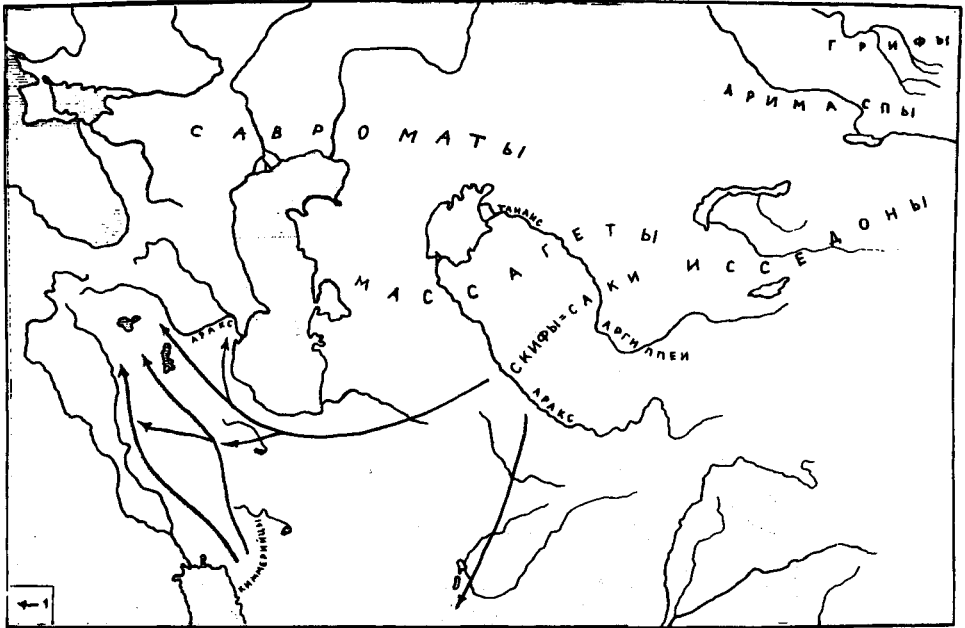


Fig. 19. Reconstruction of the ways of Scythian and Cimmerian migrations in Central Asia (after I.V. Kuklina).

casian region, looking for prototypes among local daggers of the earlier period,<sup>45</sup> though it is not always possible to prove it typologically.

The analysis of harness revealed the types of horse-bits and cheek-pieces preceding those from Arzhan.<sup>46</sup> The great number and variety of stirrup-shaped bits in South Siberia and Kazakhstan, as well as the discovery of a 10th-9th cent. B.C. workshop producing them at the site of Kent, also testify to their Kazakhstan-Siberian origin.<sup>47</sup>

There are many works dealing with the ties between the Siberian and European Scythian art. The most authentic animal-style representations doubtless originating from the Asiatic Bronze Age images are stags, curled-up feline animals and

<sup>45</sup> A.M. Leskov, "Kimmerijskie mechi i kinzhaly i proishozhdenie skifskogo akinaka," in: *Iskusstvo i arheologiya Irana i ego svyaz' s iskusstvom narodov SSSR s drevnejshih vremen* (Moscow: 1979) 47-49; S.V. Mahortyh, *Skify na Severnom Kavkaze* (Kiev: 1991) 56; V.R. Erlih, *U istokov ranneskifskogo kompleksa* (Moscow: 1994) 110.

<sup>46</sup> N.A. Bokovenko, "Nachal'nyj etap ..." 1986, 22.

<sup>47</sup> V.V. Varfolomeev, "Otnositel'naya hronologiya keramicheskikh kompleksov poseleniya Kent," in: *Voprosy periodizatsii arheologicheskikh pamyatnikov Tsentral'nogo i Severnogo Kazahstana* (Karagenda: 1987) 65-66.



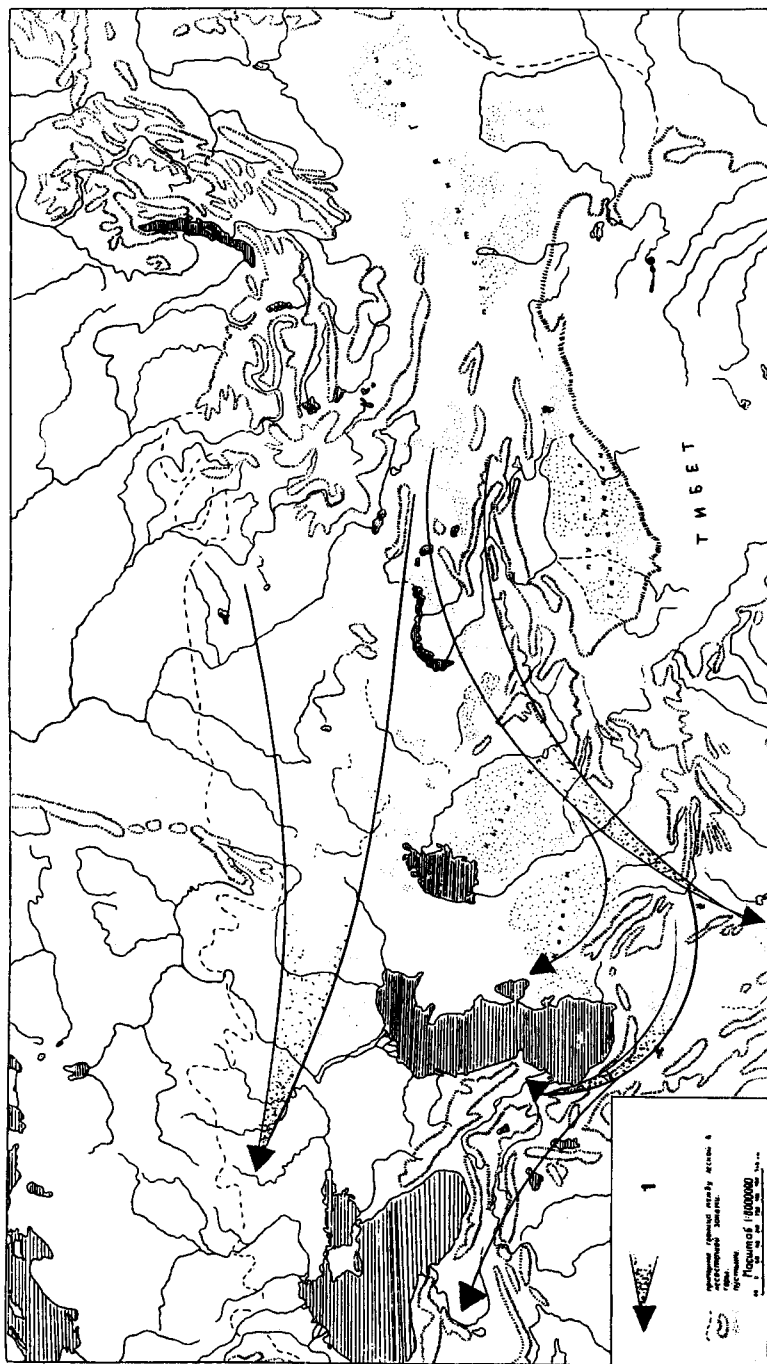


Fig. 20. Reconstruction of the ways of Scythians' migrations after archaeological sources.

birds of prey. The mapping of these images reveals the tendency of their penetration to the west and at the same time of their gradual schematization (ears, paws and tails turning into circles). By the present time over 600 representations of stags engraved on rocks have been recorded in Central Asia (the so-called "stag-stones"), the earliest of them dating to the end of the 2nd-beginning of the 1st mill. B.C.<sup>48</sup> Their style is very close to that of the Early Scythian stags of the Northern Black Sea area.<sup>49</sup> Images of curled-up panthers appear not only on stag-stones of the Arzhan stage, but were executed in bronze and in gold. A large pectoral plaque of the Arzhan type, but typologically preceding the Arzhan stage, was found in Mongolia.<sup>50</sup> The appearance of these early examples, their gradual spread to the west along with the tendency of becoming more schematised makes us suggest their origin from the highlands of Central Asia.<sup>51</sup> Representations of griffins in the Sayan-Altay region can be traced from the Okunevo period (early-middle 2nd mill. B.C.). These are known from several rock-engravings (Bele, etc.) and are executed in the Scytho-Siberian style. The successive character of this tradition in South Siberia has been definitely proved now,<sup>52</sup> therefore there is enough reason to accept the Asiatic origin of the griffin images. Solar symbols appear in the art of the Enisej basin from the Okunevo period. Later they were reproduced on many Scythian-style objects from Kazakhstan and the Northern Black Sea area.

It is evident from the facts cited above that the nomadic peoples of Asia took active part in the creation of the European Scythian culture. Three stages marking the intrusion of eastern elements into the Northern Black Sea area can be distinguished: 10th-9th century—the pre-Arzhan stage, 8th century—the Arzhan stage, 7th century—the Early Scythian stage. It should be mentioned that in each case migrations of certain groups of population are traceable. Initially these were not numerous, dissolving quickly in the local environment; later there were

<sup>48</sup> Volkov, "Olennye kamni . . .": E.A. Novgorodova, *Drevnyaya Mongoliya* (Moscow: 1989).

<sup>49</sup> Gryaznov, "Sayano-altajskij olen' . . .".

<sup>50</sup> M. Majdar, *Pamyatniki istorii i kul'tury Mongolii* (Moscow: 1981) 32-33.

<sup>51</sup> L.L. Barkova, "Izobrazheniya svernuvshihisya hischnikov na zolotykh plastinakh iz Majemira." *ASGE*, 24 (Leningrad: 1983) 20-31; G.N. Kurochkin, "Svernuvshijsya v kol'tso hischnik i letyashchij olen'," in: *Antichnaya tsivilizatsiya i varvarskij mir*. Part 2 (Novocherkassk: 1993) 92-103; V.A. Kisel', "Neskol'ko zamechanij ob obraze koshach'ego hischnika v rannem skifskom iskusstve," in: *Elitnye kurgany stepej Evrazii v skifi-sarmatskuyu epohu* (St Petersburg: 1994) 116.

<sup>52</sup> J. Sher, "A propos des origines du 'style animalier'," *Arts Asiatiques*, XLVII (Paris: 1992) 5-18.

larger groups coming, living more formidable evidence of their presence in local cultures. These migrations were gradual, with certain loss of the old cultural features and the acquisition of new ones, and with the involvement of other tribes into this stream on the way. There were two principal routes used by the Asiatic nomads: the northern one, through the steppes of Western Siberia, the Urals, the Volga basin and along the Northern Black Sea coast. The earliest Scythian sites are concentrated in this partially wooded steppe zone of the lower Don and the Northern Caucasus.<sup>53</sup> The southern route was running through South Kazakhstan, Central Asia, Iran, the Transcaucasian region. It explains the presence of many Near Eastern elements in the Early Scythian culture of the Northern Black Sea coast acquired by the Scytho-Sacae tribes in the 8th-7th cent. B.C. on their way to the west.

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<sup>53</sup> K. Marchenko, Yu. Vinogradov, "The Scythian Period in the Northern Black Sea Region (750-250 B.C.)," *Antiquity*, vol. 63, No. 241, 803-813.

**Fig.12. Eurasian stag images :**

- 1 - Barrow Arzhan, Tuva.
- 2 - Turan, Tuva.
- 3 - Mongolia.
- 4 - Chilikta, Kazakhstan.
- 5 - Ziviya, Asia Minor.
- 6-7 - Kelermes, Northern Caucasus.
- 8 - Mel'gunov Barrow, Northern Black Sea Region..
- 9 - Kostromskaya Barrow, Northern Caucasus.
- 10 - Poltava, Northern Black Sea Region..

**Fig.13. Eurasian stag images :**

- 1 - Bronze knife Karasuk culture (end II mill.B.C.), Mar'yasovo, Krasnoyarsk region.
- 2 - Barrow Arzhan, Tuva.
- 3,8 - Turan, Tuva.
- 4 - Mozola-Khomuzhalyg, Tuva.
- 5 - Ortaa-Sargol, Tuva.
- 6 - Boyary, Khakasia (Minusinsk steppes).
- 7 - Bukhtarma, Western Altai.
- 9 - Ujgarak, Kazakhstan.
- 10 - Aksyutintsy, Ukraine.
- 11 - Dagestan.
- 12 - Voitika, Northern Caucasus.

**Fig.14. Curled-up feline animals in steppes of Eurasia:**

- 1 - China, grave Fu Khao (XIII -XII cent.B.C.).
- 2 - China, epoch Western Chou.
- 3 - Mongolia.
- 4 - Barrow Arzhan, Tuva.
- 5 - Stag-stone from the Arzhan valley, Tuva.
- 6 - Maiemir, Altai.
- 7 - Siberian collection of the Peter the Great.
- 8 - Barskoon hoard, Kyrgyzstan.
- 9 - Sardis, Asia Minor.
- 10 - Ziviya, Asia Minor.
- 11 - Ujgarak, Kazakhstan.
- 12 - Kelermes, Northern Caucasus.
- 13 - Temir-mountain, Crimea (Northern Black Sea Region).
- 14 - Kulakov barrow, Crimea (Northern Black Sea Region).

**Fig. 15. The images of wild boar in art of early nomads of Euroasian Steppes (8-7 cent.B.C.):**

- 1,3 - Barrow Arzhan, Tuva.
- 2 - Taryat somon, Mongolia.
- 4 - Talas, Kazakhstan.
- 5 - Chilikta, Kazakhst.
- 6 - Podgornoe Lake, Minusinsk region.
- 7 - Samagaltai, Tuva.
- 8 - Ust'-Tuba, Yenisei.
- 9 - Zevakino, Kazakhstan.
- 10-11 - Kelermes, Northern Caucasus.

**Fig. 17. Solar symbols in art of steppes**

- ( 1-4 - monuments of epoch of early bronze, 5-11 - monuments of Early Scythian epoch ):
- 1 - Tasheba, Khakasia.
  - 2 - Erbinskaya, Khakasia.
  - 3 - Solenoozernaya, Khakasia.
  - 4 - Chernovaya VIII, Khakasia.
  - 5-6 - Ujgarak, Kazakhstan.
  - 7 - Klin-Yar III, Northern Caucasus.
  - 8 - Kislovodsk, Northern Caucasus.
  - 9 - Nosachev barrow, Ukraine.
  - 10 - Zol'noe, Crimea.
  - 11 - Vysokaya Mogila, Ukraine.

**Fig. 18. People, horses and tree of life ( 1-2 - bronze epoch, 3-4 - early scythian time):**

- 1 - Il'inskaya II, Minusinsk region.
- 2 - Sedlovina III, Minusinsk region.
- 3 - Transbaikal region.
- 4 - Oglakhty, Khakasia.