



CONTACT ZONES OF EUROPE
from the 3rd mill. BC to the 1st mill. AD

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CONTENTS / INHALT

I. Lectures

| | |
|--|-----|
| Dmitry AFINOGENOV (Russia) – Cimmerians in Asia Minor: Once More?..... | 5 |
| Irina ARZHANTSEVA (Russia) – “The Guzz Desert”: Ustyurt Plateau – Contact Area of Eurasia..... | 6 |
| Alla BUYSKIKH (Ukraine) – Usual and Rear Imports at Borysthenes in Greek Colonization of the North-Western Pontus..... | 7 |
| Victor COJOCARU (Rumänien) – Die Proxenie als Instrument der „Aussenpolitik“ im Kontext der auswärtigen Beziehungen pontischer Staaten..... | 8 |
| Altay COŞKUN (Kanada) – Über den Hintergrund der Verbreitung des Kybele-Kultes im Westen des Mittelmeerraumes..... | 13 |
| Pavel DONEC (Ukraine) – Grenzland als Synergie- und Dysergiezone..... | 19 |
| Andrey EPIMAKHOV (Russia) – “ <i>Ex oriente lux</i> ”? Bronze Age Chariot. Genesis and Evolution of the Tradition..... | 24 |
| Peter FUNKE (Deutschland) – Die griechische Poliswelt und ihre Nachbarn in Nordwestgriechenland.. | 30 |
| Oleg GABELKO (Russia) – The “Tylian” Kingdom of the Galatians in Thrace: Searching for a Phantom?..... | 31 |
| Stanislav GRIGORIEV (Russia) – Ural-European Parallels in the Eneolithic and the Bronze Age..... | 37 |
| Lavinia GRUMEZA (Romania) – CRFB R1. Trade, Gifts and Long-Distance Contacts in ‘Sarmatian’ Barbaricum, West of Roman Dacia..... | 41 |
| Heinrich HÄRKE (Germany) – Contact, Conflict, Co-existence: Multiple Monocultures and Dual Contact Zones in the British Isles, 5 th – 8 th centuries AD..... | 44 |
| Eszter ISTVÁNOVITS, Valéria KULCSÁR (Hungary) – Sarmatians on the Borders of the Roman Empire. Steppe Traditions and Imported Cultural Phenomena..... | 46 |
| Askold IVANCHIK (Russia) – ‘Crimean Scythia’ between East and West. Preliminary Results of the RSF-Project..... | 54 |
| Elke KAISER (Deutschland), Eugen SAVA (Moldawien) – Die Siedlungen mit „Aschehügeln“ der späten Bronzezeit in der Waldsteppe und Steppe des nordwestlichen Schwarzmeerraums..... | 55 |
| Vladimir KASHCHEEV (Russia) – Romans in Greece – Greeks in Rome: Cultural Confrontation and Interaction between the Greek East and the Roman West in the 2 nd c. BC..... | 62 |
| Flemming KAUL (Denmark) – Middle Bronze Age Long Distance Exchange through Europe and Beyond. Beads of Egyptian and Mesopotamian Glass Reaching Denmark in 14 th Century BC.. | 64 |
| Vladimir KULAKOV (Russland) – Die Prußen und die Welt der Steppen: die Konflikte und Kulturentlehnungen Zusammenfassung..... | 72 |
| Vakhtang LICHELI (Georgia) – Intellectual Innovations in Georgia (11 th – 9 th c. BC)..... | 83 |
| John LUND (Denmark) – Cyprus as a Contact Zone in the 1st Millennium AD..... | 88 |
| Igor MAKAROV (Russia) – Chersonesus Taurica and the Cities of the Southern Black Sea in Antiquity: Epigraphic Evidence..... | 96 |
| Vladimir MAZHUGA (Russland) – Umdeutung der Begriffe der Griechischen Philosophie und Rhetorik bei den Römischen Grammatikern zur Zeit des Prinzipats..... | 97 |
| Vladimir NAPOL’SKIKH (Russland) – Palaeoeuropäische, para-indogermanische und para-uralische Gruppen in der Urgeschichte Zentral- und Ost-Europas (III-I Jts. v. Chr.)..... | 103 |

| | |
|--|-----|
| Salvatore ORTISI (Germany) – Mobility and Migration in the Roman Border Provinces. The Cultural Identity of Raetia on the Upper Danube..... | 104 |
| Dmitriy PANCHENKO (Russia) – New Cultural Elements of European Origin in the Dark Ages Attica. | 105 |
| Natalia PETLYUCHENKO (Ukraine) – Kontaktzone: Das Definitionsproblem in Geisteswissenschaften..... | 109 |
| Aleksandr PODOSSINOV (Russland) – Der Einfluss der griechischen Zivilisation auf die Bräuche und Sitten der „barbarischen“ Skythen in den Augen griechischer Autoren (insbesondere Strabo).. | 110 |
| Tadeusz SARNOWSKI (Poland) – Funny Side of Contact Zones between the Barbarians, Greeks and Romans. Peregrinatio Taurica of the Roman Švejk from Novae..... | 116 |
| Nikita SAVELIEV (Russia) – Southern Urals in the 1 Millennium BC as a Special Contact Zone in the Far East of Europe..... | 119 |
| Svetlana SHARAPOVA (Russia) – Contacting Europe and Nomadic World: the Life and Life-style of the Sargat Forest-steppe Population in the Trans-Urals and Western Siberia..... | 126 |
| Tatyana SMEKALOVA (Russia) – New Results of Natural Science Investigations at Late Scythian Sites in the Crimean Foothills..... | 132 |
| Katja SPORN (Germany) – Athens as Contact Zone: On the Spread and Meaning of Attic and Atticizing Grave Reliefs in Classical Greece..... | 141 |
| Petr STEFANOVICH (Russia) – “Transfer of Knowledge” in Northern and Eastern Europe in the 10-11 th Centuries: a Phenomenon of "the Grand Retinue"..... | 142 |
| Niklay SUDAREV (Russia) – Greeks and “Barbarians” as Seen Through Research of the Bosphorus Necropoleis..... | 147 |
| Olga TOMASHEVICH (Russia) – A Temple of “The Mistress of the Sea” that was Far from the Shore (The Iseum in Beneventum)..... | 148 |
| Mikhail TREISTER (Germany) – Parthian Imports in the Asian Sarmatia (2 nd –1 st Centuries BC)..... | 151 |
| Christoph ULF (Austria) – Rethinking Cultural Contacts –Revised..... | 160 |
| Jeanette VARBERG (Denmark) – The Glass Road – Late Bronze Age Glass Beads in Denmark, Germany and Romania..... | 168 |
| Mikhail VEDESHKIN (Russia) – “A Barbarian by birth, yet a Hellen in everything else”: the Image of a Pious Barbarian in the Works of Late Roman Pagans..... | 175 |
| Denis ZHURAVLYOV (Russia) – Greek Colonization on the Taman Peninsula..... | 182 |

II. Posters

| | |
|--|-----|
| Alexandra ABRAMOVA (Russia) – Osteological Characteristic of Meotes Inhabiting the Kuban Region in the Period Between the 4 th Century BC and the 3 rd Century AD..... | 183 |
| Anastasiya AGDZHOYAN (Russia) – The Heritage of the Ancient Greek Colonization and Turk-speaking Nomads in the Gene Pool of Crimea..... | 185 |
| Anzhela BATASOVA (Russia) – A Polis at the Asiatic Bosphorus in the 6 th and Early 5 th Century BC: a Territorial Aspect..... | 186 |
| Ekaterina BULAKOVA (Russia) – The “Textile” Ceramics as a Marker of Cultural Contacts of the Population of Eurasia in Bronze Age..... | 191 |
| Tatyana EGOROVA (Russia) – Imported Black-Glazed Ceramics on the Territory of the European Bosphorus in 6 th – 2 th Centuries BC..... | 194 |

| | |
|--|------------|
| Marie-Hélène GRUNWALD (Deutschland) – Das römische Kastell Echzell in der Wetterau am Obergermanischen Limes..... | 195 |
| Tatyana IL'INA (Russia) – Hermonassa in Late Antiquity: between Romans and Barbarians..... | 196 |
| Aleksey IVANOV (Russia) – Formation of the Elite Among the Settled Barbarians of the Kuban Region in Ancient Times..... | 197 |
| Aleksey KAZARNITSKIY (Russia) – Scythian Neapolis Population according to Data of Physical Anthropology..... | 204 |
| Natalia KULIKOVA (Poland) – Natural Terminologies in the Aulus Cornelius Celsus's Treatise <i>De Medicina</i> : Linguistic Interpretation..... | 209 |
| Valeria KUVATOVA (Russia) – Alexandrian Origin of the Roman Iconography of the Happy Afterlife..... | 210 |
| Christoph LINDNER (Deutschland) – Ein Germane in der römischen Legion. Der Helm des L. Sollionius Super..... | 215 |
| Piotr MAĆZYŃSKI, Jerzy LIBERA (Poland) – Symbols of Prestige – Flint Daggers in the Light of a Functional Analysis..... | 216 |
| Piotr MAĆZYŃSKI, Beata POLIT (Poland) – Methods of Using Flint Raw Materials in the Crimea in the Roman Influence Period..... | 222 |
| Aleksey NECHVALODA, Elena NECHVALODA (Russia) – South Ural as a Contact Area. Skulls and Artifacts: South Ural Nomads of the Early Iron Age according to Anthropological Reconstruction..... | 226 |
| Barbara NIEZABITOWSKA-WISNIEWSKA (Poland) – Between East and West – the Multicultural Settlement Complex in Ulów (Eastern Poland) in the Light of Intercultural Contacts and Interdisciplinary Research..... | 233 |
| Beata POLIT (Poland) – Metal Bracelets from Late Scythian Culture Child Graves in the Crimea..... | 234 |
| Joanna PORUCZNIK (Poland) – Olbia Pontike and its <i>chora</i> – a Question of the Self-definition of Urban and Rural Societies..... | 240 |
| Vladimir SHELESTIN (Russia) – Hettite and Hurrian Traditions in Europe?..... | 244 |
| Vitaliy SINIKA (Moldova) – Economic Relations and Cultural Contacts of the Scythians Settling on the Left Bank of the Lower Dniester from the 3 rd to the 2 nd Centuries BC..... | 245 |
| Cristina TICA (USA) – Osteobiographies at the Edge of Empire: 'Roman' Provincials in Scythia Minor and their 'Barbarian' Neighbors across the Danubian Frontier..... | 247 |
| Irina TOLOCHKO, Ilya AKHMEDOV (Russia) – From the Sea to the Forest and Back Again: «The Don Route» in the Migration Period and the Early Middle Ages (studying the issue about interactions between populations of the Forest and the Steppe Zones from the 4 th to the 7 th centuries AD)..... | 252 |
| Evgeny VDOVCHENKOV (Russia) – Lower Don as a Contact zone of Interaction of Nomads and Sedentary Population in the First Centuries AD..... | 254 |
| Sergey VORONYATOV (Russia) – Traces of Contacts between Sedentary and Nomadic Peoples in Eastern Europe during the Roman Period (Sarmatian Tamga-signs and "Enamelled-style" Items)..... | 255 |
| III. Visitors | 260 |

I. Lectures

Cimmerians in Asia Minor: Once More?

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The exploits of St Hieron and his 32 companions in Melitene, allegedly under Diocletian, is recorded by two texts, one of them compiled by Symeon Metaphrastes. The other one survives in the sole manuscript Marcianus gr. 349. Both Martyrdoms are evidently based on a lost common source of uncertain date (probably no earlier than the last quarter of the 4th c.). The second hagiographer, writing ἐξ ἀρχαιοτέρων ὑπομνημάτων, claims to have left the course of narrative intact while emendating the style. Now, in his final oration he mentions ἀνυπέβλητον χειμῶνα, ὃν Σκυθικῆς ἢ Κιμμερινῆς παροινίας, ὡς ἂν τις φαίη, ἐκνέφωσις ἐπεσκεύασεν (unsurpassed storm, prepared for us by the clouds of the Scythian or Cimmerian rage, as one might say) (Acta Sanctorum Novembris. T. 3. Col. 335A). These Scythians or Cimmerians were interpreted by the editor, P. Peeters, as Slavs, who, according to him, ravaged Asia in the 6th c. (Co. 326E). Peeters was absolutely right in claiming that Byzantines would never apply these archaizing ethnic names to Arabs. However, in the preface the author refers to the waning of “our sincere faith” (Col. 329F), which could hardly apply to the time of the Slavic invasions. Therefore I propose to interpret Cimmerians as Seljuk Turks. Since they invaded Byzantine Asia Minor not from the South, as Arabs, but rather from the North via Armenia, where the decisive battle of Manzikert was fought in 1071, this was precisely the route followed by the historical Cimmerians and Scythians many centuries earlier. The real place of Seljuk origin probably did not matter for the Cappadocian writer as far as he knew that they came from the North-East. It was Seljuk invasion that led to the decline of Christian dioceses in Anatolia. This time also fits in perfectly with the MS, dated to 11th–12th c. (EHRHARD A. Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche. 3 Bde. Leipzig, 1936-39. Bd. 1, 496–499). Thus in the Martyrdom of St Hieron et al. we have perhaps another example of precision with which the Byzantines used archaic ethnic names. The question now is, if any tradition on Cimmerians survived in Cappadocia in the 11th c. at a more popular level.

"The Guzz Desert": Ustyurt Plateau – Contact Area of Eurasia

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For much of later prehistory and early history, Eurasia was divided into two broad zones: sedentary civilizations in the south, nomadic cultures in the north. Between them, from the North Pontic across the Caucasus to the Aral Sea region and southern Siberia, ran a contact zone where these two worlds interacted, exchanging ideas, peoples and goods.

The Ustyurt Plateau, between the Caspian and Aral Seas, is a microcosm of relations and communication within this contact zone. A barren landscape of stark beauty, but with few permanent water sources, it does not allow for much permanent settlement. Archaeological traces of contact are therefore not inundated by a mass of other data, but stand out as if on a blank sheet of paper. Perhaps the best evidence of trade and exchange here in the Middle Ages are the caravan routes which cross the Ustyurt Plateau. They are illustrated by textual descriptions (like Ibn Fadlan in the early 10th century) and preserved in the remains of caravanserais, watchtowers and a small number of fortresses of the 10th to 14th centuries. Together, this evidence shows a lively communication network across the desert landscape which is only destroyed in the 14th century by the Mongol incursions.

The Khorezmian Expedition under the famous archaeologist Sergej P. Tolstov explored Ustyurt after the Second World War. They did much to provide data and ideas which have helped to further our understanding of this part of the Eurasian contact zone. But specific archaeological examples are available for all regions of Eurasia to demonstrate how this contact zone operated in concrete terms.

Usual and Rear Imports at Borysthene in Greek Colonization of the North-Western Pontus

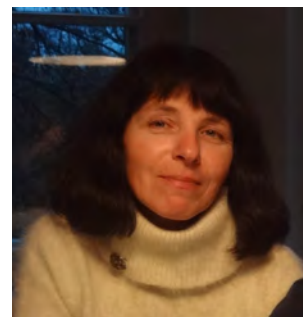
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Borysthene, the first *emporion* at the North-Western part of the Black sea region, founded by Milesians nearly 674 BC (in accordance with Eusebius), accumulated the huge collection of ceramic from hundred-years excavations. An important part of it creates the painted pottery that was used for everyday purposes and fabricated in the main productive centers of Eastern Mediterranean. Modern studying of this collection gives the possibility to reconstruct the main directions of trade connections between them and this Greek *apoikia*. The number and quality of ceramic imports is amazing even today. One of the most important questions appeared during the process of their studying – for what reason this volume of goods had to be imported to Borysthene. What kind of population had to use it? Can the change contacts with the inhabitants from forest-steppe zone explain this enormous number of imported fine ceramic? Who used high-quality ceramic production outside the mother cities? Studying of ceramic imports from Borysthene permitted also to find some new directions from Mediterranean. They create a small and exotic part of ceramic collection from the *emporion*. They are represented with trading amphorae and table wares. In Borysthene were founded parts of vessels from Etruria, Laconia, Palestine, Cyprus, North Africa (Cyrene) together with Lydia and Phrygia that were famous earlier. These imports put a new question – they appeared in Borysthene as a result of direct contacts with these regions or they were brought here with the help of middlemen? Did they create the specific deposit for Greek *emporion*, because they are known only in Borysthene, not in barbarian settlements or graves. And at least – who played a role of middlemen in the second half of 7th – 6th centuries BC in trade connection with Borysthene?

Die Proxenie als Instrument der „Aussenpolitik“ im Kontext der auswärtigen Beziehungen pontischer Staaten

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Zusammenfassung: Die systematische Untersuchung der Proxenedekrete aus den pontisch-griechischen Gemeinden begann der Autor 2007 als Humboldt-Stipendiat an der Universität Trier. Die seither fortgeführten Untersuchungen haben zu einer monographischen Zusammenstellung von 174 Proxeniurkunden mit eingehenden Kommentaren und übergreifenden Auswertungen geführt (Cojocaru 2016). Unter den vielen Aspekten, welche hier zu berücksichtigen sind, versucht man im bescheidenen Rahmen dieses Beitrages nur zwei Fragestellungen zusammenfassend zu erörtern, die zu einem besseren Verständnis der Außenbeziehungen der griechischen Städte in der Antike beitragen können. Gemeint sind die geographische Verteilung nach *ethnika* der *proxenoi* im Schwarzmeerraum, sowie die Menschen aus dem Schwarzmeerraum, die außerhalb desselben als *proxenoi* in anderen Regionen der *oikoumene* belegt sind.

Schlagwörter: Schwarzmeerraum, griechische Städte, Proxenedekrete, Außenbeziehungen

I. Die geographische Verteilung nach *ethnika* der *proxenoi* im Schwarzmeerraum

Während die frühesten Inschriften aus den ionischen *apoikiai* im 5. Jh. v. Chr. nur innerpontische Beziehungen von Olbia mit Sinope und Herakleia beweisen,¹ bzw. einige durch antike Autoren bestätigte Handelskontakte zwischen dem Bosporianischen Reich und Athen,² stehen uns mit dem nächsten Jahrhundert die Hinweise auf viel intensivere und abwechslungsreichere Kontakte zur Verfügung.³ Im Netzwerk der geehrten *proxenoi* – vor allem durch die Bürgerschaft von Olbia – befinden sich praktisch alle größeren Städte des Schwarzmeerraumes. Unter den außerpontischen *poleis* bieten Antiochia, Athen, Chios, Kos, Milet, Mytilene, Orchomenos in Arkadien, Rhodos, Samothrake und Smyrna eine sichere, aber sicherlich unvollständige Liste,⁴ der Stadtstaaten, mit welchen pontische Ionier sowohl Handelsbeziehungen als auch politische, kultische und kulturelle Kontakte unterhielten. Im ersten Jahrhundert v. Chr. ergänzen das Bild Heraion Teichos und Tarsos,⁵ obwohl die Proxenie kaum mehr eine wichtige Rolle im Vergleich zu den vergangenen Jahrhunderten spielt. Mit Ausnahme einer Stelle bei Ovid,⁶ die besagt, dass ein Ausländer in Tomis noch während der Herrschaft des Augustus mit der *immunitas* [= ἀτέλεια] belohnt werden konnte, gewährt nach der Zeitenwende nur Olbia *proxenia kai politeia*.⁷ Dazu ist der Brief von Ovinus Tertullus an die Magistrate, den Rat und Demos

* Die Fertigstellung dieser Arbeit wurde durch die Förderungsmittel des rumänischen Nationalen Behörde für wissenschaftliche Forschung unterstützt, CNCS – UEFISCDI, Projekt-Nummer PN-III-P4-ID-PCE-2016-0279.

¹ NO 1 (vgl. IGDOP 1); NO 2 (vgl. Vinogradov 1997, 188, Anm. 86); SEG 31, 701 (vgl. Vinogradov 1981, 74; BE 1982, 235; IGDOP 5).

² Isoc. 17,57; Dem. 20,31.

³ Für ein zusammenfassendes Bild s. jetzt Cojocaru 2016, 234, Taf. VIII.

⁴ In vielen Fällen erlaubt der Erhaltungszustand der Inschriften bestenfalls nur die Formulierung von Vermutungen bezüglich des Herkunftsortes der *proxenoi*.

⁵ IGBulg I² 43 (vgl. IGBulg V 5018); IGBulg I² 392.

⁶ Ov. *Pont.* 4,9,101–103: *nec mihi credideris: extant decreta, quibus nos / laudat et immunes publica cera facit. / Conveniens miseris et quamquam gloria non sit / proxima dant nobis oppida munus idem.*

⁷ Besonders NO 45 (vgl. SEG 3, 584).

von Tyras von Interesse,⁸ der das Recht auf die Staatsbürgerschaft der *polis* und die damit verbundene Zollfreiheit für die in kommerziellen Netzwerken beteiligten Ausländer noch in der Severerzeit erwähnt.

Im Fall der dorischen *apoikiai*⁹ bemerkt man eine größere Offenheit von Mesambria zum thrakischen Hinterland, sowie intensive und dauerhafte Beziehungen von Chersonesos zu den südpontischen *poleis*, unter denen der Metropole Herakleia ein besonderer Platz zukommt. Kallatis erfordert Aufmerksamkeit in einem größeren Ausmaß in Bezug auf die unterhaltenen Außenbeziehungen in hellenistischer Zeit. So war die Stadt im 3. Jh. zumindest für Eleia, Mytilene und Paros von Interesse, als Herkunftsorte von vier *proxenoi*, deren Ethnikon in den bis auf uns gekommene Dokumente erhalten wurde. Außerdem bestätigen die Belege von Kallatianoi als *proxenoi* in allen wichtigeren Städten des Schwarzmeerraumes (Chersonesos, Dionysopolis, Histria, Mesambria, Odessos, Olbia, Sinope) die herausragende Stellung von Kallatis in hellenistischer Zeit. In Byzantion und Kalchedon ist die Proxenie durch wenige spätere Inschriften bezeugt, die Information wird aber durch die große Zahl der als *proxenoi* in anderen Regionen der *oikoumene* belegten Bürger der beiden Stadtstaaten ergänzt.

II. Die Menschen aus dem Schwarzmeerraum, die außerhalb desselben als *proxenoi* in anderen Regionen der *oikoumene* belegt sind

Im Vergleich zu den 174 Belegen von *ateleia*, *proxenia* und *politeia* im Schwarzmeerraum stehen uns außerhalb desselben nur 75 Dokumente des gleichen Charakters zur Verfügung.¹⁰ Noch bezeichnender ist die Verteilung der außenpontischen Inschriften nach *ethnika* der Geehrten. Unter den ionischen *apoikiai*¹¹ distanziert sich Sinope mit neun Dokumenten, gefolgt von Olbia (drei), Amisos (zwei) und Apollonia (zwei). Für Dionysopolis, Histria, Odessos, Tomis und Tyras kennen wir kein außenpontischer Proxenedekret von Interesse. Unter den dorischen *apoikiai*¹² steht Byzantion mit 28 Dokumenten weit aus, gefolgt von Herakleia (11) und Kalchedon (acht). Die *Chersonesitai* mit fünf Belegen, die *Kallatianoi* mit zwei und die *Mesambrianoi* mit einem Proxenedekret zählen kaum in anderen Regionen der *oikoumene* und eigentlich nur im Kultkontext, bei dem Besuch der panhellenischen Heiligtümer. Zu den oben erwähnten Zahlen wären vier weitere Belege von *ateleia* oder *proxenia* für die *Bosporanoi* außerhalb des Pontos Euxeinos hinzuzufügen.

Ausgehend von den oben genannten Daten spielten nur Byzantion, Herakleia, Sinope und Kalchedon in 4.-2. Jh. v. Chr. eine besondere Rolle bei der Verleihung der *proxenia* im östlichen Mittelmeerraum. Weitere Belege unterstreichen die vor allem mit Delphi, Delos und Oropos gepflegten Kultbeziehungen, möglicherweise auch die Interessen von Athenern für die Tradition der Handelskontakte mit einem Raum, der für die Ausfuhr von Getreide und Sklaven besonders wichtig war. So wurden in 347/6 in Athen die Auszeichnungen für Spartokos, Pairisades und Apollonios, die Söhne von Leukon I., beschlossen.¹³ Aus der Sicht der Proxenie-Entwicklung im Schwarzmeerraum bemerkt man als interessant die Lob-Verkündigung für die Gesandten Σῶσις und Θεοδόσιος, die zum Bankett für Gäste im Prytaneion geladen wurden, da beide die am

⁸ IOSPE P 4.

⁹ Für ein zusammenfassendes Bild s. jetzt Cojocaru 2016, 235, Taf. IX.

¹⁰ Vgl. eine frühere ausführlichere Diskussion bei Cojocaru 2016, 236-248 (Menschen aus dem Schwarzmeerraum als *proxenoi* in anderen Regionen der *oikoumene*).

¹¹ Vgl. Cojocaru 2016, 246, Taf. X.

¹² Vgl. Cojocaru 2016, 247, Taf. XII.

¹³ IG II² 212 = Syll.³ 206; vgl. Müller 2010, 361-363.

Bosporos angekommenen Athener als Gäste gepflegt hatten.¹⁴ Es ist zu bemerken, dass den beiden die *proxenia* mit dazugehörigen Privilegien nicht gewährt wurde, wie im Fall von Sochares(?), dem Sohn des Chares, aus Apollonia,¹⁵ der die Methonier gegen König Philipp II. unterstützte. Aber wir kennen auch Bosporaner, die das Proxenie-Recht erhalten, wie Ἡροφάνης Εὐμηλ[ί]δου Παντικαπαεῖτη[ς], erwähnt in einem Katalog von Chios.¹⁶ Unter den im vierten Jahrhundert datieren Dokumenten sei hier auch ein interessantes Dekret erwähnt, das die enge Beziehung zwischen Sinope und Kos bezeugt, was sich in der Einführung eines Gesetzes zur Ehrung der Sinoper in der Heimat des Hippokrates widerspiegelt.¹⁷

Ebenfalls in Athen wurden im 4. Jh. besonders enge Beziehungen zu Herakleia Pontike gepflegt. Die aus drei fragmentarischen Inschriften bekannten Informationen werden durch eine bedeutende Rede des Apollodoros gegen den *proxenos* Kallippos ergänzt (Dem. 52,5), was uns eine gute Vorstellung von der Funktionsweise der *proxenia* in einer bestimmten Situation erlaubt. Ebenfalls in Athen bekamen im vierten Jahrhundert Φιλῖνος und Ἀπελλῆς Ζω[π]ύρου aus Byzantion den Titel *proxenos kai euergetes*.¹⁸ Das Netzwerk der ‘Meerenge-Königin’ umfasst aber sieben andere *poleis* außerhalb des Pontos Euxeinos: Theben in Böotien, Delphi, Delos, Kos, Chios, Oinoe (auf der Insel Ikaria) und Heraion (auf der Insel Samos).

Aus dem 3. Jh. v. Chr. sind die meisten Erwähnungen der Menschen aus dem Schwarzmeerraum als *proxenoi* in anderen Regionen der *oikoumene* erhalten. Aus Raumgründen kann ich an dieser Stelle nicht auf Details eingehen¹⁹ und stelle nur fest, dass es sich in den meisten Fällen um den Besuch von panhellenischen Heiligtümern handelt.

Im 2. Jh. kennen wir nur neun Proxenedekrete für pontische Ionier und Dorer außerhalb des Pontos Euxeinos. Zuerst bekam ein Unbekannter, Sohn des Dikaios, aus Herakleia, den *proxenos*-Titel in Delos,²⁰ wie auch im Fall des Θεῶν Μενίσκου Βυζάντιος²¹. In 192/1 gewährten die Delphier den Chersonesiten die *promanteia* und deren Gesandten Φορμίων und Ἡρακλείδας – τὰ ξένια.²² Die Kalchedonier Πανσίμαχος Διείου und Βόηθος Ἀθαναίωρος bekamen die *proxenia* in Maroneia (Thrakien)²³ bzw. in Lindos (auf der Insel Rhodos)²⁴. Die Olbiopoliten Ποσίδεος Διονυσίου²⁵ und Διόδωρος Ἀρώτου²⁶ haben sich vor der Gemeinschaft und dem Heiligtum von Delos verdient gemacht. Beide wurden mit fast den gleichen Privilegien wie Κοίρανος Παντικαπαεῖτης ein Jahrhundert früher belohnt. Die *ateleia* wird aber nicht mehr erwähnt, was noch stärker den Kultcharakter der Beziehungen zwischen den Verleihern und den Empfängern unterstreicht. Das späteste Dokument, das in diesem Kontext vom Interesse wäre, ist ein im Jahr 100 v. Chr. datiertes Proxenedekret aus Mylasa (Karien), für

¹⁴ Z. 49-53: ἐπαινέσαι δὲ τοὺς πρέσβει[ς] | Σῶσιν καὶ Θεοδόσιον ὅτι ἐπιμελοῦνται τ[ῶ]ν ἀφικ[ν]ουμένων Ἀθήνηθεν εἰς Βόσπορον [κα]ῖ⁵² καλέσαι αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ ξένια εἰς τὸ πρυτανεῖον εἰς αὐριον.

¹⁵ IG II² 130 (im Jahr 355/4 v. Chr.); vgl. Avram 2013, Nr. 395.

¹⁶ Vanseveren 1937, 325-332, Nr. 6.A., r. 20. Vgl. Avram 2013, Nr. 2613.

¹⁷ I.Cos ED 20, Z. 11-13: (...) [ἐ]πι ταῖς ἄλλαις τιμαῖς ταῖς διδομέναις Σινωπεῦσι ἐν Κῶι (...).

¹⁸ IG II² 76 (ca. 378/7 v. Chr.); IG II² 235 (340/39 v. Chr.).

¹⁹ Für eine frühere ausführlichere Diskussion, s. Cojocararu 2016, 238-240 & 242-245.

²⁰ IG XI 4, 797.

²¹ IG XI 4, 779 & 780.

²² SGDI 2652 = Syll.³ 604.

²³ I.Thrak.Aig. E 177.

²⁴ I.Lindos 165.

²⁵ IG XI 4, 813.

²⁶ IG XI 4, 814.

Ποσειδώνιος Πολυχάρου Βυζάντιος.²⁷ Ein noch späterer Beleg, nämlich das Ehrendekret von Delphi, um 120 n. Chr., für Λάσιο[ς] Ἀγαθημέρ[ου Β]υζάντιος, gewährt noch die *politeia*, sagt aber nichts mehr über die *proxenia*.²⁸

Legen wir zum Schluss eine diachrone Perspektive an, so datiert der erste Beleg – eine Atelie aus Olbia für einen Sinopier (NO 1) – in die zweite Hälfte des 5. Jhs. v. Chr. Der letzte datierbare Beleg ist der Brief, den Ovinus Tertullus (IOSPE I² 4) im Jahr 201 n. Chr. an *tyritai* sandte. So kann man mit aller Gewissheit sagen, dass die Proxenie als eine besondere Institution sowohl der zwischenstaatlichen Beziehungen im Schwarzmeerraum als auch für die Kontakte der pontisch-griechischen Gemeinden außerhalb des Pontos Euxeinos fast sieben Jahrhunderte lang Bestand hatte.

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Abkürzungen

- BE Bulletin épigraphique, par J. & L. Robert [et al.], Paris (in: REG, 1938-).
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IG II² J. Kirchner: *Inscriptiones Atticae Euclidis anno posteriores*, editio altera, Berlin 1913 sqq.
IG XI 4 P. Roussel: *Inscriptiones Deli*, fasc. 4 (nr. 510-1349), Berlin 1914.
IGBulg I² G. Mihailov: *Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria repertae*. Vol. I²: *Inscriptiones orae Ponti Euxini*, Sofia ²1970.
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IGDOP L. Dubois: *Inscription grecques dialectales d’Olbia du Pont*, Genf 1996.
I.Lindos V. Blinkenberg: *Lindos II 1-2*. *Inscriptions*, Kopenhagen 1941.
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IOSPE I² V. V. Latyshev: *Inscriptiones Tyrae, Olbiae, Chersonesi Tauricae aliorum locorum a Danubio usque ad Regnum Bosporanum*, editio altera, St. Petersburg 1916 (Neudruck Hildesheim 1965).
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NO T.N. Knipovič – E.I. Levi: *Nadpisi Ol’vii / Inscriptiones Olbiae (1917–1965)*, Leningrad 1968.
RPh Revue de philologie, de littérature et d’histoire anciennes. Paris.

²⁷ I.Mylasa I 103.

²⁸ FD III 4/1, 85: Λάσιο[v] Ἀγαθημέρ[ου Β]υζάντιον | Δελφοὶ Δελφὸν καὶ βουλευτὴν | ἐποίησαν, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τείματα ἔδωκαν | ὅσα τοῖς καλοῖς καὶ ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσι | δίδονται. ἄρχοντος Βαβ. Μαξίμου.

- SEG Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum, J. E. E. Hondius & A. G. Woodhead (ed.), I–XXV, Leiden, (1923–1971); H. W. Pleket & R. S. Stroud (ed.), XXVI–XXVII, Alphen, (1979–1980), XXVIII–, Amsterdam, (1982–).
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- VDI Vestnik drevnej istorii / Journal of Ancient History. Moskau.

Über den Hintergrund der Verbreitung des Kybele-Kultes im Westen des Mittelmeerraumes –

Neue Forschungen zum phrygisch-hellenistischen Pessinus

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Zusammenfassung: Die literarische Quellenlage zur Überführung der Magna Mater (in Form eines Meteoriten) von Pessinus nach Rom im Jahr 205 v.Chr. sowie zur mythischen Aitiologie und institutionellen Ausprägung des Kultes ist relativ reichhaltig; aber tatsächliche oder auch nur vermeintliche Widersprüche in den Schriftzeugnissen sowie das mittlerweile beklemmende Ausbleiben entsprechender archäologischer Funde haben zu einer großen Skepsis gegenüber unserer Hauptquelle (Livius 29,10,4–29,11,8 & 29,14,5–14) geführt. Der vorliegende Beitrag beleuchtet zahlreiche rezente, zum Teil noch nicht erschienene Publikationen, welche einerseits die livianische Tradition im Wesentlichen bestätigen, andererseits vor allem die *agency* Attalos' I. neu beleuchten. Die Hinweise verdichten sich, dass er nicht nur Mittler zwischen Rom und Pessinus, sondern vielmehr Schöpfer des Kybele-und-Attis-Kultes sowohl im Gallos-Tal als auch am Tiber war.

Es ist immer ungemein lehrreich, die präzisen Umstände der Etablierung oder des Transfers eines Kultes näher zu betrachten. Sofern die Quellen hierfür nicht allzu cursorisch sind oder gänzlich schweigen, sind die historischen Umstände oft durch lebhaftere Legenden verschleiert oder können durch religionswissenschaftliche Vergleiche oder etymologische Studien nur hypothetisch umrissen werden. In einer relativ guten Position sind wir hinsichtlich des Transfers eines *baitylos* (Meteoriten) vom ostrphrygischen Pessinus nach Rom im Jahr 205 (hier und im Folgenden) v.Chr.: Dieser anikone Stein galt als Emanation der Muttergöttin Kybele Agdistis und erhielt, angestoßen durch eine Konsultation der Sibyllinischen Bücher, schließlich einen Staatskult als *Magna Mater Deorum Idaea* in Rom; diesen wiederum betrachtete man als entscheidend für den Sieg über Hannibal, und die Wirkmacht der Göttin wurde folglich als so gewaltig empfunden, dass ihr Kult noch bis in die letzten Winkel des späteren Römischen Reiches verbreitet war. Der Fall war freilich höchst kurios, denn kaum ein anderer am Tiber praktizierter Kult wurde als derart ‚unrömisch‘ angesehen, dass seine Priester vom römischen Bürgerrecht ausgeschlossen blieben. Dies lag vor allem an ihrer Selbstkastration, welche wiederum – im aitiologischen Mythos – durch die Bestrafung des Jünglings Attis vorgeprägt war; nachdem er der Göttin untreu geworden war, schlug ihn diese mit Wahnsinn, der ihn zur Selbstzerstümmelung führte und dann verbluten ließ. Die ekstatischen Kultriten, welche dann die Trauer um Attis zum Ausdruck brachten, wurden in Rom strengstens reglementiert (Thomas 1984).

Die Quellenlage für die Einführung des Kybelekultes in Rom ist dank zahlreicher literarischer Zeugnisse ausgesprochen reichhaltig. Allen voran steht das detaillierte Narrativ des Livius, das nicht nur die Aussendung und festliche Rückkehr der römischen Kultgesandten 205/4 wiedergibt (29,10,4–29,11,8 & 29,14,5–14), sondern auch die junge Kultgeschichte mit der Einführung der *Megalesia* genannten Festspiele (34,54,3) und der Einweihung eines Tempels für die Göttin (36,36,4–5) in den Jahren 194 bzw. 191

fortschreibt. Wichtige Einzelheiten zu der bereits von Livius erwähnten Vermittlerrolle des Königs Attalos von Pergamon (reg. 241–197) bieten Notizen bei Varro (*De lingua Latina* 6,3,15) sowie der Abschnitt zu Pessinus und dem Gallos-Tal in der *Geographie* Strabons (12,5,3). Die Kultaitiologie ist in mehreren Versionen überliefert, *en détail* erstmals bei Catull (*Carmen* 63) und dann eine Generation später bei Ovid (*Fasti* 4,179–246). Weitere Facetten bieten insbesondere indignierte christliche Autoren (z.B. Arnobius, *Adversus nationes* 5,5–8).

Angesichts vieler strittiger Fragen ist die Forschung weit von einem Konsens über den Ereignisverlauf des Jahres 205 und somit auch über die tatsächlichen Hintergründe der Wahl gerade dieser ungestümen Variante der anatolisch-phrygischen Muttergöttin entfernt (einen gewissen Klärungsbedarf spiegelt etwa auch die Frage des Interlocutors in Ov. *Fast.* 4,247f.). Kaum bestritten ist, dass die Sibyllinischen Bücher mit der Forderung nach der *Idaea Mater* (Liv. 29,10,4) das Ida-Gebirge in der Troas zu benennen scheinen (anders jetzt freilich Stark 2007, welche die Wahl der Pessinunter Kybele mit ihrem angeblich gallischen Charakter begründet; angesichts des in der Gallia Cisalpina anhaltenden Krieges postuliert sie gewissermaßen eine *evocatio* auf Umwegen). Und tatsächlich muss den Zeitgenossen ein Bezug des Orakels zum damals in Rom Konjunktur erlebenden Troja-Mythos auf der Hand gelegen haben. Schon zu Beginn des Hannibal-Krieges war die vom sizilischen Berg Eryx stammende Venus unter den Gottheiten gewesen, die auf Weisung der Sibyllinischen Bücher einen Tempel auf dem Capitol erhielten (Liv. 22,9f.; 23,30f. zu 217/16 v.Chr.). Zudem hatten die in denselben Büchern enthaltenen *Carmina Marciana* die Römer noch in einer im Jahr 212 vorgetragenen Unheilsprophetie als *Troiugena* (‘Troja-Entstammter‘, kollektiver Singular) angesprochen (Liv. 25,12; Russo 2005). So überrascht es nicht, dass schon ein Teil der antiken Tradition (bes. Ov. *Fasti* 4,249–272) ganz auf eine Benennung von Pessinus als Ursprungsort der nunmehr römischen Göttin verzichtet und ihre erste Heimat mit derjenigen der Römer, also mit der Troas, in eins setzt.

Die jüngere Forschung ist verstärkt diesem letztgenannten Trend gefolgt: Dementsprechend fand die römische Kultgesandtschaft des Jahres 205 den Meteoriten entweder irgendwo im troischen Ida-Gebirge (Gruen 1990) oder aber in einem Heiligtum von Pergamon (Berneder 2004); die prominente Rolle von Pessinus in unseren Quellen wird mit der Berühmtheit erklärt, welche das dortige Attis-Grab erst im 2. Jh. unter den Attaliden erlangt habe (Bowden 2012, nach dem der *baitylos* erst 102 nach Rom gelangt sei). Die Tatsache, dass im archäologischen, epigraphischen und numismatischen Befund bisher jede Spur für ein phrygisches, achämenidisches oder frühhellenistisches Attis- oder Kybele-Heiligtum im Gallos-Tal fehlt (Roller 1999; Tsetskhladze 2013), vermag diese Skepsis gegenüber den literarischen Zeugnissen noch weiter zu beflügeln. Ergänzend kommt hinzu, dass die literarische Tradition überhaupt erst sehr spät einsetzt, und zwar mit den vagen Bemerkungen Ciceros 56 v.Chr. (*De haruspicum responso* 24–29; Coşkun 2016b). Freilich scheint der Mythos seinen Zeitgenossen gut bekannt gewesen zu sein (Catull, Varro, Livius, Strabo, Ovid).

Im Übrigen lebte der früheste Zeuge für das Pessinunter Attis-Grab nicht, wie bislang mit Verweis auf den christlichen Apologeten Arnobius (*Adv. nat.* 5,5–8) angenommen wurde, um 300, sondern vielmehr Anfang des 1. Jhs. v.Chr. (Bremmer 2004, 542–544). Auch die weiteren obskuren Testimonien der späteren Kaiserzeit für den angeblich vorhellenistischen Ruf der Kultstätte am Gallos sind mittlerweile als Fiktionen entlarvt, die frühestens im 2. Jh. v.Chr. entstanden sein können (Ps.-Plutarch, *De fluviis* 9,1–4 = *Mor.* 1155–1156, mit Banchich 2014; Ammianus 22,9,6f. = Theopompus, *FGH* 115 F

260, mit Coşkun ca. 2017). Deswegen verdient die Aussage Strabons mehr Beachtung, nach welcher erst die Attaliden durch ihre Bautätigkeit den Ort „prächtig“ (ἱεροπρεπῶς) sowie die Römer ihn „berühmt“ (ἐπιφανές) gemacht hätten (Coşkun 2016b; ca. 2017). Indes betont derselbe Geograph, dass jene Berühmtheit auf der Übernahme des *baitylos* basiere (12,5,3). Mithin darf Strabons Zeugnis nicht gegen die livianische Tradition angeführt werden.

Die Version des Livius hat noch weitere Verteidigung gefunden. So ist etwa zu Recht darauf hingewiesen worden, wie konsistent die vielen Details in seiner Schilderung sind, seien es die Sorge um den trotz bedeutender militärischer Erfolge nicht enden wollenden Krieg in Italien (Burton 1996), oder die prosopographischen Einzelheiten, die kaum ein Jahrhundert später hätten erfunden werden können (Russo 2015). Das Schweigen des Historiographen Polybios, anerkanntermaßen die Hauptquelle des Livius für hellenistische Themen, sollte also nicht darauf zurückgeführt werden, dass jener in der Mitte des 2. Jhs. v.Chr. noch nichts von einer Expedition nach Pessinus gewusst hätte; vielmehr wird auch er schon – vielleicht dem Bericht des ersten, leider weitestgehend verlorenen römischen Geschichtswerkes aus der Feder des Fabius Pictor folgend – von den Ereignissen berichtet haben. Angesichts der großen Überlieferungslücken in Polybios' *Historien* käme einem *argumentum e silentio* ohnehin kein Gewicht zu.

Überdies hat jüngst eine weitere Detailstudie ganz zutreffend in Zweifel gezogen, dass sich die etwa gleichaltrigen Schriftsteller Cicero und Varro auf unterschiedliche Traditionen zum Ursprung des *baitylos* gestützt hätten. Das sprachlich etwas schwierige Zeugnis Varros, der enzyklopädische Eintrag *Megalesia*, (LL 6,3,15: *Megalesia dicta a Graecis, quod ex Libris Sibyllinis arcessita ab Attalo rege Pergama, ubi prope murum Megalesion, [in] templum eius deae, unde advecta Romam*) bezeichnet Pergamon eben nicht, wie bisher angenommen, als *Ursprung* des Meteoriten, sondern gegebenenfalls (sollte etwa ein verlorenes *baitylos* das Subjekt von *arcessit<us>* sein) als *Zwischenstation* (*Pergama* ist jedenfalls Akkusativ [Plural] der Richtung, nicht Ablativ [Singular] der Herkunft: Leigh 2004). Damit ist auch ohne die ausdrückliche Nennung von Pessinus die vermittelnde Rolle des Königs Attalos ganz im Sinne des Livius bestätigt.

Ein Knackpunkt der bisherigen Debatte stand aber lange die Frage im Raum, ob sich der Einfluss des Attalos überhaupt jemals soweit ins Landesinnere erstreckt habe. Weitgehend schreibt man Pessinus im späten 3. Jh. den tolistobogischen Galatern zu (z.B. Stark 2007). Diese verbreite Meinung basiert freilich auf der Rückprojektion der politischen Geographie der Kaiserzeit in die frühhellenistische Epoche; die ältere literarische Überlieferung (Polyb. 21,37,4–7 = Livy 38,18,7 zu 189 v.Chr.) verortet Pessinus demgegenüber (wie selbst noch Strabon 12,5,3) außerhalb Galatiens. Dazu passt, dass die dokumentarischen Quellen hellenistischer Zeit (bes. *I.Pessinus* 2–7) das Heiligtum gewissermaßen als Protektorat der Attaliden charakterisiert (Coşkun 2016a; ca. 2018; vgl. 2011). Die Kontrolle des Tempels durch einen galatischen Dynasten ist erst durch Cicero positiv belegt (s.o.). Die jüngste Neuinterpretation des ältesten inschriftlich in Pessinus überlieferten Königsbriefes bestätigt diese Deutung nun vollends: Dieser Brief (*I.Pessinus* 1) bezeugt die Vorbereitung der Einnahme des „heiligen“ Ortes *Pessongoi* durch Feldherren des Attalos mittels Bestechung oder Gewalt; dabei ist die Identifikation von *Pessongoi* mit Pessinus zwingend (Mileta 2010). Allerdings verbietet es die Zeitstellung, diese Annexion als Reaktion auf das Sibyllinische Orakel zu betrachten. Vielmehr steht diese ganz im Kontext der Attalidischen Reichsbildung während der Abwesenheit des Seleukidenkönigs Antiochos III. im fernen Osten.

Attalos gelangte also um 207 in den Besitz eines entlegenen Tals in Ostphrygien, das seit unbestimmter, vielleicht erst sehr kurzer Zeit einen Meteoriten beherbergte und ihn wohl auch kultisch verehrte (Coşkun 2016a). Welches Kapital sich daraus schlagen ließ, erkannte der König wohl erst im Jahr 205, als wiederholte Meteoritenschauer Italien in Angst und Schrecken versetzten und so das eingangs genannte Sibyllinische Orakel hervorriefen. Der Bericht des Livius scheint nun zwei verschiedene Traditionen ineinanderzuweben. Denn einerseits soll schon in Rom die Entscheidung getroffen worden sein, auf Attalos zuzugehen, den einflussreichsten Freund der Römer in Kleinasien; andererseits wurde die römische Gesandtschaft erst nach Delphi geschickt, um sich des korrekten Vorgehens bei der Umsetzung des Orakels zu vergewissern; die Pythia habe ebenfalls direkt auf Attalos verwiesen. Dieser habe die Gesandten sogleich freundlich in Pergamon empfangen, sie nach Pessinus geführt und ihnen dort den „heiligen Stein“ zum Abtransport nach Rom übergeben.

Man kann sich des Eindrucks kaum erwehren, dass Attalos mehr als nur ein Helfer war. Seine Schlüsselrolle legt vielmehr eine geschickte Diplomatie nahe, mit dem Ziel, sich die bleibende Gunst der Römer zu verpflichten, dies insbesondere in Anbetracht sich abzeichnender Konflikte mit Philipp V. von Makedonien und dem Seleukiden Antiochos III. Nun hat die jüngste Forschung immer neue Facetten von Attalos' propagandistischem und diplomatischem Geschick herausgearbeitet: die kreative Ausschlachtung seiner Siege über die Galater als heilbringende Tat für die zivilisierte Welt lässt sich in immer neuen Einzelheiten nachvollziehen (z.B. Koehn 2007, 89–127; Kistler 2009, 65–87, 307–33; Coşkun 2014; Kosmetatou ca. 2018); zugleich ist jetzt deutlich, dass derselbe König damals ganz führend das Selbstverständnis der Römer als ehemalige Trojaner vorantrieb (Russo 2014) und dieselben so in ein fein gesponnenes ideologisches Geflecht verwickelte. Ganz sicher trug dies zur Bildung von schlagkräftigen Allianzen mit Rom bei, die nach den Konfrontationen mit Makedonen (200–197) und Seleukiden (192–188) Pergamon als mächtigstes Königreich im nordöstlichen Mittelmeerraum zurückließen.

Vor diesem Hintergrund könnte man sich leicht vorstellen, dass Attalos schon von den Sorgen der Römer erfahren hatte, bevor die Gesandtschaft in seiner Pergamener Residenz ankam. Dank seines hohen Ansehens hätte er die delphische Priesterschaft leicht dazu gewinnen können, eine Empfehlung für ihn aussprechen (Coşkun ca. 2017). Es bleibt aber noch zu erklären, warum im Bericht des Livius bereits das Sibyllinische Orakel die *Idaea Mater* in Pessinus lokalisiert (29,10,5). Die Annahme einer anachronistischen Präzisierung ist hier recht plausibel, gewissermaßen eine Vorwegnahme der nun einsetzenden Suche.

Indes sei die – gewiss kühne – Spekulation gestattet, dass der Einfluss des Attalos noch weiter gereicht haben und er auf Kunde von den Meteoritenschauern in Italien sogar auf die Ausformulierung des Sibyllinischen Orakels oder eher auf dessen im Senat vorgetragene, immer noch rätselhaft erscheinende Auslegung durch das Zehnmännerkollegium eingewirkt haben könnte. Ein möglicher Kommunikationsweg hätte über die frühere Senatsgesandtschaft nach Delphi bestanden, welche nicht viel früher mit Siegeszuversicht nach Rom zurückgekehrt war (Liv. 29,10,6). In diesem ganz hypothetischen Fall, auf den man selbstverständlich nicht insistieren kann, wäre es also durchaus denkbar, dass schon Fabius Pictor oder Polybios Pessinus ausdrücklich als die Heimat der Göttermutter angegeben hätten. In jedem Fall war die Ablenkung der römischen Gesandten von der Troas ins tiefe Phrygien verwegen. Dass sich die Römer auf des Königs Deutung einließen, wird, wie bereits angedeutet, sicher an der Attraktivität des *baitylos* angesichts des Meteoritenschauers gelegen haben. Weitere

Überzeugungskraft dürfte für die Römer gehabt haben, dass das Gallostal – zumindest nach dem Zeugnis Strabons (12,5,3) – vom Berg *Dindymos* überragt wird, eine frappierende Parallele zur Troas, wo die phrygisch-anatolische Muttergöttheit schon in frühhellenistischer Zeit unter dem Namen *Meter Dindymene* angerufen wurde (Apollonios Rhodios 1,1093f.; 1123–1128; 1137f.). Man mag an Zufälle glauben oder aber attalidisch-toponomastischen Schöpfergeist vermuten.

Wie weit auch immer man den hier vorgeschlagenen Argumenten folgen will, eine höchst kreative attalidische *agency* ist jedenfalls die plausibelste Erklärung für die kuriose Entscheidung der Römer, die so fremdartige phrygisch-hellenistische Göttin bei sich einzuführen. Zugleich wird auch besser verständlich, warum selbst ein halbes Jahrhundert nach dem Beginn systematischer Grabungen in Pessinus weiterhin materielle Überreste eines vorattalidischen Attis-Kultes ausbleiben. Wenngleich also an der livianischen Tradition vom Pessinunter Ursprung des Meteoriten festzuhalten ist, scheint es, dass die Kultstätten und Riten in Rom (Roller 1999, 271–285) und Pessinus (Coşkun ca. 2017) nach Pergamener Vorbild ausgestaltet wurden (hier ist nochmals an Varros Erklärung der griechisch benannten *Megalesia* in Rom zu erinnern; auch die Hymnen waren griechisch: Servius, *ad Vergilii Georgica* 2,394).

Im Anschluss hieran sollte man also fragen, warum die (schon im 5. Jh. v.Chr.) in Pergamon bezeugte Verehrung der Göttermutter gerade in attalidischer Zeit solche Konjunktur hatte (Agelidis 2011, 177–79). Bekanntlich errichtete Philetairos dort im frühen 3. Jh. eine ganz neuartige Herrschaft, die mangels makedonischen oder achaimenidischen Blutes vielfältige Legitimierungsstrategien verfolgen musste. Die klangliche Nähe seines Patronyms *Attalos* zum Namen der Kybele-Gefährten *Attis* dürfte einen willkommenen Ansatzpunkt geboten haben, und dies möglicherweise umso mehr, als ja auch jener Philetairos bekanntlich ein Eunuch war: wiederum vielleicht nur ein reiner Zufall. Aber dies ist eine andere Geschichte ...

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Grenzland als Synergie- und Dysergiezone

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The article reconsiders the reasons of interest to the problems of "border/borderland/boundary" in many scientific directions, its different types are described. The proposition is erected, that at least two from them – "threshold" and "mixed zone" – are marked by significant processes of syn-/ and dysergy. For this reason the category of "border/ borderland/boundary" must be included in the terminological *instrumentarium* of synergetics and theory of the systems.

Key words: border, borderland, boundary, threshold, synergetics

Das Thema der „Grenze“ gewinnt in den letzten Jahrzehnten im wissenschaftlichen und sozialen Diskurs immer mehr an Bedeutung, was sich unter anderem in der Zahl von den diesem Thema gewidmeten Konferenzen und Tagungen sowie von Sammelbänden und Sonderheften wissenschaftlicher Zeitschriften äußert.

Die Gründe für die Aktualität des Grenzbegriffs lassen sich in mehrere Klassen unterteilen:

- **politische:** allmähliches Verschwinden von herkömmlichen staatlichen Grenzen in West- und Mitteleuropa (EU-Gründung und -erweiterung, Schengener Abkommen) einerseits, Aufkommen neuer Grenzen z.B. im Zusammenhang mit dem Zerfall der Sowjetunion, der Tschechoslowakei und Jugoslawiens — andererseits;

- **ökonomische:** Globalisierung und die sich immer mehr abzeichnenden Erschöpfung von Ressourcen sowie Erreichung von demographischen und wirtschaftlichen Wachstumsgrenzen in der Entwicklung der Menschheit;

- **soziologische:** Reflexion über „Abgrenzungsprozesse“ und kulturelle Grenzziehungen im Zusammenhang mit intensiver Debatte über kulturelle Identitäten, interkulturelles Lernen und multikulturelle Gesellschaften;

- **kulturelle:** postmodernistische Verwischung aller Genre-Grenzen in der Kunst und die Sprengung von althergebrachten Gegenstandsrahmen in der Wissenschaft einerseits sowie „Atomisierung“ der Fächer andererseits.

- **heuristisch-konzeptuelle:** — referentielle Multivalenz und Flexibilität des Begriffes, welche seine Anwendung auf unterschiedlichste Phänomene ermöglicht.

Diese breite Streuung von Gebrauchssphären hätte nicht ohne Folgen für die Präzision des betreffenden Begriffes bleiben können — nicht zufällig lassen sich in vielen Arbeiten Klagen über das Fehlen einer allgemeinen Theorie der Grenze, die die zahlreichen vereinzelt Erkenntnisse über die Grenze verallgemeinern würde, antreffen.

Ich habe mich vor einiger Zeit dieser Aufgabe angenommen, die Resultate meiner Überlegungen diesbezüglich sind in einer kleinen Monographie veröffentlicht (Donec 2014).

Die oben erwähnte referentielle Multivalenz der „Grenze“ geht darauf zurück, dass dieser Begriff u.a. Folgendes beinhalten kann: (1) *Barriere*, (2) eine 1 Entgität teilende Linie,

(3) eine 2 Entitäten *trennende* Linie, was sie in Verbindung mit der universellen kognitiven Prozedur der Differenzierung bringt, (4) *Ende* und (5) *Beginn* einer Entität, (6) *Mischzone* von 2 Entitäten sowie (7) einen qualitativen Sprung in der Entwicklung einer Entität (*Schwelle*).

Bei der letzteren lassen sich 2 Unterarten aussondern: „die Schwelle nach oben“ — Übergang zu einer höheren Daseinsform (z.B. „die Grenze zwischen Handwerk und Kunst“) und „die Schwelle nach unten“ — Aufhebung, Zerstörung einer Entität, Entgleisung in die Entropie (z.B. „Grenzalter“, „Grenzspannung“ usw.).

Die „Grenze“ in diesem Sinne hat einen direkten Bezug zur Synergetikproblematik: das sich im „Schwellenzustand“ befindliche System ist äußerst empfindlich gegen Einflüsse von außen, selbst geringste Einwirkungen können zu Attraktoren werden. Im politisch-historischen Bereich ließen als Beispiele für solche Attraktoren etwa die Ernennung A. Hitlers zum Reichskanzler durch Reichspräsident P. von Hindenburg am 30. Januar 1933 (national-sozialistische Katastrophe 1933-1945 und ihre Folgen) oder die Unterzeichnung des Abkommens von Belowsch am 8. Dezember 1991 (Zerfall der Sowjetunion und seine Folgen) anführen. Diese Erklärung erscheint treffender als der in der Synergetik gängige „Schmetterlingeffekt“ zu sein.

Die Grenzen lassen sich nach unterschiedlichen Parametern typologisieren. Einer davon wäre *enge* ↔ *breite Grenzlinie*.

Der Klassiker der deutschen politischen Geographie F. Ratzel meinte seinerzeit, dass der natürliche Zustand der Grenze eben die Zone, der Streifen oder, wie er sagt, der Saum sei: „Der Grenzsaum ist das Wirkliche, die Grenzlinie die Abstraktion davon. (...) Alle Grenzen, mit denen die Geographie zu tun hat: die Küstenlinien, die Linien gleicher Wärme, die Firn- oder Schneelinien, Höhenlinien der Vegetation, Grenzlinien der Völker oder Staaten: sie haben dieselbe Natur. (...) . Auf dieses Wirkliche führt uns ebenso sicher jeder Versuch, eine Völker- oder Staatengrenze auf ihren geschichtlichen Ursprung zu verfolgen; wo solches noch möglich, da ist das Ergebnis immer dasselbe: ein mehr oder weniger breites Gebiet zwischen Völkern oder Staaten“ (Ratzel 1925, 431).

Klassische Beispiele der Streifengrenzen wären *Ausschließliche Wirtschaftszonen, demilitarisierte Zonen, Pufferzonen, Niemandsland* usw.

Unterschiedliche Kulturen werden normalerweise auch nicht durch scharfe Grenze abgetrennt, sondern bilden fließende Übergänge, Mischzonen. In diesen lassen sich zwei entgegengesetzte Prozesse beobachten: die der *Synergie* und die der *Dysergie*.

Unter „Synergie“ versteht man gewöhnlich den akkumulativen Effekt beim Zusammenwirken mehrerer Faktoren. Man kann ihr Wesen am besten durch die Abwandlung einer bekannten Lebensweisheit, die G. B. Shaw zugeschrieben wird: „Wenn du einen Apfel hast, und ich habe einen Apfel, und wir tauschen die Äpfel, wird jeder von uns nach wie vor einen Apfel haben. Aber wenn du eine Idee hast, und ich habe eine Idee, und wir tauschen diese Ideen aus, wird jeder von uns zwei Ideen haben“.

Synergetisch abgewandelt hieße der Spruch dann: „...wird eine dritte Idee geboren, die besser als die beiden ersten ist“.

Synergetisches Potenzial von Grenzbereichen wird in der Grenzforschung häufig erwähnt. So schreiben etwa die Soziologinnen A.B. Antal und S. Quack: „Grenzüberschreitungen wie auch Grenzziehungen haben vielfältige Implikationen für Prozesse der Innovation. Eine größere Durchlässigkeit von Grenzen und ihre Überbrückung können zur Erweiterung des Wissens- und Handlungshorizonts beitragen. In anderen Situationen erscheinen Grenzziehungen und Abgrenzungen wichtige

Voraussetzungen für die Ablösung althergebrachter Denkmuster und das Experimentieren mit Neuem“ (Antal, Quack 2016, 16).

In demselben Sammelband führt M. Oppen aus: „Es gehört inzwischen zu den fast gesicherten Wissensbeständen, dass Grenzüberschreitungen, die Verschiebung oder Verflüssigung traditioneller Grenzen oder gar generell die ‚Entgrenzung‘ eine Voraussetzung für soziale Veränderungs- und Innovationsprozesse darstellen. Das Überspringen, Durchbrechen und Ignorieren von Grenzen sind gleichsam Metaphern für Freiheit, für die freie Bewegung von Ressourcen, Akteuren und Ideen, die es insbesondere einer unkonventionellen Avantgarde – gekennzeichnet durch Kreativität und Risikofreudigkeit – ermöglichen, ihrer Neugier und ihrem Forschungsdrang freien Lauf zu lassen und damit zum gesellschaftlichen Fortschritt beizutragen“ (Oppen 2006, 273).

Wie der armenische Forscher G. Ter-Abramjan bemerkt, tritt im Prozess der Entwicklung von Imperien (Suprazivilisationen) ihre Peripherie nicht selten als „...gewisse energetische Reserve der Zivilisation auf, die, wenn das alte Zentrum fällt oder geschwächt wird, seine Funktionen übernimmt und zum Träger der zentripetalen Idee wird“ (etwa im Raum der orthodoxen Suprazivilisation: Konstantinopel → Moskau, für die westeuropäische Suprazivilisation nach zwei Weltkriegen → die USA). Andererseits — dank der Nähe zur Grenze — hat die Peripherie die Möglichkeit, nicht nur eigene Werte über sie hinaus weiterzuleiten, sondern auch schneller als andere von fremden Werten beeinflusst zu werden und diese zu übernehmen (Ter-Abramjan).

An dieser Stelle wäre es angebracht, verschiedene Arten der *Übernahme* zu erläutern. Am ausgereiftesten wäre wohl deren Klassifizierung in der Linguistik. Man unterscheidet dort zunächst *Erbgut* (besser wäre wohl *Eigengut*) sowie *Fremdgut*. Das letztere wird unterteilt in: *Fremdwörter* (Übernahme sowohl des Formativs auch der Bedeutung → *Pizza*), und verschiedene *Lehnwörter*: *Lehnübersetzung* („brainwashing“ → „Gehirnwäsche“), *Lehnbedeutung* („realisieren“ → „verstehen“), *Lehnübertragung* („skyscraper“ → „Wolkenkratzer“) sowie *Lehnprägung* („Automobil“ → „Kraftwagen“). Es werden des weiteren ausgesondert: *Rückentlehnung* („Balken“ → „Balkon“) und *direkte/vermittelte Entlehnung* (z.B. das arabische „Matratze“ kam ins Deutsche über das Spanische und das Italienische) sowie *Scheinentlehnungen* („Friseur“, „Handy“).

Ein bemerkenswertes Beispiel der synergetischen Wirkung von Grenzbereichen liefert die Biologie/Ökologie. Gemeint sind die sog. *Ökotope* (= „Spannungszonen“) – Übergangsbereiche zwischen zwei verschiedenen Ökosystemen, die sich durch besonderen Artenreichtum und erhöhte Interaktion unter ihnen auszeichnet (Wald/Wiese, Fluss/Ufer, Festland/Meer usw.).¹

Das Ökoton-Phänomen bleibt nicht nur auf biologische Erscheinungen beschränkt, sondern lässt sich auch auf natürliche, kulturelle, soziale und politische Sphären extrapolieren: die größten Städte der Welt etwa befinden an der Grenze zwischen Festland und Ozean, die größten Städte Russlands – an der Grenze zwischen Wald und Steppe.

Für diese „Spannungszonen“ sei aber auch ein erhöhtes Perturbationsvermögen charakteristisch: Kriege, Eruptionen und Erdbeben an der Grenze zwischen Lithosphären-Platten usw.²

¹ Meyers Kleines Lexikon Ökologie. Mannheim et al.: Meyers Lexikonverl., 1987. S. 206.

² Elektronische Ressource: [http://umeda.ru/boundary_effects], [http://umeda.ru/ecotones-zone_voltage]. Zuletzt abgerufen am 28.06.2017.

Hierbei nähern wir uns dem der Synergie entgegengesetzten Prozess, der sich auch an den Grenzen / in den Grenzzonen beobachten lässt, nämlich dem der *Dysergie*. Dieser Terminus wird im Moment zumeist in der Medizin für verminderte Widerstandskraft, ungewöhnliche Krankheitsbereitschaft des Organismus gegenüber Infekten³ gebraucht, aber seine „innere Form“ (wortbildende Struktur) prädestiniert ihn geradezu für die Rolle des Gegenstücks der Synergie und wird im Weiteren als Anwachsen des perturbativen, destruktiven Potentials, der Entropie verstanden.

Dysergetische Erscheinungen kann man bereits auf etologischer Ebene feststellen, bei sog. *Reviergrenzen*, vgl.: „Studies by Jane Goodall and others show that if a group of chimps from one community spots an individual from a neighboring group, they stalk and kill the trespasser.

This type of violence occurs almost exclusively among adult males in border areas where two or more groups hunt for food. The killing is opportunistic and is done to establish territorial dominance.⁴

(http://news.nationalgeographic.com/news/2005/09/0906_050906_spears.html)

Ähnlich sieht es bei umstrittenen Staatsgrenzen („Lauer-“ und „Angriffsgrenzen“ bei K. Haushofer) aus, die immer konfliktträchtig sind und potentiell zu blutigen Kriegen führen können.

Durch ein hohes dysergetisches Potenzial zeichnen sich ebenfalls die „teilenden“ Grenzen aus, sofern es sich um die Teilung alt bestehender, zusammengewachsener, hochkomplexer Strukturen (Staaten, Ökonomien, Verteidigungssystemen usw.) handelt.

Ein klassisches Beispiel hierfür liefert gerade die Geschichte der deutschen Teilung – man denke an die so genannte „Zonenrandhilfe“, Schwierigkeiten im Funktionieren der kommunalen Wirtschaft im geteilten Berlin, familiäre Dramen usw.

Eine frühere Illustration hierfür liefert Rest-Österreich nach dem Zerfall der Donau-Monarchie im Jahre 1919, eine spätere – die oft katastrophalen Folgen von der Zersplitterung des ehemaligen Jugoslawien und der Sowjetunion.

Die verschwindenden Grenzen können ebenfalls für Störungen sorgen, insbesondere, wenn die zusammenwachsenden Systeme ungleichwertig in Bezug auf diese oder jene Qualitäten sind. Die deutsche Wiedervereinigung lieferte hierfür auch genügend Stoff – man denke an die Schließung vieler Betriebe in der ehemaligen DDR, die damit verbundene hohe Arbeitslosigkeit, Auswanderung arbeitsfähiger Bevölkerung in die westlichen Bundesländer usw.

Die Rand/Beginn- sowie Rand/Ende-Grenzen bieten relativ viele Dysergie-Beispiele. Davon können schon alte Volksweisheiten „Aller Anfang ist schwer“ und „Ende gut – alles gut“ zeugen. Dies lässt sich damit begründen, dass sowohl der „Anfang“ als auch das „Ende“ einer komplexen Tätigkeit oft kritische Phasen in deren Ausführung darstellen, da gerade in ihnen die Einstellung einzelner Systemelemente aufeinander erfolgt, die Stabilität der Systeme besonders gefährdet ist, professionelle Fertigkeiten der Nutzer von diesen Systemen beansprucht werden – in der Luftfahrt etwa gelten bekanntlich der Start und die Landung als die gefährlichsten Flugabschnitte.

Das Merkmal [peripher] nimmt einen wichtigen Platz in der semantischen Struktur der „Grenze“ ein. Die periphere Lage hat u.a. zur Folge, dass an der Grenze verschiedenartige Bindungen ans Zentrum schwächer werden. Im Falle von Staatsgrenzen äußert sich dies in der Abschwächung von steuernden Signalen seitens der

³ Handlexikon der Medizin. Thiele, Günter (Hrsg). Band 1. A - K. München et al.: Urban & Schwarzenberg, 1982. S. 579.

⁴ Elektronische Ressource: http://news.nationalgeographic.com/news/2005/09/0906_050906_spears.html. Zuletzt abgerufen am 28.06.2017.

Regierung, in deren „Machtverdünnung“, vgl.: „In der Vergangenheit bestand eine der Schwierigkeiten politischer Großgebilde darin, daß ihre Außengrenzen meist weit entfernt vom Zentrum lagen. Die Machthaber konnten ihre Macht nur mühsam und unter großen Verlusten an Zeit, Energie und Ressourcen an die weit entfernte Grenze verlagern oder projizieren“ (Bredow 1999, 63).

Diese Machterosion bewirkte nicht selten in der Geschichte Entstehung von „Niemandland“-Zonen, die zum Zufluchtsort von geflohenen hörigen Bauern, Straftätern verschiedener Couleur, Schuldnern, Abenteurern usw. wurden. Ein charakteristisches Beispiel solcher Zonen waren im 16.-18. Jh. die Kosakengebiete am Don und vor allem am unteren Dnepr („Saporoger Seč“), die amerikanische „Frontiere“ usw.

Die Verminderung der „Verwaltungskraft“ an den Rändern betreffender administrativer Gebilde kann die folgende historische Episode bezeugen: die ukrainisch-galizische nationalistische Widerstandsarmee OUN-UPA bevorzugte Ende der 40er Jahre des XX. Jahrhunderts ihre sommerlichen Führungstreffen an der Nahtstelle mehrerer administrativer Bezirke zu organisieren, weil dort das operative Zusammenwirken der NKWD-Organen erschwert war.⁵

Zusammenfassend lässt sich schlussfolgern, dass die Kategorie der „Grenze“ (insbesondere in deren Verständnis als „Schwelle“ und „Mischzone“) eine größere Beachtung seitens der Forschung verdienen sollte und einen festen Platz im begrifflichen Instrumentarium der Systemtheorie und der Synergetik beanspruchen dürfte.

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⁵ Wochenzeitung „2000“ (Ukraine), 22.10.2010, S. F 2.

“Ex oriente lux”? Bronze Age Chariot. Genesis and evolution of the tradition¹

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Abstract: The study concerns early archaeological evidence of the chariot complex in Southwest Asia and arid Eurasia during the Bronze Age. It is established that the introduction of the complex in the radiocarbon dates system is nearly synchronous in both areas (the turn of 3 – 2 millennia BC). The author considers the steppe version of the origin of the tradition as most reliable so interconnected innovations relied on the long experience of horse using and wheeled transport there. Channels of communication and advantages in the war sphere provided by the chariot lead to the rapid expansion and adaptation of chariot traditions in the early civilization territories. Dying the chariot tradition in the steppe zone was related to a staged transition to nomadism. As a result, the population rejected the technically and organizationally complicated production and exploitation of chariots. The early civilization zone, on the contrary, demonstrated a long evolution of the chariot complex under conditions of the mass production of standard vehicles and maintenance of professional army.

Keywords: Bronze Age, Chariot complex, Chronology

The chariot and its attributes are one of the brightest visiting cards for the Bronze Age period in Eurasia and North Africa. Some authors consider the invention such a light and maneuvering vehicle as an example of the technological revolution in the war sphere² because not only the way of battle activity was changed but it had an influence on the social structure and ideology as well. There no ground for arguing because it is obvious that this type of the vehicle served not only as means of transportation of goods but it was used in war activities and can also be a social marker. Image of a chariot are widely represented in the ritual sphere and rock art. In this paper I would like to discuss only one aspect of this phenomenon – communicational one.

Invention and expansion of the chariot complex (as the wheeled transport as a whole) discovered new channels of land communications for a huge territory. As a result, we can clearly see interconnecting traits between the zones with extremely distinctive social and economic systems: early states of Western Asia and steppes and forest-steppes of Northern Eurasia. The discussion about reasons for such a similarity often leads to the dispute about chronological priority of every zone in the invention and subsequent

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² Nefedov 2008, 109.

diffusion³. However, in this discussion we should discuss the *system* of technological and organizational solutions providing the production and exploitation of the chariot complex.

The paper has the main purpose – a critical analysis of the whole facts which the scholars take into consideration discussing the versions Invention and expansion of the chariot tradition. We are interested in the earliest evidence. So, we had to exclude the mass Chinese or Persian sources. In order to avoid misunderstanding we need to explain our conception of the term “a chariot”. A chariot is a two-wheeled vehicle drawn by a time of bridled horses, technically consisting of a draught pole and spoked wheels. As a rule, wheels with spokes were used for decreasing weight and increasing speed and maneuvering capabilities. Use of horses as a draft animal demanded the development of the special harness to provide a firm control. The chariotry unavoidable demands training of the pair of the horses and the charioteer as well. So, the regular use this vehicle needs in great complex of abilities and skills, including the production technology and maintenance. In addition there was the weapon complex⁴, the main parts of that could be used under movement conditions.

The history of accumulation of the evidence for the territories under study are sharply different as well as a list of find categories. The first discoveries in Mesopotamia and Egypt were made as early as in 19 AD. By now we have various sources: finds of vehicles (Egypt), written texts, pictures, rare parts of harness (metal bits and cheek-pieces). Nevertheless, earlier finds are rare in particular, whereas the most bright artefacts belongs to the period of mass expansion and use of the chariots (Battle of Kadesh, bas-reliefs in Nineveh, ‘Kikkuli text’ etc.) in other words, to the second half of the 2 millennium BC. Preservation, visibility and completeness distinguish favourably this series from the steppe examples which were discovered much later (since the second half of 20 AD). One of the consequences was the deformation of the perception – finds (usually fragmented) in the Northern area looked not very convincing since the beginning. Besides, variants of the reconstructions were mostly oriented towards western Asian or Egypt analogies.

Nevertheless, the finds in arid Eurasia are the mass phenomenon; they are widespread in the huge territory from Balkans to Central Kazakhstan⁵. The list of the evidence is different in comparison to Near Asia, but we discuss in the overwhelming majority the parts of bridle (cheek-pieces) and a great number of them have clear traces of use⁶. Also, there are finds of chariot parts (usually segments of the wheels dug to the grave bottom) and paired horse sacrifices. It should be emphasized that these examples of *combination* of categories in the closed complexes are represented *in serial*. There are some questions and discussions about the reconstruction of the vehicle details, but we have no doubts in reality of their production and functioning among the local people. To all appearances, there were distinctions in the constructions of the chariots in two regions: number of spokes in the wheel, size of the chariot body, construction of harness.

How to explain similarities and distinctions in the construction of the steppe and near-eastern chariots? Theoretically, there can be a several answers. The first variant is related to the conception “Ex oriente lux” and suggests that all technological innovations

³ Childe 1954, 1-17; Littauer & Crouwel 1996, 934-939; Jones-Bley 2000, 135-140; Kozhin 2007; Kuzmina 2007; Novozhenov 2012 etc.

⁴ Chechuskov 2011, 57.

⁵ Epimachov & Koryakova 2004; Novozhenov 2012 etc.

⁶ Usachuk 2013.

concerning the chariot complex originated from the Anatolia area, and then chariots were adapted outside this region in almost complete form. Differences, mentioned above, are determined to the civil way of the use of the chariots under steppe and forest-steppe conditions, i.e. the steppe chariots are “barbarian imitations” in some way. The latter applies to the harness, too, so in the Near East and Egypt the earliest bits were apparently metal ones whereas in the steppe Eurasia they were manufactured from organic materials⁷. Spreading the new technologies cannot be explained with any large-scale migration of transmitters of chariotry traditions in the steppe zone even with regard to difficulty of identification of migrations based on archaeological data. At any case, it is hard to discover other categories of material culture that could connect the regions. It is difficult to prove the reasons of mass spreading the chariot evidence in the arid zone if we consider exclusively ceremonial and status functions.

The second variant proceeds from the priority of the steppe traditions, where local population was closely familiar with the practice of horse use during several millennia⁸. Without this animal, the chariot loses its key advantages but the use of the horse unavoidable demands the invention of new tools of control and transmission of tractive effort. Such experiments demanded not only familiarity with animal habits but the task-oriented selection of individuals who was able to carry out an order. The horse training invariably must have been relied on the population of domestic horses. In the framework of the approach we should suppose the diffusion of the chariot traditions but in the reverse direction – to the zone of the first civilizations. So, not only some people with knowledge and skills must have been involved in this process but the animals.

Clarity of chronological positions could have reduced the number of interpretations. But it is quite impossible to compare the systems of both areas. In the arid zone we can only rely on radiocarbon dating. In the framework of this chronology system, the chariot complex is dated to the turn of 3 – 2 millennia cal. BC. It is obvious that these dates can be compared to the analogical system only. Now, there are some efforts to create such a scale⁹. In spite of discussions about some issues, there is a chance to rely on some conclusions. Comparing different variants of “traditional” (historical) chronologies to radiocarbon scale, the “long” system of chronology was declared as the most reliable. According to this system, Hammurabi reigned in 1848-1806 BC¹⁰. In Egypt, the golden age of the chariotry fell on the period of 18 Dynasty of the New Kingdom and the invention of the chariots was related to the “Sea peoples”. Radiocarbon dates show 16 – 17 BC and they in general agree with the traditional dates of ruling the Dynasty.

Thus, under unified approach to the chronology, no discussed territories have a strong priority: either the method of dating cannot catch so subtle distinctions or speed of innovation expansion was very high. This synchronization, in our opinion, does not fit the version about independent invention in two different centres (especially such complicated complex of innovations). Parallel emergence these innovations in the different zones must have been based on the similar technological and organization level of the social systems. In the case in question we can clearly see very serious distinctions in the social complexity.

⁷ There is a very long tradition of metal production in this part of Eurasia, which beginning is dated by at least the 4th millennium BC.

⁸ Anthony 2007; Gayduchenko et al. 2013.

⁹ Hassan & Robinson 1987; Hasel 2004; Chechushkov 2014.

¹⁰ Hubber 1987.

Supposed speed of expansion of the tradition rises on the agenda the question about the channels of communication and ability of each group to adapt complicated technical and organizing solutions related to the chariot complex.

The existence as well as stable functioning such length communications, which related so different regions in the Bronze Age, seemed to be very doubtful till recently. If adherents of the world-system approach did found relationships and interdependence of the cycles in the Early Civilization zone¹¹, then this conception did not supposed for the arid, stateless zone because the absence of the adequate model (world-economy or world-empire). At the same time, some facts pointed out to the length and stability of these relationships and one of the illustrations is the chariot complex¹². In spite of absence of stable and developed political institutions, early complex societies arose in the arid zone in the Bronze Age and they were related to functioning of the chariot complex. Previous period allowed them to accumulate a significant experience of production and use of wheeled vehicles. The earliest examples were just a little younger than the near-eastern analogies, i.e. there were a long evolution and production quite complicated vehicles¹³. So, we can suppose that the idea of light, high-speed, maneuvering vehicle could have been quite easily adapted in this environment. Key argument in favour of emergence of *the whole complex* (not only the invention of the spoken vehicle) in this zone is a long experience of horse using in the precedent period¹⁴. In fact, there are no firm counter-evidence against the steppe origin of the vehicle, if do not consider the a priori thesis “Ex oriente lux”. The latter has a long historiographical tradition that began long before discoveries in the steppe as well as the prejudice related to ability of stateless societies for technological progress.

Acceptance of this position allows us to estimate distinctions mentioned above differently. “Imperfection” of the steppe examples in the framework of such approach illustrates only the period of the first experiments which were continued outside the zone of the first invention. So, metal bits and check-pieces in the Near Asia could appear in response to new ways of use – necessity of very strong and coordinated control upon *the line* of the chariots whereas under the steppe conditions relatively a small amount of vehicles were used simultaneously so there were no direct need in such parts of bridle. Probably, it is the reason why the metal elements did not replace the organic ones despite the fact that the scale of metal production and level of technology allowed to do it.

Innovation confirmed its viability in every zone that can be proved the broad expansion of chariots and their long history of use. Nevertheless, ways of functioning turned out different. In the Near Asia and Egypt (and then, in China) the chariots adopted some technical improvements, were manufactured in mass and became an independent arm. We cannot see none enumerated traits in the steppe zone. In this part of Eurasia the history of chariots are much shorter. Apparently, as early as in the last centuries the second millennium BC the mass use of the horses for riding came to take a chariot place that was possibly related to nomadism transition.

In conclusion we need to stress some important points. There are two diametrically opposite versions concerning the origin of emergence of the chariot traditions: Southwest Asia and steppe Eurasia. Both of them had a long history of the wheeled transport in that

¹¹ Hall, Kardulias & Chase-Dunn 2011.

¹² Another chronological close example could be Seima-Turbino phenomenon. It can be realistically determined as the Trans-Eurasian phenomenon, and at the same time the zone of spreading these antiquities were located very far from civilization centers.

¹³ Gey 2000; Shishlina et al. 2014.

¹⁴ Malov & Kosintsev 2010.

period but traditions of the broad use of the horses were exclusively related to the Northern part. Available facts do not allow us to choose the prime territory in the technological point of view, and the chronology of earliest finds is very close. The latter evidently excludes the possibility of convergent invention and it supposes the existence of the communication system between the regions and, as a result, the speed of diffusion of the innovation complex was so high that the modern methods of dating cannot catch it. Evolution of application of the chariot complex can be seen only in the civilization zone, whereas in the steppe the tradition died long before the Nomadic period. The steppe origin of the chariot complex seems to be most relevant at present level of knowledge. However, the fullest flower of the chariotry was possible only under state conditions that provided a mass production of standard vehicles and maintenance of professional army and it was clearly demonstrated by the chariotry long history in the Western Asia, Egypt and China.

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Die griechische Poliswelt und ihre Nachbarn in Nordwestgriechenland

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The “Tylian” Kingdom of the Galatians in Thrace: Searching for a Phantom?

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αἰαῖ σοι, Θρηκή, ζυγὸν ὡς εἰς δούλιον ἤξεις...
Or. Sibyl. III. 508

The paper discusses the time, circumstances of formation and geographical localization of the Celtic state in Thracia - the so-called “Tylian kingdom”, named after its mysterious capital (or the kings’ residence).¹ Problems of the kind were intensively discussed during the recent and very rich in content conference held in Sofia in 2010,² yet no consensus was achieved and disagreements in certain respects seem to have grown even farther apart.³

There are several hypotheses concerning the very identification of that group of the Galatians, who founded this state under the leadership of Comontorius (Polyb. IV. 45. 10 – 46. 4).⁴ As the existing evidences are quite indefinite, the scholarly opinion sometimes has been formulated without sufficient distinctness;⁵ but on the whole there are two versions of events in modern scholarship. According to the first point of view, they were the remnants of Brennus’ army who had escaped from Delphi;⁶ the second group of scholars believe that “Tylian kingdom” was established by the survivors after the defeat by Antigonos Gonatas at Lysimacheia in 277 BC.⁷ I have already attempted to

¹ On Celts in Thrace in general, see (only selectively): Domaradski 1984, 69-119; Strobel 1996, 229-236, Tomaschitz 2002, 92-141; Tomaschitz 2007; Emilov 2005; Emilov 2015.

² Vagalinski 2010.

³ See review: Gabelko 2012.

⁴ Polybius’ key passage concerning the Galatian state in Thrace and its relations to Byzantion must be cited entirely: Ἄλλ’ ὅμως τὸν μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν Θρακῶν πόλεμον κατὰ τὴν συνήθειαν ἀναφέροντες ἔμενον (οἱ Βυζάντιοι – O.G.) ἐπὶ τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς δικαίων πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας-προσεπιγενομένων δὲ Γαλατῶν αὐτοῖς τῶν περὶ Κομοντόριον εἰς πᾶν ἦλθον περιστάσεως. οὗτοι δ’ ἐκίνησαν μὲν ἅμα τοῖς περὶ Βρέννον ἐκ τῆς οἰκείας, διαφυγόντες δὲ τὸν περὶ Δελφοὺς κίνδυνον, καὶ παραγενόμενοι πρὸς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, εἰς μὲν τὴν Ἀσίαν οὐκ ἐπεραιώθησαν, αὐτοῦ δὲ κατέμειναν διὰ τὸ φιλοχωρῆσαι τοῖς περὶ τὸ Βυζάντιον τόποις. οἱ καὶ κρατήσαντες τῶν Θρακῶν, καὶ κατασκευασάμενοι βασιλείον τὴν Τύλιν, εἰς ὄλοσχερῆ κίνδυνον ἤγον τοὺς Βυζαντίους. κατὰ μὲν οὖν τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐν ταῖς ἐφόδοις αὐτῶν ταῖς κατὰ Κομοντόριον τὸν πρῶτον βασιλεύσαντα δῶρα διετέλουν οἱ Βυζάντιοι διδόντες ἀνὰ τρισχιλίους καὶ πεντακισχιλίους, ποτὲ δὲ καὶ μυρίους χρυσοῦς, ἐφ’ ᾧ μὴ καταφθείρειν τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν. τέλος δ’ ἠναγκάσθησαν ὀγδοήκοντα τάλαντα συγχωρῆσαι φόρον τελεῖν κατ’ ἐνιαυτὸν ἕως εἰς Καύαρον, ἐφ’ οὗ κατελύθη μὲν ἡ βασιλεία, τὸ δὲ γένος αὐτῶν ἐξεφθάρη πᾶν, ὑπὸ Θρακῶν ἐκ μεταβολῆς ἐπικρατηθέν.

⁵ E.g. Mitchell 1993, 14, not. 12; Strobel 1996, 232-233; Tomaschitz 2007, 83-85; Dimitrov 2010, 52-53.

⁶ E.g. Stähelin 1907, 4; Tomaschitz 2002, 140; Theodossiev 2005, 89; Boteva 2010, 47.

⁷ E.g. Droysen 1997, 309; Nachtergaele 1977, 170, not. 22 ; Hammond, Walbank 1988, 257.

propose my own version⁸ based, first of all, on the analysis of the so-called “Phaennis’ Oracle” included in the text of Zosimus’ “New History” (II. 36-37)⁹, and now one possible to present new arguments to confirm this idea.

To assert the establishment of a new state in Thracia to the Galatians under the leadership of Leonnorios and Lutarios seems to be quite logical, because their crossing to Asia Minor appeared as the most successful enterprise having the most important historical consequences in comparison with other Galatian actions on the Balkans. The situation after the beginning of Brennus’ invasion into Greece in the summer of 279 BC, despite Livy’s mention of a certain *discordia* that took place in Dardania between Brennus on one hand and Leonnorios with Lutarius on the other (XXXVIII. 16. 2), strongly resembles the “triple campaign” of 280 BC as described by Pausanias (X. 19. 7): we can see there not only the same division of the spheres of activity for each of the three large detachments, but also the desire of the Galatian leaders to solve the operative problems, which remained unsettled after the failures of Bolgius in Macedonia (Just. XXIV. 5. 26; Porphy. *Chron.* F. 4. 6 = Euseb. *Chron.* 236 Ed. Schoene; Sync. P. 326. Ed. Mosshammer) and, perhaps, also Cerethrius in Thrace.¹⁰ Such an agreement is also attested for the tribes of the Tolistobogians, Tectosages and Trocmoi after their crossing to Anatolia (Liv. XXXVIII. 16. 12). But Brennus’ Greek campaign ended with a catastrophe in Delphi. The fate of the 18-thousands group, which, according to Justin, was left by Brennus “to protect their homeland”, but, evidently, moved away from the Dardanian base before the winter of 279/278 BC,¹¹ was also unenviable: after the successes against the tribes of the Triballi and the Getae (Just. XXV. 1. 2-4) they were severely beaten by Antigonos Gonatas in 277 BC near Lysimacheia (1. 4 – 2. 7; Trog. *Proleg.* 25; Polyæn. IV. 6. 17; Diog. Laert. II. 141-142). The fact of heavy losses, unavoidable in both cases of such disastrous defeats, makes, in my opinion, completely excluded the involvement (as a main force) of these two groups in the creation of the Galatian state formation in Thrace, which was (at least, initially) strong and active enough.

The people of Leonnorios and Lutarius, on the contrary, succeeded in crossing the territory of Thrace (I think, that, for example, the destruction of Pistiros must be connected with their activity)¹² and for a significant period of time remained near the Thracian Bosphorus, threatening to Byzantion. Indeed, Polybius’ text,¹³ that was often referred to as evidence of the remnants of Brennus’ host’s role in the formation of the Galatian state in Thrace, in reality denies this possibility. The incorrect translations (the

⁸ Gabelko 2005.

⁹ The main idea, extracted from this source, is that the formation of the “Tylian” kingdom was synchronic with Leonnorios and Lutarius’ stay near Byzantion in 278 BC (cf. Domaradzky 1984, 81 – about the “meeting” took place here between Comonorius with Leonnorios and Lutarius), and it is this state that should be identified with the “little snake” mentioned in the second part of the prophecy. On the theriomorphic allusions connected with the Galatian invasion, see Theodossiev 2005, 90; Bouzek 2007, 78; Emilov 2010, 71-72 and also not. 31 below.

¹⁰ Pausanias tells us only about the *intention* of Cerethrius to invade Thrace; so, we cannot be sure, that this was carried out (Boteva 2010, 44 + not. 56 – with earlier works) – or, maybe, he was defeated there (Domaradski 1984, 76).

¹¹ Which made possible the defeat of the remnants of Acichorius’ men, survived after the crush by Delphi (Diod. XXII. 9. 3; cf. Strabo. IV. 1. 13; Poseidon. F 48 ap. Athen. VI. 24 p. 234 a-c; Just. XXIV. 8. 15-16).

¹² See on the ruining of Pistiros by the Galatians: Bouzek 2005, Bouzek 2007.

¹³ See not. 4 above.

use of the preposition “after”, which is absent in the text, by W. Paton,¹⁴ or applying combination of the pluperfect and perfect by W. Tomashitz)¹⁵ create the false impression, that the actions of Comontorius were preceded by the Delphic catastrophe and this Galatian group might have also been part of Brennus’ army. But Polybius in this passage uses the aorist everywhere, so these events must be viewed as (almost) simultaneous. In addition, the Galatians of Comontorius in case of their participation in the expedition to Delphi would have escaped *death*, but by no means *danger*; and, finally, the preposition ἄμα in this case may mean not only “together with”, but also “simultaneously with” (the Greek author uses the same construction in passage XVIII. 20. 3, where he also speaks about the movements of the armies).¹⁶ So, Polybius may have noted, that Leonnorius and Lutarius began their march eastwards from Dardania at the same time, as Brennus advanced south to Macedonia and Greece.

Comontorius, therefore, would have been one of those seventeen Galatian leaders, whom Memnon tells us about during the barbarians’ sojourn near Byzantion in 278 BC, while Leonnorius and Lutarius were the mains (*FGrHist* 434 F. 11. 4); and the people, whose leader he appeared, evidently, didn’t follow to Anatolia¹⁷. And as for the location of his and his successors’ kingdom, the scholars were divided into two main groups again like at the conference in Sofia.¹⁸ The traditional opinion is formed based on Polybios’ narration taken literally – that Tylis, turned into a royal residence by Comontorius, was situated somewhere not far from Byzantium itself.¹⁹ Polybios’ narration is very thorough, free of any visible incongruities and, the last but not least, based on the local Byzantine historical tradition, first of all, the work of certain Demetrius on the “Galatain Diabasis” to Asia (*FGrHist* 162). So, it seems to be ill-founded²⁰ to suspect Polybius of a rough error in this question²⁰.

However, the comparatively rich archaeological and numismatic materials (metal works, pottery²¹ and the coins minted by the dernier Galatian king in Thrace Cavarus first of all²²), discovered in the recent decades (despite various details in their interpretation), enter into conflict with this point of view and serve as a ground to locate the Tylian kingdom much farther northwards – in the region of Dalgopol, Provadia, Shumen up to

¹⁴ Polybius 1992, 413.

¹⁵ Tomaschitz 2002, 139.

¹⁶ See all examples: Mauersberger 1956, 71.

¹⁷ The only serious problem which we confront when assuming such a supposition is the defining of the number of the Galatians involved in Leonnorius and Lutarius’ campaign and Comontorius’ actions. Livy informs us on twenty thousand Galatians both at the beginning of the division in Dardania (XXXVIII. 16. 2) and at the moment of transition to Asia Minor (with the note, that there were only no more than a half warriors amongst them - 9). The latter number seems to be unrealistically small, first of all, considering the subsequent Galatian successes in Anatolia, and K. Strobel, for example, supposes, that the total number of newcomers to Asia Minor was nearly 30-35 thousands (Strobel 1996, 246). But if we suppose, that the Celts divided again near Byzantion and a part of them (under Comontorius) established “Tylian kingdom”, the best explanation must be the supposition, that Livy didn’t know on the substantial growth of the Galatians’ strength on the way from Dardania to Byzantion (despite the unavoidable losses): the increase could have been achieved through the absorption of other groups of the Celts wandering in Thrace – perhaps, the remnants of the Cerethrius’ bands.

¹⁸ In more details: Tomaschitz 2007, 91-92; Dimitrov 2020, 58.

¹⁹ E.g. Domaradzky 1984, 79-84; Tacheva 1987, 31-33; Dimitrov 2010 and others.

²⁰ See especially Tomaschitz 2007, 86-88; Emilov 2010, 69-70.

²¹ Emilov 2007; Anastassov 2011.

²² Lazarov 2007, 97-105 (with previous literature).

Tarnovo and Kazanlak;²³ while in the south-eastern part of Thrace (which, however, not to forget, is much worse studied archaeologically) – La Tène materials are not present at all.

I would like to present here a new variant of explanation of this contradiction, which could ultimately solve the issue on the principle of the golden mean. It is difficult to get rid of the impression, that Celtic Tylis represents itself to a certain degree, say, as an ephemeral phenomenon. Polybius is the only one amongst the ancient authors, who clearly associates, though only once²⁴, Tylis with the Galatians; on J. Emilov's mind, the other mentions of similar toponyms in Thrace,²⁵ as well as the emendation "Tyleni" in the text of Trogus' "Prologues" (25), are not of high historical reliability.²⁶ It could be reasoned by the fact, that under Comontorius the Celtic tribal state in Thrace, which really existed somewhere in the vicinity of Byzantion (probably, not for a long period of time), around of new-established (or re-organized) "royal" residence of Tylis was by no means a real and stable kingdom, but rather a group of bands marauding the countryside, waging wars against the Thracians and collecting the tribute from the Byzantines.²⁷ It is not surprising, that it couldn't leave any substantial traces in the material culture of South-Eastern Thrace. One necessary to stress, that this statement could receive strong though unexpected support in the information of Hesychius Illustrius (6th cent. AD) on the existence near Byzantion of a hill (known evidently only in the local tradition) called also, as the largest mountain massif in Bulgaria (Stara Planina), Αἶμος (*Patria Const.* 17), and this fact adds more authenticity both to Stephanus' passage (see not. 25) and the idea on Tylis' location not far from Byzantion as a whole.²⁸

It seems quite possibly, that at a certain moment for some reason this loose formation migrated to the north and left Tylis for good, though still keeping certain political control over Byzantion aimed at getting financial resources from the citizens. This reconstruction bears a certain degree of similarity to the interesting, but too complicated and excessively "romantic" hypothesis formulated by M. Manov, who sees the reason of the movement from the first Galatian capital to the next one – "Tyle I" to "Tyle II" in his own words - in the Thracian campaign of Antiochos II in the 250s BC.²⁹ Later, under Cavarus or even earlier, this state (maybe, with its center at Arkovna),³⁰ had already shifted northwards territorially, perhaps, partially "acquired a syncretic Thracio-Celtian appearance that was greatly influenced by the Hellenistic culture near the Greek poleis", as L. Lazarov³¹ states - but, of course, ceased to be "Tylian" in the geographical

²³ Lazarov 2010 (summarized the results of his earlier works) and others.

²⁴ Polybius mentions Cauarus as Γαλατῶν βασιλεύς (IV. 52. 1) or Καύαρος ὁ βασιλῦες τῶν ἐν τῇ Θράκῃ Γαλατῶν (VIII. 22. 1) without any hints at Tylis.

²⁵ Steph. Byz. s.v. Τύλις, πόλις Θράκης τοῦ Αἴμου πλησίον. καὶ κλίνεται Τύλεως. τὸ ἔθνικόν Τυλίτης ὡς Μεμφίτης. Cf. Procop. De aedific. IV. 11. 20: Τουλεοῦς (I'm not sure that these toponyms are identical).

²⁶ Emilov 2010, 67-74; see, however, below on Stephanus' data.

²⁷ "Politics of 'Danegeld'", according to J. Emilov's definition (Emilov 2015, 371-373).

²⁸ Perhaps, it could be a place Kilios known in 19th cent., which now is a suburb of Istanbul megalopolis (see *pro et contra*: Emilov 2010, 70).

²⁹ Manov 2010.

³⁰ Lazarov 2010, 102-103.

³¹ Lazarov 2010, 110. Cf. mostly favorable characteristics of Cavarus by Polybius (VIII. 22. 1-2). One possible to add here indirect information by Hesychius Illustrius, who tells the fantastic saga on the connections of the Byzantines with the snakes (Galatians?), that sometimes threatened the citizens (23-25), sometimes, on the contrary, were helping them (in the struggle with the storks – the Thracians [?])

sense. Let's remember, that during the war waged by Rhodes with Prusias I of Bithynia against Byzantion (220 BC) Cavarus, who succeeded in third-party mediation and putting an end to the conflict, had not been involved in the war for a comparatively long time and had not stopped Prusias and his Thracian mercenaries besieging the city (Polyb. IV. 52. 1): evidently, initially he had been far from the theater of operations.

So, as a result, I would like to cautiously propose abandoning the very term "Tylian kingdom" as not corresponding to the historical and geographical realities and replacing it with the more abstract, but also more neutral and adequate wording of the "Celtic state in Thrace".

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Ural-European parallels in the Eneolithic and the Bronze Age

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Abstract: The article is devoted to two episodes that allow us to speak about the presence of long-distance connections and contacts (or migrations) between the Urals and Europe during the Eneolithic and Bronze Age. The earlier Eneolithic contacts are represented by the Ural megaliths, which have parallels in Northwestern Europe. Later contacts are reflected in bronze artifacts of the Seima-Turbino type and in tin alloys penetrating to Central and Western Europe from the east in the Late Bronze Age.

Keywords: Eneolithic, Bronze Age, megaliths, metal artifacts, tin alloys, the Urals, Northwestern Europe, contacts.

There are two different approaches to archaeology. The first presumes that migration and external influences played a large role in the development of any area. The second approach presumes autochthonous local developments. Very often, we see various combinations of both of these approaches. Certainly, the absolutisation of either of them is not often found in scientific literature. However, this problem is relevant to a variety of research fields in archaeology, including megalithic studies, the Indo-European problem, and many others.

Several years ago, I demonstrated that many archaeological cultures in Northern Eurasia had originated from the Near East.¹ A model of migration was suggested in the book that corresponded to the linguistic model of T. Gamkrelidze and V. Ivanov.²

Similarities often will be explained by our colleagues as merely accidental, or as arising from borrowing, etc. There are several other theories, but each of them is plagued by contradictions.³

Here we see an obvious contradiction. Very many archeologists, discussing similarity of cultures in different areas, are ready to recognize this similarity, but explain it with cultural influences and contacts. But I have poor vision of a similar way of distribution of language.

As a matter of fact, even if the linguistic aspect of the Indo-European problem is ignored, there is the problem of the obvious similarities of different cultures that are separated by long distances. I tried to demonstrate that these similarities were influenced by long-distance migration that penetrated the Eurasian continent. However, the similarities of some features of material culture, for example, ceramics, are not always convincing. Even palaeogenetic studies are not always helpful in the solution of this

¹ Grigoriev 2012.

² Gamkrelidze & Ivanov 1995.

³ see Mallory 1989.

problem. Hungary is a typical example, because the Hungarian language undoubtedly has eastern roots, but the modern Hungarians also exhibit genetic similarities with other people living in Central Europe.

Therefore, the best way to remain in the position of an archaeologist and to try to demonstrate either the occurrence of migration or influences using archaeological materials is a study of those aspects of culture that could not have been borrowed in the absence of direct contact, i.e., primarily complicated technologies and complicated ideological systems. In some instances, they could have convergent origins. If we see systematic similarities, however, we must discuss migration.

In early history, mining and metallurgy were among the activities that significantly influenced the progress of mankind. There is a basic problem in the history of metallurgy, however. Some scholars believe that, because it involves a complicated production process, it could have been developed only once and in a single location. According to another point of view, it originated independently in different areas.⁴ In specific studies, this opposition is not so dramatic, though discussions about whether the origins/developments of metallurgy were local or alien are quite common. Naturally, it is impossible to solve the problem by studying the materials of a single local metallurgical complex/settlement. It is necessary to do a comparative analysis within as vast an area as possible.

While studying ancient metallurgy, it is very important to analyse metal artefacts. However, to solve the problems of ore sources and smelting technologies, we must study slag and ore.

Such a project was realized for the last years, and a part of it was done within frameworks of the Alexander von Humboldt fellowship. Slag samples from the Bronze Age (and to a lesser extent, those from the Early Iron Age) found in the area from the Don River to the Altai Mountains and from Uzbekistan have been studied (in total, 2331 slag and ore samples and 2628 analyses). This project demonstrated a close interrelationship between types of ore/gangue and smelting technologies, and further, between methods of alloying, technologies of casting and forging, and types of tools/weapons. For example, the production of tin alloys was precipitated by the introduction of a process for the smelting of sulfides and ores from quartz rocks which resulted in higher temperatures and a longer duration. In these conditions, the production of copper-arsenic alloys was impossible. Based on these analyses, a generalised schema of the metallurgical development that occurred in Northern Eurasia has been created.⁵ And we see that systematic smelting of sulfidic ores appeared first in the east and then it was distributed to the west. Episodically it took place in Europe earlier, but since the first half of the 2nd millennium BC it became systematic. Contemporary we see penetration of Seima-Turbino metallurgy from the Altai to Eastern Europe since 2000 BC⁶, and then further to the west: initially in Southern Germany (bronzes of the Langquaid Horizon) and then in other parts of Europe.⁷

The distribution of ore smelting technologies was impossible through areas where ore deposits were lacking. Besides, all archaeometallurgists recognize that ancient metal production was based on *chaînes opératoires* ('chains of operations'), i.e. on interconnections of individual production cycles. Any type of raw material (types of ore

⁴ see the discussion of Roberts et al. 2009, 1012.

⁵ Grigoriev 2015.

⁶ Chernykh 1992.

⁷ Grigoriev 2002, 215-222.

and gangue) dictated definite smelting technologies. The latter were connected with types of alloying and through them with the metalworking technologies. The latter were the base of types of metal artifacts. So, it is a very complicated complex that cannot be gathered from several different isolated pieces. Therefore a sudden appearance of this complex is indicator of migration.

But we see also further contacts expressed in appearance in Germany of artifacts of the Bühl Hoard Horizon, earlier originated in the east.

So, all this are examples of influences from less developed areas to more developed one. A reverse example can be traced back in the Eneolithic. In recent years, we discovered several megalithic objects from this period in the Urals. They date from the 4th to the 3rd millennium BC and include menhirs, menhir complexes, dolmens and the ritual complex located on Vera Island.⁸ The Vera Island complex consists of a series of megalithic chambers, a complex of menhirs and single menhirs, cult places, monumental sculptures, a stone quarry and several settlements of the period. The megalithic chambers differ from those in Europe, but have some detailed constructive similarities. In the settlements, rich archaeological materials were found: ceramics, stone tools, and the remains of metallurgical production.

European analogies in pottery (stab-and-drag, combed, etc.) may be explained by long cultural contacts and influences, because similarities can be found from the Rhein to Eastern Europe and the Urals, a typical picture of cultural diffusion. But the situation with megaliths is more complicated, as well as in many areas of Europe.

The conditions and reasons for the formation of megalithic cultures in Europe at the end of the Stone Age are a continuing topic of discussion. This discussion is rooted in the universal question of cultural development, including the roles of divergence versus convergence and local versus alien components. There are two main points of view. The first assumes that megalithic building in Europe resulted from migration from the Eastern Mediterranean region. Originally, this theory was formulated rather exotically⁹, but later, more constructive ideas appeared.¹⁰ A second theory assumes the universality of the local development of the megalithic traditions and provides a common explanation for their similarities: the demographic stress of agricultural populations migrating to the west who were halted by the Atlantic barrier.¹¹ However, this theory is not viable for the Urals, because there was no agriculture and there were no barriers that would prevent further movement.

Analogies drawn between the Ural megalithic culture and that in Northwestern Europe assume migration.¹² Yet, in both areas, there had to have been social conditions for the preservation of their cultural traditions. Furthermore, the construction of megaliths required a large number of builders.¹³ Therefore, some European researchers came to the conclusion that there must have been a certain social hierarchy and a priestly caste.¹⁴ In studying the Ural materials, we came to the same conclusion.¹⁵ Therefore, there is a problem regarding the formation of the early hierarchical societies. It could occur in two ways: either as a result of the existence of surplus products based on an

⁸ Grigoriev, Vasina 2010.

⁹ Childe 1940.

¹⁰ Daniel 1950; Daniel 1960; O’Riordan & Daniel 1964.

¹¹ Renfrew 1976.

¹² Grigoriev 2012.

¹³ Bradley 1984.

¹⁴ Evans 1971; Joussaume 1988; Kaelas 1994; Maringer 1960.

¹⁵ Grigoriev 2011.

agricultural economy or the arrival of a new population that may have led to a social hierarchy. In the Urals, the latter explanation is the most plausible because of the existence of different ceramic complexes having local and European analogies.

It needs further meticulous studies. But in general, we may conclude that the old-fashioned point of view about local developments everywhere does not work. In addition to the well-known process of Neolithization in Europe from the Near East and the following connection with the Eastern Mediterranean, there were many other contacts of European areas with eastern areas up to the Urals in the Copper and Bronze Age. In some instances we may speak about migrations in the others about influences and contact during the long time. But these were important processes determined many cultural features during the long period.

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Abbreviations

BAR – *British archaeological report* (Oxford 1974-2017)

CRFB R1. Trade, Gifts and Long-Distance Contacts in ‘Sarmatian’ Barbaricum, West of Roman Dacia

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In 1994, at the initiative of the German Archaeological Institute, was launched the project *Corpus der Römischen Funde im Europäischen Barbaricum/CRFB*, with the goal of publishing in a series of *corpora* all the Roman finds, stretching from north-western Europe to the Black Sea. The 13 *corpora* which have appeared to date – Germany (7 vols.), Poland (4 vols.), Lithuania (1 vol.), and Hungary (1 vol.) – are essential for becoming acquainted with Roman imports from outside the Empire. However, a large part the *Barbaricum*, amongst which the territories of Romania, Serbia, and Moldavia has so far remained outside the scope of this project.

The term ‘Roman import’ is used with a general meaning and it refers to goods of Roman or provincial-Roman origin discovered outside the Empire. The category includes metal, glass and ceramic tableware, jewelry and other dress accessories, items of military equipment, tools or coins. These goods arrived in the Barbarian environment in a number of ways: through purchases made *intra fines Imperii*, as diplomatic gifts presented to the Barbarians or as subsidies. Also, the demand for such items could trigger Barbarian invasions into the Roman provinces, looting raids being another means by which luxury products were acquired¹.

The part of the European *Barbaricum* addressed by my paper – the Counties of Arad and Timiș (west Romania) – represents an important contact zone of Antiquity², characterized by a variety of influences, migrations and long-distance contacts: with the north Black Sea, the Germanic environment, and the Roman-provincial one. This ‘buffer zone’ is located between three important Roman provinces highly militarized and urbanized: Pannonia Inferior, Moesia Superior and Dacia. In the literary antique sources, the barbarians inhabiting these area are called Dacians³ (in the 1st century BC-2nd century AD) and Sarmatians⁴ (in the 1st-5th century AD). Even in the cartographic documents – such as Ptolemy’s Map or *Tabula Peutingeriana* – the Hungarian Plain belongs to populations called *Sarmatae*⁵.

Excavations have shown that the habitat was typically ‘barbarian’, defined by modest houses (adapted to the lowland environment), short-lived and seasonal. The

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¹ Erdrich & Voss 2003; for a recent discussion see Becker 2016, 5-6.

² The Great Hungarian Plain, similar with the northern Black Sea region, was a contact zone between different ‘barbarian’ populations (pastoral or agricultural) and the ‘civilized’ ancient world of the Mediterranean (see Mordvinceva 2013, 203-204 – for the Pontic region).

³ Cassius Dio, 68.10.3; Plin. *Nat.* 4.80.

⁴ Tac. *Ann.* 12.29–30, Sen. *Nat.* I, pref. 9; Amm. Marc. XVII.12.6; 9; 11; 20.

⁵ The segments V-VIII of *Tabula Peutingeriana* mentions north of Pannonia Inferior, Moesia Superior, and Dacia (in the following order): *Sarmataevagi* – *Solitudines Sarmatarum* – *Amaxobii Sarmate* – *Lupiones Sarmate* – *Venadi Sarmate*.

earliest Sarmatian settlements appeared towards the end of the 2nd century AD. The topographical, climatological, and political barriers imposed by the Roman frontiers prompted the Sarmatians to adopt new survival strategies which resulted in the adoption of a sedentary lifestyle⁶. The funerary rituals illustrate a wide variety of beliefs: there are inhumation barrow graves, marked by ditches; flat graves; different orientations of the pits – all associated with the Sarmatian groups⁷ and few Dacian cremation graves⁸.

The Roman imports are sporadically found in the 1st century BC/1st century AD in Dacian settlements/ *davae*: republican denarii, Augustan aurei, vessels made of ceramic, glass and metal.

The Roman-origin products (*terra sigillata* vessels, amphorae, imperial denarii, jewelry and dress items) entered these region especially with the 70s-80s of the 2nd century AD together with miscellaneous groups of peoples partaking in the Marcomannic wars. The archaeological material from this part of ‘Sarmatian’ *Barbaricum* is remarkable. For example, 40 enamelled brooches were found in the counties of Arad and Timiș, all coming from Pannonian and Germanic provinces. However, the most numerous and diverse category of artefacts discovered in Sarmatian graves is represented by beads⁹. Their large number is explained by the multiple functions they could possibly have had: as elements of bracelets, necklaces, brooches, earrings or sword pommels, but most frequently they were sewn onto women’s clothing. Finding workshops, markets or routes followed by Roman merchants towards the Sarmatians milieu rises challenging aspects. For example, provincial Roman beads workshops are relatively well known in the Danubian provinces at *Brigetio*, *Tibiscum*, *Novae*, *Aquincum*. Within this workshops there is no evidence of amber production or processing. The presence of Baltic amber¹⁰ was the result of long-distance trade along the Amber Road. Thus, beads and other personal ornaments get in territories dwelled by Sarmatians usually through trade: border-trade, long-distance exchanges or through itinerant merchants. The vast quantities of *denarii* dated in the 2nd century could indicate *stipendia* received by the Sarmatians during the Marcomannic Wars.

In the 4th century AD the prosperity of the Barbarians living north of the Danube is archaeologically confirmed by the numerous monetary discoveries¹¹ and prestige Roman goods, received as donations (gold bracelets, silver plates or gold coins)¹². The literary record referring to the 4th century AD mention organized groups, both in political and military sense: *Royal Sarmatians/Sarmates Argaragantes*¹³, which pose serious threats to the existence of the South-Danubian provinces during the Constantine dynasty.

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⁶ Bartosiewicz 2003, 105, 120.

⁷ Kulcsár 1998.

⁸ Dörner 1960.

⁹ Hundreds and even thousands of such beads appear in some of the graves, e. g. 1600 beads were found in Foeni cemetery (with 18 graves) and 1241 beads were found in Giarmata (32 graves) – all in Timiș County.

¹⁰ The archaeometric studies have shown that the vast majority of the 3rd-6th century amber beads found in Great Hungarian Plain were made of Baltic amber (Sprincz 2003)

¹¹ N. Demian collected 77 hoards (with c. 33.500 coins) and c. 1.100 stay finds – dated between 275-380 AD (Demian 2012, 10, 14, 18).

¹² Ivanišević & Bugarski 2008, 40.

¹³ Amm. Marc. 17.13.

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Contact, conflict, co-existence:

Multiple monocultures and dual contact zones in the British Isles, 5th – 8th centuries AD

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Boundaries resulting from early medieval migrations in Europe did not always turn into the contact zones one might have expected, at least not immediately. The case of the early medieval British Isles shows that contacts between Continental immigrants and insular natives took two very different forms: acculturation of the natives within the Anglo-Saxon settlement areas, but little or no cultural exchange between Anglo-Saxon and native polities.

The end of Roman administration in Britain, signalled by the withdrawal of the Mobile Field Army in AD 407, initially led to attempts at continuing Roman life while smaller ‘tribal’ polities were set up, some of them apparently with the involvement of Germanic mercenaries from the Continent. After this first post-Roman generation, around the middle of the 5th century AD or shortly after, immigration from north-west Europe brought about massive cultural changes expressed in new types of artefacts, new types of houses and settlements, new burial rites and a new majority language. This Anglo-Saxon culture spread rapidly, and by the early 6th century it covered much of what later became England. The overall outcome was a broad split of the British Isles into two cultural domains, a Germanic one in the south-east and a Celtic one in the west and north of Britain and in Ireland. Notwithstanding the debates about these ethnic labels, the sharp cultural distinctions between these two domains are real enough.

While there were regional differences within each of the domains, they appear remarkably monolithic, not least because there did not seem to be much, if any cultural exchange across their boundaries. They were, in fact, something close to parallel monocultures. The lack of cultural exchange for a century or so is as remarkable as the monoculture which characterized Anglo-Saxon England, given the diversity of immigrant groups and ‘tribes’ and the probable existence of a substantial native population whose contribution (if any) to Anglo-Saxon culture is not apparent at this stage. While the

natives quickly became archaeologically and linguistically invisible within the emerging Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, genetic evidence proves their survival beyond reasonable doubt, as it also proves the influx of populations from across the North Sea. In other words: there were two genetically distinct populations within monocultural Anglo-Saxon England. One might call it the 'internal contact zone' which is characterized by rapid acculturation of the formerly Romanized, partly Christianized population of south-east Britain into the dominant culture of the immigrants while genetic distinctions prevailed for some time. Calculations (admittedly speculative, but based on archaeological and biological evidence) suggest that this massive transformation was brought about by a minority immigrant population. Textual evidence implies that a full merger of the populations within the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms was only achieved by the 8th or even 9th century.

The 'external contact zone' between Anglo-Saxon and native (Celtic) polities was, by way of contrast, characterized by a lack of cultural exchange, epitomized later (in the early 8th century) by the Venerable Bede's complaint that the native Celts had failed to Christianize his pagan ancestors. Very little material culture found its way across the cultural boundary, and even trade (as far as it can be identified archaeologically) appeared to be directed to different partners abroad: Anglo-Saxon kingdoms looked across the Channel and the North Sea towards the north-western Continent, Celtic kingdoms towards the Mediterranean and Byzantium. One might argue that this is a remarkable situation as the two domains had closely similar levels of technology and social organisation, or one might argue that these similarities were the very reason for intense competition and animosity. But there were some cases of political cooperation across the cultural and religious boundaries, most notably a military alliance of a pagan Anglo-Saxon king (Penda of Mercia) and a Christian Celtic one (Cadwallon of Gwynedd) against a Christian Anglo-Saxon kingdom (Northumbria).

This case, however, dates to around AD 630, and therefore belongs already to the period of the dissolution of the old pattern. This dissolution was the result of religious and political change: the Christianization of the Anglo-Saxons in the 7th century, and state formation within England which began around the same time. Christianization, although mostly not effected across the external contact zone, nevertheless created a common religion for both cultural domains; and state formation in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms provided a new social model which allowed for the integration of different populations across the internal contact zone.

Is there a more general relevance of this case study? One may be tempted to draw comparisons with the political blocks during the Cold War, or see parallels with processes of acculturation, integration and nation-building during the medieval German *Ostkolonisation* or the early modern settlement of America. But archaeologists and historians, in spite of calls for an engagement with contemporary society, should tread carefully here and be aware of the pitfalls of 'contemporary relevance'. What may be drawn, with due caution, is a more general lesson: that models of contact and change in the wake of immigration do not always conform to intuitive expectations, let alone to current models of peaceful coexistence and cultural exchange.

Sarmatians on the Borders of the Roman Empire. Steppe Traditions and Imported Cultural Phenomena

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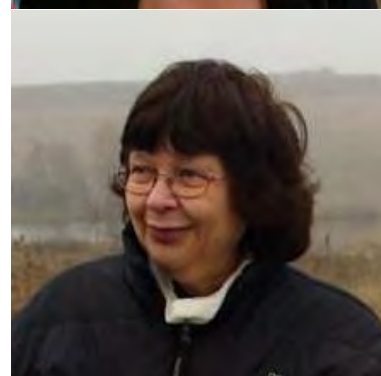
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Jazygi, the westernmost tribe of the steppe Sarmatian coalition, migrated to the Great Hungarian Plain in the 1st c. AD, followed by several later waves. Their material culture changed in some generations, for they got into a completely new political and geographical environment and got separated from their steppe relatives. For several generations, Hungarian scholarship has been dealing with the search for the eastern roots of the Alföld Sarmatians. Our study summarises this research, dealing also with some cultural phenomena imported from the Romans and with the possible ways of re-interpretation of the foreign ideas.

Key words: Sarmatians, Jazygi, Great Hungarian Plain, steppe traditions, Roman influence

Steppe ethnic groups of Roman Age – with generalising term: Sarmatians – arriving to the Carpathian Basin in the 1st c. AD balked at the Danube, crossing it only time by time (trade, raids, settlement by the Romans). To express it simpler, they got into dead-end with no possibility to get out of it. This situation determined both their contacts and material culture. Sarmatians of Alföld blocked from their relative tribes by the Carpathians had to work up relations partly with the autochthonous population, partly with their new neighbours, among them, on the first place, with the Roman state, the borders of which were strictly guarded by the army and by Germanic tribes from the north.

Judging from archaeological finds, representatives of the first Sarmatian wave arriving to the Carpathian Basin in the 1st century AD, found here a very sparse population. However, nothing refers to assimilation: burial rite and material culture of the first immigrants practically does not show any local roots. So, at the first sight it seems that such a situation makes it easier to study the Sarmatian material of the Alföld in its “clear

form”, because it would be relatively easy to say where these or that elements of the culture come from. However, this is not the case. We deal with a paradox situation. Though practically from the studies by Mihály Párducz¹, search for the origin of the artefacts and of the burial rite is on the agenda, we still cannot answer the question what was the initial territory of the first Sarmatians arriving to the Hungarian Plain.

No doubt, they belonged to the tribe of the Jazygi which is evidenced by Ptolemy (III.5.6), Tacit (Annal. XII.29-30) and Pliny the Elder (NH IV.80). The analysis of these literary sources show that Jazygi had to appear in the area not later than 50 AD and we have serious evidence suggesting that they occupied their first settlement territory already before 20 AD².

In the search for the steppe roots of the Jazygi, we meet several difficulties. The elements of the burial rite mostly are uncharacteristic (simple burial pit, S-N orientation, supine stretched position of the dead, trunk coffin, etc.) These features in itself are insufficient for finding related burials in the steppe. The only exception is the large number of beads found in the region of the feet. The really characteristic finds (earrings with granulation and insets, earrings decorated with pieces of wire, lunulas of specific shapes, golden foil plates decorating dress, golden beads and torcs) have analogies in the Crimean Late Scythian culture and are relatively rare in the vast Sarmatian steppe territory. Examining the material of the earliest Sarmatians of the Alföld we have only few chrono-indicators at our disposal. Among the latter, e.g. Scharnierfibeln can be mentioned. Despite of the fact, that these are products of Roman workshops, the closest analogies of such fibulae were found also in Late Scythian context in Crimea (Ust'-Al'ma grave 613)³.

So, it becomes clear that most of the elements of the group connected with the earliest Sarmatians of the Carpathian Basin, the so-called “golden horizon”, do not have analogies at all or have few parallels dispersed at the vast areas of the steppe zone. Related types are concentrated mostly in Crimea or the North-western Pontic Region. The origin of these objects is a key question for the reconstruction of the Sarmatians' history in the Carpathian Basin, a question, we cannot clearly answer for the time being because of the lack of close or at least distant analogies.

It is very likely, that already in the period of the early find horizon (turn of the 1st/2nd c. AD) appear the – both chronologically and geographically – widely spread swords/daggers with ring-shaped pommel, a type existing in the Carpathian Basin up to the 4th century⁴. The small number of these weapons found in Hungary can be explained by the rare practice of placing arms into the burials, at least during the 2nd-3rd c. At the same time, there are some traits suggesting that Romans overtook this type of swords from Sarmatians in the Middle Danubian region, from where it spread in the whole of Empire and got also in German environment⁵.

Some elements of the burial rite and early type of objects continued to exist in the Hungarian Plain. At the same time, from the early 2nd century new phenomena appeared: e.g. the custom of surrounding the graves with ditches (round, square ditches and ones dug parallel with the longitudinal sides of the grave pit). More or less at the same time,

1 Párducz 1941a; 1944; 1950; 1956; 1959; 1963.

2 Fehér-Kovács 2005, 40-42 – with detailed scholarship of the problem.

3 Istvánovits-Kulcsár 2005.

4 Istvánovits-Kulcsár 2010.

5 Mráv 2006; Istvánovits-Kulcsár 2010.

this element of the burial rite was known in the valleys of Dniester, Prut and in the Lower Danube region⁶.

Talking about the finds of the early period, we have to deal with the fibula from Örvény⁷, one of the best analogies of which (the only difference is in the position of the cord) comes from the elite burial of Porogi⁸. These are so-called strongly profiled brooches with a knob on the bow, variant 1 of series I, the basic finds of which are also concentrated on the Dniester and Prut⁹. The assemblages of the “golden horizon” cover the Danube-Tisza Interfluve. From the 2nd century Sarmatians crossed the Tisza and started to occupy the territory east of it. During Trajan’s Dacian Wars Jazygi fought in Roman alliance, while Roxolani supported the Dacians. Appearance of a new Sarmatian wave in the Carpathian Basin and the formation of system of relations could have gone on as a result of the war events and the peace treaties that followed them. The spread of fibulae similar to the pieces from Örvény and Porogi in Sarmatian milieu can be connected to the events mentioned above.

Starting from this period, the early 2nd century, more and more objects of Roman import – mainly different kinds of ceramics, the most important among them the *terra sigillata*, and brooches – are recorded in the Alföld, and this is when first Germanic objects appear. Returning to steppe traditions, there the question of tamgas arises. The first image of tamga in the Hungarian Plain, dated to the turn of the 1st-2nd century AD, was found in Dunaharaszti¹⁰. On a golden plate, possibly covering a sceptre, in the row of running predators, we see a tamga similar to the signs of king Pharzoios, which can serve as an argument in the old discussion about the Alanic or Aorsic attribution of Pharzoios’ dynasty. Literary sources never write about Aorsi in the Carpathian Basin, while Alans were mentioned here starting from the time of the Marcomannic Wars.

The total number of objects with tamgas is low and they cannot be reliably dated¹¹. They are met mainly on vessels that could serve as incense burners, appearing in the 2nd-3rd century¹².

Marcomannic Wars were crucial events in the history of the Alföld Sarmatians, similarly to the whole of Europe. After the wars, a number of important changes are observed, partly connected with the new Iranian nomadic wave arriving from the East. This archaeological horizon can be characterised with an innovation in the male costume: this is the fashion of narrow belts with long, mostly rectangular, faceted buckles (so-called “Sarmatian buckles” in Hungarian scholarship) and belt terminals made in similar style. In many cases belt sets were complemented with similar sets for shoe belts.¹³ The origin of these assemblages is not clear. There are no precise analogies in the steppe Sarmatian milieu. At the same time, belt terminal-pendants are similar to objects widely spread in the whole of the Eastern European steppe – group II by V.Yu. Malashev who dated them to the first half of the 3rd century.¹⁴ There are different solutions for the problem of origin: 1. These objects represent the style and products of Roman workshops, so the techniques and general outfit of these buckles and belt terminals are Western, they got to

6 Simonenko 1995.

7 Párducz 1941.

8 Simonenko–Lobaï 1991, 32-33, fig. 20: 3.

9 Kropotov 2010, 224-227, fig. 63-64.

10 Vaday 1989.

11 Istvánovits–Kulcsár 2006.

12 Vaday–Medgyesi 1994; Istvánovits–Pintye 2011, 99-103.

13 Vaday–Kulcsár 1984.

14 Malashev 2000.

the steppe Sarmatians with the mediation of their Carpathian-Danubian kinsmen; 2. Forms of the belt terminals and partly that of the buckles, their style got to the West, to the Hungarian Plain in its immature form with the new Sarmatian wave. Similarly to Malashev we prefer to be cautious in this question. We also should not forget that the traits of the new wave make a complex phenomenon, including not only belt sets, but also appearance of other new objects and elements of the burial rite.

Among them rings with knobs are to be mentioned. They are widely spread at steppe Sarmatians and especially in the so-called Late Scythian cemeteries in Crimea. Here, of course, the question arises, whether these objects could have had La Tène origin. In his recent article, D.S. Zhuravlev has shown that North Pontic rings with knobs should be connected, on the first hand, not with the actual Celtic, but rather with Thracian or Geto-Dacian influence¹⁵. We do not feel competent to judge on the origin of the steppe finds, but in Hungary, undoubtedly there was not continuity between the existence of Celts and appearance of the objects in question in Sarmatian milieu (late 2nd c.). We have to add that to-date we have at our disposal very poor material showing that the first Sarmatian groups found in Alföld Celts, the latest settlements of whom were dated to the period LTD. So, rings with knobs and the only spherical amulet with knobs (“pocket microcosmos”) found in Hungary and dated to the period following Marcomannic Wars are considered to be as objects brought with a new steppe wave¹⁶.

Returning to the question of eastern migrants appearing in the Carpathian Basin during or after the Marcomannic Wars, we should mention the so-called Hévízgyörk-Vizespuszta-Azov, the burials of which both in the Lower Don and in the Hungarian Plain are characterised by a certain set of artefacts, mainly pieces of horse-harness and weaponry.¹⁷ We can probably assume that a Sarmatian warrior group (mercenaries?) appeared in Hungary during the events of the Marcomannic Wars.

Talking about preserved traditions one cannot neglect anthropological data, namely the custom of skull deformation. This was a usual practice in the Late Sarmatian time of the steppe zone, but considered to be a rarity in the case of the Alföld Sarmatians. We know very few cases (to-date: nine; in one cemetery, the utmost number is four skulls)¹⁸ and they are, probably, connected with new steppe migrants. Trepanation of skull also should be considered a steppe tradition. We have six cases in the Sarmatian Barbaricum of the Hungarian Plain, while in the neighbouring Roman province of Pannonia not even one case is known. Based on this and judging from eastern analogies, the steppe origin of this custom was suggested.¹⁹

In connection with cultic-magic ritual phenomena, a ram shaped vessel is to be mentioned: the only object of such type in the Alföld coming from a burial in Hajdúböszörmény-Vid. We know several analogies from North Pontic Sarmatian milieu.²⁰ The piece in question is a product of a Roman workshop and refers to the surviving cultic role of ram in Sarmatian world of beliefs. In this regard burial from Szentés-Nagyhegy is also notable that probably belonged to a priestess. Her diadem, decorated with human faces and a veil with animal shaped golden spangles has roots in

15 Zhuravlev 2014.

16 Istvánovits–Kulcsár 2011.

17 Kulcsár 2000.

18 Marcsik 2011, 426.

19 Bereczki–Paja–Madácsy–Pálfi–Sóskuti 2014.

20 Istvánovits 1997.

the steppe Iranian world, though she does not seem to belong to a newly arriving eastern group, but to be a guard of traditions in second-third generation²¹.

Beside the already mentioned few swords/daggers with ring shaped pommel, the number of steppe traditions in the weaponry of the Alföld Sarmatians is very low. We can classify as such, bronze arrow heads of Scythian types regularly found in Sarmatian burials both in the East and West.²² The use of Scythian type arrows in later times was supported by the findings of such heads with remains of wooden shaft in Late Scythian cemeteries of Crimea.²³

In the late 4th – early 5th c., new eastern migrants appeared, a wave started out, in all probability, under the influence of Hunnic expansion. In our territory, this time is characterised, among other features, by the so-called “Maeotian” swords/daggers with cross-shaped cuts under the pommel. They are usually associated with Alans²⁴.

Beside the finds introduced here, from time to time theories appear in the scholarship about the eastern origin of this or that type of object from the Sarmatian sites of the Carpathian Basin. However, we have to admit that there are not many cases at our disposal when elements of eastern origin or relations with the steppe population can be evidenced either in the material culture or the burial rite of the Alföld Sarmatians. A crucial role must have been played by the actual “change of culture” that went on because of the differences between the two regions: the Great Hungarian Plain and the steppe – migrants got into an absolutely new environment (neighbours, conditions of life, etc.)

Putting aside the problem of steppe roots, we now turn to imported phenomena appearing in Sarmatian environment as the result of Roman influence. Here we deal with a basic problem: if we separate the products of local workshops, made, according to the common knowledge, by the patterns of the autochthonous La Tène population (Celts, Dacians), and imported goods, interpreted usually as Roman or Germanic influence, then it will be difficult to understand what should be considered indeed Sarmatian. This phenomenon is common for most of ethnic groups arriving to the Carpathian Basin during millennia, starting from the Early Bronze Age (Pit-grave Culture), through the pre-Scythian population, Scythians, Sarmatians, Avars, Hungarians up to Cumans/Kipchaks and Jasi of the Medieval times. That is how the study of preservation of original cultural elements and of the appearance of new characteristic features could give us answers to more global questions.

It is relatively easy to separate all these “strange” objects from the Sarmatian material. However, it is much more difficult, and sometimes virtually impossible, to understand whether this or that style or techniques are original or they formed under an exterior influence.

As a classical example, we can refer to the problem of belt sets with so-called Sarmatian buckles (see above). In many cases, there is only a very thin line between archaeological term “import” and “an object made under the influence of import”. This applies, e.g. to the stamped and painted pottery. As a special case, we mention the products of the pottery centre from Üllő, where a specialised production of kitchenware went on: gritty pots with profiled rim typical for the Late Roman Age. Similar vessels were produced also in Roman provinces and other Barbarian territories²⁵.

21 Istvánovits–Kulcsár 2000.

22 Istvánovits–Kulcsár 2014, 145-147.

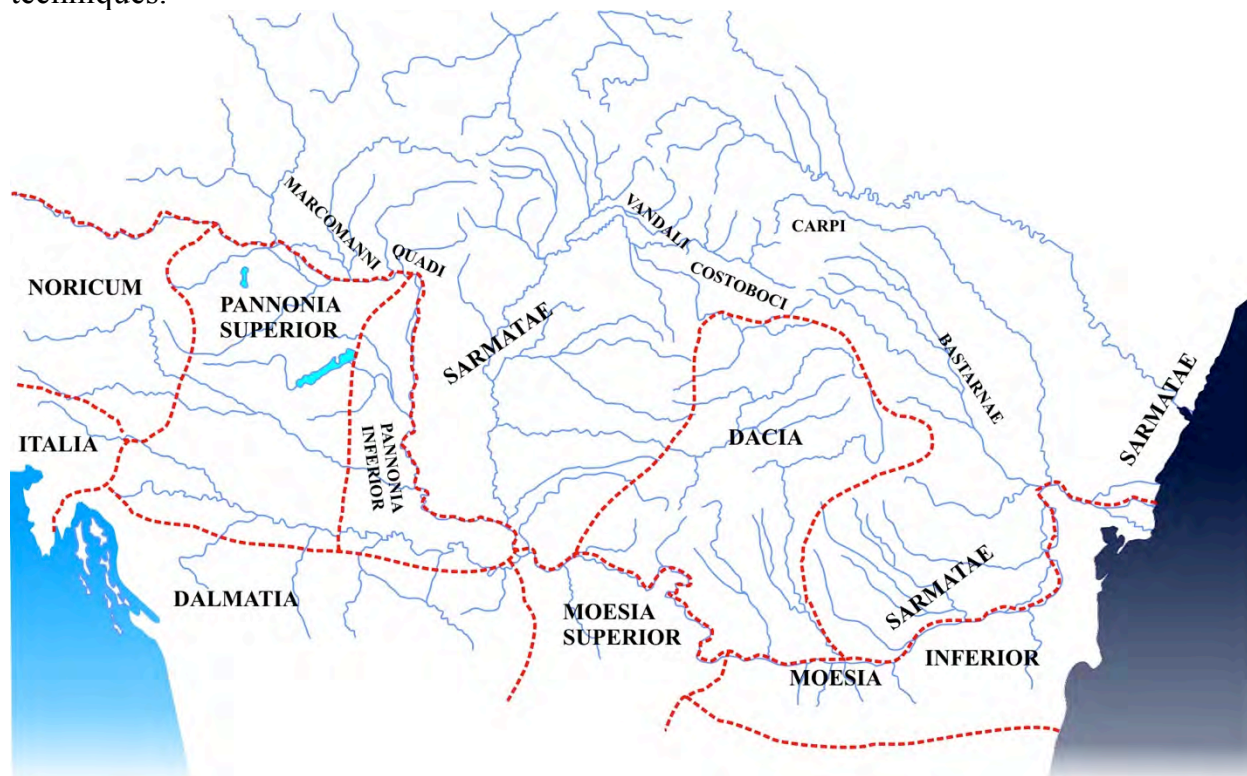
23 Khrapunov 2008, 9. We thank I.N. Khrapunov for the information.

24 Istvánovits–Kulcsár 2009.

25 Kulcsár–Mérai 2011.

Traditionally, the common opinion was that the majority of the fibulae used by Sarmatians got to the Barbaricum by trade from the Roman provinces. However, today we have a series of casting forms of Roman type fibulae, found in Sarmatian settlement features. The most characteristic is perhaps the remains of a bronze casting workshop discovered in Tiszaföldvár²⁶.

So, the culture of the Alföld Sarmatians represented a strange mixture of preserved steppe traditions with a certain degree of romanization that appeared not only in the large number of imported goods, but also in the re-interpretation of Roman shapes and techniques.



Political situation in the Carpathian Basin in the 2nd-3rd c. AD.

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²⁶ Vaday 2006.

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Abbreviations

- ActaAH – Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Budapest
- ArchÉrt – Archaeologiai Értesítő, Budapest
- ComArchHung – Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungariae, Budapest
- FA – Folia Archaeologica, Budapest
- MittArchInst – Mitteilungen des Archäologischen Instituts der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Budapest
- NyJAMÉ – A nyíregyházi Jósa András Múzeum Évkönyve, Nyíregyháza

**‘Crimean Scythia’ between East and West. Preliminary Results
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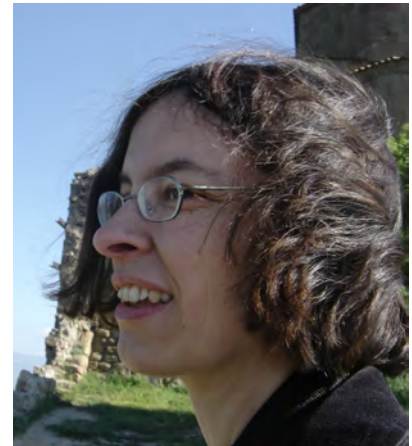
Die Siedlungen mit „Aschehügeln“ der späten Bronzezeit in der Waldsteppe und Steppe des nordwestlichen Schwarzmeerraums

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Der spätbronzezeitliche Noua-Sabatinovka-Coslogeni-Kulturkomplex stellt eine weiträumig verbreitete Erscheinung zwischen dem Fluss Dnepr im Osten und dem östlichen Transsilvanien im Westen dar. Ihre nördlichsten Fundplätze wurden im oberen Dnestrgebiet aufgefunden, im Süden stellt die untere Donau eine naturräumliche Grenze dar. Hinweise auf Interaktionen mit zahlreichen anderen archäologischen Kulturen können an Funden und Befunden aufgezeigt werden, als Beispiel seien hier nur die Warzenkopfnadeln genannt, die aus Bronze oder Knochen gefertigt waren und eine Leitform der Noua-Kultur darstellt, aber fern ab des engeren Verbreitungsraumes unter anderem auch in der Tellsiedlung Kastanas, Griechenland, aufgefunden wurde (Hänsel 1981). Welche Elemente aus den östlich des Dnepr gelegenen Kulturarealen und welche eher aus Südosteuropa herzuleitenden Formen und Traditionen im Noua-Sabatinovka-Coslogeni-Kulturkomplex sichtbar werden, wurde ausführlich während einer Tagung im Schloss Mogilany bei Kraków in Polen diskutiert und daran anschließend auch publiziert (Gerškovič 1998; Sava 1998). Insofern stellt das Verbreitungsgebiet dieses Kulturkomplexes eine Zone dar, in der intensive und vielfältige Kontakte im archäologischen Material sehr deutlich werden.

Die sogenannten Aschehügel, die kennzeichnend für einen Teil der Siedlungen dieses Kulturkomplexes sind, bilden eine besondere Kategorie von Fundplätzen, die in den letzten zwei Jahrzehnten wieder erforscht wurden. Im Zuge dessen wurden abermals intensiv die Gründe ihrer Entstehung und ihre eigentliche Funktion diskutiert (Гершкович 2004; Sava 2005a). „Aschehügel“ wurden allerdings nicht nur und keineswegs auf allen Siedlungen des Noua-Sabatinovka-Coslogeni-Kulturkomplexes festgestellt. Besonders ausführlich wurden sie zu einem relativ frühen Zeitpunkt für die Belogradovka-Kultur beschrieben, die nördlich in der Waldsteppe an die Sabatinovka-Kultur angrenzt (Березанська 1970; Березанская 1982; Березанская 1985). Östlich des

nördlichen Schwarzmeerraums treten ebenfalls in verschiedenen bronzezeitlichen Kulturen und bestimmten Arealen sogenannte Aschehügel auf, vor allem zwischen Südlichen Ural und Ostkazachstan (Корочкова 1999; Sava 2005a; Корочкова 2009). Die Datengrundlage reicht immer noch nicht aus, um die „Aschehügel“ zu verschiedenen Zeiten und in unterschiedlichen Räumen als gleiche Erscheinungen bezüglich Funktion und Entstehung zu interpretieren. Hingegen ist für die aufgeführten Beispiele sicher, dass die „Aschehügel“ immer nur in direktem Zusammenhang mit Siedlungen zu fassen sind. Rund 200 Siedlungen sind der Noua-Kultur im Waldsteppengebiet zwischen Prut und Dnestr zuzuordnen, südlich zwischen diesen beiden Flüssen in der Steppe war die Sabatinovka-Kultur verbreitet; für sie sind ebenfalls an die 200 Siedlungsplätze dokumentiert (Sava 2014). Nach verschiedenen Grabungen von Siedlungen der Noua-Kultur, in denen auch „Aschehügel“ untersucht worden sind – z. B. Ostrivec (Балагурі 1968), Mahala (Смирнова 1969; Smirnova 1993), Petrușeni (Sava, Levițki 1995) – wurde erst im 21. Jahrhundert ein Ausgrabungsprojekt mit einem multidisziplinären Forschungsansatz für eine Siedlung mit „Aschehügeln“ durchgeführt. Bei dem Weiler Odaia-Miciurin im Norden der Republik Moldova wurden 25 noch erhaltene „Aschehügel“ mit einer Höhe von 0,3 bis 0,5 m und einem Durchmesser, der bis zu 45 m betragen konnte, topografisch aufgenommen. Die Hügel bildeten den Rest von ursprünglich mehr als 40 solcher Befunde, wie eine Luftbildaufnahme auswies (Sava/Kaiser 2011, 28–47). Im Laufe von fünf Grabungskampagnen wurden zwischen 2003 und 2008 drei „Aschehügel“ vollständig und ein weiterer zu einem Viertel ausgegraben. Die Ergebnisse der parallel erfolgten archäozoologischen, archäobotanischen, pedologischen und geochemischen erlaubten es zusammen mit den archäologischen Untersuchungen und der ¹⁴C-Datierungen ein neues Modell der Entstehung der Hügel vorzuschlagen (Sava/Kaiser 2011; Sava 2014). Damit einher ging eine Rekonstruktion der Subsistenzwirtschaft der Bevölkerungsgruppen, mit der die „Aschehügel“ der Noua-Kultur in engem Zusammenhang zu sehen sind. Demzufolge bilden die „Aschehügel“ die Reste von Hausstellen mit kleinen Wirtschafts- und Abfallgruben, die saisonal bewohnt waren. Am Ende der Aufenthaltszeit schlugen die Viehzüchter ihre Unterkünfte aus leichten Materialien ab, nahmen alles, was transportfähig war, zu ihrem nächsten Wohnplatz mit, der sich vermutlich in nicht allzu großer Entfernung befand. Die Plätze wurden regelmäßig wieder aufgesucht, wahrscheinlich sogar über Generationen hinweg, denn die kalibrierten Zeitspannen der ¹⁴C-Datierungen für Odaia-Miciurin weisen auf eine längere Nutzung zwischen 1400 und 1100 cal BC hin.

Während in der Waldsteppe auf den Siedlungen der Noua-Kultur Häuser mit ihrer Sohle in den Boden eingetieft oder auch auf ebener Erde errichtet wurden, neben organischen Materialien auch Lehm verbaut wurde, sind für viele Siedlungen der Sabatinovka-Kultur im Steppengebiet Steinsetzungen in Trockenbauweise für den unteren Teil der Häuser charakteristisch. Allerdings beschränkt sich die Verwendung von Steinen vornehmlich auf das Gebiet zwischen Dnepr und Südlichem Bug (Pieniățek 2012, Karte 11). Nur vereinzelt wurde eine entsprechende Bauweise auch westlich davon festgestellt. Auch fanden immer nur Ausgrabungen in dem nordwestlichen Schwarzmeergebiet einschließlich der Republik Moldova statt, bei denen lediglich sehr kleine Flächen geöffnet wurden (z. B. Mereni (Sava 2002), Bălăbănești (Никулицэ, Каврук 1986), Calfa (Чеботаренко 1964), Căușeni (Агульников, Левинский 1990) u. a.). Naturwissenschaftliche Methoden wurden bei den Untersuchungen nie angewendet, weshalb die Autoren dieses Beitrages sich entschlossen haben, in der insgesamt noch

nicht besonders intensiv erforschten Region im Süden der heutigen Republik Moldova, in der Budžak-Steppe, ein neues Kooperationsprojekt zu beginnen. Dieses wird seit 2016 von der Alexander-von-Humboldt-Stiftung gefördert und wir freuen uns, erste Ergebnisse auf der Tagung in Moskau vorstellen zu können.

Erstes Ziel in dem binationalen Projekt war die möglichst vollständige Aufnahme spätbronzezeitlicher Fundplätze in zwei Transsekten innerhalb der Mikroregion Budžak-Steppe, wobei ein Teil darin administrativ zur autonomen territorialen Einheit Gagausien gehört. Dabei wurden im Frühjahr 2016 bereits zentral verzeichnete Stellen wieder aufgesucht, die durch Oberflächenfunde, die zu verschiedenen Gelegenheiten aufgelesen worden waren, bekannt sind. Hier fanden erneut Begehungen statt und von den 65 Fundplätzen konnten 59 wieder aufgefunden werden (Abb. 1,I). Allerdings lassen sich nur 20 von ihnen sicher als Siedlungen des Noua-Sabatinovka-Coslogeni-Kulturkomplexes identifizieren. Bereits bei diesen Begehungen fiel auf, dass großflächige Verfärbungen wie sie in der Waldsteppe kennzeichnend für die Identifizierung von „Aschehügeln“ sind, hier nicht zu beobachten waren, obwohl die meisten Ackerflächen noch nicht überwachsen waren.

Unter diesen 20 wurden zwei Fundplätze – Cazaclia II und Taraclia „Gaibul“ – ausgewählt (Abb. 1/II №1-2), die aufgrund verschiedener Parameter sehr aussichtsreich für weitergehende Untersuchungen waren und im Herbst 2016 im Rahmen eines studentischen Praktikums systematisch begangen und geomagnetisch prospektiert wurden. Erste Testschnitte wurden angelegt und topografische Pläne von beiden Siedlungsarealen gezeichnet.

Cazaclia II

Der Fundplatz Cazaclia II ist auf einem leicht abschüssigen Terrain in der Aue des Flusses Ialpuș gelegen (Abb. 2a). Bereits im Frühjahr sind bei der Begehung die Reste großer Vorratsgefäße aufgesammelt worden, daher wurde an dieser Stelle ein kleiner Grabungsschnitt (4x4 m) angelegt, aus dem 600 Fragmente von mehreren Pythos-artigen Gefäßen ausgegraben wurden. Sie lagen kompakt in einer Grube, deren Sohle nur 40 cm unter der heutigen Oberfläche festgestellt wurde. Zwischen den Keramikgefäßen wurden außer Holzkohlereste auch verkohlte Getreidekörner geborgen. Diese wurden von Dr. S. Jahns (Brandenburgisches Landesamt für Bodendenkmalpflege, Wünsdorf) als Nacktgerste bestimmt, eine ¹⁴C-Datierung bestätigt mit einer kalibrierten Zeitspanne 1397-1216 calBC (95.4%) die relativchronologische Einordnung der Vorratsgefäße in den Noua-Sabatinovka-Coslogeni-Kulturkomplex. Auf der nördlichen Hälfte des Fundplatzes wurde eine systematische Oberflächenbegehung im Rahmen eines studentischen Praktikums durchgeführt, dabei zeigten sich einige wenige Konzentrationen insbesondere keramischer Fragmente. Das Material ist vermutlich durch Oberflächenerosion in Richtung Fluss stark verlagert, wie die Auswertung einer Bodencatena ergab, die von den Geografen der Freien Universität angelegt worden ist. Die geomagnetischen Messungen auf der südlichen Hälfte des Fundplatzes ergaben indifferente Anomalien, die sich ohne gezielte Ausgrabung jeglicher Interpretation als mögliche archäologische Befunde entziehen.

Taraclia „Gaidabul“

Dieser Fundplatz ist bereits hinsichtlich seiner topografischen Lage im Vergleich mit den anderen Siedlungen des Noua-Sabatinovka-Coslogeni-Kulturkomplexes auffällig. Er befindet sich auf einem Plateau, das auf der südlichen Hangschulter oberhalb der Aue des Flusses Taraclia Balca liegt (Abb. 2b). Das Gelände war sowohl im Frühjahr wie im Herbst mit Steppengras überwachsen, das geomagnetische Bild zeigte allerdings

Pflugspuren von früherer Bearbeitung des Bodens durch landwirtschaftliche Maschinen. Die geomagnetische Prospektion ergab ebenfalls verschiedene Anomalien, die allerdings wie in Cazaclia II keine eindeutige Beurteilung zulassen. Erst gezielte Grabungen können klären, ob sie archäologische Komplexe repräsentieren und der späten Bronzezeit zuzuordnen sind. Beraubungsspuren, die auf dem Plateau verteilt zu finden waren, lassen annehmen, dass hier ebenfalls Fundmaterial aus jüngeren Perioden vorhanden ist. Wegen des Bewuchses konnte keine systematische Begehung stattfinden.

Ein Testschnitt (1,0-1,5x4,0 m) wurde im Westen an der Plateaukante angelegt, da hier in einem Aufschluss an einer Erosionsrinne Keramikfragmente und Tierknochen gefunden wurden. Unterhalb der 20-25 cm mächtigen humosen Schicht kam ein Sediment von sehr heller Farbe und lockerer Konsistenz zu Tage, wie es typisch für die sogenannten Aschehügel ist, und dass mindestens 1,0 m tief unterhalb der heutigen Oberfläche reicht. Neben den Gefäßresten und Knochen wurden außerdem Steine mit Bearbeitungsspuren geborgen. Zwei ¹⁴C-Datierungen, die an Proben von Tierknochen durchgeführt wurden, von denen einer innerhalb des hellen Sediments und der andere außerhalb im direkt anschließenden dunkleren Bereich gefunden worden sind, belegen die Zuordnung der Fundstelle zur späten Bronzezeit.

Im Sommer 2017 wird das Projekt mit weiteren Grabungen fortgesetzt werden, die von naturwissenschaftlichen Untersuchungen begleitet werden. Hauptsächlich soll dabei herausgearbeitet werden, welche gemeinsamen Elemente in den Siedlungen in der Waldsteppen- (Noua-Kultur) und der Steppenzonen (Sabatinovka-Kultur) hinsichtlich der Topografie, der Infrastruktur, der Haustypen und der Subsistenzwirtschaft festzustellen sind. Außerdem wird der „Aschehügel“ von Taraclia „Gaidabul“ umfassend untersucht, um auch hier mögliche Unterschiede zu den Hügeln bei Odaia-Miciurin im Norden der Republik Moldova feststellen und gleichzeitig die Datenbasis deutlich zu erweitern. Die Ergebnisse dieser Analysen, die einen Vergleich der Siedlungsmuster zweier Mikroregionen während der späten Bronzezeit zwischen den Flüssen Prut und Dneestr darstellt, werden in der Zukunft die Grundlage für eine überregionale Untersuchung von Siedlungen bilden, um weiträumige Kontaktzonen konkreter erfassen zu können.

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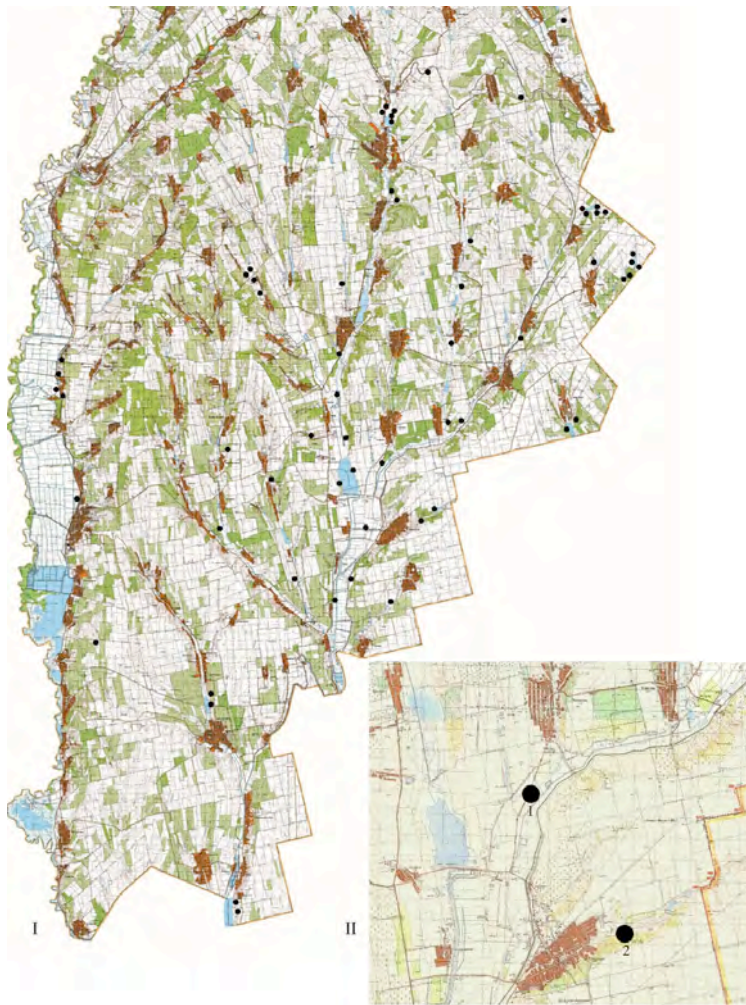
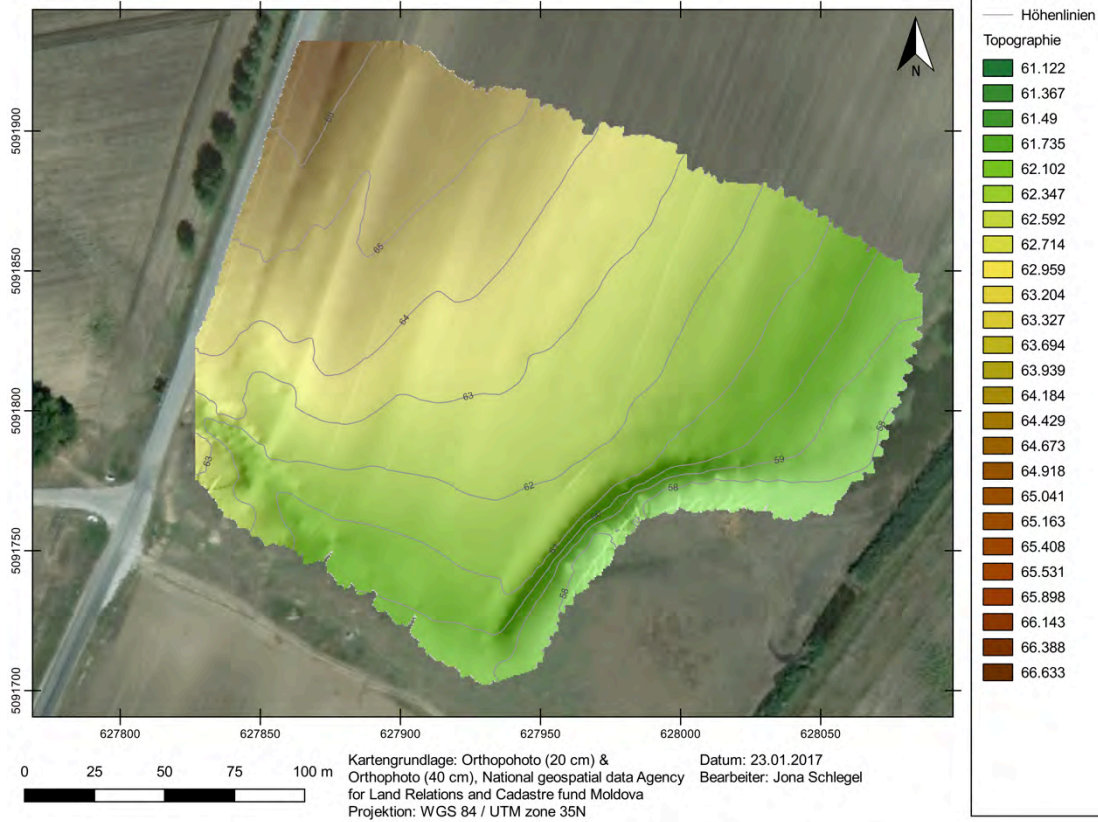


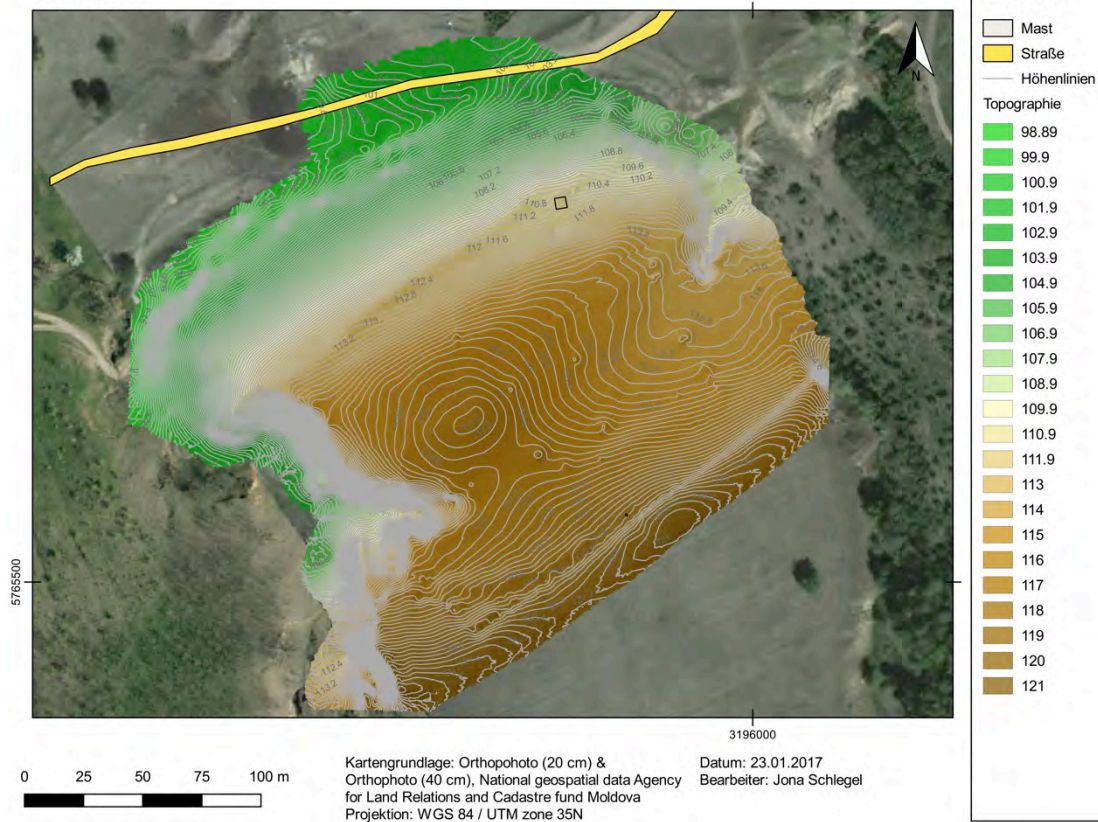
Abb. 1 Arbeitsgebiet in der Mikroregion Budžak-Steppe. Rechts unten: Lage der beiden Fundplätze Cazaclia II (1) und Taraclia „Gaidabul“ (2) im Detail

Cazaclia II



A

Gaidabul



B

Abb. 2 Topografische Pläne der Fundplätze Cazaclia II (a) und Taraclia „Gaidabul“ (b) (Erstellt von J. Schlegel, HTW Berlin)

Romans in Greece – Greeks in Rome: Cultural Confrontation and Interaction between the Greek East and the Roman West in the 2nd c. BC.

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Considerable changes occurred in the international affairs of the Eastern Mediterranean from the Second Macedonian war to the Achaean war. During this period Rome had established her hegemony in the world of Hellenistic kingdoms and Greek states. The Romans retained their traditional institutions of foreign policy and meantime adopted some Greek forms of diplomacy for their purposes. Interstate relations in the sphere of war and diplomacy were the closed framework which significantly, but not entirely influenced cultural contacts between the Greek East and the Roman West.

Intensive cultural interrelations took place in the time between two remarkable events: the liberation of Greek poleis at the Isthmian Games in 196 and the destruction of Corinth in 146 B.C. The first one did not change fundamentally Greek attitudes towards the Romans, most of Greeks obviously regarded them on the whole as uncivilized people (βάρβαροι). The second event had merely strengthened anti-Roman feeling among the Greeks which was tremendous as it showed the massacre of Roman residents in the Greek poleis of Asia Minor circa sixty years after the distraction of Corinth. Such feeling was a background for cultural opposition to the Romans in Greece.

Attraction of Hellenistic culture and civilization was very strong among the Roman aristocracy throughout all the second century B.C. Philhellenism in Rome became apparent mostly in such fields of culture as philosophy, literature and education. In Rome there was an invisible, but firm line between private attitudes to the Greeks and their culture and official demeanor. The Romans never confused their philhellenism and antihellenism with state policy towards the Greek East.

Use of Greek and Latin was an important means in cultural dialogue between the Greek East and the Roman West. Some notable Romans conversed readily with Greeks privately and during official negotiations without an interpreter. Cato the Elder spent much time at Athens and could speak with Athenians directly, but he always clung to his native Roman ways, that is why he dealt with the Athenian people officially through an interpreter

(*Plut. Cat. mai.* 12.4). On the contrary, after his victory over Persus of Macedon L. Aemilius Paulus addressed his conquered enemy in Greek, then switched to Latin in turning to his own staff (*Liv. XLV.8.1-7*). There was evidently no problem understanding the Greek language of Carneades' philosophic lectures in Rome. Bilingualism of Polybius is undisputable.

Cooperation between the Greeks and the Romans in the spheres of education, literature and philosophy was mostly one-way, so that there was Greek impact on Rome, nevertheless it created a cultural space which existed in the main mentally, but in reality had geographical topography as an important factor of its being. This sphere could never be in existence without presence of such Greeks as Polybius and Carneades in Rome and such Romans as T. Quinctius Flamininus and Cato the Censor in Athens, Corinth and elsewhere in Greece. Due to cultural cooperation between the Greek East and the Roman West in the second century B.C. was laid the foundation for further cultural unity and variety in the Roman Empire as a whole.

Middle Bronze Age Long Distance Exchange through Europe and beyond. Beads of Egyptian and Mesopotamian Glass Reaching Denmark in 14th Century BC.

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Abstract. The introduction of the folding stool and the single-edged razor into Southern Scandinavia, as well as the testimony of chariot use during the Nordic Bronze Age Period II (1500-1300 BC), give evidence of transfer of ideas from the Mediterranean to the North. Recent analyses of the chemical composition of blue glass beads from well-dated Danish Bronze Age burials have revealed evidence for the opening of long distance exchange routes around 1400 BC between Egypt, Mesopotamia and South Scandinavia. When including comparative material from glass workshops in Egypt and finds of glass from Mesopotamia, it becomes clear that glass from those distant lands reached Scandinavia. The routes of exchange can be traced through Europe based on finds of amber from the North and glass from the South.

Key-words: *Middle Bronze Age, South Scandinavia, long-distance exchange, beads, amber, glass, Egypt, Mesopotamia.*

The extent of connections between the Mediterranean Bronze Age cultures and northern Europe has been a research issue for generations. The folding stools, 1500-1300 BC, indicate influences from the Mediterranean area. An intact example was found in an oak coffin burial in Guldhøj, South Jutland, Denmark, dendro-dated to c. 1389 BC (Randsborg & Christensen 2006). Including the find from Guldhøj, remains of 20 folding stools have been found in Denmark, South Sweden and North Germany (Prangsgaard *et alii* 1999; Fabian 2009). From the same time, similar stools are known from Egypt, and on frescoes from the palaces of Pylos and Knossos they are seen in use (Wanscher 1980). Not the stools themselves were imported, but design and idea were transmitted from the Mediterranean to the North. The Scandinavian rock carvings depicting two-wheeled chariots should also be considered as reflecting influences from the eastern Mediterranean (Randsborg 1993; Winther Johannsen 2010; Goldhahn 2013). The introduction of the single-edged razor into South Scandinavia around 1450 BC was similarly due to influences stemming from the Eastern Mediterranean (Kaul 2013; Kaul 2015), the razors of Scandinavia sharing the same design and details as those from the eastern Mediterranean (Jockenhövel 1971, Jockenhövel 1980; Weber 1996).

Such evidence implying long distance connections and exchange (of ideas) should be to no surprise. We must keep in mind that the Bronze Age people of the North were dependant on metal from far away sources, the Alpine areas being among the closest sources for copper, but also copper even from Cyprus seemingly reached the Nordic Bronze Age Culture (Ling *et al.* 2014). The closest area, where tin could be obtained was in Cornwall, Southwest England. In the opposite direction, amber collected from the beaches Denmark, such as the Jutland West coast, and the shores of the South Baltic Sea, reached the Mediterranean and even areas beyond.

Recent chemical analyses of blue glass beads from well-dated Middle Bronze Age burial contexts have yielded new evidence of long distance exchange. In a collaboration of the National Museum of Denmark, Copenhagen, The Moesgaard Museum, Aarhus, and the Institut de Recherche sur les Archéomatériaux, Université d'Orléans, France, 24 Danish glass beads from Nordic period II and III burials (1400-1000 f.Kr.) were spectrometrically analyzed. With a basis in the increasing amount of comparative material, it can be demonstrated that the glass comes from Egypt and Mesopotamia. Most of the burials belong to Montelius Period II, probably the second half of the period, between 1400 and 1300 BC.

The analyses have demonstrated that two annular beads from Montelius Period II are made of Egyptian cobalt glass. (Varberg *et al.* 2015; Kaul *et al.* 2015; Varberg *et al.* 2016). They come from oak coffin graves in burial mounds at Ølby, East Zealand (**Fig. 1**), and Hesselager, Funen, both remarkably rich female graves. The Ølby woman was equipped with a spiral decorated belt plate, a neck collar, also decorated with spirals, and four tutuli, all in bronze. She carried a dagger made from the lower part of the blade of a sword. More than 100 bronze tubes below the belt plate represent a corded skirt, the remains of the woolen cord still preserved inside some of the tubes. At her left arm she carried four beads: the bead of Egyptian glass, two amber beads and a bronze spiral bead (**Fig 2**). The other Egyptian cobalt bead comes from Hesselager, Funen. The woman carried the glass bead at her neck together with four amber beads. She carried a bronze arm ring at each arm, and at her waist she carried a large spiral decorated belt plate.

The two glass beads in question are characterized by low chromium/lanthan and variable zirconium/titanium ratios, indicating an Egyptian origin. The remaining Danish beads exhibit higher chromium/lanthanum and lower zirconium/titanium ratios, thus indicating a Mesopotamian origin (Varberg *et al.* 2015; Kaul *et al.* 2015; Varberg *et al.* 2016). The Egyptian origin of the Ølby and Hesselager beads is confirmed by their colorant composition: in both beads, cobalt correlates with nickel, zinc, and manganese. This correlation has been shown to be typical of the cobalt colorant extracted from Egyptian alum deposits such as those at the Kharga and Dakhla oases in the Western Desert, west of the Nile. The same trace elements related to the cobalt colorant have been observed in glass waste from 14th century BC glass workshops at Malkata and Amarna, Egypt, as well as in the glass ingots found in the Uluburun shipwreck at the Turkish southwest coast and in Mycenaean glass beads (Shortland *et al.* 2006; Shortland *et al.* 2007; Jackson & Nicholson

2010; Smirniou & Rehren 2013). Thus, it is possible to follow the Egyptian cobalt colorant from its source in the Western Desert, over workshops in Malkata and Amarna and further to Denmark.

Most recently, due to the work by a Polish research team, the geographical gap between Mycenae and Denmark has been narrowed by a blue bead of Egyptian cobalt glass from a Middle Bronze Age burial at Kietrz, Southwest Poland, of the same composition as the Ølby and Hesselager beads. (Purowski *et al.* 2016). The find spot is at the upper Oder River, not far from the Oder sources and the watershed for the Danube tributaries. Thus, the Kietrz bead marks a point on the roads of exchange, the Oder River from here leading to the Baltic Sea and thus also to the islands of Zealand and Funen.

When considering the origin of the glass beads of Mesopotamian glass, matters are not as clear as for Egypt. Even though the production of glass probably had its origins in Mesopotamia, we have no apparent evidence of glass workshops, as for instance at Amarna, Egypt. Thus, when speaking about Mesopotamian glass, this denomination should be understood in a wide geographical sense. What is at hand is glass from a number of archaeological sites in Mesopotamia with a chemical composition different from the Egyptian glass (Walton *et al.* 2012; Varberg *et al.* 2015).

Twenty-two beads from Denmark, from Bornholm in the east to West Jutland in west, show a chemical composition which match with glass found in Mesopotamia. Both Nordic per. II and per. III is represented (c. 1400-1100 BC) (Varberg *et al.* 2015; Varberg *et al.* 2016). In a Nordic per. II oak coffin burial from Melby, North Zealand, the woman was equipped with a spiral decorated belt plate, a neck collar, also decorated with spirals, and two tutuli, all in bronze. She carried a bronze dagger. About 100 bronze tubes represent a corded skirt, the remains of the woolen cord still preserved inside some of the tubes. Probably at the place of her left arm a set of beads were found: A blue Mesopotamian bead, two amber beads, and a spiral bead of bronze.

From Søvigård, Northwest Jutland, comes a rare Mesopotamian eye-bead with inlays of different colors (Varberg *et al.* 2015; Kaul *et al.* 2015). This bead was found in a female inhumation grave, Nordic Period II, with two amber beads, five amber buttons, a ribbed neck collar, a wheel headed pin and a bronze disc. Due to the grave goods, the woman buried here seems to have originated in the Lüneburg area, Niedersachsen, about 450 km south of Søvigård (Lomborg 1969, 125-128; Bergerbrant 2007, 120).

Almost all the analyzed glass beads of the Danish project were found in richly furnished female graves (Varberg *et al.* 2015; Kaul *et al.* 2015). This picture is also apparent when including burials with beads from Denmark and Schleswig-Holstein not yet analyzed. However, there is a small number of male burials with glass beads.

When considering the context of the glass beads, it is remarkable that glass and amber, almost as a rule, are found together in the same burial, often as part of the same piece of

ornament. Probably glass and amber beads shared some symbolic or magical values that made it beneficial to carry them together. In addition, a social value would have been appreciated: it was those peoples of the highest echelons of society that controlled the collection of amber and benefitted from the amber export who were the receivers of the valuable and exotic glass beads.

It is not just in Denmark and North Germany, that amber and glass have been found together. A number of Bronze Age sites at the “amber roads” along the European river systems and further into the Mediterranean have yielded glass and amber closely connected (see also Jeanette Varberg, this volume). In the Mediterranean, at a Middle Bronze Age *palafitti* settlement at Lago Albani near Rome, Nordic/Baltic amber and a glass bead has come to light (Angelini *et al.* 2003; Bellintani 2010a; Bellintani 2010b). A rich Middle Bronze Age burial from Campu Stefanu, Corsica, France, contained a necklace of 25 blue glass beads and 28 amber beads, the glass being of Mesopotamian provenance (Varberg, *et al.* 2015; Kaul *et al.* 2015).

In the Eastern Mediterranean, sites like Mycenae and Tiryns have yielded both blue glass (Shortland *et al.* 2007) and Nordic/Baltic amber. Nordic/Baltic amber and ingots of Egyptian cobalt glass formed part of the cargo of the ship wrecked c. 1300 BC at Uluburun near Kas at the Turkish coast. Nordic/Baltic amber reached areas beyond the Mediterranean. At Qatna at Homs in Syria, amber determined as Nordic/Baltic has been found together with glass beads (Mukherjee *et al.* 2008; Pfälzner & Rossberger 2009). Thus, in a royal burial vault, c. 1340 BC, or a bit earlier, this lion head vessel – of local production – but cut from a lump of far away amber – has been found together with glass beads.

From Egypt, a number of candidates of beads and scarabs of Baltic/Nordic amber have been pointed out, though no chemical analyses have been carried out (Hood 1993). The possible items of Nordic/Baltic amber include beads and scarabs from the tomb of Tutankhamen (died 1327 BC).

By 1400 BC, long distance exchange systems had evolved connecting the shores of the Euphrates and Tigris rivers in Mesopotamia and the Nile in Egypt with the beaches of the Baltic and North Seas, as well as at key sites in between, such as Mycenae. Nordic amber and Egyptian and Mesopotamian glass linked the widest expanse of world, the two materials forming a sort of dialogue between exotic materials from distant lands.

The determination of provenance of the glass of the Danish glass beads marks an important step towards an understanding of the long distance contacts of the Bronze Age. The Danish glass beads represent firm physical evidence of the most extended connections, reaching even beyond the Mediterranean, to Egypt and Mesopotamia. Possible intermediate stations could be pointed out, such as Mycenae, Pylos and Tiryns (Walton *et al.* 2009; Smirniou & Rehren 2013). Further places where different trading networks were connected could be in the Caput Adria area, the Po Valley, the North Italian/Austrian/Swiss Alpine regions, in South Germany and in the middle Danube areas (Varberg *et al.* 2015; Kaul *et al.* 2015;

Varberg *et al.* 2016). With the physical transport of glass and amber there also came about a flow of ideas stemming from the Mediterranean (Kaul 2013), including the use of the single-edged razor with horse-headed handle, the folding stool and the knowledge of chariot driving.

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Fig. 1. The burial mound at Ølby, East Zealand, Denmark, with a height of 4-5 m and a diameter of 30 m. The other glass beads were found in graves under similar burials mounds. Photo: F. Kaul.

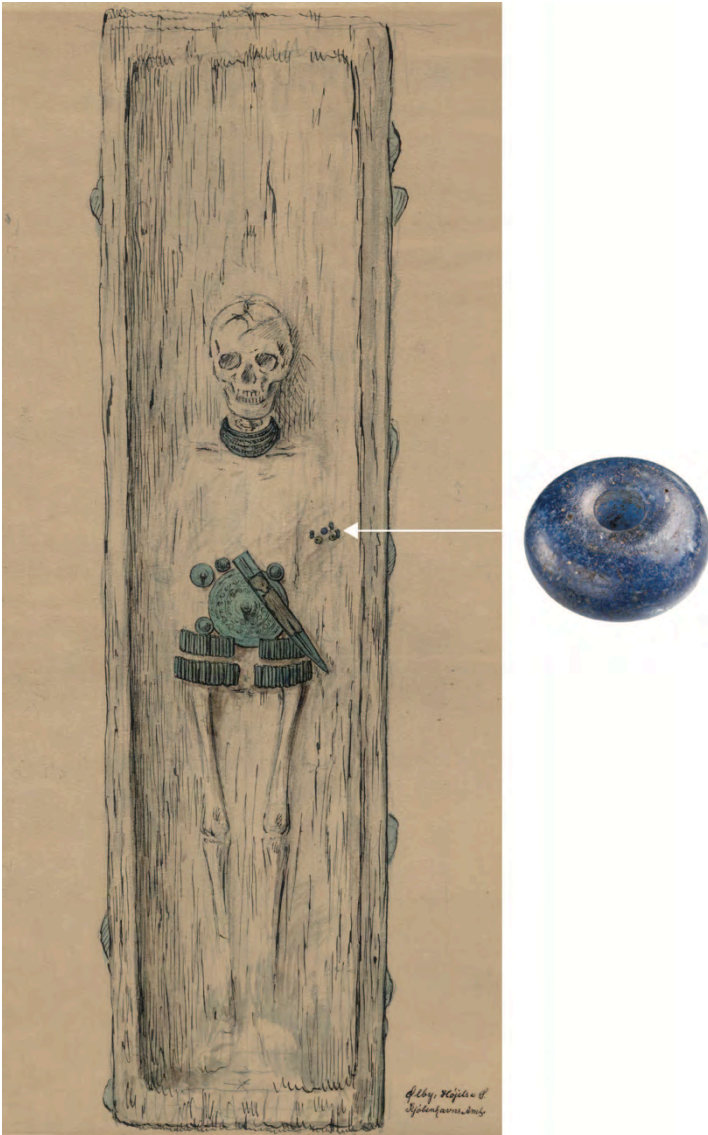


Fig. 2. Excavation plan of the oak coffin burial at Ølby, East Zealand, Denmark, thoroughly excavated by the National Museum in 1880. Photo of the bead of Egyptian cobalt glass at the right, at its position in the grave. Drawing: the excavation archives of the National Museum of Denmark; photo: Arnold Mikkelsen, the National Museum of Denmark.

Die Prußen und die Welt der Steppen: die Konflikte und Kulturentlehnungen

Zusammenfassung

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Die prußischen Altertümer werden bereits im archäologischen Material der südöstlichen Ostsee von der ersten Hälfte des V. Jahrhunderts festgestellt. Seit dem Anfang ihres Bestehens umfasst die materielle Kultur der Bernsteinküste-Bevölkerung Randkomponente der Grabbeigaben, die mit den Traditionen der Steppenvölker assoziiert werden. Insbesondere wird der bei den Prußen verbreitete Brauch, steppenbezogen nach der Herkunft, zu rituellen Zwecken Pferdeblut zu verwenden, im archäologischen Material sowie in der lokalen Folklore (Geschichte von Bruten und Widowut) reflektiert. Im VII. Jh. werden in der Bestattung der südlichen Nachbarn der Prußen, der Bewohner des westlichen Teils der Masuren-Seeplatte, in der lokalen Umgebung materielle Beweise der Präsenz der Langobarden, bzw. Gepiden und Antes als Verbündete von Awaren sowie auch der Awaren selbst beobachtet. Die Legende von Bruten und Widowut berichtet über den Kampf der Prußen mit den Bewohnern der mittleren Donau, der mit einem Sieg der Bewohner des westlichen Randgebietes von der Baltischen Welt endete. Archäologische Daten bestätigen den Inhalt der mündlichen Volkssage. 1798 wurde in der Nähe des Dorfes Strobjehnen (jetzt Kulikovo, Zelenogradskij Bezirk, Region Kaliningrad) votive Goldhalsring (Ende des VII. Jh.) mit Bildern des Kampfes zwischen zwei Militäreinheiten gefunden. Eine der Gruppen von Kämpfern wurde von den Kriegeren mit für Awaren typischer Frisur unterstützt. Offensichtlich ist dieser Halsring von Strobjehnen ein Dankopfer an die lokalen Götter anlässlich des Sieges der Prußen. In der Kultur der Prußen an der Wende der VII.-VIII. Jh. gibt es Entlehnungen von dem Inventar der awarischen Kultur (8-förmige Steigbügel, einschneidige Kampfklingen). In IX.-XI. Jh. hatten die Gruppen der prußischen Kriegsfolge-Teilnehmer, die in der Umgebung der Kiewer Fürsten dienten, einen engen Kontakt mit den Türken des Wilden Feldes. Das Ergebnis dieser Kontakte waren zahlreiche Funde der Steppen-Entlehnungen in der prußischen Kultur der Wikingerzeit (in erster Linie verschiedene Formen der Steigbügel, Anhänger und Beläge der Pferdeausrüstung). Baltische Auswirkung auf die Altertümer der Steppe ist praktisch unerforscht und erfordert mehr Aufmerksamkeit von Archäologen.

Die Forscher der prußischen Altertümer betonten immer eine besondere Spezifik der prußischen Sitten und Bräuche, die dieses Volk unter der anderen Bevölkerung des mittelalterlichen Ostseeraums auszeichneten. Die Versuche diese Spezifik zu erklären, vor allem die spezifischen Merkmale der Pferdebestattungen in den prußischen Gräberfeldern, wurden nämlich nicht unternommen, auf den unvollständigen Umfang des osteologischen Materials haben frühere preußische Archäologen nicht geachtet. Ungewöhnliche für den Ostseeraum und für das ganze Zentraleuropa Besonderheit der prußischen Kultur am Beispiel der Steinstatuen des ost-südlichen Ostseeraums versuchte man durch den östlichen Einfluss zu erklären (Wiesner J., 1942, S. 47, 48). Der Autor dieses Beitrages sammelte aber vor dreißig Jahren alle damals möglichen Beweise der Auswirkungen der Steppenwelt auf die prußische Kultur (Kulakov W.I., 1986, S. 139, 140). K. N. Skvortsov, der sich heutzutage mit dem Thema der prußisch-awarischen Kontakte befasst, konnte leider ohne Wissen der Fragestellung in der Geschichtsschreibung dieses interessante Thema nicht erläutern (Skvortsov K., 2015, p. 602-619). Seit unserer letzten Publikation haben die Feldforschungen, die in der Region Kaliningrad durchgeführt wurden, viele interessante Daten, die mit Steppen-Reminiszenzen bei den Bewohnern der Bernstein-Küste verbunden sind, hinzugefügt. Ihre Liste ist so:

1. Bestattung der Teile des Pferdeskeletts (Schädel, untere Beinknochen, selten Rücken- und Schulterteile) mit vielen verwesenen organischen Resten, die der Pferdehaut entsprechen, westlich von der verbrannten Leiche eines Kriegers im unteren Grab-Rang. Bei der südlichen Bevölkerung der westlichen Balten (Masuren-Seeplatte und Sudovien) sind Pferdebestattungen auf den Etappen C und D westlich von den Gräbern der Krieger. In einigen Fällen ist dieses Sittenmerkmal auch in Samland zu beobachten, aber längst nicht überall. In der Anfangsphase der prußischen Kultur und in ihrer früheren Phase verbreiten sich in Samland Zweiranggräber mit verbrannten Leichen, in denen unter der Menge der kalzinierten Knochen (oder unter der Schicht mit zerstreuten kalzinierten Knochen) auf dem Grabboden ein Pferdeskelett liegt. In der Mitte des V. Jh. entsteht auf der Bernsteinküste eine Sitte, ins Grab ein unvollständiges Pferdeskelett zu legen (Kulakov W. I., 2003, S. 295, 296). Bemerkenswert ist die Struktur der Grabgrube im Gr. H-62 des Gräberfeldes Hünenberg / Gora Welikanov (Zelenogradskij Bezirk).

Am Grab-Rand der Pferdebestattung (das Pferdeskelett ist unvollständig, was davon zeugt, dass die Haut des Pferdes ins Grab gelegt worden war) sind nicht weniger als 6 Stangengruben zu beobachten. Die Stangen standen darin zum Grabzentrum gebeugt, wobei sie einen Eindruck der Zeltdach/Jurte-Konstruktion machten (**Abb. 1**). Nach dem Material des Grabes mit der Körperverbrennung des Kriegers, das die Pferdebestattung vom Osten überdeckt, wird dieses Komplex, das die Sittenmerkmale der Nomadenvölker hat, in die Zeit um ca. 300-400 u. Z. datiert (Kulakov W. I., 2014, S. 213). Der beschriebene Komplex ist den Vorschriften der Hunnen-Bestattungssitten nah, für die auf den Gräberfeldern der südrussischen Steppen Körperverbrennungen und die Bestattung der Pferdehaut verbindlich war (Sasetzkaja I. P., 1977, S. 95). Auf dem Gräberfeld Yrzekapinis/Klintzovka-1 werden die Pferdeskelette mit den Pferdehautresten später im IX. Jh. gewechselt (Kulakov W.I., 1986, S. 143). Falls in den Pferdebestattungen seit dem V. Jh. die vollständigen Pferdeskelette zu finden sind, liegen sie auf dem Bauch mit unterschlagenen Beinen und mit dem Kopf nach rechts von dem Körper gedreht. Gerade diese Position des Pferdeskeletts ist

für frühmittelalterliche Türkenbestattungen des Zentralasiens typisch (Serjogin N.N., 2017, Abb. 5,2).

2. Bestätigung des Gebrauchs **des Pferdeblutes als Getränk** bei den Prußen. Unter den Ausrüstungsgegenständen der Pferdebestattung im. Gr. H-254 des Gräberfeldes Hünenberg/Gora Welikanov wurde neben anderen Teilen der Reitausrüstung ein kompakter Komplex entdeckt, der wahrscheinlich in einer Tasche aus organischem Stoff lag und aus einer Schere, einer Kardätsche und einer Ahle bestand (**Abb. 2**). Zwei letzte Gegenstände lagen in einem Behälter aus Leder (?). Die Ahle kann hier ein Gegenstand für das Gewinnen des Pferdeblutes sein, indem die Pferdehaut gestochen und das Blut (als Opfergabe oder als Nahrungsmittel im Feldzug) in den für das Reittier ungefährlichen Mengen abgezogen worden waren. Eine ähnliche Sitte war unter anderem bei frühmittelalterlichen Mongolen bekannt. Nach den Inventarteilen wird das Gr. H-254 in die Zeit um 450-500 u. Z. datiert (Kulakov W. I., Tjurin E.A., 2005, S. 127). Man soll bemerken, dass nach den lokalen Legenden Milch und Käse Hauptnahrungsmittel der Prußen waren (Grunau S., 1876, S. 65). Die Sitte bei den prußischen oberen Schichten Stutenmilch (Kumys ?) zu trinken, wurde bereits im IX. Jh. von Wulfstan festgestellt (Matuzova W.I., 1979, S. 26).

3. **Langer Schnurrbart und Zöpfe** in der Frisur der prußischen Krieger. Diese Besonderheit des Aussehens bei den frühmittelalterlichen Bewohnern des südöstlichen Ostseeraums wurde auf einer prußischen Steinstatue dargestellt (**Abb. 3,1**). Sie schildert einen Mann mit dem runden Gesicht, das mit dem langen Schnurrbart verziert wird. Er hält ein Trinkhorn in der rechten Hand, seine linke Hand ist am Gürtel. Diese Steinstatue (russ. „kamennaja baba“) unterscheidet sich von den anderen prußischen Standbildern durch das Vorhandensein einer schematischen Darstellung der Beine (mit den Stiefeln ?), durch das Fehlen des Schwertes oder des Stocks und durch den langen Zopf, der den Gürtel erreicht. Das Fehlen der Analogien im Ostseeraum zu dieser 3-D-Darstellung lässt die Fremdartigkeit dieses Sandbildes in der Masuren-Seeplatte vermuten. Die Bildnisse von Prußen auf den Torseiten der Kirche in Gnesen/Gniezno (woj. wielkopolskie Polski) (ca. 1170), die in verschiedenen Episoden, verbunden mit dem Lebenslauf von Sct. Wojciech-Adalbert (hingerichtet 997), dargestellt sind (**Abb. 3,2**) vereinigen sich durch das Vorhandensein des langen Schnurrbartes bei den meisten Figuren. Einer der Krieger machte aus seinen Haaren einen Knoten, indem er wahrscheinlich damit einen Zopf imitierte. Die oben erwähnten Realien des Aussehens weisen auf ihre Entwicklung durch den Einfluss der Traditionen der Nomadenwelt hin.

4. **Gegenstandsrealien der prußischen Kultur**, die Ähnlichkeiten unter den Altertümern der Steppenwelt haben. Am deutlichsten wurden die Nomadentraditionen in den Teilen der Ausrüstung des prußischen Reiters und des Pferdes realisiert (Kulakov W.I., 1986, S. 144). Unter anderem sind die Konstruktion des Gürtelsatzes mit Bronzespitzen am Gürtel, mit runden Scheiben und kleinen silbernen Belägen aus dem Gr. Y-149 (Anfang des VIII. Jh. – Ende des IX. Jh.) des Gräberfeldes Yrzekapinis/Klitzovka-1 (**Abb. 4**) den Gürtel-Konstruktionen der turfanischen Adligen, die auf den Fresken des VIII. Jh. in Khotscho (Uigurisches Autonomes Gebiet Xinjiang der Volksrepublik China) (Le Cog A., 1913, Taf. 5,30) zu beobachten sind, ziemlich nah. Die Vermutung über die Ähnlichkeit dieser voneinander weit entfernten Teile des Krieger-Gewandes äußerte bereits vor 30 Jahren der Kollege S.A. Jatzenko. Ein mit den Gürtelspitzen aus dem Gr. Y-149 ähnlicher Belag (sie

werden durch ornamentale Züge und durch die Anfertigungsmethode Kerbschnitt verbunden) ist im Bestand des skandinavischen Heiligtums Helgö (**Abb. 4**, links) bekannt. Ähnliche Gegenstände gehörten zu den Teilen der Gürtelsätze bei den fränkischen Adelligen ca. 650-700 (Kulakov W.I., 2001, S. 186). Besonders deutlich widerspiegelte sich die Vertrautheit der Prußen aus der Wikinger-Zeit mit den Traditionen der nomadischen Darstellungskunst in der Form und in den Figuren auf den Stirnanhängern der Pferde der prußischen Kriegsfolge-Teilnehmer (**Abb. 5**). Den oben erwähnten Traditionen folgend machten die prußischen Juwelierer die ersten Muster der militärischen Abzeichen in Europa (Kulakov V.I., Markowets M.Yi., 2004, p. 179-188). Man soll betonen, dass die altrussischen Meister, die Teile der Pferdeausrüstung anfertigten, in ihrer Kunst auch die Traditionen der Steppen aktiv verwendeten (Kirpitschnikov A. N., 1973, S. 30).

5. **Saxen** der Prußen des VII. – VIII. Jh.: Bindungsprinzipien zum Koppel in der Schrägstellung mit dem halbrunden Feststellbügel. Nach dem Komplex des Gr. Klh-4 des Flachgräberfeldes Kleinheyde (Gurjewskij Bezirk) verwendeten die Prußen bereits in der Mitte des VII. Jh. das awarische Prinzip der Schrägbindung der Schwerter vom Typ „schmales Sax“ mit der Festigung der Koppelgürtel zum freien C-artigen Feststellbügel auf der Schwertscheide. Die Formähnlichkeit des Kampfmessers aus Kleinheyde dem Schwert aus dem Gr. XIV des Gräberfeldes Vendel lässt mit Sicherheit das Kampfmesser aus Kleinheyde für einen skandinavischen Importgegenstand halten (Kulakov W.I., Skvortsov K.N., 2000, S. 48, 49; Skvortsov K., 2015, p. 610). Dieses Bindungsprinzip der einschneidigen Schwerter vom Typ „langes Sax“ wurde bei den Schalauern am linken Ufer der Memel-Mündung um das Mittelalter festgestellt (Kulakov W.I., 1986, S. 140). Das Schwert aus Kleinheyde lag wie awarische Schwerter mit der Schneide nach oben (**Abb. 6**). Solche Haltung der Schneidewaffe gewährleistete die schnellste Verfügbarkeit der Waffe im Augenblick ihres Herausreißen aus der Schwertscheide. Solches Prinzip blieb auch bei den Kampfmessern der Skandinavier und der Balten der Wikinger Zeit erhalten. Außerdem blieben bis zu dieser Zeit auch die Feststellbügel zur Bindung der Scheide zum Gürtel, die sich aus den halbrunden Feststellbügeln in die Blätter der komplizierten Formen entwickelten (Kulakov W.I., Skvortsov K.N., 2000, Abb. 11). Eine Zwischenvariante der Mutation des Scheidefeststellbügels ist im Gr. 85 des Gräberfeldes Neuendorf/Nowinka (gm. Elbląg Polski) zu beobachten. Das bogenartige Bronzeblatt hat hier ein eingeschnittenes Kreuzornament im Stil der Gürtelsätze aus dem westlichen Teil der Masuren-Seeplatte im VII. Jh. (Kontny B., Okulicz-Kozaryn J., Pietrzak M., 2011, pl. LX).

6. **Trense und Steigbügel** von Steppentypen unter den prußischen Altertümern des VII.-IX. Jh.. Oben wurden bereits die Beziehungen der Prußen und der Steppenwelt besonders betont, was vor allem in den Waffen und in der Reitausrüstung der Bevölkerung der Bernsteinküste die Widerspiegelung fand. Besonders deutlich tritt diese Widerspiegelung in den Trensen und Steigbügeln der prußischen Gräber des V.-XI. Jh. auf. 8-förmige Steigbügel (Ende des VII. – Anfang des VIII. Jh. – Kulakov W.I. 2003, S. 313, 315) und die Kandare mit s-artigen Psalien, die für spätawarische Altertümer typisch sind, sind unter den prußischen Gräberaltertümern zu beobachten (Kulakov W.I., 1986, S. 140, Abb. 1,1-4). Vom besonderen Interesse sind Steigbügel mit einer Stufe, die aus einigen eisernen Drahten geschmiedet ist (**Abb. 7,1,2**), sie sind für Bulgaren des letzten Viertels des IX. Jh. typisch (Kulakov W.I., 1986, S. 144). Diese spezifische für die Anfertigung schwierige

Steigbügelform, die aber ihren hohen Wert und ihre Bequemlichkeit beim Gebrauch zeigte und den hohen Rang des Besitzers betonte, führte dazu, dass skandinavische Meister Ende des IX.-X. Jh. sie kopierten. Die Beweise davon sind im Material des Hügel- und Flachgräberfeldes Kaup wobei sowohl auf dem skandinavischen (**Abb. 7,3**) als auch auf den preußischen (**Abb. 7,4**) Gräberfeld zu beobachten. In der Typologie von Norbert Goßler sind diese Steigbügel dem Typ Goßler AII (Goßler N., 2013, Taf. 1,3) nah.

7. **Abbildungen der awarischen Krieger** auf dem Ring von Strobjehnen sind die deutlichsten und sichersten Beweise der unmittelbaren Kontakte der Steppenbevölkerung von Eurasien und der Prußen.

Im Herbst 1798 entdeckte der Bauer Gotfried Rhode beim Ackern auf seinem Grundstück nicht weit von Strobjehnen/Kulikovo (Zelenogradskij Bezirk) einen Goldring unter dem Pflugmeißel. Laut der preußischen Gesetze wurde der Ring einem Polizisten vor Ort gegeben und kam in die Stadtverwaltung Königsberg. Ihre Mitarbeiter überreichten den Ring dem preußischen König Friedrich Wilhelm III., der ihn unter den ersten Funden in die Bestände seiner Kunstkammer brachte. Auf ihrer Grundlage wurde später in Berlin das Museum der Vorgeschichte und der alten Geschichte gegründet, der Ring war im Museumsbestand unter der Nummer II 326 (Kulakov W.I., 2007, S. 144). Im Januar 1941 ließ der deutsche Reichskanzler wegen der Gefahr der Bombenangriffe der UdSSR-Verbündeten die wertvollsten Ausstellungstücke aus Gold und Schmucksteinen in den Kellern der Preußischen Staatsbank deponieren. Im späten Herbst wurden alle der wertvollsten 1538 Funde in drei Verpackungskisten in einen der Kasematten-Keller des Fleckturms "Zoo" im westlichen Teil Berlins gebracht (Bertram M., 2007, S. 267). Kurz vor dem 9. Mai 1945 verließ den Turm die ihn verteidigte Luftwaffeneinheit und ergab sich den Amerikanern. Die Kisten mit den Museumsstücken wurden von der Roten Armee evakuiert und nach Moskau gebracht, wo sie in die Bestände des Puschkin-Museums für bildende Künste übergeben wurden. 2003 entdeckte der Autor dieses Beitrages den Ring in den Beständen des oben erwähnten Museums und begann ihn zu erforschen.

Der Ring wurde aus reinem Gold angefertigt und wog 374 g. Der Durchmesser des Rings beträgt 24,8 cm, was ermöglicht, die ursprüngliche Verwendung des Ringes als einen geschlossenen (dekorativen) Halsring zu vermuten. Die Enden des Ringes erhalten die Spuren eines ziemlich groben Spaltens. Außerdem fing man die Arbeit an, mit einem Hammer (einem flachen Stein ?) den Draht des Ringes flach zu machen. Möglicherweise wurde diese barbarische Handlung von unbekanntem Dieben vorgenommen, damit es einfacher wäre den Ring unter einigen Personen aufzuteilen. Aber diese Handlungen konnten nicht in Erfüllung gehen. Der Draht, woraus der Ring gebogen wurde, ist in seiner Mitte 1,7 cm dick. Die vordere Seite des Ringes, der mit den geschlossenen erweiterten Enden das Armband vom Typ Szentendre imitiert, stellt die Kampfszenen und die Szenen der so genannten " wilden Jagd" dar. Auf dem linken Teil des Ringes wurde neben einem dieser Vögel wird ein Bogenschütze dargestellt (**Abb. 8,2a**). Seine Figur unterscheidet sich von allen anderen Abbildungen der Menschen auf dem "Ring" durch die Frisur mit zwei Zöpfchen. Es ist bekannt, dass solche Besonderheiten im Altertum für Türken typisch waren, vor allem für die Awaren, die im VI. Jh. nach Zentraleuropa kamen. Unter der Figur des Bogenschützen befindet sich eine Abbildung von einem gewissen Wasserwesen (das Wesen hat Flossen auf dem Fuß), das auch zwei Zöpfe hat.

Ende des XX. Jh. wurde im Gr. 144 des Flachgräberfeldes Modling (Niederösterreich) eine Spange mit der Abbildung, die zu der späten Phase der awarischen Kultur gehörte und in den Traditionen der dritten Awaren-Zeitperiode angefertigt wurde, entdeckt (Anf. des VIII. Jh. Matzner K., 1977, S. 121). Diese Figur ist dem Bogenschützen auf dem "Ring" (**Abb. 8,2b**) ziemlich identisch. Die Verbindung des Fundes aus Strobjehnen/Kulikovo mit Awaren betonen nicht nur spezifische Geier-Figuren, die für dekorative Kunst der Awaren charakteristisch sind, nicht nur der Bogenschütze, der mit einem zusammengesetzten für die nomadischen Kulturträger typischen Bogen schießt, sondern auch die für awarische Juweliere typische Gestaltung des tierischen Kniegelenkes als eines Halbkreises mit dem Punkt in der Mitte, was die Kunst der Völker Vorderasiens in der Völkerwanderung-Zeit kennzeichnete (Kulakov V.I., 1996, S. 208). So ist die Zugehörigkeit des Meisters von "dem Ring aus Strobjehnen" als eines Kulturträgers der awarischen Tradition der bildenden Kunst offensichtlich. Bemerkenswert ist die Entdeckung des identischen Reiterbildes auf "dem Ring" (**Abb. 8,2 w**) am westlichen Rand unseres Kontinenten (**Abb. 8,3**).

Die oben erwähnte für baltische Archäologie ungewöhnliche Interpretation der Herkunft "des Ringes aus Strobjehnen" findet eine unerwartete Bestätigung in der Sammlung der preußischen Legenden, die von Simon Dach im Jahre 1529 unter dem Titel "Preußische Chronik" veröffentlicht wurden. Früher wurde die Information aus diesem Sammelband mit den preußischen archäologischen Realien verglichen (Kulakov W.I., 2016a, S. 95, 96). In der Chronik wird z.B. davon erzählt, dass die Bewohner der Masuren-Seeplatte ("Masonen") von dem preußischen Fürst Waidekut Tribut forderten. Preußen konnten diesen Tribut nicht bezahlen und der Führer von Masonen Antones beschloss den Ungehorsamen zu bestrafen. Dabei erhielt er die Unterstützung aus "Roksolania, bzw. Reuslandt" vom König Tschinbech. Die feindliche Südtruppe erlitt an den preußischen Grenzen eine Niederlage und zu Ehren dieses großen Sieges brachten die Fürsten Waidekut und Bruteno die weißen Pferde den Göttern zum Opfer (Grunau S., 1876, Bd. (i, s. 75). Der Ortsname Reuslandt, der im frühen Mittelalter dem Mittel-Donauraum entspricht, die Namen "Antones" (in anderen Quellen Andislav) und die türkischen Namen Tschinbech und Schanwig (Antones Sohn) weisen deutlich auf das Donau-Land der Awaren hin. Awarische Verbündete waren das slawische Volk der Anten (davon entstand der Name "Andislav") als eine Quelle der militärischen Gefahr für Preußen (Kulakov V.I., 1994, S. 209). In der Tat enthalten die Gräberfelder des westlichen Teils der Masuren-Seeplatte in den Grabungen des VII. Jh. eine Reihe der Funde, die direkt mit awarischen und slawischen Altertümern des Donau-Flussbeckens in Beziehung stehen (Kulakov W.I., 1989, S. 175). Die preußische Archäologie zeugt von diesem Ablauf der Ereignisse, die indirekt in der "Preußischen Chronik" ihren Ausdruck finden: Fibel und Gürtelsätze, die im VII. Jh. für die Masuren-Seeplatte charakteristisch waren, erschienen plötzlich im VII.-VIII. Jh. auf den preußischen Denkmälern der Archäologie. Aus dem Kontext ihrer Typologie ist klar, dass sie eine minimale Beziehung zu den preußischen Traditionen haben. Preußen nutzten diese Gegenstände als ihre verdienten militärischen Trophäen. Und der Ring aus Strobjehnen, der auf Befehl der Sieger von einem unbekanntem Meister aus dem Trophäengold (?) gemacht wurde und die mythischen Ereignisse der für Preußen sieghaften Schlacht darstellte, ist höchstwahrscheinlich in eines der Heiligtümer des nördlichen Samlands gelandet, wo er den preußischen Göttern zum Geschenk gebracht wurde. Awarisches Gold, das in preußische

Trophäen verwandelt wurde, kann man auf der Bernsteinküste und als den numismatischen Fund in der Form einer awarischen Replik der Solidus-Münze vom byzantinischen Kaiser Herakles (626-629) beobachten. Die Replik wurde in einem Grab (?) an der Kirche in Wargen/Kotelnikovo (Zelenogradskij Bezirk) gefunden (Skvortsov K., 2015, Abb. 603).

Die kurze oben zusammengestellte Liste der Bestätigungen zeigt also, dass auf die Entwicklung der preußischen Kultur die Traditionen der Steppenwelt einen Einfluss ausübten. Das lässt uns folgendes Fazit ziehen:

1. Der Anfang der preußischen Kultur ist dadurch geprägt, dass auf ihren Gräberdenkmälern besondere Bestattungskomplexe vorhanden sind, die Jurten-förmige Konstruktionen über den Gräbern zeigen. Dieser Aspekt, sowie die Verbreitung in der preußischen Region des Brauchs, die Pferdohaut zu begraben, der bis zum Ende der Wikinger Zeit existierte, beweisen die unmittelbaren Kontakte der Prußen mit den nomadischen Teilnehmern der Hunnenkriege im V. Jh. u.Z., die auf den Kriegsfeldern während des Unterganges des westlichen römischen Reiches stattfanden. Die Einführung von nomadischen Traditionen in Samland wurde durch seine ungewöhnliche Natur erleichtert: im Altertum war diese Halbinsel tatsächlich nur eine Steppe, die nach den pollenanalytischen Untersuchungen keine Bewaldung hatte (Kulakov W.I., 1986, S. 142).

2. Nachdem die Awaren 562-566 den Mitteldonau-Raum bevölkert hatten, interessierten sie sich für die Große Bernsteinstraße, dessen Wiederaufleben relevant für awarisches Khanat war (Kulakov W.I., 1987a, S. 172). Etwa in der Mitte des VI. Jh., nach den Daten der Bestattungsdenkmälern im westlichen Teil der Masuren-Seeplatte, drangen die Gepiden- und Langobarden-Gruppen an die Südwestgrenze der Ostseewelt, die ehemals im Donaauraum unter der Verwaltung der Awaren lebten. Unter diesen Gruppen der multiethnischen Bewohner des awarischen Khanates waren zweifellos Handwerker, die für die Balten verschiedene Schmuckstücke nach ihrem Geschmack anfertigten und gegen Bernstein tauschten (Kulakov W.I., 1987b, S. 154). In der ersten Hälfte des VII. Jh. sind auf den Masurischen Gräberfeldern einzelne Funde (Gürtelsätze, weibliche Fibeln der Anten) zu beobachten, die das Erscheinen der awarischen Truppengruppen in dieser Gegend beweisen.

3. In der zweiten Hälfte des VII. Jh. - Anfang des VIII. Jh. erscheint auf den preußischen Gräberfeldern in der Danziger Bucht und im südlichen Samland eine Menge von Artefakten, die zuvor nur für die Bevölkerung des westlichen Teils der Masuren-Seeplatte typisch waren. Dieses Phänomen sowie die Berichte, die auf lokalen Sagen "der Preußischen Chronik" von S. Grunau basiert sind, lassen uns einen militärischen Ausgang der Kontakte zwischen Prußen und „Masonen“ voraussetzen, der aber nicht zugunsten der Letzten endete.

4. Die Erscheinung von einer Reihe der Teile der Pferdeausrüstung im IX.-X. Jh., die aus der Steppenwelt stammten, lassen uns das Aufbewahren der Kontakte der Bewohner der Bernsteinküste mit ihnen vermuten. Nicht ausgeschlossen ist die Tatsache, dass die Prußen diese Einzelteile zusammen mit den Pferden, für die die Pferdeherden der eurasischen Nomaden berühmt waren, bekamen.

5. In der Wikingerzeit kontaktierten preußische Kriegsfolge-Teilnehmer mit der Bevölkerung des Mittel-Dnjepr-Raums (Kulakov W.I., 2012, S. 108-111) und waren mit südlichen Nachbarn der Kiewer Rus in Verbindung. Das spiegelte sich nicht nur darin, wie

preußische Meister die Einzelteile der Pferdeausrüstung nach dem Muster, die ihre Kunden z.B. bei den Petschenegen (mandelförmige Schmuckanhänger) gesehen hatten, gestalteten, sondern auch in der Erscheinung in Samland einer leierförmigen Fibel mit der imitierten arabischen Schrift. Für diesen Fund, der auf dem Gräberfeld Schulstein/Wolnoe (Zelenogradskij Bezirk) entdeckt wurde, hat Wilhelm Gerte in den bulgarischen Altertümern der Wolgaregion Analogien gefunden (Gaerte W., 1935, S. 65).

Während des V.-XI. Jh. standen also die Bewohner der westlichen Peripherie der baltischen Welt in Kontakten unterschiedlicher Art mit den Vertretern vieler Völker, die im frühen Mittelalter die Steppenwelt bewohnten. Diese Kontakte haben der preußischen Kultur noch mehr Identität und Besonderheit verliehen, was sie zweifellos bereicherte. Die Erschließung der Einflussbereiche der Steppenvölker auf die Bewohner der Bernsteinküste wird zum Thema der weiteren Forschungen.

Uebersetzung – I.G. Tschernionok

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Abkürzungen:

GE – Staatsmuseum Ermitage

IJALI – Institut für Sprache, Literatur und Geschichte

KNR – Volksrepublik China

KFAN UdSSR – Filiale der Akademie der Wissenschaften der UdSSR in Kasan

L. – Leningrad

M. – Moskau

SAI – Sammlung der archäologischen Quellen

SPb – Sankt Petersburg

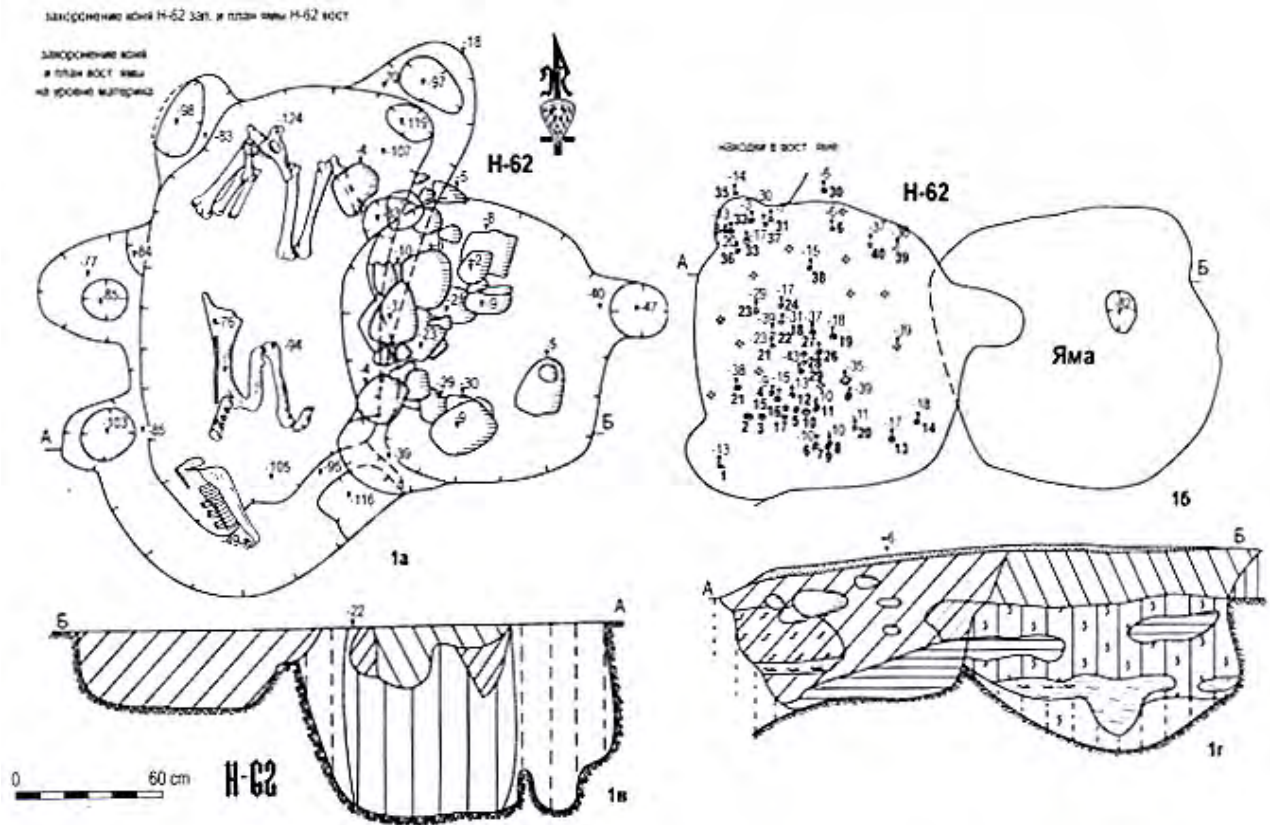


Abb. 1. Bestattung der Teile des Pferdeskeletts westlich vom Gr. H-63 des Gräberfeldes Hünenberg / Gora Welikanov (Stadt Pionerski) (Kulakov W.I., 2014, Abb. 34,1a,1b).

Abb. 2. Gr. H-254: Schichten und Inventarbestand (Kulakov W.I., Tjurin E.A., 2005, Abb. 8).

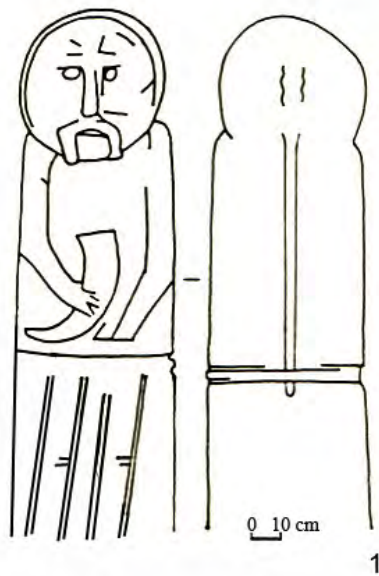


Abb. 3. Preußische Männerfrisuren: 1 – Steinstatue aus Barten/Barczany (woj. mazursko-warmińskie Polski); 2 – Bildnisse von Preußen auf den Torseiten der Kirche in Gnesen/Gniezno (woj. wielkopolskie Polski) (ca. 1170) (1 – Kulakov W.I., 1994, Abb. 9,7; 2 – Foto Fedor T., Jakóbek-Raczkowska M.).

Abb. 4. Rekonstruktion des Schemas vom Gürtel aus dem Gr. Y-149 des Gräberfeldes Yrzekapinis/Klitzovka-1 (Ende des VIII. Jh. – Anfang des IX. Jh.); unten links ist Gürtelspitze aus Helgö (Kulakov W.I., 1999, S. 269, Abb. 60; dasselbe, 2001, Abb. 2,14).

Abb. 5. Einschneidiges Schwert in der Scheide aus dem Gr. Klh-4 des Flachgräberfeldes Kleinheyde: 1 – Zustand nach der Restaurierung; 2 – Rekonstruktion der Bindungsprinzipien zum Koppel (Gurjewskij Bezirk) (Kulakov W.I., Skvortsov K. N., 2000, Abb. 4, 11).

Abb. 6. Mandelförmige Anhänger in den Altertümern von Petschenegen und von Preußen: 1 – bronzener Brustanhänger aus dem Frauengrab in Istrien (Rumänien); 2 – versilberter eiserner Anhänger des Pferdezaums aus dem Gr. Y-91 des Gräberfeldes Yrzekapinis/ Klitzovka -1; 3 – Hügelgräberfeld Kamenka (neben der Stadt Kamenetz-Podolskij, Chmelnitzkaja Gebiet, Ukraine) (1 - Kurta F., 2013, Abb. 6; 2 - Kulakov W.I., 1990, Tabelle LXX; 3 – Bertašius M., 2001, 8 pav.,2:).

Abb. 7. Steigbügel von Nomaden aus Eurasien und von Preußen: 1 – Flachgräberfeld Brodski Drenowatsch (Kroatien), 2 – Gr. Y-94 des Flachgräberfeldes Yrzekapinis/ Klitzovka-1; 3 – Hügel. b/№ des Hügelgräberfeldes Kaup (Stadt Zelenogradsk); 4 – Funde из dem Gr. K68a des Flachgräberfeldes Kaup (1, 2 – Kulakov W.I., 1986, Abb. 1, 11, 12; 3 – Mühlen B., 1975, Taf. 38,3; 4 – Kulakov W.I., 2016, Abb. 106).

Abb. 8. Abbildungen der zu Fuß gehenden und reitenden Krieger, Ende des VII. Jh. – Anfang des VIII. Jh.: 1 – vergoldete bronzene Spange aus dem Gr. 144 des Gräberfeldes Mödling (Niederösterreich); 2a – Foto des linken Teils des „Ringes von Strobjehnen“; 2b – Bildabtastung auf dem linken Teil des „Ringes von Strobjehnen“; 2w – Foto des Zentralteiles des „Ringes von Strobjehnen“; 3 – Teil vom Relief aus Reggton (Derbshire, England) (1 - Matzner K., 1977, S. 121; 2a, 2w – Foto des Autors von dem Beitrag, 26, 3 – Kulakov W.I., 1994, Abb. 72,2,5).

Intellectual Innovations in Georgia (11th – 9th c. BC)

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Abstract. Multilayer archaeological site Grakliani hill findings give clear picture of innovations and high level of development of Kartli (“Iberia”) society during 2nd - 1st mill. BC. Special interest are two unknown scripts) discovered in the sanctuary of 11th – 9th cc BC. (Inscription “A”, probably Western Semitic; inscription “B”, probably local version of Aramaic script). For understanding the economic system of Kartli we have unique artefacts from the excavations of Grakliani Hill and satellite sanctuary of Grakliani Hill – Tsina Gora (weights and tokens, also 11th – 9th cc BC).

Keyword: multilayer site, sanctuary, two unknown scripts, weights, tokens.

1. Introduction.

The Grakliani Hill settlement and necropolis, as well as Tsina Gora site is situated in the central part of the South Caucasus, in Georgia. The materials discovered at the Grakliani settlement and necropolis date from different periods and covers the stratigraphy presented below: **1. The Paleolithic Age. 2. Chalcolithic Age. 3. Early Bronze Age. 4. Late Bronze/ Early Iron Age. 5. The developed Iron Age (the 8th-7th centuries BC). 6. The 6th century BC. 7. The 5th-4th centuries BC. 8. The 4th-3rd centuries BC. 9. The 3rd-2nd centuries BC. 10. The 2nd-1st centuries. 11. 3rd-4th centuries AD.** Grakliani hill findings give clear picture of innovations and high level of development of Kartli (Eastern Georgia, mentioned in Greco – Roman literary sources as “Iberia”) society during 2nd - 1st mill. BC ¹. On Grakliani Hill dwellings, cult structures and burial grounds were unearthed. In all constructions so called “Khovle type” ovens are arranged at North- West (or North-East) corners and are followed by platforms for offerings.

Generally if we fully consider archeological finds of 2nd-1st mill. BC from the East Georgia, we face significant circumstances:

- a) Unification of various profile production is obvious which should be (probably) the indicator of uniform system in one limited area (?).

¹ Licheli 2009, 74-78.; Licheli 2009, 66-69; Licheli 2010b, 182-184; Licheli 2011, 135-156; Licheli 2013, 115-118; Licheli 2010a. p.55

- b) Widely spread worship was an accompanying process of economic growth, which imply functioning of venue of ceremony not only within territory of settlement, but also on territories within the framework of its economical/political prevailing (Grakliani – Tsina Gora).

Further it will be discussed two intellectual innovations based on discoveries of Grakliani Hill and surrounding area.

1. Cultural system (Temple with inscriptions).

On the third terrace of Grakliani hill where sample of two unknown scripts were discovered excavations of Achaemenid period temple had been carrying out during four years. Main building which was observed here represents construction of 5th – 4th cc BC. Building was destroyed and burnt in 30-ies of 4th century BC. I suppose that it relates to Mithren's (ex-satrap of Sardis) invasion - he was appointed as satrap of Great Armenia by Alexander the Great while being in Babylon(331 BC) and who according to Macedonians' tradition attacked all neighboring area and joined Kartli (=Eastern Georgia) to Alexander's empire.

In section F8 of 3rd terrace plaster of East wall of the temple was revealed. On the same level on entire building area (6mX2,7 m) various size vessels were cleaned. Massive clay construction - altar attached to West wall of the building was revealed scattered with fragments of different size ceramic vessel. There are three graphemes (“**A inscription**”) on the north corner of the alter. In the central part of the building 0,5 m distance from northern wall small size(0,55 X0,40 m) clay altar slipped down from its original location was revealed, which according to the plan has shape of dish with rounded angels and raised sides, though North part is plane. Similar shape, but small size volume (0,25 X 0,18m) is elevated in the center and double- protoma clay figure should had been be sculpted on the north side of it. Ash remains are observed in this small area. Presumably, south part of altar was elevated and accordingly altar was attached to northern wall. It was placed on clay pedestal.

At East and West corners of the pedestal's forehead burnt logs (d = 15 cm) are shown which indicate that additional, special construction was arranged for this altar inside the temple interior and accordingly we can assume that this altar was of great significance. On forehead of the pedestal there is an inscription. Length of the inscription (“**B inscription**”) is 0,8 m and height – 0,007m. Inscription is done freely in clay, lines are drawn easily. It is obvious that it was not the first performance for the master, which can be the confirmation of possible existence of other synchronous inscription.

Discovery of each inscription is significant phenomenon and immediately is followed by questions concerning its generation. From this point of view this sample of Grakliani inscription (“**B inscription**”) is in remarkable condition, as its complex consists of ceramic production dated 11th cc BC- very beginning of the 1st mill. BC confirmed throughout entire East Georgia. Result of radiocarbon analyses is 11th – 10th cc BC. From this point of view until inscription is read it is impossible to say anything about the meaning of the text, though several things are evident:

- a) Inscription has **religion/cultic** character as it is carved on pedestal of the altar in the temple;
- b) It seems that this is (“B inscription”) one of **the local version of Aramaic script**.
- c) Letters of “**A inscription**” totally **defers** from the “**B inscription**” and has some analogies with inscriptions in the North Semitic area.
- d) In any case it is a fact that inscriptions are unique not only in Georgia but throughout Caucasus. It belongs to 11th -9th cc BC (preliminary date), the most significant thing is that it is stationary, meaning that is performed by local population/priests and was serving population residing on territory of East Georgia.²

Economic System.

For understanding the economic system of Kartli we have unique artefacts from the excavations of Grakliani Hill and satellite sanctuary of Grakliani Hill – Tsina Gora, located 4 km South-East from Grakliani Hill. These are weights, used in the 11th – 9th cc. BC. These findings show that trading system and economic development of the society was on high level. The process of weighting is attested as part of economic activities related to manufacture, transportation/transmission and exchange at various levels.³ It is very difficult to ascertain unit of weight because of lack of artefacts. Based on Grakliani and surrounding areas findings there are such metrological data in Eastern Georgia: Tsina Gora- 1) 2 557 gr; 2) 220 gr; 3) Grakliani- Heart shape stone- 102 gr; 4) Grakliani- Heart shape stone- 15 gr; 5) Grakliani- Heart shape stone- 8 gr; 6) Trapeze shaped- 363 gr. The metrological system of Ancient Near East is well known: It is certain that the Mesopotamian mina of c. 504 g was used in Assyria, but a ‘heavier’ mina, which was double the traditional one (c. 1008 g) seems to have been introduced not later than the beginning of the 9th century, becoming the most widely used standard of the empire. The co-occurrence of these two minas testified by several inscriptions on weights, while a clear distinction between a ‘heavy’ (*dannu*) and a ‘light’ (*qallu*) mina is rarely specified in the texts.⁴ For comparison we have: Near Eastern „light mina”, about 470 gr, which consists of 60 shekel of 7,8 gr. In the west part also was used „Levant” system, which was based on 9,8 gr shekel and „Anatolian” - about 11,7 gr shekel. It was introduced in coastal line of Levant and in Anatolia, in the first case about 50 units (9,4 gr, about 470 gr= mina), in another case it is about 40 units (11,7 gr, about 468 gr=mina). If we compare them the weights found on Grakliani and will round off, on Grakliani we have: 1) 5 5 mina; 2) 2 mina; 3) 0,5 mina; 4) 0,7/0,5 mina. (also there is on Grakliani 8 gr weight, which corresponds to “light” mina’s one shekel – 7,8 gr).

But on the other hand there is trapeze shaped weight (10,2 X 9,2 X 2 cm) in Grakliani, which has a hole in a thin part (diameter of this hole 1,2 cm). Around this hole, it has a circular trace of leather rings and hoops from both sides; these traces show that they were fastened hard. It also gives a chance of supposition, that this weight was hanged on a mechanic tool. It might have been both sided balance, one side on which was fastened motionless weight 363 gr (about 0,7 mina). The fact, that it is fastened as motionless means that this weight - 363 gr probably, was used as a local weight unit. If we compare Grakliani weights to each other we will get the following picture: 1) first weight- 2 kg 557 gr is

² Licheli 2016, 35-46

³ Michailidou 2010, 71-88

⁴ Peyronel 2015, 93-113

multiple of „unit” and is equal of 7; 2) 220 gr is multiple of „unit” and is equal about 1,5; 3) Grakliani-heart shaped- 102 gr is multiple of „unit” and is equal 3,5. This unit from Grakliani does not correspond and is not multiple of mina. During the research of economic situation, we must take into account satellite site of Grakliani Hill- Tsina Gora, where two clay discs were found - tokens, used for counting different kind of materials. Tokens were unchangeable and indivisible sizes, always having only one meaning.

The Tsina Gora tokens are simple: the first clay disc, grey earthenware, with eight non-equal separated line on it; its diameter is 4,2 cm, weight – 13 gr. The second one: diameter -3 cm, with 12 non-equal separated lines on it, weight - 15 gr. Also, important fact is that on Tsina Gora was found the tool, used for making these tokens. This is stone knife (length- 6,6 cm, high- 1,7 cm), has sharp tip, oval shaped and its tip is specially manufactured. This knife was used for manufacturing both of these tokens, lines are made by this tool.

Conclusion.

In the conclusion, I must say, that economic sub-system, which is evidenced on Grakliani Hill was characterized for rather high-developed society and totally corresponds to the high-developed cultural system (existence of local writing). However, according to Grakliani Hill discoveries we have not yet enough archaeological background (too small area of archaeological site was excavated) for full explanation of economic and cultural interrelations and I just can express my suggestions.

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Cyprus as a Contact Zone in the 1st Millennium AD

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Abstract: The present contribution seeks to apply a diachronic perspective to the notion of contact zones, in order to explore the implications of this concept for an island, using Cyprus as a case study. A review of the geographic distribution of ceramic imports to the island during the 1st millennium reveals a fairly consistent pattern through time, which appears to be more or less similar to what has been suggested for earlier periods in the island's history. This suggests that the points of contact were rather determined by geographical proximity and ease of communication than by human factors. The Cypriots themselves seem to have played less of an active role on the overseas markets in the 1st millennium AD than in earlier times, and it is tentatively proposed that the loss of control of the island's mines in the Hellenistic Period might have led to a general decline in the involvement of Cypriots in overseas' trade.

Key words: Cyprus, the Hellenistic, Roman and Late Antique Periods, ceramic fine wares and transport amphorae, local, economy, regional and long distance exchange, cultural contacts and contact zones

The aim of this contribution is to apply a diachronic perspective to the concept of contact zones,¹ in order to explore the implications of this notion for an island, using Cyprus as a case study.²

Susan Sherratt recently observed that “cultural contacts as a central subject of study have come to the forefront once more – but now often seen through the lenses of various current, often rather abstract but highly fashionable theoretical approaches”: post-colonial theory, and the interrelated concepts hybridity, agency, materiality and entanglement. She is evidently not happy about the latter concepts, opting instead for an “economic” outlook, largely based on ceramic evidence.³

The scholars who have hitherto discussed the role of Cyprus as a “crossroads of civilizations” have mostly been interested in the Bronze and Iron Ages,⁴ whereas the focus of this paper is on the 1st millennium AD. The theories referred to above are undoubtedly relevant to Roman and Byzantine Cyprus,⁵ but the “economic” approach advocated by Sherratt is in my view better suited to the present investigation, which too is based on

¹ Ulf 2009 and 2014.

² “Island Archaeology” has emerged as a separate discipline in recent years. See, for instance, Knapp 2007; 2008, 13-30 and *passim*; Kopaka & Cadogan 2012, 18-24 and 28-29; Cosentino 2013.

³ Sherratt 2015, 74-79. See, however, Ulf 2014.

⁴ Cf. among a host of other contributions Counts 2008; Bol *et al.* (eds.) 2009; Counts 2009; Hadjisavvas (ed.) 2010; Yon 2012.

⁵ Gordon 2012 and 2016.

ceramics. The interpretation of pottery exchanges is fraught with difficulties,⁶ but we would hardly be left with any tangible evidence at all if extreme scepticism were applied.⁷ To set the scene, I shall begin by presenting a short summary of the history of Cyprus in the 1st millennium AD.

Cyprus in the first millennium AD

In the Hellenistic Age, conventionally dated between 323 and 31 BC, Cyprus was united politically under Ptolemaic Egypt, with Nea Paphos as its capital. The island fell to Rome in 58 BC, and remained a province in the Roman Empire for the next three hundred years or so.⁸ Historians have traditionally regarded Roman Cyprus as a quiet Imperial backwater, but a Jewish insurrection in AD 115/116 and a series of devastating earthquakes as well as occasional draughts took their toll on the island.⁹ The Severan Age was prosperous, but the period from about the middle of the 2nd and well into the 3rd century AD is otherwise characterized by a dearth of ceramic and other archaeological evidence. The reasons for this are disputed.¹⁰

After Diocletian's division of the Empire into East and West, Cyprus was "no more governed by her own proconsul, but by a *consularis*, who acted under the Praetorian Prefect of the Orient based in Antioch".¹¹ Also, the island's administration was moved from Nea Paphos to Salamis. According to Tønnes Bekker-Nielsen, this probably occurred in the late 3rd or early 4th century AD.¹² The transition from Paganism to Christianity is well documented archaeologically in Cyprus from the 4th century AD onwards.¹³ Late Antiquity was a time of prosperity, judging by the many Christian basilicas that were now built and other archaeological evidence.¹⁴

By the 7th century AD, the Arab expansion in the Middle East was increasingly impacting the Levant. Cyprus too was invaded by Arab forces, "but remained, at least nominally, a part of the Byzantine Empire".¹⁵ There is a curious gap in the archaeological and historical record between the mid-7th and the 12th centuries in Cyprus,¹⁶ which is mainly filled by a class of handmade pottery that was first identified by Marcus Rautman.¹⁷

Material evidence for the cultural contacts of Cyprus in the 1st millennium AD

The geographical distribution of ceramic imports to Roman Cyprus (mainly transport amphorae and fine wares) suggests that Western Cyprus and the western part of Southern Cyprus were closely connected with Rough Cilicia, whereas Eastern Cyprus was similarly

⁶ Cf. Lund 2015; Sherratt 2015, 75-78.

⁷ As advocated, for instance, by Murray 2017.

⁸ For recent historical summaries, see Bekker-Nielsen 2004, 52-62 and Lund 2015, 24-26.

⁹ Lund 2015, 26.

¹⁰ Lund 2015, 244-246 with references.

¹¹ Michaelides 1997, 17.

¹² See Bekker-Nielsen 2004, 62-63 with reference to other scholars, who have opted for a later date.

¹³ Michaelides 1998; Rautman 2002.

¹⁴ Rautman 2000.

¹⁵ Bekker-Nielsen 2004, 64.

¹⁶ Rautman 1998, 82-85.

¹⁷ Rautman 1998. This "Dark Age" in the island's history is currently being studied by Ruth Smadar Gabrieli.

tied in with North-western Syria and Smooth Cilicia (Fig. 1).¹⁸ The harbour of Nea Paphos seems to have served as the gateway to the island for long distance imports, not only from the Western Mediterranean and the Aegean, but also from Egypt, Phoenicia and Israel, even if imports from the latter two areas also reached harbours in Southern and South-eastern Cyprus by other and more direct routes.¹⁹ This pattern is similar to that of the Hellenistic period, when the island was under Ptolemaic rule, except that connections between Egypt and Cyprus apparently slacked off in Roman times.

According to Philip Bes, the second half of the 2nd century AD saw a “fundamental change in the productive and/or trading frameworks”.²⁰ As far as transport amphorae are concerned, the previous strong links between Cyprus and the Western Mediterranean were terminated at about the same time, and Anthi Kaldeli has concluded that Cyprus “was almost exclusively involved in eastern networks” from the 3rd and 4th centuries onward.²¹

Two Late Antique classes of amphorae (Late Roman 1 and Late Roman 13) were produced in Cyprus, and often in the same kiln sites, mainly located in South Western Cyprus (at Nea Paphos, Amathus and Zygi).²² These are all located on the coast, close to a harbour or landing place, a sure sign that the amphorae produced there were meant for shipping, filled – presumably – with local agricultural produce, mainly wine and olive oil. Now, Late Roman 1 amphorae were manufactured along the south coast of Asia Minor, and we can only distinguish between the individual fabrics by means of scientific clay analyses, which have only been carried out in relatively few instances. The distribution of the specific Cypriot version cannot therefore be mapped in detail, but at Kalavassos-*Kopetra*, Marcus Rautman distinguished five fabrics through Neutron Activation Analysis. The one assigned to Cyprus only accounted for 12.3% of the survey amphorae, whereas fabrics of examples that were presumably imported from Cilicia or Syria represented about 50%.²³ At near-by Maroni *Petrera*, however, Roberta Tomber estimated that Cypriot versions made up about 60% of the amphora finds.

The other classes of amphorae imported to Cyprus all belong to standard late Roman types, but the find pattern exhibits a good deal of variation from one place to the next. These constituted between 13 and 25% of the amphora finds from Akamas, Kalavassos-*Kopetra*, Maroni and Panayia Emathousa, but the geographical distribution shows considerable regional variation.²⁴ The Late Antique ceramic contexts from Saranda Kolonnes in Paphos published by John Hayes suggest that Egyptian amphorae were relatively frequent there in the 7th century AD (mainly Late Roman amphora 7, as well as Egyptian versions of the Late Roman 5/6 and of the Late Roman 1 amphora) – perhaps more so than elsewhere in the island.²⁵ In sum: though the main emphasis was on eastern

¹⁸ Lund 2015, 164-184. For the long distance sea routes involving Cyprus, see Arnaud 2005, 212.

¹⁹ Lund 2015, 190-210.

²⁰ Bes 2015, 84,

²¹ Kaldeli 2007, 232-233.

²² Demesticha 2000; Demesticha & Michaelides 2001; Manning *et al.* 2000; Todd 2013, 28-31.

²³ Rautman 2002, 163-215.

²⁴ Late Roman 4 (Gaza) amphorae made up nearly 16% at Maroni, but only about 5% at Kopetra, and the type is not present at all at Panayia Emathousa. See further Winther-Jacobsen 2006; Kaldeli 2007, 236-256; Lund 2007.

²⁵ Hayes 2003.

networks, the overall pattern of contacts remained much the same as in the Early Imperial Period (Fig. 2).

A consistent pattern

It emerges from this rapid overview of the finds that Western Cyprus and the western part of Southern Cyprus were mainly connected with Rough Cilicia, whereas Eastern Cyprus was more closely associated with Smooth Cilicia and North-western Syria, which is more or less the same pattern as in the Hellenistic period.²⁶

The harbour of Nea Paphos was the principal gateway to Cyprus for imports, not only from the Aegean and the Western Mediterranean, but also from Egypt, Israel and Phoenicia. The island's other harbours, principally Salamis, served as other entry-points for imports.²⁷ This implies that it might be preferable to speak of contact or nodal points rather than "contact zones" in the case of Cyprus (and perhaps other islands as well).

The roots of this pattern of contacts can be followed back to the Bronze Age at least,²⁸ which suggests that it was determined less by human factors than by geographical proximity and ease of communication, facilitated by the prevailing currents and winds of the Eastern Mediterranean. That is not to imply that human factors had no impact at all. The relations between Northern Egypt and Western Cyprus were, for instance, boosted by the founding of Alexandria about 330 BC and of Nea Paphos a few decades later, and became somewhat less intensive when Cyprus ceased to be part of the Ptolemaic Empire in the Roman Period.²⁹

A concluding perspective

Cultural and commercial contacts between ancient Cyprus and the surrounding world were not, of course, limited to imports to – or encounters in - the island itself. There is no lack of inscriptional and literary documentation for Cypriots abroad, even if Ino Nicolaou characterizes this evidence as "not that strong" in the Roman Period.³⁰ The same may be said about the Cypriot exports to the outside world in the Roman period - at least of those goods that are archaeologically visible.³¹ Of course these may only represent the tip of the iceberg, but one is nevertheless left with the impression that relatively few Cypriots were active in overseas trade in the 1st millennium AD.

Interestingly, the opposite is often claimed for the earlier periods. Susan Sherratt thus found that "Cypriots were largely responsible for carrying out" the thriving pottery trade in the Levant in the 14th and 13th century BC,³² and Bernard Knapp argued that we are dealing with "a diverse, highly specialised and well organised polity that coordinated if not controlled transport, communication and exchange within and beyond the island"

²⁶ Lund 1999.

²⁷ Lund 2015, 208-209. For recent research on ports, see Keay (ed.) 2012, and Reger 2016, both with substantial bibliographies.

²⁸ Sherratt & Sherratt 1993.

²⁹ Lund 2015, 208.

³⁰ Nicolaou 1986, 433-433. See also Bekker-Nielsen 2002.

³¹ Lund 2015, 220-222.

³² Sherratt 2015, 77.

between ca. 1750/1700-1100/1050 BC.³³ An active role has also been attributed to the islanders in the 1st millennium BC.³⁴ Information about Cypriots outside the island from the Archaic to the Hellenistic Period is supplied by ample written sources.³⁵

If the Cypriots did in fact play a more passive role overseas in the 1st millennium AD than before, then it may be suggested that the island's loss of control of its copper mines in the Hellenistic Period could have had something to do with it. The mines were a major source of revenue for the Ptolemaic kings and later became the property of the Roman state.³⁶ And it may be guessed that the active Cypriot involvement in the metal export declined as the island's mineral resources came into foreign hands, and that this could have led to a general decline in involvement of Cypriots in overseas trade. But this is of course pure speculation. What is certain is that the loss of revenue must have had a profound and negative impact on the Cypriot economy.

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³³ Knapp 2013, 432.

³⁴ See, for instance, Raptou 1999, 136; Bourogiannis 2013, 140 and Ioannou 2017, 437.

³⁵ Nicolaou 1986, 423-433.

³⁶ Michaelides 1996, 144; Kassianidou 2000, 749-752; Iacovou 2013; Kassianidou 2013.

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Figures:

Fig. 1: The interrelationship between the ceramic regions of Cyprus and Rough and Smooth Cilicia as reflected by the archaeological finds, after Lund 2015, 181 Fig. 255.

Fig. 2: The manor ceramic imports at Kopetra, after Rautman 2000, 324 Fig. 4.

**Chersonesus Taurica and the Cities of the Southern Black Sea
in Antiquity: Epigraphic Evidence**

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Umdeutung der Begriffe der Griechischen Philosophie und Rhetorik bei den Römischen Grammatikern zur Zeit des Prinzipats

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Summary: Reinterpretation of the Concepts of Greek Philosophy and Rhetoric by the Roman Grammarians in the Principate Period.

As in the 1st century BC, as in the two following centuries, the Greek grammar theory was involved in elaboration process and in continuous controversies. In such conditions, the Roman Grammarians behaved as no simple imitators, but have created their proper concepts too. Sometimes, they used the concepts of the Greek Rhetoric instead of these of the Greek Grammar, having made it a voluntary manner. Sometimes, they used the Greek Grammar terms, which were correlated with the concepts of the Greek Philosophy, but they had disrupted such a correlation. The paper deal with the case of Latin grammatical term *accidentia* and with the regular use of the verb *accidunt* (pl.) for indicating the properties of the parts of speech. The term has been elaborated under influence of some rhetorical concepts, but it was inconsistent with the signification proper to the original rhetorical, as well as philosophical Greek concepts. The Greek grammarians have applied to the same purpose the terms, which were elaborated in the Greek Sophistic and which corresponded very well to the essence of the matter. But they were less preoccupied with the school didactic, which needed such terms, and they came so later to the usage in question.

Keywords: Ancient grammar, Grammatical Terms, Greek and Roman Rhetoric, Schoolbook; *accidentia*, *tà parepόμενα*.

Seit Varro (116–27 v. Chr.) haben die Lateinischen Grammatiker die wichtigsten Ideen wiederholt von den griechischen Fachgenossen entlehnt. Die lateinische Auswertung des griechischen Gedankengutes ist doch in diesem Bereich größtenteils aufs neu zu erforschen, denn man kam lange Zeit von der falschen Vorstellung heraus, dass das dem Dionysius Thrax zugeschriebene spätantike Lehrbuch die Griechische Grammatik der Zeit des Dionysius d. h. des beginnenden 1. Jh. v. Chr. darstellte. In der Tat aber hat die grammatikalische Theorie der Griechen nur seit dieser Zeit einen echten Ausbau erlebt, der vor dem Ende des 2. Jh. n. Chr. noch nicht beendet wurde. Von der wirklich schöpferischen Entwicklung der griechischen grammatikalischen Theorie im 1. Jh. v. Chr. können wir fast ausschließlich dank den ziemlich spärlichen Zeugnissen von Dionysius Halikarnassus und Varro eine Idee machen, als auch nach den Zitaten aus den Werken des Tryphons, die wir hauptsächlich bei Apollonius Dyskolus (fl. im 2. Drittel des 2. Jh. n. Chr.) finden.

Die griechische grammatikalische Lehre, mit der sich die Lateinischen Grammatiker auseinandersetzen sollten, stellte sich also gar nicht als etwas ganz ausgearbeitet vor, sondern eher als eine Reihe vielfältiger und ständig umwechselnder Theorien. Desto freier konnten die Lateinischen Grammatiker sich mit den Ideen der Griechischen Grammatiker umgehen. Ein besonderes Interesse der Römischen Schullehrer für die Rhetorik, derer eine Vorstufe die Grammatik bildete, machte in diesen Umständen auch das möglich, die rein rhetorischen Ideen der Griechen für die Lateinische Grammatik zu verwenden. Was aber die Griechischen Grammatiker von den Lateinischen drastisch unterscheidet, ist eine stränge Beachtung der Etymologie der Termini und auch der besonderen Bedeutung, welche diese Termini entweder in der Aristotelischen oder in der Stoischen Philosophie bekommen haben. Die Anwendung der verwandten lateinischen Begriffe scheint dagegen manchmal ganz willkürlich zu sein, dennoch haben diese lateinischen Termini eine fortdauernde Geschichte gehabt, was höchstwahrscheinlich damit verbunden ist, dass die ersten Vorbilder von solchen einflussreichen Autoren herstammten, wie Plinius der Ältere oder Flavius Caper (2. Hälfte des 2. Jh. n. Chr.).

Als ein auffallendes Beispiel einer unbekümmerten Schöpfung der Lateinischen Grammatiker kann der Hinweis auf die morphologischen Merkmale der Redeteile mit dem Verb *accidunt* (pl.) und später mit dem nominalisierten Partizipien *accidentia* (pl., neut.) betrachtet werden. Wie es weiter sich erweisen wird, kann die erste Anwendung des betreffenden Verbes bei dem Grammatiker Flavius Caper (2. Hälfte des 2. Jh. n. Chr.) als festgestellt angenommen werden, und die erste Anwendung des nominalisierten Substantivs trifft man nur um 361–363 bei dem Grammatiker Charisius (353.30–32 ed. Barw.). Wie in griechischer Umgangssprache, so in Griechischer Philosophie bezeichneten das gleichbedeutende Verb *συμβαίνω* und das wurzelverwandte nominalisierte Partizip *τὸ συμβεβηκός* gewöhnlich die zusätzlichen und vorübergehenden Eigenschaften eines Wesens. Aristoteles hat diese Bedeutung des Wortes *τὸ συμβεβηκός* mehrmals in seinen Werken betont (cf. *An. Post.* 71b–99a *passim*, *Top.* 102b, 103b; *Metaph.* 1017a, 1027a; *Ph.* 134b, 185b, 235a, 236b). Er merkte dabei an, dass das Attribut *συμβεβηκός* nur dem Einzelnen angehören konnte (*Soph. El.* 168a.34ff., 181a).

Die Begründer der stoischen Philosophie sahen die Grundform des Wesens als etwas Ständiges und Einheitliches an auch in einem dynamischen Stand (*τὸ σῶμα, ἡ ἕξις, habitus*; vgl. *Simpl. In Arist. Cat.* 238.20–24; cf. *FDS* III 862.39–45). Nur das materielle und individuelle Wesen betrachteten sie darüber hinaus als eine unmittelbare Ursache (*τὸ αἴτιον*) jedes Geschehens, das sie entweder *τὸ συμβεβηκός* oder *τὸ κατηγορήμα* bezeichneten (vgl. *FDS* II 695.18–20, 762.1–4; III 808.41–46). Die Anwendung des Begriffes *τὸ συμβεβηκός* war also bei Stoikern, die eine so starke Einfluß auf die Griechischen Grammatiker ausgeübt haben, noch weiter entfernt von der betreffenden Anwendung des Verbes *accido* oder des nominalisierten Partizips *accidens* bei den Römischen Grammatikern.

Trotz den Behauptungen von David Sedley (Sedley 1982: 258) und Casper de Jonge (de Jonge 2008: 155), gibt es kein sicheres Beispiel der Bezeichnung der Genus-Eigenschaften entweder mit dem Substantiv *τὸ συμβεβηκός* oder mit dem Verb *συμβαίνω* in den Werken der Epikureer. In der Erkenntnistheorie der Epikureer fällt dagegen die Neigung einem auf, die ständigen Merkmale einer Gattung mit dem Wort *τὸ σύμπτωμα* zu

bezeichnen, was besonders deutlich bei Philodemus zum Ausdruck kommt (Philod. *De Signis* XXIX 1–3, XXXV 14–19; cf. Epicur. *Herod.* I 67, 21.14–22.8). Dies Wort war nach seiner ursprünglichen Etymologie noch näher zu den Lateinischen Wörtern *accido* und *accidens*, als es mit den *συμβαίνω* und *συμβεβηκός* war. Doch spürt man keine Wirkung dieses besonderen Wortgebrauchs der Epikureer auf die Griechischen Grammatikern, als auch auf die Theoretiker der Rhetorik.

Dem ausdrücklichen Zeugnis von Quintilian zufolge, haben die Lateinischen Autoren das nominalisierte Partizip *accidentia* (pl.) dem griechischen Terminus technicus *συμβεβηκότα* angeglichen, und außerdem haben sie dem von Aristoteles besonders beliebten Ausdruck *κατὰ συμβεβηκός* den lateinischen *per accidentia* assimiliert (Quint. *Inst. or.* III 6, 36; 56). In betreffenden Sätzen seiner *Institutio oratoria* spricht Quintilian eigentlich von den Arten der Einteilung des typischen Gerichtsprozesses, an welchem die Rhetoren teilzunehmen pflegten. Die von ihm behandelte generelle Einteilung, die Theodorus von Gadara (1. Jh. v. Chr.) vorgeschlagen hat, ist für uns von besonderem Interesse. Theodorus gliederte die Masse der möglichen Fragen, die behandelt werden konnten, in zwei Hauptfragen, und zwar, erstens, ob es so was gibt, und, zweitens, welche Kennzeichen sind dem eigen, wovon feststeht, dass so was gibt: *de eo an sit et de accidentibus ei, quod esse constat, id est περὶ οὐσίας καὶ συμβεβηκότων*. Mit anderen Worten, hat Theodorus unter dem Begriff *συμβεβηκότα*, oder *accidentia* in den lateinischen Übersetzung Quintilians, alles das eingereiht, was nach der Feststellung der Tatsache zu besprechen und zu bestimmen war. Römischer Gelehrte Cornelius Celsus, der in erster Hälfte des 1. Jh. n. Chr. tätig war, sowie andere Autoren, haben diese Zweiteilung der Gerichtssache übernommen (Quint. *Inst. or.* III 6, 38–43), zwar mit gewissen Modifikationen. Man weißt, dass Plinius der Ältere in seiner *Naturalis historia* die Schriften von Celsus mehrmals benutzt hat (Münzer 1897: 41–45, 56–70 und passim). Es ist wahrscheinlich, dass Plinius auch den der Rhetorik gewidmeten Teil des Werkes von Celsus gut kannte und in seinem jetzt verlorenen Traktat *Studiosus* benutzt hat.

Eben das, was der zweite Teil der genannten Klassifizierung von Theodorus und Celsus umfaßte, d. h. konkrete Umstände eines Tates, wurde in den Rhetorischen Schulbüchern und Traktate besonders eingehend behandelt. So konnte der Begriff *συμβεβηκότα* und der verwandte lateinische Begriff *accidentia*, als auch das lateinische Verb *accido* einem solchen Lateinischen Autor, wie Plinius der Ältere, dazu taugend erscheinen, zur Beschreibung der Merkmale eines Redeteils zu dienen. Wenn wir uns auf die Zitierung der Wörter von Plinius in der sogenannten *Ars Bernensis* (GL Suppl. 135.1–8), sowie in zwei anderen späteren grammatikalischen Werken (Della Casa 1969: 165) verlassen können, hat Plinius das Verb *accido* zu solchem Merkmal des Pronomens, wie *Person*, verwendet. Es geht doch in diesen Zitaten, einerseits, um die Gleichsetzung der Begriffe *bestimmtes Pronomen* und *Person*, und, andererseits, um die Darstellung der *Person*, als etwas, was von außen kommt und sich dem Pronomen beifügt. Das Verb *accido* weist hier noch keine spezifische Bedeutung auf, die uns interessiert, sondern in seiner allgemeinen und ursprünglichen Bedeutung gebraucht ist. Die Verwendung dieses Verbes in Bezug auf einen Redeteil und sein Merkmal fällt dennoch einem auf. Es ist höchst wahrscheinlich, dass Plinius eigentlich nur den ersten Anstoß zur Ausarbeitung einzigartigen grammatikalischen Terminus gab, der offensichtlich so wohl seiner eigenen

Etymologie widersprach, als dem Sinn des verwandten Terminus τὸ συμβεβηκός, der in der Griechischen Philosophie und Rhetorik so gepflegt wurde.

Man kann zweifeln, ob Pompeius, Afrikanischer Grammatiker des 5. Jh., die Aussage von Probus (fl. an der Schwelle des 2. Jh. n. Chr.) buchstäblich zitiert, wann er das Verb Plural *accidunt* zur Bezeichnung der morphologischen Merkmale des Namens verwendet (*GL V*, 139.16–18). Die *Ars grammatica* des Grammatiker Asper enthält manche wirklich seltsamen Resten der grammatikalischen Theorien aus dem 2. Jh. v. Chr. (Filandri 1995/1997: 84 – 94, 101; Mazhuga 2007: 278; 2011: 96–97). Man trifft da auf mehrere Beispiele der betreffenden Verwendung des Verbes *accidunt* (*GL V*, 549.24–553.10). Die Vorsicht lässt uns dennoch die Anwesenheit eben dieser Beispiele entweder mit einer etwas späteren Entstehungszeit der *Ars grammatica* von Asper verbinden, etwa um die Schwelle des 3. Jh., oder mit einer späteren Umgestaltung ihrer ursprünglichen Fassung. Wir haben indessen ein sicheres Zeugnis der Verwendung des Verbes *accidunt* in den grammatikalischen Werken von Flavius Caper, *Magistri Augusti Caesaris* (nach der Aussage von Pompeius: *GL V*, 153.13), der in der 2. Hälfte des 2- Jh. n. Chr. tätig war und unter anderem den Traktat *de Dubio genere* verfasst, der dem Werk *de Dubio sermone* von Plinius dem Thema nach verwandt war. Das Zeugnis besteht einfach darin, dass alle Grammatiker, die eine Abhängigkeit von Caper aufweisen, insbesondere die Grammatiker afrikanischer Abstammung, wie Palladius, alias Pseudo-Probus (Anfang des 4. Jh.) und Pseudo-Augustinus (Mazhuga 2007: 273–279, sp. 274; 2011: 104), das Verb *accidunt* im angezeigten Sinne regelmäßig verwenden (*GL IV*, 522.4 *et passim*; *V*, 517.35; 519.27; 520.33). Dasselbe gilt auch für die *Artes grammaticae* von Sacerdos, der am Ende des 3. Jh. in Rom tätig war (*GL VI*, 429.16; 442.16; 444.22).

Im Gegensatz zur Meinung von Maria Teresa Vitale (Vitale 1982: 199–200, 212–215, 220), konnten die Römischen Grammatiker kein Vorbild für die Verwendung des Verbes *accido* im angezeigten Sinne bei den Griechischen Grammatikern finden. Noch weniger konnten der nominalisierte Partizip *παρεπόμενα* (pl.) und das wurzelverwandte Verb *παρέπομαι* in Betracht kommen. Das ist besonders klar in Beziehung zu den Grammatikern des 1. Und 2. Jh. n. Chr. So finden wir vorwiegend das Verb *παρακολουθέω* statt *παρέπομαι* in dem Traktat *de Pronomine* von Apollonius Dyscolus (*GG II*, I, 3–116), dem frühestem von seinen Werken, in welchem Apollonius noch von seinen Vorgängern stark abhing, insbesondere vom Grammatiker des 1. Jh. v. Chr. Trüphon (19 Beispiele, darunter ein Substantiv *παρακούθησις*, gegenüber drei Beispiele mit *παρέπομαι* und ein mit dem Partizip *παρεπόμενον* – *Ibid.* 114.12). In seinem in späterer Periode verfassten Hauptwerk *Syntaxis* (*GG II*, II) hat Apollonius dagegen besonders gerne die nominalisierten Partizipien und schlichte Partizipien *παρεπόμενον* und *παρεπόμενα* verwendet, daneben hat er auch das Verb *παρέπομαι* nicht selten gebraucht (insgesamt 66 Beispiele gegenüber 22 Beispiele mit *παρακολουθέω* und drei mit den wurzelverwandten Substantiven). Das nominalisierte Partizip τὰ παρεπόμενα (pl.) tritt dabei schon als ein *Terminus technicus* auf (22 Beispiele, daneben 2 Beispiele mit dem einfachen Partizip, und dazu noch 13 Beispiele mit der Form von Singular τὸ παρεπόμενον).

Apollonius verwendet das Verb *παρακολουθέω* direkt zur Bezeichnung der morphologischen Eigenschaften eines Redeteils nur einmal in *de Pronomine* (*GG II*, I, 32.4) zweimal in der *Syntaxis* (*GG II*, II, 335.6; 335.13), wozu kommt noch ein Beispiel mit dem

wurzelverwandten Substantiv *παρακολούθημα* in der *Syntaxis* (GG II, II, 324.12). Sonst dient dies Verb, sowie die wurzelverwandten Partizipien und Nomina, bei ihm meistens der Bezeichnung entweder der vielfältigen semantischen und formellen Eigenschaften der Redeteile und auch der einzigen eigenartigen Wortformen, oder einer Folgeziehung aus begleitenden Merkmalen einer Erscheinung. Sowie bei anderen Griechischen Autoren, treten das Verb *παρέπομαι* und die Partizipien, besonders, wie gesagt, die wurzelverwandten nominalisierten Partizipien, als Synonyme des Verbes *παρακολουθέω* mit den Partizipien und der ihm verwandten Nomina. Unter den Beispielen mit dem Verb *παρέπομαι* und den wurzelverwandten Wörtern treffen wir schon doch auf neun Beispiele einer Bezeichnung der morphologischen Merkmale bestimmten Redeteils, und viermal geht es um das nominalisierte Partizip Plural *τὰ παρεπόμενα* (GG II, II, 75.9; 145.9; 267.1–2). Man soll es in Betracht ziehen, dass das Letzte seit der Zeit der alten Sophisten meistens die Genus-Merkmale bezeichnete, obwohl manchmal auch das Individuelle bezeichnen konnte. Das Wort wurde für die Bezeichnung der morphologischen Merkmale wirklich treffend ausgewählt.

Wie Plinius der Ältere, hat Apollonius selbst noch keinen neuen Usus in der Griechischen Grammatik festgesetzt, dennoch hat er sicherlich den ersten Anstoß zu seiner Ausarbeitung gegeben. Die Griechischen Grammatiker, die so viel ernsthaft theoretisierten, erwiesen sich gegenüber der Lateinischen allerdings als rückständig in der Herausarbeitung einer Schuldidaktik.

Abkürzungen

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Palaeoeuropäische, para-indogermanische und para-uralische Gruppen in der Urgeschichte Zentral- und Ost-Europas (III-I Jts. v. Chr.)

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Heutiges ethnolinguistisches Bild der Zentral- und Ost-Europa, wo es um nur zwei grosse Einheiten, Indo-Germanen (nämlich Germanen, Balten und Slaven) und Uralier (Finno-Permier) die Rede gehen kann, muß als Resultat einer langen und komplizierten Urgeschichte betrachtet werden. Die wichtigsten epochemachenden Trends dieser Urgeschichte waren die Indogermanisierung des Raums, die meistens aus Süden und Süd-Westen gang, und dieses Finno-Ugrisierung aus Osten. Die Ersetzung der lokalen Sprachen, die in ganzen genommen als Palaeoeuropäisch bezeichnet werden können, durch finno-permischen, germanischen und balto-slavischen Sprachen war kaum ein einmaliger Akt, man soll eher um Wellenwanderungen und kulturellen and sprachlichen Einflüsse denken. In der Entstehung historischer ethnolinguistischer Gruppen hatten verschiedene Palaeoeuropäische Substratgruppen verschiedene Rolle spielen müssen. Auch die Möglichkeit der Teilnahme an diesen Prozessen früherer indogermanischer und finno-ugrischer Gruppen, die keine direkten lebendigen sprachlichen Nachkommen gelassen haben (para-Gruppen) muß in Berücksichtigung genommen werden. Im Vortrag werden einzige Möglichkeiten der Rekonstruktion der Rolle solcher palaeo-europäischen und para-indogermanischen / -finno-ugrischen Gruppen in der Urgeschichte Zentral- und Ost-Europas untersucht.

Eine solche Möglichkeit ist das alte Problem des sogenannten Ural-lappischen Substrats: in der lappischen (saamischen) Sprache gibt es eine Menge Wörter, die keine finnisch-ugrische Etymologien haben und müssen eher als Relikten einer alten Sprache, die Vorfahren der Lappen vor ihrem Übergang auf die finnisch-ugrische Sprache gesprochen hatten, betrachtet werden. Besonders merkwürdig ist, daß zwischen dieser Wörter einerseits die Bezeichnungen der arktischen Realien und andererseits die Wörter des sog. Grundlexikon (wie, z. B., 'Wasser' oder 'Baum') sich finden.

Mobility and Migration in the Roman Border Provinces. The Cultural Identity of Raetia on the Upper Danube

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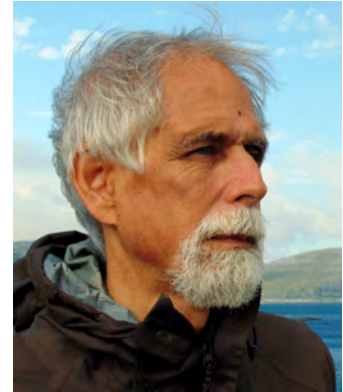
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New Cultural Elements of European Origin in the Dark Ages Attica

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According to a standard view, one finds in the Dark Ages Attica more continuity with the Mycenaean epoch than in any other part of Greece. This view may be correct, but I wish to supplement it by drawing attention to the presence of some new cultural elements in the Dark Ages Attica for which there is no plausible account in terms of the decline and disintegration of the Mycenaean civilization and which are better explained in terms of their arrival from outside.

The most important case pertains to the arrival of cremation. The details of this burial custom practiced in both Protogeometric Greece and elsewhere in Europe display remarkable similarities. In words by Jan Bouzek: “Greek Protogeometric, Homeric and Central European burial customs connected with the cremation in urns under barrows have many other ritual phenomena in common. The prothesis of the dead and the mourning, the four-wheeled waggons carrying the dead to the grave, the distinction between the shapes of urns for male and female burials, and later offerings (libations) on the grave, are all traits in common and are too numerous to be merely the result of chance, especially when the best European parallels come from the territory just east of the Alps, where many parallels for 12th – 11th century Aegean weapons, armour and personal ornaments were found”.

No wonder, it was repeatedly proposed that cremation was brought to Greece by the intruders. The proposal was met with the objection that cremation is prominent in the areas that display particular continuity with the Mycenaean past. In the words of Chester Starr, “Why should the one area, Attica, where we can be sure of continuous settlement take up the new fashion most completely?” Very late arrival of cremation in the northern Greece seemed also to have not agreed with its arrival from Central Europe.

But these objections are in no way cogent. The cremation spread gradually. Eighteen cremations were found at the LH III C cemetery at Perati on the eastern coast of Attica. The earliest known cremations in Athens, from the Kerameikos, belong to the Submycenaean period; cremations became predominant in Athens in the Protogeometric period. The proportion of earliest cremations among the burials is insignificant at both Perati cemetery and the Kerameikos. It seems that the people who practiced cremation arrived in relatively small groups and shared settlement with the local people. They could easily adopt both the elements of local culture and the language of local people, that is, the Greek. They became to certain extent the heirs and the bearers of local, that is, Mycenaean cultural traditions. We

may further observe that early cremation burials in the Aegean are almost invariably found close to the sea, which is true for both LH IIIC/LM IIIC and PG periods. If the people who brought cremation to Attica came by sea, early cremation need not be necessarily found in Greece north of Attica, on a land route from Central Europe.

The latter point, the diffusion of cremation through the sea routes, is crucial since the continuity between Submycenaean and Protogeometric cremations in Attica is problematic. The fact is that we are dealing not only with a sudden transformation of burial practice of a tiny minority into predominant, almost exclusively practiced burial rite, but also with some modifications of the rite itself. Amphorae became the nearly exclusively used type of urn in the PG period, while four out of six urns are jugs at the Submycenaean cemetery at Perati and the cremation urn in a LH IIIC grave from the Kerameikos cemetery is also a jug (Florian Ruppenstein).

Another novelty in respect to PG cremations in Attica is that they are frequently associated with “killed” swords. All such swords are bent and some of them are bent around an urn. The association between a cremation burial and a bent sword is well attested in Euboea, namely in PG Lefkandi and LG Eretria; it is also known from PG Salamis. In the Aegean outside of this compact area, only three bent swords from the burials are recorded for Protogeometric and Geometric periods (in Crete, Vergina and Halos). Swords bent around an urn are known in the Aegean only in Attica, Salamis and Euboea (in PG Lefkandi and LG Eretria). It is worth noting that all these areas were populated by the people who spoke Western Ionian dialect. It is most natural to conclude that the association between cremation burial and a bent sword was brought by sea – apparently by Ionians from their previous home.

Bouzek compared PG Attic and central Balkan dolls with similar decoration and argued for a central Balkan origin of the type. This fits well with his cautiously expressed suggestion concerning the origin of Attic cremation in Central Europe. One may think that the novelties reached Attica via the Adriatic Sea and its extension the Ionian Sea (the name of which is hardly unrelated to the name of the Ionians).

However, one may consider even more distant connections. One finds on an Attic geometric vase a representation of a ship that in all probability transports the sun. Such a subject matter repeatedly appears on the Bronze Age Scandinavian razors and rock carvings. Moreover, the ship on the Attic vase has neither mast nor sail, and the team is indicated by vertical strokes – all elements characteristic of the representation of ships on Scandinavian monuments. Furthermore, Scandinavian monuments provide a parallel to poetic account of the sun’s daily journey by Ionian poet Mimnermus of Colophon: a highly nontrivial idea of the sun’s changing vehicle is present in both, and I had an occasion to argue for its likely Scandinavian origin. It has been shown in my other study that the ships of the Sea Peoples display Scandinavian affiliation. I also suggested that Scandinavian influence, whether direct or indirect, had reached the Aegean in several waves. There are two reasons to think that Attica was particularly affected.

One pertains to the mentioned association between cremation and bent swords: Scandinavia and northern Germany seem to provide best parallels. Another pertains to striking similarities between early Attica and Scandinavia in respect to naval organization

and administrative division. Surprising as it is, a historical link between Scandinavia and the Dark Ages Attica is not something to be ruled out.

Whatever the precise provenance of new cultural elements in the Dark Ages Attica, there is also a question of what their arrival implies, of how they became a part of Attic way of life.

The data of excavation indicate that cremation in the Dark Ages Attica was the burial custom of the elite. It is not likely that the Attic elite adopted a new burial rite from small groups of the intruders through imitation. It is by far more plausible that cremation was the burial practice of the intruders who constituted the new elite in Attica.

Who, then, were these intruders?

Cremation is the burial practice of the elite also in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Now, Homeric dialect is predominantly Ionic, with essential characteristics of Western Ionian, as Martin West has shown.¹ Western Ionian was the dialect of Attica and Euboea – the only parts of the Greek world about which we can confidently say that cremation dominated there for centuries beginning with the coming of the Iron Age and Protogeometric period. The conclusion seems unavoidable that the intruders who brought cremation to Attica and constituted there new elite were the Ionians.

Whatever the worth of ancient tradition, our conclusion agrees with it very well. Aristotle in his *Athenian Constitution* gives a list of eleven major reforms in Athenian history. The list begins with “the settlement at Athens of Ion and his companions, for it was then that the people were first divided into the four Tribes and appointed the Tribal Kings” (Ath. Pol. 41. 2; H. Rackham’s transl.). Earlier in his text, Aristotle speaks of three “greatest and oldest offices” which were the King, the War-lord (*polemarchos*) and the Archon: “Of these the office of King was the oldest, for it was ancestral. The second established was the office of War-lord, which was added because some of the Kings proved cowardly in warfare (which was the reason why the Athenians had summoned Ion to their aid in an emergency)” (Ath. Pol. 3. 2.; H. Rackham’s transl.). According to a fragment from the lost part of the *Athenian Constitution*, “when Ion came to dwell in Attica, the Athenians came to be called Ionians, and Apollo was named their Ancestral god” (Ath. Pol. Fr. 1; H. Rackham’s transl.).

There is nothing in archaeological data to contradict this tradition and there is something in it that fits with the tradition well. Introducing the office of *polemarchos* implies at least not too strong king’s power. The fact that Protogeometric Athens was a conglomerate of small villages seems to imply the same.

One may define the arrival of new cultural elements into the Dark Ages Attica as a major event in Attic history. Several traditions and institutions of historical Attica are likely to derive from the traditions and institutions of the Ionian intruders. However, the ancient sources neither assert nor imply Ionian conquest of Attica in a strict sense. There is no reason to think about any comprehensive substitution of old customs and institutions for new ones. One rather thinks about cultural cross-fertilization. An obvious sign of it is that Athens had remained the city of Athena; moreover, a popular tale about the contest for Athens involved Athena and Poseidon rather than Athena and Apollo, the alleged father of Ion.

¹ M. L. West, “The Rise of the Greek Epic”, *JHS* (1988) 166.

The Dark Ages Attica appears thus to have been one of the European contact zones – minor in terms of territory and major in terms of historical consequences.

Kontaktzone: Das Definitionsproblem in Geisteswissenschaften

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Schlagwörter: Kontaktzone, Grenzgebiet, Grenzland, Frontier Society, Interaktion, Interkulturalität, Creoleness, Hybridität, Koine

Zusammenfassung: Im Mittelpunkt des vorliegenden Vortrags stehen das Konzept "Kontaktzone" und die damit verbundenen Fragen, wie es sich in Geisteswissenschaften (Kulturologie, Sprachwissenschaft, Pädagogik, Archäologie, Urbanistik) definieren lässt und welche neuen Konzeptualisierungen es seit seiner Einführung bei M. L. Pratt (1991) erfahren hat. Pratt definierte Kontaktzonen als "social spaces where cultures meet, clash and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power, such as colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths as they lived out in many parts of the world today" ("Arts of the Contact Zone", 1991 : 34). Heutzutage findet der Ausdruck "Kontaktzone" in den Geisteswissenschaften vielfach Anwendung, z.B.: in der *Kulturologie* ("kulturelle Verschmelzung" im Konzept des Multikulturalismus); *Kommunikation* (Transkulturalität als Kontaktzone: Interaktion und Verflechtung der räumlichen, medialen und imaginierten Mobilität von Menschen, Bildern oder Institutionen); *Pädagogik* (Kontaktzone als eine Trope für die Visualisierung von Lösungen für Konflikte im Unterrichtsraum); *Archäologie* (archäologische Kulturgruppen mit heterogenen Grenzen als Kontaktzonen: Balkangebiet, Circum-Pontic region); *Urbanistik* (eine Großstadt als sozioethnische Kontaktzone: Odessa, Berlin, Marseille). In der *Sprachwissenschaft* wurde "Kontaktzone" zum Grundbegriff in einer Reihe von Disziplinen gemacht, wie z.B. Kontaktlinguistik, Arealtypologie, Sprachgeographie, historische Linguistik, Kreolistik usw. Mittlerweile haben die Sprachgeografen eine neue Frage aufgeworfen, ob sich ein "Areal Europa" als transkulturelle Kontaktzone definieren lässt und ob Europa in ein *sprachliches* Zentrum und eine Peripherie eingeteilt werden kann. Das Konzept "Kontaktzone" lässt sich repräsentieren durch folgende Begriffe: *GRENZGEBIET*, *GRENZLAND*, *FRONTIER SOCIETY*, *INTERAKTION*, *INTERKULTURALITÄT*, *CREOLENESS*, *HYBRIDITÄT*. Offen für eine weitere Diskussion bleiben die Fragen über die Parallelen oder Differenzen bei der Verwendung des Begriffs in verschiedenen humanitären Diskursen: Wo und wie methodologisch (Identifikationsexperimente, Beobachtung) werden "Kontaktzonen" identifiziert? Wie bildet sich eine "Kontaktzone"? Wie sind staatliche, natürliche und mentale Grenzen? Wie ist die Aktantenkonstellation? Ist der Ausdruck "Kontaktzone" eher eine Trope, eine Metapher oder ein festumrissenes Fachwort, eine analytische Methode für interdisziplinäre Forschung?

Der Einfluss der griechischen Zivilisation auf die Bräuche und Sitten der „barbarischen“ Skythen in den Augen griechischer Autoren (insbesondere Strabo)

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Abstract. There are many statements in ancient sources about the influence of the Greek civilisation on the customs and morals of barbarians. In the lecture I will try to collect and analyse very contradictory reports of ancient authors to this theme, especially in “Geography” of Strabo about the Scythian barbarians. Was this influence positive or negative – the answers could be both, depending on ideological, political and philosophical ideas of author and on the actual aims of the narrative.

Keywords: Barbarians, Scythes, Greco-roman civilisation, idealisation of barbarians, ancient writers, Strabo

Die Skythen als „Barbaren“ par excellence besaßen in den Augen der antiken Autoren alle Merkmale, die in einer Gegenüberstellung von „Zivilisation und Barbarei“ auftreten: Auf der einen Seite waren sie kriegerisch, wild, heimtückisch, primitiv und ungebildet, auf der anderen Seite enthaltsam, uneigennützig, friedlich, naiv und weise, außerdem tapfer und furchtlos. Das jeweilige skythische (barbarische) Bild ist dabei abhängig von den ideologischen Vorstellungen des Autors und von dem Genre, das er schrieb. Es ist bekannt, dass sowohl Xenophobie als auch Xenophilia charakteristisch waren für die antike Gesellschaft.

Das grundlegende Bild eines skythischen Nomaden basiert auf Herodot, der große Teile seiner Historien dem „Skythischen Logos“ widmete. Es muss dabei besonders auf die „Toleranz“ der herodoteischen Beschreibungen hingewiesen werden, da Herodot die Skythen an keiner Stelle als „Barbaren“ bezeichnet. Dafür wurde er scharf von Plutarch kritisiert, der ihn als „Barbarenfreund“ (φιλοβάρβαρος) bezeichnete (De malign. Herod. 12 (857a)). Herodot zeigte Verständnis dafür, dass jede Nation ihre eigenen Traditionen besitzt und diese respektiert werden müssen. An einer Stelle seiner „Historien“, in der Erzählung über die frevelhaften Handlungen des persischen Königs Kambyses in Ägypten, schreibt er (III. 38):

Mir ist völlig klar, dass Kambyses gänzlich wahnsinnig war; sonst hätte er sich nicht an Tempeln und Bräuchen zum Spott vergriffen. Wenn man alle Völker der Erde aufforderte, sich unter all den verschiedenen Sitten die trefflichsten auszuwählen, so würde jedes nach genauer Untersuchung doch die eigenen allen anderen vorziehen. So sehr ist jedes Volk davon überzeugt, dass seine Lebensformen die besten sind. Es ist

also ganz natürlich, dass nur ein Wahnsinniger über so etwas spotten kann (Übersetzung von J. Feix).

Doch in den meisten Fällen, in denen die Griechen mit fremden Kulturen konfrontiert wurden, seien es die Äthiopier, Ägypter, Inder, Perser, Skythen, Thrakier, Germanen oder Kelten, die sie selbst als „unzivilisiert“ betrachteten, bemerkten sie „Fortschritte“ in deren Entwicklung hin zur Zivilisation. Diese Fortschritte seien ihrer Meinung nach durch den Einfluss von soziopolitischen, wirtschaftlichen, kulturellen, religiösen und ethischen „Errungenschaften“ der antiken Gesellschaft verursacht worden.

Die Milderung der rohen Lebensart gewalttätiger und kriegerischer Barbaren unter dem Einfluss der Griechen ist eines der häufigsten Topoi in der Gegenüberstellung von Griechen und Barbaren. So beschreibt Strabo, der viele der beliebten ethnographischen Ansichten der Zeit teilt, an verschiedenen Stellen die Barbaren als grausame und kriegerische Wilde, die von der griechisch-römischen Zivilisation wohltuend beeinflusst wurden: siehe beispielsweise III. 4. 17 über die Grausamkeit und die brutale Erbarmungslosigkeit der Iberer, Thrakier und Skythen; II. 5. 26: „Und die Römer, die viele Völker übernommen haben, die ihrer Natur nach unzivilisiert waren infolge ihrer Umwelt [...] haben die Kontaktlosen miteinander in Kontakt gebracht und den Wilden beigebracht, in einem geordneten Gemeinwesen zu leben“; vgl. auch XI. 2. 4: „...die [Maioten] in der Nähe des Tanais sind wilder, die, die den Bosphoros berühren, zahmer“ (alle Strabo-Stellen in der Übersetzung von Stefan Radt).

Mit dieser Stelle meint Strabo, dass sich Tanais am Rande der griechischen Welt befindet, an der Grenze zu Steppennomaden (vgl. XI. 2. 3 über Tanais: „Sie war der gemeinsame Handelsplatz der asiatischen und der europäischen Nomaden“), der Bosphorus aber war ein zivilisierter griechischer Staat.

Diese Ansicht der Wildheit der Barbaren war viele Jahrhunderte lang aktuell und erscheint auch bei frühchristlichen Autoren. So beschreibt Tertullian (ca. 160-230 n. Chr.), einer der ersten Kirchenväter, im Zusammenhang mit der Verurteilung der bösen Absichten und Verbrechen seines theologischen Gegners Marcion, der selbst aus der südpontischen Stadt Sinope stammte, die Sitten der Einwohner des Pontos-Gebiets wie folgt (adv. Marc. I. 1):

Der sogenannte Pontus Euxinus, das gastliche Meer, ist eine Negation seiner Natur und ein Hohn auf seinen Namen. Schon infolge seiner Lage wird niemand den Pontus für gastlich halten, er ist zu weit von unsern milden menschlicheren Gestaden entfernt, fast aus einem gewissen Schamgefühl über seine Barbarei. Ganz wilde Völkerschaften umwohnen ihn; wofern man auf einem Wagen hausen überhaupt wohnen nennen kann. Ihre Wohnsitze sind nicht ständig, ihre Lebensweise roh, die Befriedigung des Geschlechtstriebes geschieht ohne Schranken und meistens ohne alle Scham. Auch wenn sie sich dabei der Öffentlichkeit entziehen, hängen sie zum Anzeichen an einem Joche ihre Köcher auf, damit sich nicht unversehens jemand nähere. Die Leichname ihrer Eltern fressen sie mit Tierfleisch zusammengehackt bei ihren Gastmählern. Ist jemand einer Todesart erlegen, die ihn ungenießbar macht, so gilt dies als ein Fluch. Selbst die Weiber sind nicht etwa entsprechend der Eigenart ihres Geschlechts milder und gesitteter; Kinder stillen ist ihre Sache nicht, statt Wolle zu spinnen, hantieren sie mit Äxten, sie wollen lieber Kriegsdienste tun als heiraten. Der Himmelsstrich ist rau, das Tageslicht ist niemals vollkräftig, die Sonne niemals ganz frei, die ganze Atmosphäre ein Nebel, das ganze Jahr Winter, alle Winde, die wehen, kommen von Norden. Die Getränke müssen durch Feuer erst wieder flüssig gemacht werden, die Ströme sind durch eine Eisdecke gefesselt und auf den Gebirgen lagern mächtige Schneemassen. Alles ist träge, alles starr; nichts ist dort feurig als die Wildheit, jene Wildheit nämlich, welche die Opfer der Taurier, die Liebeshändel der Kolchier und die

Kreuze der Kaukasier als Bühnenstoffe geliefert hat. Allein nichts ist so befremdlich für uns und so traurig für Pontus, als dass dort Marcion geboren wurde, der abschreckender ist als ein Scythe, unsteter als ein Hamaxobier, unmenschlicher als ein Massagete, verwegener als eine Amazone, dunkler als der Nebel, kälter als der Winter, spröder als das Eis, trügerischer als die Donau, gefährvoller als der Kaukasus (Übersetzung von K.A. Heinrich Kellner).

Aber schon früh begannen Historiker und Philosophen, basierend auf den Worten Homers, der die Skythen als „wunderbare Stutenmelker, Milchesser und Abier, gerechteste der Menschen« (Il. XIII. 1-7) bezeichnete, die Skythen zu idealisieren und ihnen die idealen Züge der „guten Barbaren“ (*noble savage*) zuzuschreiben. Dies entwickelte der Historiker Ephoros im 4. Jahrhundert konsequent weiter, der ein Beispiel für die Idealisierung der Skythen in moralischer und sozialer Hinsicht gibt. Diese Nomaden bewahrten, da sie weit entfernt von der korrupten Zivilisation lebten, die hohen moralischen Prinzipien, Weisheit und Tugend:

Die anderen Autoren nun, sagt er [Ephoros], sprechen nur von ihrer [der Skythen] Grausamkeit, da sie wissen dass das Schreckliche und Erstaunliche Eindruck macht; man müsse aber auch von dem Entgegengesetzten sprechen und es als Vorbild hinstellen [...] Dann geht er auf die Ursachen ein: dadurch dass sie in ihrer Lebensweise frugal seien und keinen Handel treiben lebten sie erstens rechtlich miteinander, da sie alles, und besonders Frauen, Kinder und die ganze Verwandtschaft, gemeinsam besäßen, und seien sie außerdem für Auswärtige unüberwindlich und unbesiegbar, weil sie nichts hätten um dessentwillen sie sich in Knechtschaft begeben würden (bei Strabo VII. 3. 9).

Es ist interessant, dass Ephoros in seinem Skythen-Diskurs sich von den Meinungen der „anderen Autoren“ löst (Herodot soll hier nicht zu jenen gerechnet werden), die wohl mit Absicht die schreckliche Seite (*δεινόν*) des skythischen Nomadentums zu verschärfen versuchten, um ihre Werke interessanter (*θαυμαστόν*) zu gestalten. Beachten wir jedoch, dass Ephoros nicht der erste war, der die Nomaden idealisierte: es ist bekannt, dass bereits Choirilos aus Samos im 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr. die Nomaden als Menschen beschrieben hat, die die Gesetze und das Recht befolgten (*ἄνθρωποι νόμιμοι* – Strabo VII. 3. 9).

Die positive Charakterisierung der Skythen durch Ephoros übte einen starken Einfluss auf die nachfolgenden Beschreibungen der Skythen aus. Menschen, die weit weg von der Zivilisation lebten und deren Sitten deshalb unverdorben waren, die nicht raffgierig waren, Gerechtigkeit gegenüber allem und allen zeigten, sanftmütig waren und einen milden Charakter besaßen, die quasi eine „kommunistische“ Lebensweise pflegten – All diese Themen wurden ab dem 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr. zu dominierenden Motiven in der Idealisierung der Skythen. Einen bemerkenswerten Vergleich zwischen der griechischen Kultur und den Sitten der „ursprünglichen“ Barbaren lesen wir bei Pompeus Trogus (siehe: *Iust.* II. 2. 10-15):

Diese Anspruchslosigkeit ihrer Lebensart (*continentia*) ist auch der Grund ihrer Rechtschaffenheit, denn sie sind nicht begehrlisch nach fremdem Gut; [...] Ach wenn doch auch alle übrigen Sterblichen ebenso mäßig wären (*moderatio abstinentiaque*) und sich von fremdem Besitz fernhielten! Wahrhaftig, dann gäbe es nicht so viele Kriege, alle Jahrhunderte durch, in allen Ländern, ohne Unterlass, und dann würden nicht mehr Menschen durch Schwert und Waffengewalt als nach der Spielregel des natürlichen Schicksales dahingerafft; und ganz und gar wundersam muss es doch scheinen, dass jenen Leuten die schlichte Natur das schenkt, was die Griechen selbst durch die lange Lehre der Weisen und durch die Gebote der Philosophen nicht erlangen können, sondern dass vielmehr ihre hochkultivierte Sitte im Vergleich mit diesem kulturlosen Barbarenvolk (*inculta barbaria*) den kürzeren zieht. So viel mehr schafft bei jenen die Unkenntnis der Laster

(*uitiorum ignoratio*) als bei diesen die Kenntnis des Guten (*cognitio uirtutis*) (Übersetzung von O. Seel).

Diese moralisierende Note klingt besonders deutlich in der vergleichenden Beschreibung der Laster der Zivilisation und der Vorteile des einfachen Lebens der Barbaren bei Strabo durch (VII. 3. 7):

Und was Wunder dass er (sc. Homer), wegen des bei uns weit verbreiteten Rechtsbruchs, bei geschäftlichen Verträgen, die Leute in deren (sc. der Skythen) Leben nicht nur geschäftliche Verträge und Geldverdienen gar keine Rolle spielen, sondern die auch alles außer Schwert und Trinkbecher gemeinsam besitzen und an erster Stelle die Frauen und Kinder in platonischer Weise gemeinsam haben, die gerechtesten genannt hat? Auch Aischylos gibt zu erkennen dass er dem Dichter beipflichtet wenn er von den Skythen sagt (F 198): „Doch Skythen, Esser von Stutenkäs’, ein rechtlich Volk“. Und diese Ansicht herrscht bei den Griechen auch heute noch: halten wir sie doch für die aufrichtigsten und am wenigsten arglistigen Menschen und für frugaler und genügsamer als wir selber sind. Und das obwohl unsere Lebensweise nahezu der ganzen Welt eine Verschlechterung gebracht hat, indem sie Luxus und Genüsse und tausende von Ränken zu deren Beschaffung einführte.

Strabo’s letzter Satz verdeutlicht die in der Antike herrschende Ansicht, dass der griechische Einfluss („unsere Lebensweise“) schädlich für die Skythen sei, die bisher weit weg von den Lastern der Zivilisation lebten und dadurch hohe moralische Werte bewahrten.

Natürlich dürfen wir nicht vergessen, dass die Idealisierung der Skythen vor allem die Folge einer Enttäuschung der antiken Gesellschaft in Bezug auf ihre eigenen Werte war, die zuvor als Merkmal der „richtigen“ Lebensweise wahrgenommen wurden. Diese Enttäuschung war Grund dafür, dass in der antiken Literatur die Gestalten der skythischen Weisen Anacharsis und Abaris so populär wurden, die das einfache Leben der Nomaden dem korrupten und in Übel verstrickten Leben der „zivilisierten“ Griechen entgegensetzten. Strabo verband die Popularität dieser und anderer skythischer Weisen mit den idealisierten Eigenschaften skythischer Menschen (VII. 3. 8):

Deshalb waren auch Anacharsis, Abaris und etliche andere Männer dieser Art bei den Griechen geschätzt, weil sie einen ihrem Volk eigentümlichen Stempel von Freundlichkeit, Einfachheit und Gerechtigkeit trugen.

Besonders intensiv ausgearbeitet für die Propaganda eigener Werte war das Bild von Anacharsis seitlich der kynischen Philosophie; die meisten „Briefe“ des Anacharsis reichen zurück bis zum Ende des 4. - 3. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. Als ein Beispiel dafür möchte ich den 6. Brief des Anacharsis zitieren, der an den Sohn eines gewissen Königs adressiert ist und in dem der Skythe den Luxus des „zivilisierten“ Lebens der Einfachheit und Angemessenheit der „barbarischen“ Lebensweise entgegensetzt:

Du hast Flöten und einen Beutel voll Geld, ich Pfeil und Bogen. Darum bist du auch ein Sklave, ich aber bin ein freier Mensch. Du hast viele Feinde, ich keinen. Wenn du aber das Geld wegwirfst, wenn du Bogen und Köcher tragen und mit den Skythen leben willst, so stehen dieselben Vorzüge auch für dich bereit (Übersetzung von F.H. Reuters).

Auch wenn die griechischen Autoren zuerst die althergebrachte Brutalität und Grausamkeit der Skythen betonten, haben sie mit der Zeit jedoch begonnen, im Rahmen der Idealisierung der Skythen als „gute Barbaren“ und in Übereinstimmung mit der Theorie des zerstörerischen Einflusses der Zivilisation auf die barbarische Welt, den Skythen auch die Verschlechterung ihrer Sitten vorzuwerfen. So schreibt Strabo, nachdem er den moralischen Verfall der griechischen Zivilisation und die positiven Sitten der Skythen beschrieben hat (VII. 3. 7):

Viel von dieser Schlechtigkeit ist daher auch nicht nur zu den übrigen Barbaren sondern auch zu den Nomaden gedrungen. Denn als sie **an das Meer gekommen** waren, sind sie durch Räuberei und Fremdentötung schlechter geworden, und durch die Kontakte mit Vielen übernehmen sie deren Luxus und Handelsgeist, Dinge die zwar als Mittel zur Zivilisierung gelten, aber den Charakter verderben und vorhin genannte Aufrichtigkeit durch Wendigkeit ersetzen.

Diese Textstelle macht deutlich, dass Strabo die Nähe zum Meer als gefährlich und schlecht für die Sittlichkeit der lokalen Stämme betrachtete. Und das ist verständlich. Wie wir wissen, beruht die griechische Zivilisation weitgehend auf der Navigation. Schon Homer sendete Odysseus auf seiner Irrfahrt an die Grenzen der Ökumene. Während der Großen Griechischen Kolonisation beherrschten die Griechen einen Großteil vor allem der Mittelmeerküste. Dadurch wurden viele indigene Völker, die die Griechen Barbaren nannten, in den Prozess der Zivilisation eingezogen. Daher hat die Nähe der Barbaren zum Meer – im Rahmen dieser Theorie – eine negative Beurteilung erhalten und wurde zum Faktor, der zu einer „Korruption“ der Barbaren beiträgt. Strabo schreibt, wenn er die nordpontischen Barbaren beschreibt (VII. 4. 6):

Die Nomaden nun sind mehr Krieger als Räuber, und Krieg führen sie um die Abgaben... Die Ackerbauer werden [...] als zivilisierter und sozialer betrachtet; da sie aber Geldverdiener und **in Berührung mit dem Meer sind**, lassen sie sich nicht von Räuberei und anderen solchen Rechtsbrüchen und Übervorteilungen anhalten.

Die Meinung über die Destruktivität der Nähe zum Meer teilten auch die Philosophen, die über den ideellen Staatsaufbau schrieben (siehe Platons „Gesetze“ IV. 705):

Die Nähe des Meeres bietet zwar Tag für Tag ihre süßen Reize dar, in Wahrheit aber ist es eine salzige und bittere Nachbarschaft. Indem sie nämlich die Bürger mit Handelsgeist und krämerischer Gewinnsucht erfüllt und ihren Seelen einen trügerischen und unzuverlässigen Charakter einflößt, so entfremdet sie sie der Treue und dem Wohlwollen gegen einander sowie gegen andere Menschen (Übersetzung von Fr. Susemihl).

Die Nähe zum Meer bot auch den indigenen Barbaren die Möglichkeit, sich durch Piraterie am Reichtum antiker Städte und Siedlungen zu bereichern. So weist Strabo in der Beschreibung des nördlichen Schwarzmeeres darauf hin, dass (XI. 2. 12):

Nach dem Sindischen und Gorgippia kommt am Meer die Küste der Achaier, Zyger und Heniocher; sie ist größtenteils hafenlos und gebirgig [...] Sie leben von der Seeräuberei.

Über die Piraterie dieser Stämme berichten uns auch andere Quellen.

Insgesamt lässt sich also feststellen, dass die antiken Autoren in ihrer Bewertung des Verhältnisses zwischen Griechen (bzw. Römern) und Barbaren mehrere Phasen der Entwicklung durchschritten haben:

- neutrale (Herodot) oder eher positive (Homer) Bewertung barbarischer Gebräuche, sozialer Organisation und Sitten;
- negative Haltung gegenüber der Grausamkeit, der Kampflust, Wildheit und Treulosigkeit der Barbaren;
- daher kulturbringende Rolle der antiken Zivilisation, wodurch den Barbaren die Vorteile der Zivilisation deutlich wird;

- positive Bewertung der Barbaren als uneigennützig, naive, weise und friedliche, aber im Krieg tapfere Menschen;
- daher Gegenüberstellung der unverdorbenen Zivilisation der Barbaren mit der Zivilisation der in Lasten verstrickten Griechen und Römer;
- die Nähe zum Meer ist für die Reinheit der barbarischen Sitten gefährlich, da die Barbaren durch diese Nähe in die Laster der „zivilisierten“ Welt einbezogen werden.

Solche diametral entgegengesetzten Einschätzungen der Beziehungen der Barbaren zur antiken Kultur hatten alle ihre eigenen Gründe und waren verwurzelt in der Vertrautheit der antiken Menschen mit den barbarischen Grenzländern, in den inneren ideologischen Strömungen, die die Vor- und Nachteile der „zivilisierten“ Welt bestimmten, sowie in den Besonderheiten der Genres der Quelle.

Man beachte, dass das Bild der Barbaren (Skythen) in der frühchristlichen Literatur eine typologisch ähnliche, aber positive Entwicklung durchläuft: ein wilder Barbar, nachdem er das Wort Gottes kennengelernt hat, hört auf wild zu sein und ist auf die Gnade des Herren angewiesen. Eusebius Hieronymus schreibt Ende des 4./Anfang des 5. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. (Epist. LX. 4):

„Die wilden Bessen und die große Zahl der mit Tierfellen bekleideten Völker, die einst bei ihren Totenopfern Menschen schlachteten, haben ihre rohe Sprache umgebrochen und zum Preisgesang auf das Kreuz veredelt. In der ganzen Welt gilt jetzt nur ein Wort: Christus“ (Übersetzung von L. Schade).

In diesem Zusammenhang begann sich die Vorstellung über die Opposition der griechisch-römischen Kultur und der barbarischen Welt zu verändern.

Der Apostel Paulus spricht im dritten Kapitel seines „Briefes an die Kolosser“ darüber, dass ein Christ die menschlichen Laster (Wut, Bosheit, Lüge, Verleumdung, Gier u.a.) aufgeben und sich geistig erneuern muss nach dem Bild seines Schöpfers. „Da ist nicht mehr Grieche oder Jude, Beschnittener oder Unbeschnittener, Barbar <oder> Skythe, Sklave <oder> Freier, sondern alles und in allen Christus“ (11). So verlässt der Skythe, der das Christentum annimmt, die Barbarei und alle inhärenten Laster. Aurelius Prudentius betonte, dass alle Nationen in der Oikumene auf gleichem Boden und unter gleichem Himmel leben und vom gleichen Ozean umflossen werden:

Denique Romanus, Dacia, Sarmata, Vandalus, Hunnus,
Gaetulus, Garamans, Alamannus, Saxo, Gaulala,
una omnes gradiuntur humo, caelum omnibus unum est,
unus et oceanus, nostrum qui continet orbem (Contra Symm. II. 808-811).

So überwand man allmählich die negative Haltung zu den Vertretern des nicht-griechisch-lateinischen ethnischen Kulturkreises in der europäischen Geschichte aufgrund der christlichen Weltanschauung¹.

¹ Ich bedanke mich bei Philipp Köhner für die Verbesserung der deutschen Version meines Beitrages.

Funny Side of Contact Zones between the Barbarians, Greeks and Romans.

Peregrinatio Taurica of the Roman Švejk from Novae

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The present contribution is a fictitious story, a kind of comics, which is based on the results of the Polish archaeological research in the Lower Danube region between 1970 and 2014, the Crimea from 1996 to 2013, and on epigraphic sources, on the one hand newly discovered, on the other hand also known for a long time. The story takes place in the early centuries of the Christian era.

General geographical, cultural and linguistic setting.

The Lower Danube area and the northern Black Sea coast form together the only region of the ancient world with an interface of four cultural components (the Greek East, the Latin West, barbarian central and eastern Europe and the steppes of Eurasia). This is the region in which the Slavs first encountered ancient civilization in its provincial-Byzantine edition, more easily assimilable than in the purely Mediterranean version. Five main languages were spoken in our area: Greek in the Greek colonies of the western and northern Black Sea shores, Latin in the Roman forts and fortresses along the Danube, but also to some extent in the Greek towns, Thracian, mainly in rural territories in the hinterland of the Roman limes, Geto-Dacian in the foreland of the frontier of the Roman Empire and finally the Scythian languages in the Crimea.

Main narrative story components (place of action, time of action, characters)

I. Place of action

A. *Intra fines Imperii* (within the borders of the Roman Empire)

1. Legionary fortresses in the Roman province of Lower Moesia.
2. The Roman garrisons in the Greek cities of the northern Black Sea coast were composed of the detachments (*vexillationes*) taken from three legions (Ist Italic, 11th Claudian, 5th Macedonian) and auxiliary troops.

3. Novae. The fortress of the 1st Italic legion with the virtual modelled part of military defences, headquarters and hospital buildings (2nd century AD). Based on the results of excavations.
4. Novae. Headquarters building. Full-size Visualisation on the Original Site. Here it was decided who to send to the "Eastern Front" !!!

B. *Extra fines Imperii* (beyond the borders of the Roman Empire)

5. Crimea (beyond the frontiers of the Roman Empire). Places of presence of the Roman detachments as expressed by finds of military inscriptions and tile stamps.
6. Heracleian Peninsula in the south-western part of Crimea. Location of the Roman military sentry posts and bases.
7. Chersonesos. Central base of the Roman armed forces in Scythia and Taurica.
8. Balaklava. The temple of Jupiter Dolichenus near the small Roman military base.
9. Roman outposts in the border zone of the Chersonesean territory.

II. Time of action

Periodization of the Roman presence on the Lower Danube

- Pre-Roman Period (until AD 15)
- Period of Armed Persuasion and Occupation (AD 15 – 69)
- Integration Period (AD 69 – 212)
- AD 212 – all free inhabitants of the Roman Empire were given Roman citizenship

III. Characters

The good Roman soldier Švejk and his colleagues from the Roman troops, Greeks from Chersonesos, Tauro-Scythians from the Inkerman and Balaklava valleys

IV. Stay at Novae, boat journey to Crimea, amusement in Chersonesos and Balaklava, on duty on the outpost at Kasatzkaya hill, return to Novae

- Švejk and his colleagues from the 1st Italic legion take part in defense of the auxiliary forts (Winter AD 101), fight the Dacians during the Dacian wars (AD 101-106) and under Trajan (AD 98-116) finish building the legionary fortress at Novae.
- The Roman peace period (*pax Romana*) appears. Roman legionaries watching PV (= papyrovision) and chatting in the porticoes in front of the barracks. They learn that in the Crimea there is **www** [world wide web which means **women**, **wine** and (good) **weather**],

that Greeks produce a lot of wine and that very beautiful women live in Chersonesos (today's Sevastopol). Unfortunately the wild Tauro-Scythians are threatening their safety.

- Suddenly come marching orders to the Crimea.

- Švejk on the way to Crimea.

- Chersonesos. Wonderful city. And the hetairai that live there ... Wow!

- Soldiers and hetairai establish intimate relationships. However, you have to pay for them.

According to the Pompeii price list, the superior of the Chersonesean lupanar (house of oldest profession) demands from Švejk 8 asses. But he has no money. He is still waiting for the pay (stipendium). BIG SCANDAL (cf. CIL III 13750).

- As punishment for unpaid bills Švejk with his colleagues moved to Balaklava where nightlife is limited to only one tavern.

- Boring. To make matters worse, Jupiter Dolichenus refused to mediate at the centurion.

New order: on the eastern front, to Inkerman, to the sentry post on the Kasatzkaya hill.

- Here even worse. Fortunately the Tauro-Scythians bring wine and keep us company.

- Consequences are unpleasant. Illness and return by boat to Novae, where doctors immediately put Švejk to hospital.

- Whew. How well to be healthy again on the beautiful Danube river.

Southern Urals in the 1 Millennium BC as a Special Contact Zone in the Far East of Europe

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Due to its geographic location, the Southern Urals since the beginning of the Early Iron Age has become a very pronounced contact zone with clearly defined natural boundaries. The basis for the formation of the contact zone was the meridional position of the mountains of the Southern Urals. On the one hand, they divide the steppe belt of Northern Eurasia into the European and Asian parts. On the other hand, the region's axial meridional position of a narrow (80-150 km) mountain barrier transformed the latitudinal natural zonality into a meridional one. This naturally led to a deep penetration of the northern settled (forest-steppe and forest) population to the south and penetration of the southern nomadic population far to the north. It was from the era of Early Iron in the forest-steppe zone of the Southern Urals that mixed northern and southern traditions began to form mixed ethno-cultural formations, which became even more characteristic of the region in all subsequent periods - up to the ethnographic modernity.

Speaking about the steppe zone, it is important to understand that the eastern border of the region in the Trans-Urals passes 100-150 km east of the edge of the mountains, along the rim of the plains of Western Siberia, and south of the latitude of Orsk, it goes along the Mugodzhär – the mountain ridge that is continuation of the Ural mountainous country and stretching to the northern hilltops of Ustyurt in the semi-deserts to the north of the Aral Sea. The only steppe passage in the whole mountain belt connecting the Asian and European parts of the steppe is the so-called "Mugodzhär Gates" with a width of no more than 50-70 km. Relative proximity of the South Urals to ancient states of the Middle and Western Asia, the Urals richness in natural resources together with large metallurgical and metalworking centers had rendered the region to be very attractive for nomads. This was reflected in the utmost ethnocultural diversity of the steppe's population which had led in the V-IV centuries BC to forming of a major union of nomads.

Consideration of the ethnocultural history of this entire mosaic region, which is situated in the Southern Urals is possible in three interconnected territorial groups: the forest-steppe of the Southern Urals, the Southern Trans-Urals, the Steppe Urals.

Prior to all the further presentation, it should be noted that by the time of the end of the Bronze Age, due to a number of factors (probably primarily environmental and demographic ones), the territory of the Southern Urals was practically deserted. Exceptions are only the extreme north-western corner of the region - the Lower Kama with the mouth

of the Belaya river, where the evolutionary development of the population of the Maklasheevskaya culture continues and some small, usually difficult-to-reach refugia on the edge or inside the mountain forest zone (the Kyshtym Lake District, the insular Mesyagutovskaya forest-steppe, the southern part of the Upper Belaya River). In the steppe zone, there is also no evolutionary transition from the Bronze Age monuments to the nomadic complexes of the Early Iron Age, although "the stimulated transformation" of the ritual norms of the preceding period is permissible for individual burials. Despite poor research of the issue of transition time from the Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age, it is now quite justifiable to say that by the beginning of the Early Iron Age the Southern Urals was at least practically uninhabited.

Forest-steppe of the Southern Urals

At the initial stage of the Early Iron Age from the territory of the Kama area, the upstream movement, along the Belaya river movement of the Maklashevo and post-Miklashevo population begins. The first, not very numerous group, connected by its origin with the Middle Kama and the mouth of the Belaya river, advanced to the south-east for at least 650 km, up to the mountain forest zone of the Southern Urals (the upper reaches of the Belaya River). To the south of the latitude of the modern city of Ufa, the Kurmantau culture (or the Kurmantau version of the Maklashevo culture) had formed on its basis, its latest monuments are located in the foothills and mountain forest zone and existed to the middle of the 1st millennium BC.

The second group is post-Miklashevo one, more western in origin (the Lower Kama and the Kazan-Volga region), penetrates the South Urals a little later (probably around the end of the 6th century BC) and advanced along the north-steppe right bank of the Belaya river for about 450 km. Based on the traditions of this group in the middle Belaya, in close proximity to the northern extremity of the "nomadic steppe", by the 4th century BC the Kara-Abyz culture was formed, which existed until the IV century AD. Approximately till the turn of the II-I centuries BC its development took place under the powerful influence (in the form of resettlement, marital and general cultural ties on the part of the nomads) of the carriers of the emerging and "classical" stage of the Prokhorovka culture. One of the brightest manifestations of this was shaping of a very peculiar Kara-Abyz "animal style."

The beginning of the nomads' development of the Urals forest-steppe to the north of the hilltops of the Obshchy Syrt dates back to the VIII-VII centuries BC, however, the activation of this process, judging by the massive random finds of swords and daggers occurs only towards the second half of the 5th - mid-4th centuries BC. By the end of this period, setting down of part of the Urals nomads in the foothills of the right bank of the Belaya river was recorded. Along with active assimilation with the post-Maklashevo population residing here at the stage of the formation of the Kara-Abyz culture.

Southern Trans-Urals

The initial stages of the Early Iron Age in the trans-Urals part of the region are again better viewed from its extreme north-west - the Kyshtym Lake District stretched along the foothill strip. Here, on the basis of the Mezhovsky complexes of the final Bronze age in the 8th-7th centuries BC the Itkul culture took its shape and almost simultaneously from the north the population of the Gamayun culture penetrated, whose origin is associated with the area of the cross-stamped pottery of the Lower Ob region. These groups lived intermittently

and against the background of the long existence of monuments with "pure" ceramic complexes, a significant number of settlements and settlements had a clearly mixed population.

Not later than VII-VI centuries BC the advance of Gamayun and Itkul groups to the south begins. Along the belt of the eastern foothills of the Ural mountainous country, the southernmost point of their settlement is the lakes of the mountain-steppe zone at the latitude of Magnitogorsk (200 km to the south of the upper reaches of the Miass River). Here, on the lakes of Bannoje, Sabakty and Karabalykty, along with Itkul and Gamayun settlements, a large number of stone barrows of early nomads are known, and early Sarmatian ceramics of the 5th-4th centuries BC are also present in a number of settlements; the surrounding mountains featured the sanctuaries of the Itkul culture.

The lateral branch of the same direction is the mountain valley of the Belaya river, which before leaving the canyon at the border of the Obshchy Syrt in the Southern Urals completely (about 300 km), is mastered by the Gamayun (the Itkul ceramic traditions in the mountain course of the Belaya River are either absent, or very weakly represented, or not yet identified) population. In the southern part of the Belaya's mountain canyon, the Gamayun monuments are interspersed with the CisUrals Kurmantau ones, and many are mixed. So far, we can talk about the synchronic character of these population groups in the territory under consideration and their interaction in the middle of the 1st millennium BC.

The beginning of the development of the Southern Trans-Urals by nomads probably also can be attributed to the VII century BC, as evidenced by a fairly large number of funerary monuments explored, as well as by the fact that data on nomadic settlements just began to appear. The existing ceramics of the Early Saka period of the Southern Trans-Urals is very close to the simultaneous Khenotkel ceramics of settlements of the Kazakh Uplands (Sary-Arka) and must be completely derived from it. Making use of the same information on funerary monuments allows us to significantly detail this picture. Features of the funeral rite (presence of burials in stone boxes on the ancient horizon, in the catacomb and wide oval pits, existence of the dromedary tombs, the coexistence of burials with the western and northern orientation, burials under stone and earth burial mounds, etc.) permit to state that against the background of apparent territorial and chronological (in terms of material culture) unity, one can distinguish at least Central Asian (Sayan-Altai), Central and North Kazakhstan, as well as Mugodzhhar-like components.

The most northern monuments of the nomads of the Early Saka time are located on the edge of the taiga foothills, in the area of the Itkul culture, which is due solely to the fact that on the basis of the latter there was a powerful metallurgical center, which was gradually tied to the needs of nomads of the region.

Owing to the fact that all the further and most important events in the South Urals are exclusively related to the nomadic world and their influence, and all regional differences (except for the forest and forest-steppe population, which have been characterized above) become purely secondary, everything below is considered through dynamics of the "nomadic" Steppe, the interaction of its components with each other and with the outside world.

Steppe Urals

Omitting a single Early Scythian burial in the Great Gumarovsky mound (according to existing datings – late VIII-VII centuries BC) and a number of isolated finds of this time, I note that the settlement of the region began, at best, at the end of the 7th century – beginning of the 6th century BC. All these complexes are located in the upper and middle reaches of the Ilek river and the Or river; for some of them an earlier dating is permissible – the transition time from the Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age.

Traditions of funeral rituals, fixed in these complexes are system-forming for a whole range of monuments of the eastern part of the South Ural steppe, which existed at least until the end of the 4th century BC. They are characterized by wide oval grave pits, ring-shaped vaults, inclined walls, western orientation of the dead, burning of overlappings, stone, gravel and earthen ring shafts around burials, equal ratio of earthen and stone burial mounds, a frequently manifested tradition of long-tier burials, etc. The core of this group dates from the VI-V/IV centuries BC being localized in the headwaters of the rivers Ilek and Or, along the Mugodzhar (therefore this group can be called *Mugodzhar*). Also, monuments with such ceremonial features are common in the steppe and mountain-steppe (so-called *Irendyk-Krykty group*) of the Southern Trans-Urals, reaching the forest-steppe foothills in the north, and later in the forest steppe of the Southern Urals. By origin, this group has eastern (probably – Tasmolinskaya culture or even more remote) roots. Objectively recorded differences with other groups described below can only testify to the multicomponent nature of the ethnocultural composition of the nomads of the Southern Urals.

The second group of monuments of the Steppe Urals is the eastern Aral Sea area, which appeared in the north of the steppe zone in the second half of the 6th century BC. Monuments are distributed in the lower and middle reaches of the Ilek river, as well as in the Southern Trans-Urals, the most remote westerly monument is located on the Middle Volga, in the Samara Bend region. The latest "pure" monuments (according to the data of the Southern Trans-Urals) date back to the end of the 5th century BC. The basis of the group consists of burials on the ancient horizon, often collective, parcellular, in wooden frame or column structures of round, rectangular or square share, as well as tent-shaped, which were often burned down; in some cases ground-dromos shafts were recorded along the rows of pillars. Some of the monuments of this group are represented by burnt mausoleums from raw bricks.

Also at the end of the 6th century BC in the Steppe Urals there is a third group of monuments that differ in funeral rites - under earthen mounds, in square, wide and standard rectangular grave pits, under flat wooden ceilings, often collective ones, with the orientation of the deceased-head to the west. Monuments with these features are mainly localized in the lower reaches of the Ilek river, along the middle course of the Ural river, as well as in the Southern Urals. The most eastern monuments are in the region of the confluence of the Or river to the Ural river. Along with the Volga complexes, this group can be called *Blumenfeld*, its origin is not established. For the Volga group in modern historiography, identification with the "*Herodot's Sauromatians*" is accepted.

Throughout the fifth century BC in the steppe part of the region active assimilation processes occur, as indicated by numerous monuments in which the ritual features of various nomadic groups manifest themselves in various combinations. In the first half of the

IV century BC integration and leveling of ethnocultural differences on the main part of the nomadic world of the South Urals was completed, some peculiar "ethnographic features" are manifested only in peripheral territories.

The result of this leveling was the formation of a fairly standard funeral rite – from simple rectangular burial holes with a southern orientation buried to complex and very large dromedary round, rectangular and so-called "Cruciform", mainly collective burials with southern or close to it orientation, performed under hollow wooden structures of a hipped roof type. In material culture, this manifests itself in the widespread distribution of ornate "talc" ceramics, the almost complete disappearance of stone altars, proliferation of wooden vessels with metal plates, increase in the volume of quivers, the standardization of blade weapons, and the spread of copies, incl. also heavy horsemen, iron and bone shells, the frequent occurrence of Achaemenid and Indian imported items, the formation of a very recognizable animal style, etc. It is important that almost all of these elements have their origins in the previous time.

According to available data, the steppe along the lower and middle reaches of the Ilek river can be considered the center of formation of this complex. Meaning the Ilek (monuments like the Filippovka-1 burial ground), although there are opinions on the migratory character of its appearance, from the northern part of the Southern Trans-Urals, where it was formed due to contacts with the population of the Gorokhov culture, to East Turkestan and southeast Kazakhstan. Indeed, it would be incorrect to completely exclude the penetration of foreign cultural elements at the stage of formation of this complex (it can be called the Early Prokhorovka type); at this time, for example, the catacomb accompanying burials done circling the floors of embankments of large burial mounds containing mainly dromedary burials under tent structures.

In the IV century BC these (dwarf-tent-catacomb) traditions extend to the entire territory of the Southern Urals occupied by the nomads. For the Southern Trans-Urals (the Perevolochan-1 burial ground), recently the fact of the mechanical layering of the Early Prokhorovka complex on the previous East Aral Sea area complex and its absorption was clearly documented. The maximum extent of the spread of these traditions (in fact, a single ethno-cultural formation) is at least 800×800 km, while certain differences and "specialization" of the territories are recorded.

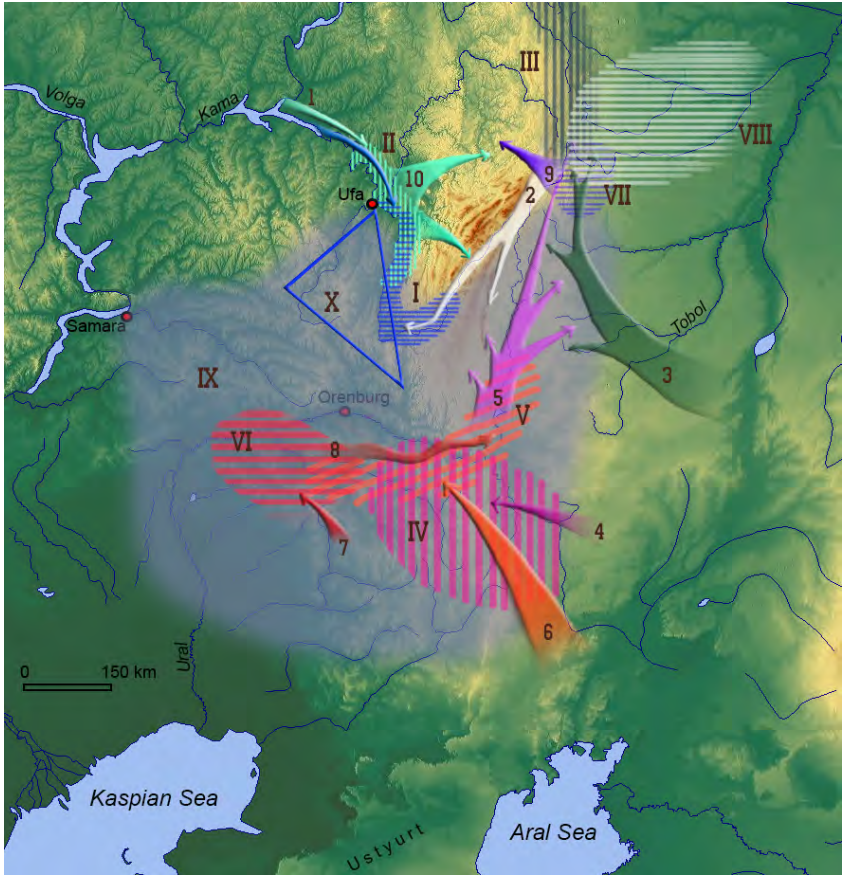
In the steppe zone, three simultaneously existing "tribal centers" are formed: the primary one - in the middle and lower reaches of the Ilek river, secondary - in the vicinity of the confluence of the Kumak river to the Ural river and in the Sakmara river area. The forest-steppe of the Southern Urals was probably being developed mainly as the summer-time territory of the ordinary population, but for a long time there was a very extensive network of nomadic religious centers (so-called "random finds of swords and daggers"). Also in the foothill zone on the basis of the Post-Miklashevka monuments, a large metalworking center (the region of the Kurmantau mountain) was formed, acting largely after nomadic patterns.

The specifics of the Southern Trans-Urals are a strong militarization, which can be explained only by the control over the Itkul metallurgical center - the main source of nonferrous metal for the nomads, and probably also by the need to control gold placers south of modern Chelyabinsk. Their use by nomads in the V-IV centuries BC is confirmed

by natural-scientific analyses. On the northern outskirts of the migration routes of nomads in the Southern Trans-Urals, from the Itkul, Early Saka and Early Prokhorovka components, a metis formation (the so-called "Chelyabinsk group of burial mounds") is formed, in which the leveling of funeral rites gradually took place. This group became the core of the emerging western flank of the Sargatian community of the Trans-Ural forest-steppe, and it was this population in the 4th-3rd centuries BC who mastered the island Mesyagutovo forest-steppe, surrounded on all sides by mountains. Also from the Trans-Ural region, only from more southerly territories, the nomads mastered the modern mountain-forest zone (the then - mountain-forest-steppe). It is likely that similar things will be traced in the Urals part of the region.

Thus, we can state that in the V-IV centuries BC the existing in the Southern Urals nomadic potential association integrated into a single system the entire population of the steppe and forest-steppe zones of the region. Traces of this integration in art, armament, social organization and, probably, the spiritual culture of the forest-steppe and even forest population of the South Urals continued to exist up to the era of the early Middle Ages. The breaking up (or, to be more exact, another transformation) of this nomadic association and the entire system of regional relationships, the disappearance of the monuments of the "Philippovka circle" (the dromos-tent-catacomb tradition) occurs already in the first decades of the III century BC, when the cultural dominant passes to a new wave of migratory populations (according to A.D.Tairov – the Yuezhi). However, it is possible - in connection with adverse environmental factors, a new system unified for the whole region, was not created.

Taking into account the different vectors of the interrelationships between the separate components of the South Urals, which is justified by purely physical and geographical conditions, its unification in the last few thousand years has occurred only a few times - in the era of Late Bronze (the Srubnaya culture), the Golden Horde era and in Russian time. Judging by the historical consequences, the Early Prokhorovka integration of the middle - second half of the 1st millennium BC had a force comparable to later integration models.



Contacting Europe and Nomadic World: the Life and Life-style of the Sargat Forest-steppe Population in the Trans-Urals and Western Siberia

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Abstract. The paper deals with Iron Age forest-steppe materials of Sargat culture of the Trans-Urals and western Siberia and provides bioarchaeological reconstruction of the lifestyle, contacts and social environment. It focus on rigorous examination of paleopathology and its correlation with archaeological and anthropological data.

Keywords: Iron Age, forest-steppe, Sargat culture, interactions, life-style

Introduction. Skeletal remains are an important resource for understanding the history of the past populations. Besides visual reconstruction osteological study provides extremely important information about interaction between humans and their environment, which includes social factors as well. For the period prior to writing, skeletal remains are the only source of information for documenting these types of interactions. From a geographical aspect this paper deals with forest-stepper of the Trans-Urals and western Siberia. Contacts between nomadic and forest-steppe population were of various forms, but nomads always acted militant, at times, aggressive. Such interactions and are represented in the archeological material. From an archaeological aspect, this paper deals with the northern periphery of the nomadic world of Eurasia, which comprises the Sargat culture; chronologically it embraces the 5th century BC up to 3rd century AD.

Archaeological view. The big transit rivers – the Ob`, the Irtysh, the Ishim and the Tobol – were vitally important for the population inhabiting the various landscapes of the Trans-Urals and western Siberia (fig. 1). The majority of known archeological sites are situated on their banks. Over 600 archeological sites attributed to the Sargat culture are currently known across a vast territory between the Tobol and Irtysh river basins¹. Only small numbers of fortified or open settlements and of cemeteries were investigated by large-scale excavations; most sites were studied in the course of archeological survey or sporadic excavations². The Sargat population constructed one- and multi-chambered dwellings with corridor-like entrances. Abundant archeozoological material from the Sargat sites clearly attests to a pastoral stockbreeding economy and to the semi-nomadic character of Sargat society: the majority of the population inhabited permanent settlements and fortresses. Bone remains of the three main domesticates (horse, cattle and sheep/goat) predominate and represent

¹ Matveeva 2000, 19-29.

² For a case study, see: Daire & Koryakova 2002; Koryakova & Daire 2004.

animals that were butchered primarily for food and other utilitarian resources³. Sargat social organization demonstrates characteristics of a chiefdom, albeit at an early, primitive stage⁴. The scholarly consensus is that the Sargat culture was a multicomponent social system. As Koryakova noted, “[i]ts sub-stratum was the local ancestral population; the super-stratum was presumably composed of nomadic and semi-nomadic clans”⁵. At the same time there is clear disparity between the number of people buried and the potential number of people that could be accommodated by the settlements. The taphonomic evidence suggests some selection criteria of which we have no knowledge. Material from cemeteries provides evidence of various types of weaponry (fig. 2, 1-30) and of different traumatic injuries on the human remains of the Sargat individuals. A very particular cultural item among the varied sets of grave goods is Sargat pottery, also present when there are no other artifacts (metal or otherwise) that might be attributed to this culture (fig. 2, 31-32). All known burials contained Sargat coil-built ceramics, symbols of Sargat cultural identity. It is very interesting to note that even in very wealthy (elite) burials among a number of objects of prestige value there is at least one hand-made pot of the Sargat type.

Mobility and material manifestations. According to Matveeva, the Sargat population had 25% imports of the southern origin (Central Asian), 50% – from the eastern areas (Hunnic and China objects), 15% – Cis-Urals, the rest – Mediterranean, Black Sea, Asia Minor, etc⁶. N. Dovgalyuk has determined that the majority of beads found in one grave and, what is more obvious, those, which were recorded inside one cemetery in general have a similar chemical composition and were produced in a certain workshop. Those centers practiced bead specialization directed at mass production and were closely connected with an interregional trade system. She found that Iron Age glass beads were imported to the Urals and Western Siberia from four centers: Egypt, coastal Syria, Near East, and China, via numerous interagents⁷. There are few silver vessels with Aramaic inscriptions as well as imitations engraved on hand-made ceramic pots (fig. 2, 32). Most of those exotic objects, found sometimes inside one grave, might be considered as diplomatic gifts or trophies as well as beyond original territories within new context their primary function and meaning have vanished. Thus, due to kin and political networks among the elite over steppe and forest-steppe a supra-ethnic system of social attributes has emerged⁸. The forest-steppe inhabitants adopted many inventions from southern nomads as well as making own contributions to the general development of warfare and core-periphery relations.

Bioarchaeological reconstruction. Osteological study opens another perspective to study ancient interactions as well as social environment. Each body part provides different possibilities for data collection. The majority of body modifications are of intentional character (cranial deformation, various trauma), but there are some observed changes which people could have obtained in the course of "everyday activities" or life-style. Materials from different parts of the Sargat oecumene evidence various forms of interactions as well as confirm numerous characteristics from the written records about the nomads as a kind of

³ Koryakova & Daire 2004.

⁴ Koryakova 2003, 283-284.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Matveeva 2000, 68.

⁷ Dovgalyuk 1998.

⁸ Koryakova 2003; Mordvitseva 2017.

extremely aggressive population. On the basis of this general mortuary context and in analogy with other Eurasian Iron Age societies, it was suggested that the life of the Sargat people was militarized to a significant degree. Non-metric osteological observation⁹ and undertaken bioarchaeological reconstruction can yield a better understanding of known materials.

The study of traumatic defects among the Sargat elicit that absolute number of cranial combat injuries is small. Together with postcranial wounds it means that around one third of the Sargat male and female individuals could have received such traumatic injuries. Those real battle conflicts were nevertheless far less frequent than warfare among the late Sarmatians and the Huns¹⁰.

Analysis of activity-induced pathology (musculoskeletal stress markers at muscle insertion sites and display of arthropathy) required dividing of male and female individuals within the Sargat burial sample into two morphological groups of so-called "active" and "gentle" morphotypes. In general, the ratio of individuals attributed to "active" and "gentle" male group is 1 to 1, female - 1 to 3. The contextual examination of the Sargat burials allow us to adjust ideas on indirect evidence of women warriors or "Amazons" from the mortuary complexes. But stress markers indicating asymmetry in muscle development and attachment – direct evidence that may be induced by particular repetitive physical activities connected with martial activities – has not been observed even among the group of females attributed to "active" morphotype. Single finds of arrowheads from the disturbed secondary burials cannot provide solid evidence as to the existence of such particular strata among the Sargat society. This assumption also supports the mentioned above study on battle traumas¹¹, which an argument for the existence of nomadic "Amazons", at least for the particular cultural community represented by the Sargat. Besides these, there were found other differences, which rather stress social status. Both male and female individuals attributed to "gentle" morphotype were buried more often in central grave of a kurgan; healing up of wounds and traumas was in a very comfortable conditions; they demonstrate slight enamel hypoplasia, a very specific marker of stunted growth, which indicates a sufficient diet and the absence of lasting hunger or the rare occurrence of famine characteristic. In general, high frequency of physiological stress and disruption were found among individuals of the "active" group, who suffered high intravital physical activity.

Intention circular cranial deformation was observed among males of "active" group while in female sample it was found for both "active" and "gentle" morphotype. These individuals might be interpreted as representatives of the Sargat aristocracy ancestral to the southern nomads. Some other evidence might be derived from the study of ancient DNA, which is being undertaken for the Baraba local sample and points to an ancestral–descendant relationship between the Sargat and population of the Central Asia and south most areas¹². But marcocephaly was not a guarantee for the highest social position as all those individuals with deformed skulls were buried on the periphery of the funeral ground. Their graves were also rather modest in terms of accompanied artifacts as well as construction of the tomb. The earliest examples of the circular cranial deformation among the Sargat are dated back to

⁹ Razhev 2009.

¹⁰ Ražev & Šarapova, 2012.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Pilipenko et al., 2013.

2nd century BC – 1st century AD. The major part of the imported Central Asian objects are also known from the complexes dated to that period.

The evolved delayed practice aimed at burial in a certain cemetery is also a feature in a complex of Sargat mortuary rituals. According to reconstruction of the rate of soft tissue decay transportation to the burial site could have taken place from a few weeks up to a few months. This reconstruction presumes a stay of some length of the individual beyond the clan area territory (for example, on distant pastures) and supports the hypothesis that the Sargat elite maintained a more mobile or nomadic economy than the majority of the Sargat population. From ethnographic studies on nomads, we know that among stock-breeders, nomadism is the most privileged lifestyle relative to any of the sedentary forms¹³. One may presume that in the course of such population shifts the forest-steppe population had various contacts with nomadic groups. To maintain peaceful relationships between nomads and the outside world, so-called matrimonial diplomacy (along with other factors) is likely to have had great importance.

Conclusion. Thus various aspects of bioarchaeological research yield our understanding of how certain physical traits functioned within society. By using a diversity of resources for addressing the past, we are better equipped to eliminate explanations about past events. This paper focuses on the forest-steppe area of the Trans-Urals and western Siberia, which was a part of the cultural worlds of the 1st millennium BC¹⁴. They embraced some regions and groups of cultures, their long-term consequences can be regarded as significant. Nomadic world was not merely the biggest one but intermediate within core-periphery relations. Due to its "disquiet" it had great influence on neighboring regions as caused interactions of various forms and intense. Thus paper not only examines projected interactions of past cultures through its material and visual remains, but also will discuss some other questions that appear to be interesting.

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¹³ Khazanov 2002, 325-328, 353; Pershitz 1994, 163-164.

¹⁴ Shchukin 1994; Koryakova 2003.

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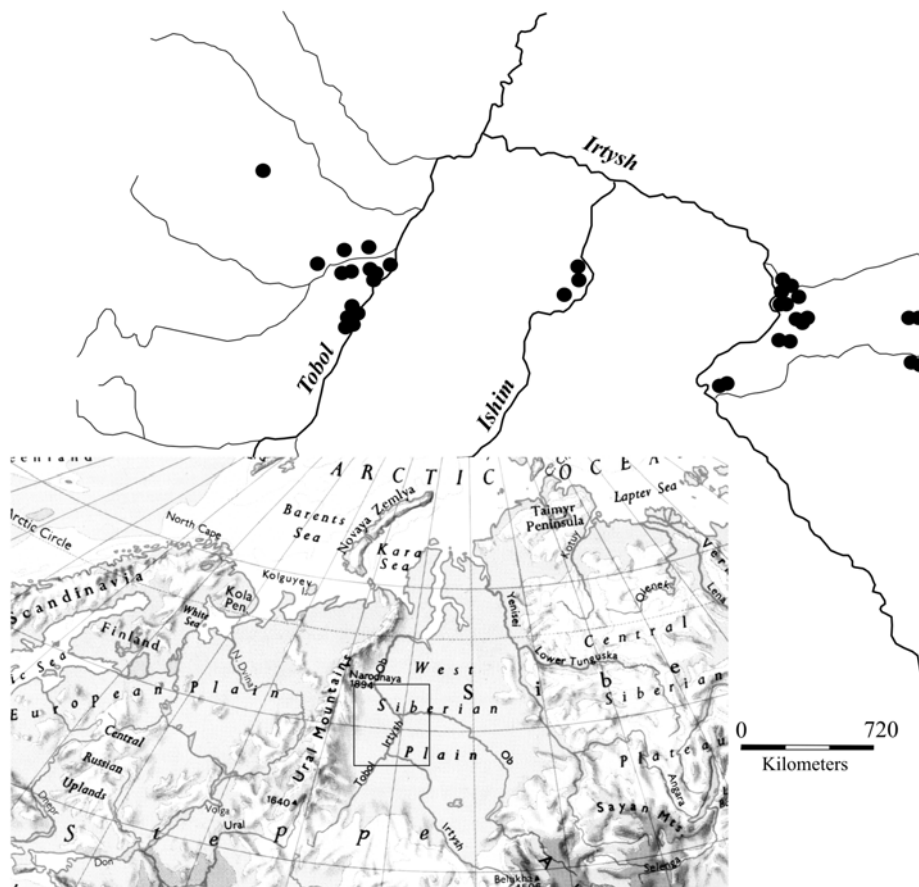


Figure 1. Area and cemeteries under study.

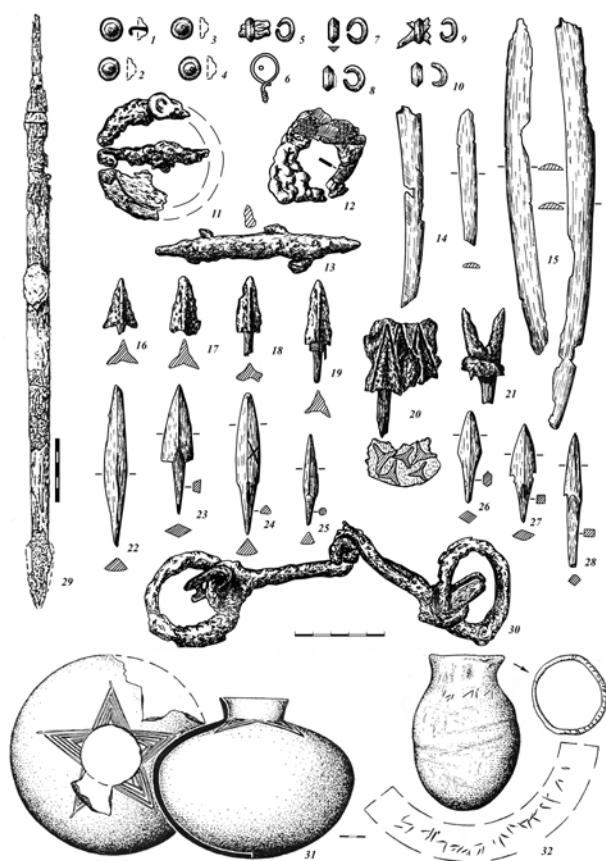


Figure 2. Sargat grave goods: 1-4, 7, 8, 10 bronze; 5, 9 bronze, leather; 6 bronze, silver; 11-13, 16-21, 29, 30 iron; 14, 15, 26-28 bone; 31, 32 ceramics (author's re-drawn after Daire & Koryakova 2002, figs. 67, 71, 72, 74).

New Results of Natural Science Investigations at Late Scythian Sites in the Crimean Foothills

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Fortresses were built in places, well fortified by nature itself. They occupied a special niche in the landscape: Usually at the places that are protected by steep slopes or *cuesta* cliffs, which reduces the need for fortifications. Configuration of the fortification lines were dictated by the terrain. Usually there were built one or two lines of defensive walls, protecting easy approaches to the fort. Steep slopes of the hills served as a natural defense against enemies. Conclusions concerning the possible visual communication system between the Late Scythian forts were made. Unfortified settlements were usually located in areas adjacent to the fortifications, but there were also villages without forts nearby. The main economic and daily life of the Late Scythians was on non fortified settlements, and forts served mainly as refuges in time of danger. Settlements are surrounded with “long fields”, which have traces of using of asymmetric plough with side board.

Late Scythian hillforts appeared in the foothills and in North-Western Crimea already in the 3rd and 2nd B.C., but they were most numerous in the 2nd-3rd centuries A.D. (Дашевская 1991: 8; Высотская 1972: 180; Смекалова, Колтухов, Зайцев, 2015). This report presents new results concerning the settlement system, the spatial distribution, and the hierarchy of settlements in Crimean Scythia and household occupation of its population.

These findings were based on many well-known Late Scythian hillforts in the foothills of Crimea, and on interdisciplinary study of the monuments of one of the largest and most important regions of Crimean Scythia - the valleys of the Kacha and Alma Rivers in southwestern Crimea. Large and well preserved Late Scythian settlements of Ak-Kaja/Vishennoe, Ust'-Alma, Zajach'e and Borut-Khane were investigated with help of satellite images, magnetic and precise topographic surveys. All forts were surrounded by large non-fortified contemporary settlements.

Notwithstanding that the history of studies of Late Scythian settlements and fortresses now numbers already almost hundred years, the precise localisation of Late Scythian fortified sites in historical and modern topographic maps and aerial and space photos was

first gathered only in the recently published ‘Atlas of Late Scythian Fortresses in the Crimean Foothills’ (Смекалова, Колтухов, Зайцев 2015).

Method of studies of Late Scythian fortified settlement sites, villages and their agricultural surroundings

Studies of the landscape situation of the Late Scythian fortresses, the unfortified settlement sites accompanying them and ancient agricultural fields were conducted using satellite and areal photos, as well as detailed topographic maps. The plans of fortified and unfortified settlements were investigated by means of magnetic and precision geodetic surveys. The most interesting areas defined by magnetic field data were checked through selected ‘focused’ excavations and pedogenetic studies. The magnetic surveys were conducted using a four-sensor magnetometer-gradiometer GSM-19WG produced by the Canadian company *GEM Systems*. Microtopographic precision surveys were applied in order to reveal the relief peculiarities of the surface of the site and for measuring of the absolute geographic coordinates. They were conducted using differential GPS *Trimble R8* with the precision of ± 1 cm.

Basing on the digital model of the relief and precise geographic coordinates, with the software MapInfo and its application Vertical Mapper, viewshed analysis was conducted in order to define fields of view from each fortress.

Landscape position of Late Scythian settlements in the Crimean foothills

In the Crimean foothills there are over 50 Late Scythian settlements and shelters. They are situated exactly at the boundary between the steppe and mountains constituting a peculiar belt (or corridor) about 160 km long and from 20 to 50 m wide ‘from sea to sea’, from the western coast (Ust’-Alma settlement-site) to as far as Feodosia.

Nowhere the settlement sites are extended far into the open steppe as nowhere they are found in the midst of the mountain forests. The Late Scythian settlements thus occupied the most advantageous economic position at the border between the plain and foothills where ancient people were able to exploit the inherent resources and pluses of the two natural zones both.

The landscape of the Crimean foothills is extremely convenient exactly for arranging shelters. The geological structure of the foothills combines cuesta steep slopes and separately situated table mountains. These features belong to the second (Internal) and the third (External) mountain ridges as if by the nature itself intended for defensive purposes. The cuestas here are elevations with long gradually sloping northern sides and precipitous southern ones. They excellently fit in case of threat to drive the livestock from the flat side and take shelter behind the walls defending the steep edges of the cuestas.

The majority of the fortified settlement sites are ranged along the valleys of rivers or balkas (ravines). The settlements were situated in localities most favourable for dwelling – near sources of fresh water, places surrounded by fertile fields and near land trade routes.

The Late Scythian fortified settlement sites are ranged inland the peninsula along river valleys with an almost regular interval of about 4–5 km that possibly corresponded to the size of the land surroundings occupied by a particular community.

Along the Kacha River, some large Late Scythian fortified and unfortified settlements are situated, such as the Kacha fortress ruined now, the Vishnevoye fortress four kilometres

from it straight to the east, 5 km from the latter there is the fortress and unfortified settlement of Tas-Tepe, further 4 km to the east the Krasnozorskiy settlement. At five kilometres on the other bank of the river there are towering fortresses of Topchikoy-1 and Topchikoy-2. At the foothills of them, large unfortified settlements are spread out.

On the Alma River neighbouring on the north there were the largest in the region Ust'-Alma fortified settlement, further to the east, over the elevated southern bank there were ranged in sequence the fortified and unfortified settlements of Burlyuk, 4.7 km farther the unfortified settlement of Shevchenkovo, 3.6 km next the fortified settlements of Bryanskoye and Zayachye, 4.5 km farther the fortified settlement of Plodovoye, then at 3.6 km the fortress of Alma-Kermen and, finally, 2.5 km from the latter – the fortress and unfortified settlement on Mt. Chabovskogo.

The main attention of the researchers was focused on investigation of fortified settlements (Шульц 1957; Высотская 1979, Дашевская 1991, Колтухов 1999; Зайцев 2013; 2014) while unfortified settlements adjoining them only rarely were excavated (Высотская 1972: 28; Зайцев, Шкрибляк 2013). We are the first to propose studying of the Late Scythian fortresses in a complex with unfortified settlements and agricultural plots surrounding them.

Ust'-Alma fortress

The Ust'-Alma fortified settlement is situated 1 km to the west from the modern village of Peschanoye, on the high and precipitous Cape Kermenchik towering on the south over the sea and the mouth of the Alma River. Here there was an important port of western Crimea which was founded perhaps as early as during occupation of the western Tauris by the Chersonesites (Высотская, 1972, с. 30).

The fortress under consideration is the largest fortified Scythian settlement in south-western Crimea. From it, a magnificent view opens of the north-western coast and the close surroundings of the site.

According to the classification by Tatyana N. Vysotskaya, the fortress of Ust'-Alma belongs to the group of settlements of the urban type as suggested by its area (ca 6 ha), the thickness of the cultural layer (up to 2.8 m), manufacturing remains (pottery-making workshops) (Высотская, 1968). Vysotskaya supposed that this settlement was a seaside fortified Late Scythian town known to ancient authors under the name of Palakion.

The present-day area of the site is 5.6 ha, although in antiquity its territory was considerably larger (Высотская, 1994, p. 7; Высотская, 1972, p. 79). This area subsequently was diminished since the shore here is subjected to intensive and very quick abrasion with huge blocks of earth breaking off from the land massive and collapsing into the sea. On the north-west and north-east the site is limited by steep precipices up to 30 m high; from the south-west and south-east a rampart and a ditch are visible. In the micro-relief of the plateau, an elevated north-eastern area of ca 0.8 ha is distinguishable (possibly the citadel) where the thickness of the cultural layer reaches 2.8 m.

The fortified settlement of Ust'-Alma was discovered in the 1920s by Nikolay L. Ernst and was published under the name of Alma-Tamak. In 1946 and 1948, testing surveys were conducted here by Pavel N. Shultz and Oleg I. Dombrovskiy (Шульц, 1947, с. 67), subsequently by Alexander N. Shcheglov (Щеглов, 1961, p. 79—80). Since 1960 and up to the 1990s, investigations of the site were carried out by Tatyana N. Vysotskaya, in 1964 a

burial ground was here revealed (Высотская 1972, p. 18–24; 91, p. 138–147; 1989, p. 10, 36–39; 1994, p. 7–46) where the Alma Expedition of the Kiev Branch of the Institute of Archaeology of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine under the direction of Alexander E. Puzdrovskiy worked from 1993 until 2013.

In the 1960s–80s, four large excavations and several test pits were started in the area of the townsite. The thickness of the cultural layer here is 1.5–2.0 m. At the first phase of the occupation of the site, there were earth dwellings near the rampart (Высотская, 1988, p. 46), afterwards the inner area of the fortified courtyard was occupied by adobe and stone houses (Высотская, 1994, p. 17 – 33).

In 2017, in order to achieve a more comprehensive idea of the plan of the townsite, precision geodetic surveys embracing the total area of the site (ca 6 ha) were carried out using a differential GPS Trimble R8 as well as detailed magnetic surveys in the area of over 3 ha.

According to the results of the magnetic surveys, in the northern section of the site there was the earliest part of the settlement dating perhaps from as early as the Chersonesean period. This is indicated by a large rectangular stone structure identifiable in the magnetic map (Fig. 1, *a, b*). During some stage, the area of the settlement was smaller than the preserved one. This fact is demonstrated by the ditch distinguishable in the magnetic field. This ditch enclosed the entire promontory area, behind which a thick ash layer was piled up. The numerous adobe and stone houses identified by magnetic surveys indicate that the entire its fairly considerable area was occupied in antiquity. In addition to the traces of manufacturing activities here, this fact confirms the belonging of Ust'-Alma to settlements of an urban type.

Fortified settlement-site of Zayachye

By contrast to Ust'-Alma, the fortified site of Zayachye (Biyuk-Yashlau) of the 1st century BC – 3rd century AD is very small occupying a promontory constituted by a steep bend of the deep Sakalskayya Balka (ravine) which forms an almost complete loop. On the surface undisturbed by modern tillage, not only settlement sites but also traces of ancient ploughing are well preserved until now.

The site was known yet by N.L. Ernst; in 1954 it was surveyed by the Mountain Branch of the archaeological expedition of the Bakhchisaray Museum under direction of Evgeniy V. Veimarn and later under Tatyana N. Vysotskaya (Высотская 1963: 8, Высотская 1968: 186–187; Высотская 1972: 27–29).

In aerial and satellite photos and directly in the terrain, everywhere around the site there are well discernible traces of ancient ploughed 'long fields' called by E. V. Veimarn 'a very important and valuable material for studies of the economy of south-western Crimea in the epoch of the Scythian state in Crimea' (Веймарн 1954: 20–22). These fields are from 22 to 26 m wide and their preserved length is 250–270 m. Similar fields adjoin also other Late Scythian settlements. For instance, in a winter satellite photo of the fortified settlement-site of Borut-Khane situated on the Zuya River, these fields 'approach' closely the unfortified settlement surrounding the fortress (Fig. 2). Fields of this type were first distinguished by us at a number of settlement sites of the local tribes of the Hellenistic period in north-western Crimea (Смекалова, Кутайсов 2013: 153–215; Смекалова, Лисецкий, Маринина, Чудин, Гаринов 2015; Смекалова, Кутайсов, 2017, p. 135–209). The 'long fields' possess a

characteristic structure: each is bordered on both sides by low banks and through the middle of the fields run shallow ditches. This structure can have arisen only as a result of tilling by means of an asymmetric plough which turns the furrow laterally (Смекалова, Кутайсов 2013: 153-192).

The magnetic surveys of the northern settlement-site and 'long fields' was conducted over an area of 2.5 ha. The positive anomalies have reflected ash heaps, fireplaces, burnt houses and, at least, a hundred grain pits. The finds retrieved from one of the pit excavated by us suggest that the 'long fields' adjoined the settlement and were contemporary to it and could be dated to the 2nd century BC – 1st century AD. The so large number of grain pits and the presence of ploughed fields indicate to the undoubtedly agricultural character of the economy of the local population (Смекалова, Волошинов, Гарипов, 2016).

Fortified settlement of Borut-Khane

The fortified townsite of Borut-Khane (3rd-2nd century BC – 1st century AD) is an excellently preserved Late Scythian fortified settlement with an adjoining large unfortified village. It is situated in central Crimea on the high right bank of the Zuya River at the edge of a precipitous plateau of the Outer Mountain Ridge (Смекалова, Колтухов, Зайцев, 2015, p. 186). The site was discovered and described by Alexander Ya. Fabre as early as the mid-19th century (Фабр 1859, p. 16); it was investigated by Sergey G. Koltukhov (Колтухов, 1999, p. 80). The fortress of approximately triangular plan with an area of 1.2 ha is defended from the south by a rocky precipice up to 20 m high and two defensive curtains meeting at an angle from the foot of the plateau. The unfortified settlement site is covered with ashy mounds and adjoins the fortress on the north and east as is well discernible in the winter satellite photo. The precision geodetic survey stressed the micro-relief particulars of the village. On the eastern and northern sides, the fortified townsite is adjoined by 'long fields' marked by parallel banks at a distance of 42–45 m from each other and a ditch exactly in the middle. This type of fields, as mentioned above, is evidence of the use of asymmetric plough. Sections dug through a number of bordering banks showed by means of the pedochronological method that the fields are synchronous with the unfortified settlement and the fortress.

Although already in satellite photos and precise topographic survey with help of differential GPS the general structure of the unfortified village and townsite is discernible, only magnetic surveys are able to reveal all the peculiarities of the buried structures (Смекалова, 2016). The defensive wall was distinguishable in the magnetic field in the form of a broad negative magnetic anomaly. In the centre of the northern section of the wall there is a gate and a pass door in the eastern section. The wall on its inner side is adjoined by rooms ranged in a single row, however the middle of the fortress is free from houses (Fig. 2). Possibly in danger the livestock was driven here.

In the area of the unfortified settlement, over a dozen ash-heaps are distinguishable in the magnetic field creating intensive positive anomalies. It is of note that narrow linear positive anomalies lead to each ash spot — paths over which the dwellers carried out the ash in baskets from their houses only to their 'own' ash-heap but not to a neighbour's one. This fact suggests the cult of family hearth by the Late Scythians. The narrower positive anomalies are linked with the houses proper which were possibly represented by earth dwellings with the pits faced with stone. In the north-eastern outskirts of the unfortified

village there was a large granary in the form of pits dug in the loam. The walls of the pits were dabbed with clay and fired.

Townsite of Ak-Kaya/Vishennoye

Finally, we present here the results of studies in one of the main centres of Crimean Scythia and its first capital — the fortress of Ak-Kaya/Vishennoye (late 4th century BC – 3rd century AD). It is situated on a bank of the Biyuk-Karasu River in central Crimea on the last spur of the famous Ak-Kaya rocks. This site was first mentioned as early as the first half of the 19th century (Тункина 2013, 333). Later it was investigated by Pavel N. Shultz and Igor A. Baranov. Sergey G. Koltukhov revealed the presence of a Late Scythian cultural layer covered with mediaeval deposits. He produced the first plan of the fortress (Колтухов 1999, 21, 110–111). Since 2005, the site is investigated by an archaeological expedition under direction of Yuriy P. Zaitsev from the ‘Historical and Archaeological Reserve *Scythian Neapolis*’ (Зайцев, 2013; 2014).

The entire fortress and the vast flat area to the east of it were covered with continuous magnetic surveys (16.4 ha). The defensive wall forms a very distinctive negative anomaly in the form of a broken straight line in the magnetic field of the site. Moreover, it is possible to define exactly the width of the wall which is 5 m. The magnetic surveys revealed a proteichisma, one metre thick, protecting the north-eastern curtain of the wall at its most vulnerable section on the gentle slope. Here probably the entrance to the fortress with a gate was located.

Two large ashy hills (northern and southern) are reflected in the magnetic field as two expansive magnetic anomalies. In the centre of the site there was a group of structures made of stone and wattle and daub. These structures were burnt in a strong fire and are reflected in the magnetic field as local positive anomalies. An intensive positive anomaly of a complex plan is distinguishable 25 m to the south from the northern ash deposits. It may have arisen from pottery kilns or forging furnaces. Here a manufacturing quarter was located.

The magnetic surveys suggest that, because of tillage, in the unfortified settlement only deep pits dug in antiquity and earth dwellings are preserved distinguishable in the magnetic map as local positive anomalies. There are totally 725 pits at the settlement that average 150 pits per 1 ha, and at least 62 earth dwellings. In the south-western, eastern and northern areas of the settlement also there are three weak and broad positive anomalies formed by ploughed up ash heaps. Thus the area of the settlement may be evaluated as ca 5 ha. In order to check the interpretation of the results of magnetic surveys, two excavations were carried out in the northern and southern areas of the settlement. All the excavated objects were household pits (coincidence 100%).

Conclusion

It is difficult to name any other class of archaeological sites which would be so closely tied with a natural landscape as the Late Scythian fortified settlements of the Crimean foothills. These fortresses are very much interconnected with the relief, pedologic, geologic and hydrological features of the terrain. The unfortified settlements mostly were situated in open unprotected localities adjoining the fortresses. Evidently the main economic activities

and everyday life of the Late Scythians took place exactly in the villages while the fortified settlements served mainly as places of refuge during threats.

The exception are only the largest fortified townsites such as Scythian Neapolis, Ak-Kaya/Vishennoye, Ust'-Alma, Kermen-Kyr and Bulganak. These probably were administrative centres of particular regions of Crimean Scythia. In the areas of these centres, under protection of powerful walls, may have been located residences of the rulers, garrisons, dwelling and manufacturing quarters and warehouses. In the vicinity of these large 'towns' there were found expansive unfortified settlements with rich cultural layers.

It is of importance that first the fortified and unfortified settlements were studied together as a single complex. The researchers succeeded in analysing the spatial structure, economic organization and even the social system of the residents of the settlements. At the unfortified settlements, which in some cases several times exceeded the fortresses in area, there were fairly large earth dwellings, perhaps small near-house vegetable gardens, pens for livestock and poultry, ash-pits.

The basis of the economy of the Late Scythians was constituted by ploughing agriculture as suggested by numerous pit-granaries and traces of tillage accompanying everywhere the settlements. All this indicates the undoubtedly agricultural character of the economy of the Late Scythian society. Stock-breeding also was of great significance in its economy.

The Late Scythian communities consisted of separate large families occupied with independent farming. They worshipped, among others, the cult of the family hearth. The fields surrounding the settlements probably were cultivated jointly by the entire community.

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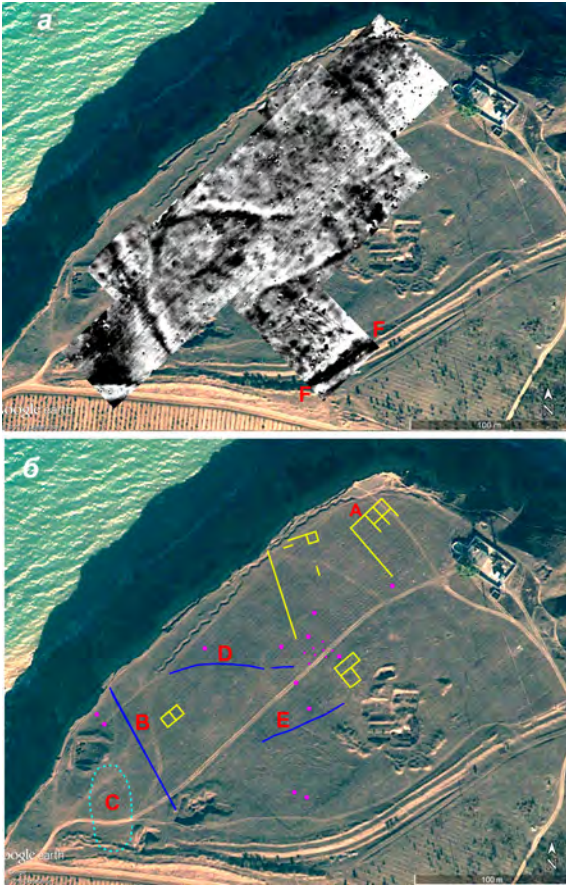


Fig. 1. The fortress of Ust'-Al'ma. *a* – Magnetic map; *b* – it's interpretation. A – stone rectangular construction in the northern part of the fortress; B – ditch; C and D – ditches or paved streets; E – pits; F – fortification wall.

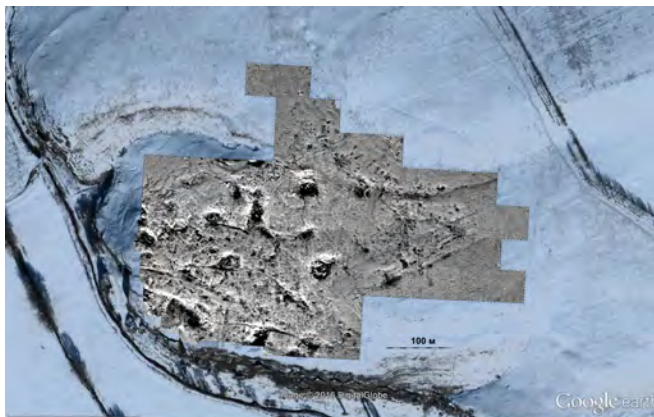


Fig. 2. Settlements of Borut-Khane. Magnetic map of the site.

**Athens as Contact Zone: On the Spread and Meaning of Attic and Atticizing
Grave Reliefs in Classical Greece**

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“Transfer of Knowledge” in Northern and Eastern Europe in the 10-11th Centuries: a Phenomenon of “the Grand Retinue”

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1. Warbands/retinues were an important element of early medieval polities in Europe. Rus' had those, too. We even know the original term for them, *druzhina*. Well, this word had a broad range of meanings, including certain groups of people (not necessarily troops), or the entire elite of the polity. The exact meaning was vague, it depended much on a context.

Because of this confusing vagueness, the historians have hard time separating different phenomena referred to the word in the sources. In my book (*Boyare, Otroki, Družiny: The Military and Political Elite in the 10th and 11th Century Rus'*, Moscow 2012) I made an attempt to define different meanings of the word and to specify to which social and political forms and structures this word referred to. Inter alia, it became clear that in some cases and contexts, mainly in the sources of the 11th century, this word indicated to one specific form of military-political organization. The Czech historian František Graus identified this form based on 10th- and 11th-century Polish and Czech sources and termed it as ‘grand retinue’.

The “grand retinue” was a body of kings’ military servants/soldiers. Its main difference from the regular “normal” retinue was quantitative. The “normal” retinue – any troop employed by a wealthy noble – numbered several dozens, perhaps hundreds men. The grand retinue could consist of up to 2-3000 men. The king provided his men with living quarters, equipment, and salary, and also took care of their social and legal needs. These troops played a major role during the emergence of the centralized power framework. During the 12th century they were degenerating or transforming.

Analyzing the Russian sources of the pre-Mongol epoch I came to the conclusion that there was something like that in Rus' too. To elaborate Graus’ concept, I have analyzed additional evidence from medieval Scandinavian, and occasionally Hungarian sources.

2. The earliest, rather vague, evidence of large military forces in Rus' can be traced back to the 920s, but it is the 11th century, their heyday, that provides the richest and most definitive evidence. I will only quote here one piece, the most straightforward, reliable, and, no doubt, recorded by a contemporary.

The *Primary Chronicle*, under the year 6601 (AD 1093), tells a story about Rus' fighting the Polovtsi nomads. The Russians couldn't agree on the plan of the campaign. There is an account of a meeting between the Kievan king (the most senior Rus'ian ruler at the time) and the Kievan boyars (the chronicler is clearly on their side). The king started war preparations; the boyars tried to talk him out of it, arguing that there were not enough troops. Svyatopolk retorts; the wise and the foolish offer their advice. Here is an English

translation: “Svyatopolk then set out to gather troops to attack them [the nomads]. The wise men told him: do not try to fight them, your force is too small. He replied: I have 800 of my men who are capable to stand against them. Others, the rash ones, began to say: go [to war], prince. But the wise ones said: if you had recruited 8,000, it would be appropriate; our land is depleted by war and taxes; ask your cousin Vladimir for help”.

So, according to the chronicle, the foolish advisors pushed for war, while the wise ones advised against it and suggested to seek assistance of Vladimir Monomakh, a Svyatopolk’s cousin, then the prince of Pereyaslav. (Svyatopolk eventually took their advice.) The wise ones pointed out that 800 troops are not enough, and that the population cannot take any more war and taxation.

The key point here is the following: during the 1090s, the Kievan king had under his command a force of 800 military servants that he considered not just battle-worthy but capable of facing the Polovtsy. And this force was something distinct and separate from the nobles – boyars.

True, the chronicler did question the king’s opinion. He gives an account of the dispute between the king and the boyars. The boyars insisted that 8,000 men could challenge the nomadic force, but not 800. The writer purposely includes that objection to the king’s nonchalant-careless statement: for the sake of argument, the boyars just added an order of magnitude and came up with a totally unrealistic figure.

Other evidence suggests that the boyars’ answer shows their dissatisfaction with the king’s military. But in any case there is no reason to suspect that the writer, who lived through these events, either under- or overestimated the number of the prince’s men.

800 men or 1000 – is it much or little? No accurate data is available, but indirect evidence suggests that a regular, permanent military force during that period was usually just several dozen strong. So it was a very large force for pre-Mongol times.

Relating to numbers of fighters (as an army corps, in a battle etc.), this correlation seems to be consistent with the European practices of the time. Recent studies show that during the early and even high Middle Ages several hundred warriors were considered a major force, while thousands-strong armies were exceptional, assembled for a specific campaign only, and recruited from a wide variety of social backgrounds. So, in the European perspective of the early Middle Ages we can say: 1000 and more – already a major force.

3. But there are parallels not only in numeral correlations. More important: The Rus’ian evidence has parallels in Europe as for the organization itself. The most striking and best known pieces of such evidence include two sources on Poland and several on Cnut the Great’s empire.

Ibrahim ibn Yaqub, a Hispano-Arabic merchant and diplomat of Jewish origin, travelled to German and Czech lands in mid-960s and left memoirs of his journey, including a description of Poland under Mieszko I of the Piast dynasty (ruled ca 960–992), under whose rule the Polish state has emerged and became Christian. Ibn Yaqub’s account focuses primarily on the king’s military:

“...The taxes are collected in market weights. Those are the salaries of his [Meshko’s] men in every month, and each of them has a certain amount of them to get. He has three thousand warriors wearing coats of mail; a hundred of them is worth a thousand of other warriors in the battle. He gives those men clothes, horses, arms, and anything they need. If a

child is born to one of them, he orders the child to be paid a maintenance, regardless of the latter's sex. When the child grows, and he is a boy, he marries him and pays the dowry to the father of the bride. If the child is a girl, he marries her and pays the dowry to her father..."

So, during the 960s, the Polish king kept a 3,000-strong armed force. The contemporaries were impressed and awed by that formidable army: "a hundred of them is worth a thousand of other warriors." Most Polish historians see that as the reason why that Polish ruler was so successful in consolidating various tribes and lands under his authority. These troops were the king's main attack force that guaranteed his military superiority over those who challenged his authority and kept his neighbors in check.

Ibn Yaquub says that the men wore armor; that their upkeep was provided from the crown revenue, and that in addition to the monthly salary, the king provided the "clothing, horses, weapons, and whatever they may need," and also helped in various ways with their family affairs.

Of course, the numbers of Mieszko's troops can be questioned. Medieval "statistical" records tend to be highly inaccurate, unreliable, or downright symbolic. In this case, however, the figures can be backed by independent evidence.

Mieszko's son, Bolesław I the Brave (ruled 992–1025), successfully continued his father's policy of consolidation and conquest. Gallus Anonymus in his *Gesta principum Polonorum* (ca 1112-18) says that Bolesław's army was also unusually large, and reports the numbers in *Gesta* 1:8: Bolesław had 1,300 armored knights (*loricati milites*) with 4,000 foot soldiers (*clipeati milites*) in Poznań; 1,500 knights and 5,000 foot soldiers in Gniezno; 800 and 2,000 in Włocławek; and 300 and 2,000 in Giecz.

I'd rather not go into the disputes on where Gallus's data on Bolesław's army came from, and how it should be interpreted. In general, the figures are considered reliable, and Mieszko's 3,000 armored men are matched in one way or another to the *loricati milites* (verbatim, armored warriors), i. e., heavily armed soldiers described by Gallus, according to whom Bolesław had as many as 3,900 of them <at four sites>. *Loricati* ('warriors in chainmail') were mounted knights maintained directly by the ruler.

The ibn Yaquub and Gallus's accounts have much in common, and support well to the hypothesis of a "great retinue" in Poland during that period. These records, combined with archeological evidence (primarily burials with weaponry), suggest that the king's troops were stationed as garrisons at different cities.

4. Another region of medieval Europe – Scandinavia, inclusive England. Evidence is available on the size of the military of Cnut the Great — arguably, the most powerful Scandinavian ruler of the early and high Middle Ages. The heyday of his rule was the consolidation of Denmark, England, Norway, and probably parts of Sweden under his authority in mid-1020s to 1035, when he died and the empire disintegrated.

Sven Aggesen, a late 12th-century Danish historian, gives valuable information on the Cnut' empire. According to Sven, during the period when Cnut was spending most of his time in England, he had under his command a 3,000-strong army. The army was called *þingliþ* (thinglith) in Danish. In Latin, Aggesen refers to it using several terms, such as *phalanx*, *castrum*, etc. Aggesen discusses the size of the force before giving the text of a special bylaw – a code which regulated the order of the thinglith. Aggesen calls that code *Lex*

castrensis sive curiae, mentioning the original Scandinavian title *Witherlogh* (verbatim, 'penalty').

Saxo Grammaticus also describes Cnut's retinue, which he calls *clientela*. He clearly overestimates the force's size: 6,000 warriors (vs 3,000) on 60 boats, 100 men per boat. However, he adds some revealing details, e.g., that the *clientele* were sustained (*alere* 'fed') by Cnut who paid them monthly salary; during the summer, they "defended the country" but were "stationed in garrisons" (*contuberniis*) in winter. Saxo's report that the troops were paid on monthly basis described the same arrangement as in ibn Yaqub's account of Mieszko's soldiers.

The exact numbers are not that important; the point is, both writers emphasize how formidable the Cnut's force was. Clearly, there was a reality behind their accounts, and there is evidence to support it, too.

To argue generally and theoretically, Cnut could well afford keeping a large military: the revenue collected from his lands was enormous. Especially important was the prosperous and silver-rich England.

The size of his army outmatched the retinues of other Scandinavian kings of the time. (We have evidence in the sagas and elsewhere.) Combined with his unparalleled fame as great conqueror, the accounts of his 'great retinue' might well persist till Aggesen and Saxon's times, even if in somewhat exaggerated, legendary form.

The most important is archeological evidence. This evidence suggests that the Cnut's *þingliþ* might have originated in Denmark under his father, Sweyn Forkbeard (ruled ca 985–1014), or even grandfather, Harald Bluetooth (died 985-986). I mean the four fortresses of the same circular layout, built in Denmark at about the same time: Trelleborg, Aggersborg, Fyrkat, and Nonnebakken. Together with two or three similar sites built in Sweden and Norway at a different period, they are called Viking ring castles or trelleborgs (from Trelleborg in Slagelse).

All the sites have the same circular and internal layout, were probably built during the last years of Harald's rule or under Sweyn, and occupied by their original inhabitants for a relatively short time (20-30 years at best). The best studied is the Trelleborg site near Slagelse on the Danish island of Zealand. Based on tree-ring dating, the oak timber used in the fortification was harvested in 980AD. The site had 16 longhouses in 4 blocks of 4 houses each. The simplest and most credible interpretation suggests that the sites were military bases, with longhouses used as barracks.

The archeological evidence suggests that Trelleborg had a population of about 1200–1300, including women and children, and about 200-300 soldiers *per se*. Given the number of the fortresses, and the fact that some of those were larger than Trelleborg (the largest one, Aggersborg, had 48 longhouses, i.e., 12 blocks), the Aggesen's estimate of Cnut's retinue as being several thousand strong doesn't seem unreasonable.

Some historians connect the accounts on Cnut's *thingliþ* with the reported presence in England at that time of so-called *housecarls*. *Hhúskarl* – a Scandinavian word meaning 'house man' initially used to refer to all kinds of dependent and semi-dependent people (servants) in households or retinues of kings and wealthy nobles.

More recent Scandinavian sources suggest that the kings paid their men salary. According to the English sources, Cnut's housecarls received some kind of monetary remuneration as

well. Looks like they were paid from a special monetary tax (effectively, a tribute) waged by the Vikings upon the population of the invaded English lands. Scattered mentions of such taxes date back to the mid-9th century; however, the first tax imposed on the entire population of England was collected in 991 after Vikings defeated the Anglo-Saxons at Maldon; that tax was later called *Danegeld* (from the Old Scandinavian *gjalda* ‘pay, reward’).

Cnut’s housecarls, though, differ in one significant way. As legal sources and the Domesday Book suggest, in the 11th century some housecarls owned land (apparently, modest lots). One may argue that land was granted by the king to pay for the service — a perfectly natural development in housecarl compensation. The housecarls could be paid money as long as the vast empire brought in a steady *Danegeld* revenue. But the empire fell apart after Cnut died, and *Danegeld* revenue dwindled to completely disappear by 1051. On the other hand, private land ownership was thriving in England at that time. Given the dire shortage of funds, land grants were the easiest way to retain at least some housecarls.

This highlights an inherent logistical problem with the great retinue: It could only exist if extra revenue was available, but such revenue could only exist if the troops make sure it does. Paying high salaries regularly and keeping a sizeable military was only possible when the revenue flow from the conquered lands was adequate. Once a source of revenue failed, the system halted and the crisis became imminent.

5. The great retinue played an important role at the emerging polity phase, and ensured the supremacy of a small military elite over sparsely populated tribal lands, enforcing tribute collection. But the statehood built on such a foundation could only evolve extensively.

Cnut’s empire collapsed during the 1030s; at about the same time, the Polish state plunged in a deep crisis. Earlier, Bohemia went through a similar turmoil. In Rus’, the crisis of the great retinue was not that disastrous, and did not shatter the entire political system. But the passage on Svyatopolk’s 800 men cited is also important because it clearly shows the skepticism towards the king’s soldiers: the force of the king’s men is presented as insufficient, whereas the nobles who refused to join the force look wise.

Economic and social advances led to the emergence of local production centers and resource redistribution. In the 11th and early 12th century, Kievan Rus’ disintegrated into about a dozen princedoms. The 12-13th century kings had their own servants, but not as many, and not as combat-ready as the boyars. Servants with managerial and clerical skills came to the forefront, while the military were mainly staying in remote garrisons. These troops were salaried, but, characteristically, their pay came from indirect taxes or royal enterprise, rather than from spoils of the war or tribute from the conquered lands.

So, in the 11-12th centuries, depending on a region (England, Poland, Rus’ etc.), the grand retinues have degenerated. Finally, the nobilities came to power (as it should be in a normal medieval society). It is very revealing and characteristic how many people this or that nobility in a given land or region numbered – I mean in comparison with the numbers of the great retinues. Normally the groups of nobles do not count more than several hundreds men, that is, several dozens of clans. These numbers help appreciate the extraordinary size of the numerous corps of professional warriors in 10th and 11th centuries – not hundreds, but thousands. Evidently, we are faced with something very special and different from “normal” medieval nobilities. We can call this special phenomenon as “great or grand retinue”.

Greeks and “Barbarians” as Seen Through Research of the Bosphorus Necropoleis

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A Temple of “The Mistress of the Sea” that was Far from the Shore (The Iseum in Beneventum)

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The cult of Isis, which had been spreading via the routes of Oriental trade, became quite popular in Italy as early as in the 2nd century B.C. Egyptian temples and rites played the principal role in this process by capturing the imagination of the impressionable outsiders since the earlier half of the 1st millennium B.C., when the Greeks were permitted to settle in the Nile valley (especially important in this respect was the city of Naucratis, whose Greek workshops mass-produced “Egyptian souvenirs” – it was from there that scarabs “crawled out” to fill the entire ancient oecumene). Later, during the Hellenistic epoch, Alexandria becomes one of the major cultural centers, while Isis quickly and resolutely comes to the fore among the goddesses “promoted” by the Ptolemies. It is in this period that she acquires the trendy Greek chiton and a slew of important functions, such as her role as a protectress of seafarers (in this connection, I would only mention her statue—its fragments have recently been salvaged from the sea by a French expedition—that once decorated the Lighthouse of Alexandria, the Pharos). The “adaptation” by the Greeks of the ancient Egyptian image of Isis, its *interpretatio Graeca*, proved vitally important for the perception of her cult by the Romans. If it had not been for that Hellenistic “treatment,” as a result of which Isis absorbed—to meet the new challenges of the time—many traits of such goddesses as Tyche, Demeter, Hecate and Cybele, her cult would have never spread over the whole of the oecumene. Besides, her image (like all things Egyptian) was shrouded in mysticism so consonant with the spirit of turbulent times of transition. Her mysterious exotic quality greatly contributed to the interest and attraction that she evoked both in the enlightened eggheads like Plutarch and in the “man in the street.” The new rulers valued and preserved the age-old connections with the cult of divine pharaohs.

In this particular case, we are interested in the region of Campania as a zone of contact. It is quite natural that the cult of Isis first penetrates into port cities: Puteoli, Pompeii and, possibly at an even earlier date, Cumae. And, of course, Rome, as the capital of the future empire affecting each and every thing, cannot be left out. At the end of the Republic, the cult of Isis was enjoying such a success that the “defenders of the ancestral faith” saw it as a danger and even attempted to ban it. However, her cult was shortly legalized by emperor Caligula (A.D. 38), who dedicated the magnificent Iseum Campense, on the Campus Martius, to her. Under Vespasian (69–79), Isis’ position in Rome consolidated, while under his second successor, Domitian (81–96), her cult was probably used to consolidate his personal “divine” power.

It is difficult to say why the last of the Flavian dynasty favored the cult of Isis—for we know that, in imitation of Augustus, he posed as a champion of the traditional Roman beliefs. Could it be that this contradiction was removed by identifying Serapis and Isis with Jupiter and Minerva whom he worshiped zealously? It is worthy of note that his father, Vespasian, was proclaimed emperor by his legionaries in Alexandria: that is, the Flavian dynasty started its existence in that city. It is also possible that Domitian was grateful to the goddess for her help: in 69, during a civil war, he saved himself from his father's enemies by mingling with a crowd of Isis' priests on the Capitoline Hill (Tac. Hist. III 74; told somewhat differently in: Suet. Dom. 1.2.).

Like his father, Domitian was partial to monumental architecture; so he undertook an extensive rebuilding of the imperial capital, including structures associated with Isis. As the largest of her temples, the Iseum Campense, burned ca. 80, Domitian had an obelisk and statues of sphinxes and baboons brought from Egypt for its restoration. The obelisk characteristically featured the emperor in the guise of a pharaoh.

Domitian's palace on the Palatine Hill had a "Hall of Isis" (*Aula Isiaca*). Nearby, in the Domus Flavia, clay—probably votive—lamps with the names of Egyptian deities were found in the 1980s, as well as some other Egyptian and "Egyptianizing" artifacts. In the Gardens of Sallust (*Horti Sallustiani*) an Egyptian pavilion, or possibly sanctuary, was constructed under Domitian, while his villa near Monte Circeo had a garden decorated with copies of Egyptian statues. There is a view that Solarium of Augustus was restored by Domitian, with an obelisk as the gnomon.

It is interesting that a rich complex of monuments associated with the cult of Isis and dated to Domitian's reign was discovered far from the sea, at Beneventum. It is thought that the several temples of Isis that had existed there were destroyed already in antiquity and their architectural and sculptural parts were later used by the Lombards for their medieval buildings—a fact that makes reconstruction extremely difficult. It is, nonetheless, obvious that those sanctuaries greatly differed from the only extant temple of Isis in Pompeii (there are at least fourteen temples of Isis in Italy, in all). According to H. W. Müller, Beneventum had no less than three cultic places having to do with the cult of Isis (the old one, in Graeco-Roman style, dedicated to Isis Pelagia; the temple of Isis and Osiris Canopus mentioned in an inscription; and the big temple erected by Domitian in 88–89). The size and the quality of monuments gathered at the Sannio Museum are really amazing. They include a fragment of the relief featuring Isis and a king that decorated the temple's wall; two granite obelisks bearing inscription in Domitian's honor and portraying him as a pharaoh (one of them stands now on Piazza Pappiano); a fragment of Isis Pelagia's statue; a statue of the sacred Apis bull; statues of Horus falcons and Thoth baboons; sculptures of priests and priestesses. This collection features both genuine ancient Egyptian objects (the oldest one is the statuette of a king of the XIIIth Dynasty, though mainly it comprises artifacts of the XXXth Dynasty and later things of the Hellenistic and Roman times) and Egyptian-style imitations produced in the Roman Empire. The most important ones are Domitian's statues and sphinxes' fragments also thought to have represented Domitian. It is noteworthy that, like in the case of the Iseum Campense, obelisks, sphinxes and baboon statues were used for the temples' décor. There is also a witness to Caracalla's regard for the cult of Isis—a diorite statue of the emperor in a pharaoh's garb (early 3rd century).

So why did the protectress of seafarers find faithful worshipers far from the seashore? After Roman victories over the Carthaginians in 214 and 212 B.C. (in the course of the 2nd Punic War), Beneventum became a major link in the chain of southern trade. The famous Via Appia now reached here from Capua, leading further to Brundisium. Besides, the educated and autocratically-minded Domitian was a true divine pharaoh “wannabe.”

Parthian Imports in the Asian Sarmatia (2nd–1st Centuries BC)

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Abstract. The paper dwells on the objects of Parthian origin (silver-gilt *phalerae* and gold- and silverware, glazed pottery) dated to the 2nd-early 1st centuries BC and found in the nomadic burials of Asian Sarmatia. It is noteworthy that a considerable part of them originate from the later, 1st century AD burials. Also remarkable are signs of deliberate damage on *phalerae* and one of the silver bowls, which probably testify that these artefacts were acquired by the nomads as booty. The author suggests that the appearance of these objects were the results of contacts of the nomads and Parthia in the second half of the 2nd century BC known from the written sources.

Keywords: Parthia, Asian Sarmatia, archaeological data, written sources, silver-gilt *phalerae*, silverware, glazed pottery

The contacts of the nomadic tribes of Eurasia with Parthia attracted attention of scholars. The use of written sources prevailed in the works, while some of them try to illustrate their conclusions with archaeological¹ or numismatic² materials. Obviously, to solve the problem there is only one way –the scientific attribution of archaeological artefacts. We confine ourselves to the materials dated to the 2nd–1st centuries BC while they are totally neglected, because the scholars concentrate attention on the first centuries AD,³ and discuss primarily the contacts of Parthia with the nomads of Central Asia, not Asia Sarmatia.⁴ I will dwell on the materials from Asian Sarmatia, i.e. a vast territory from the Don River in the west to the Trans-Urals and even West Siberia in the east.

My attention attracts a series of large silver-gilt *phalerae* of allegedly Parthian origin,⁵ decorated with scenes from Greek mythology (Bellerophon fighting Chimeira: Burial-mound no. 4/1981 of the Volodarka-I cemetery in West-Kazakhstan⁶), or with a scene showing an elephant with mahout (Siberian Collection⁷), with a coiled griffin (Novouzensk

¹ E.g.: Olbrycht 2009, 548; 2013, 78-79.

² Olbrycht 2001, 86-122.

³ E.g.: Olbrycht 1998b, 23-30.

⁴ E.g.: Olbrycht 2015, 333-390.

⁵ Treister 2012, 82-88; 94-95; Treister (in print).

⁶ Mordvinceva 2001, 14, 35, fig. 6, 3; 75, no. 36, pls. 16–17; Treister 2012, 69–77.

⁷ Treister 2012, 66, note 16 (bibliography); Mordvinceva 2001, 74, no. 32, pl. 13.

(fig. 1, 3–5);⁸ Sidorovka, on the bank of the Irtysh River in West Siberia, Burial-mound no. 1⁹), a griffin with the body of a sea dragon (Museum of Novochoerkassk¹⁰), or a feline beast of prey (bank of the River Ishim).¹¹ Of the six pairs of *phalerae* only two originate from known contexts in Volodarka¹² and Sidorovka¹³ and their surface lack signs of intentional damage. Numerous wedge-shaped or diamond-shaped holes pierced from the front occur on three pairs – there is no doubt that these *phalerae* (Novouzensk, Museum of Novochoerkassk, Siberian Collection) carry traces of deliberate damage.

The closest parallel is a wedge-shaped hole in the bottom of the silver bowl from the Burial-mound 4/2002 of the Maïerovskii-III cemetery (fig. 1, 1–2) in the Trans-Volga area.¹⁴ The similarity of damage traces on three pairs of *phalerae* and on a silver bowl is so great that it cannot be ruled out that they were spoiled during the same action.¹⁵ The bowl from Maïerovskii-III and similar silver-gilt segment-shaped in profile bowls from the Lower Don area and the interfluvium of the Don and Volga, decorated inside with garland/guilloche friezes and rosettes in the bottom (Burial-mound 1/1995 of the Okt'yabrskii-V cemetery),¹⁶ as well as the bowls similar in shape but without decoration (Burial-mound 11/1977 of the Burial-ground Novo-Alexandrovka-I)¹⁷ or solely with a frieze of Ionian *kymation* at the edge (Burial-mound 28/1964 of the Zhutovo cemetery)¹⁸ may be considered as products of Seleucid or Parthian workshops.¹⁹ The bowl of the same shape decorated with a frieze of alternating images of dolphins and ducks and at the bottom with a rosette, framed with alternating palmettes and dolphins, with a Khwarezmian inscription originates from the Burial-mound no. 3 of the Isakovka-I Burial-ground on the bank of the Irtysh River.²⁰ This burial also yielded a silver-gilt bowl of a conical shape with the friezes of guilloche and a belted garland and a composite rosette at the bottom (thus, with decoration having parallels on the above mentioned bowls from Maïerovskii-III and Okt'yabrskii-V Burial-grounds), with a Parthian weight inscription.²¹

The central part of the rosette on the bowl from Oktryabr'skij-V Burial-ground finds a close parallel on the round-bottomed gold bowl from cache 2 of Barrow-mound 28/1982 of the Vysochino-VII cemetery²², with its surface covered with a succession of rhomboid depressions with circular hollows inside, that diminish in size from top to bottom, the feature, being the predecessor of the decoration on the later Sasanian bowls, finding parallels on the

⁸ Mordvinceva 2001, 75, no. 33, pl. 14.

⁹ Matyushchenko & Tataurova 1997, 12, 47, 141-142, figs. 18-20; Mordvinceva 2001, 75, no. 35, pl. 15.

¹⁰ Il'yukov 2000, 133-135.

¹¹ Mordvintseva et alii 1997, 176-180; Treister 2012, 96-100; Seitov 2013, 193-200.

¹² Gutsalov 2012, 40, fig. 6; 43.

¹³ Matyushchenko & Tataurova 1997, 12, 133, fig. 9.

¹⁴ Skvorcov & Skripkin 2006, 258, no. 14; 259, fig. 14, 2; 261, fig. 18.

¹⁵ On intentional spoiling of Achaemenid jewellery by destroying of the images of Ahura Mazda by the 4th century BC South Urals nomads, see Treister 2013, 315; Treister (in print).

¹⁶ Mordvintseva & Khabarova 2006, 122, no. 166; Treister 2007, 29; Mordvinceva & Treister 2007, vol. 2, 57, no. A163.3.

¹⁷ Cat. St. Petersburg 2008, 130, no. 44.

¹⁸ Mordvintseva 2000, 147-148, fig. 3, 1; Mordvinceva & Treister 2007, vol. 2, 30, no. A72.3.

¹⁹ Pfrommer 1993, 21-44; Treister 2012, 90-91; Carter 2015, 16-19.

²⁰ Livshits 2003, 161-165, figs. 5-7.

²¹ Livshits 2003, 165-169, figs. 8-10. The silver bowls from Isakovka are considered as "Arsacid gifts presented to the nomadic rulers" (Olbrycht 2015, 341).

²² Treister 2007, 23; Mordvinceva & Treister 2007, vol. 2, 22, no. A45.5; Cat. St. Petersburg 2008, 123, no. 38.

Hellenistic bowls allegedly coming from North Iran²³. One of the two handles of the Vysochino bowl was broken off and mistakenly soldered upside down in antiquity.

The Parthian attribution applies also to hemispherical silver-gilt bowls with vertical fluting, as a piece from Burial-mound 1/1995 of the Burial-ground Okt'yabrskii-V²⁴, given in particular similar finds from the late 2nd century BC context in Susa²⁵ and the first half of the 1st century BC – in Sonasar, Armenia.²⁶ It is also tempting to suggest the Parthian manufacture of the silver hemispherical bowl with “net-pattern” from the Burial-mound no. 1/1986 in Sidorovka.²⁷ Though such bowls were known before only from South Italy or Sicily, West and North-Western Pontic area,²⁸ a pair of them in the Al-Sabah collection gives the ground to suppose also their manufacture in the East.²⁹ There are grounds to suppose that two silver bowls, once conical with an added handle, another – hemispherical with appliqué in form of a garland and two figures of youths (one – lost) from the Burial-mound 5/1954 near Verkhnee Pogromnoe³⁰, dated to the 2nd – first half of the 1st century BC³¹ found together with a P-shaped plaque with a scene of animal combat, repaired in antiquity, were acquired by the nomads in Parthia. The shape, the style of the plaque as well as the „winged sockets” for inlays are characteristic for some objects from the Siberian collection and the items of the circle of the Oxus Treasure³². The closest parallel to the garland of the hemispherical bowl of allegedly Seleucid manufacture of the 3rd century BC occurs on the above-mentioned phalerae found on the bank of the Ishim River.

There are also at least two evidences of the refurbishing of the 2nd century BC hemispherical bowls of the Parthian type into the goblets with one tripartite handle – they originate both from the interfluvium of the Don and Volga (Zhutovo) and Kuban (Ust'-Labinskaya) areas. The refurbishing took place most probably not earlier than the mid-1st century BC and not later than the first half of the 1st century AD in one of the Bosphoran workshops.³³

To the same wave of the Parthian imports belonged glazed pottery of various shapes (two pilgrim flasks, a bottle, a jug) originating from the Lower Don and Volga areas (Burial-mound 23/1975 near the village of Tsarev,³⁴ Burial-mound 8/1997 of the Burial-ground Aksai-I,³⁵ Burial-Mound 4/1982 of the Burial-ground Évdýk-I³⁶ and Burial-mound 11/1972 of the Burial-ground Krepinskii-I³⁷), which may be firmly dated in frames of the second half (last quarter) of the 2nd – early 1st century BC. It is worth noting, that the handle of the jug

²³ Carter 2015, 76–79, no. 8.

²⁴ Mordvintseva & Khabarova 2006, 122, no. 164; Treister 2007, 28; Mordvinceva & Treister 2007, vol. 2, 57, no. A163.2.

²⁵ Byvanck-Quarles van Ufford 1973, 121-122, fig. 2, *a-b*.

²⁶ Khachatryan 2013, 68-69, pls. X, 4; XI, 3.

²⁷ Matyushchenko & Tataurova 1997, 42, 68, 145, fig. 23, 5.

²⁸ Treister 2007, 26-27; 2012, 88-89.

²⁹ Carter 2015, 172-175, no. 38.

³⁰ Treister 2007, 27-29; Mordvinceva & Treister 2007, vol. 2, 18, no. A32.1–2.

³¹ Mordvintseva 2003, 63-64; Mordvinceva 2007, 204-205.

³² Mordvinceva 2007, 219, 232; ; Mordvinceva & Treister 2007, vol. 2, 18, no. A32.4; Brosseder 2011, 383, 423, List 6e, no. 1.

³³ Treister 2016, 215-222.

³⁴ Sergatskov 1989, 236-237, 238, fig. 2, 3; 2006, 45, 58, fig. 6, 6; Mordvintseva 2003, 64; Mordvinceva 2007, 206.

³⁵ D'yachenko et alii 1999, 102, 122, fig. 11, 3; Sergatskov 2006, 45, 58, fig. 6, 5.

³⁶ Sergatskov 1989, 239; Skripkin 1990, 44, fig. 17, 20.

³⁷ Lagotskii 1973, fig. 77.

from Krepinskij-I cemetery was lost in antiquity. This list perhaps may be completed with the fragments of the table amphora from Burial-mound 71/1974 in Zhutovo, which belongs to the type, spread since the mid-2nd century BC.³⁸ Another example of a Parthian glazed vessel, dated to the 1st century BC comes from the Kuban basin – a brown glazed pilgrim from the side burial let in the Ostrÿi Barrow-mound³⁹.

It may not be excluded that the Parthian glazed vessels at the time of burial were antiquarian pieces. While the burial in the Tsarev cemetery is dated in frames of the 1st century BC – 1st century AD,⁴⁰ those in Aksai-I and Krepinskii-I cemeteries yielded similar mirror-pendants with side loops⁴¹ of the variant, typical for the 1st century AD.⁴² The same date is also given to the burial in the Zhutovo Burial-ground.⁴³

The majority of the above mentioned burial complexes with Parthian silver and gold vessels are dated with more or less confidence not earlier than the 1st century AD. Of course, we do not know reliably, when exactly these vessels were acquired by the nomads, although the find from Maïerovskii-III cemetery seems rather to testify that it happened not later than in the first half of the 1st century BC,⁴⁴ the same is true for the burial in Verkhnee Pogromnoe, and in some cases (Sidorovka) they were acquired together with *phalerae* (and in any case the burial inventory from Volodarka gives no grounds for the later dating⁴⁵). Further on, both the vessels made of precious metals and the glazed pottery were in use by the nomads, who treated them as prestigious objects for a long period, before they were put in graves.

If the known finds of the *phalerae* form a wide arc from Novouzensk in the Trans-Volga area in the west to Sidorovka on the Irtysh River Irtysh in Western Siberia in the east, than the finds of silverware occur from the estuary of the Don to the Irtysh and those of the glazed vessels – to the Trans-Volga region, are concentrated in the interfluvium of the Don and Volga with the greatest concentration in a compact area on the Esaulovsky Aksai River (fig. 2). However, if we assume that the *phalerae*, acquired by the Novocherkassk Museum, were found in the Don Cossack Host, which is likely, than distribution areas of the *phalerae* and silverware will roughly.

If our chronological reconstruction is correct, than there are grounds to link the appearance of these prestigious objects by the nomads of Asian Sarmatia as a result of military conflicts and the raids of the nomads to Parthia of the second half of the 2nd century BC, at least in some which, as during the reign of Artabanus I (ca. 128–124/3 BC), the “Scythians”, after

³⁸ Gebel & Römer-Strehl 2017.

³⁹ Gushchina & Zasetkaya 1989, 86, 95, no. 19; 128, pl. I, 19; Marčenko & Limberis 2008, 335, no. 3.3; pl. 3, 1.

⁴⁰ Sergatskov 1989, 240; cf. 1st century BC (Mordvintseva & Khabarova 2006, 139).

⁴¹ Lagotskii 1973, fig. 79; D'yachenko et alii 1999, 102, 122, fig. 11, 4.

⁴² Khasanov 1963, 65, type IX; Trufanov 2007, 175, variant Ia, figs. 1; 6, 1-2; Gorbenko & Kosyanenko 2011, 47–49, type III.1, pl. X, 6. 7. 10.

⁴³ Mordvintseva & Khabarova 2006, 101.

⁴⁴ The publishers date the burial in wide frames of the mid(ate) 2nd – 1st centuries BC (Skvorcov & Skripkin 2006, 265), however, the jewellery from the grave find parallels in burial no. 1 in Kosika and some complexes in the Kuban area and can be hardly dated later than the first half of the 1st century BC.

⁴⁵ Most probably also the burial in Sidorovka is not later than the 1st century BC, although it is dated in frames of the 2nd century BC–2nd century AD (Matyushchenko & Tataurova 1997, 79-82). At least the Choresmian transport flask with a relief sign from the burial (Matyushchenko & Tataurova 1997, 42, 68-69, 138, fig. 15; Brosseder 2011, 378, fig. 26, 32) may be securely dated not later than the 1st century BC, as I was kindly informed by S.B. Bolelov. A comparable view on the dating of the burial, based on the analysis of open-worked plaques and spoon-shaped strap ends was expressed by U. Brosseder: 1st century BC or 1st century AD (Brosseder 2011, 375; Brosseder 2015, 232).

achieving their victory and laying Parthia waste, returned to their homeland (Just. 42.2.1)⁴⁶. At the same time these could be not only booty, but also gifts and payment for service, as the Parthians were often backed by the nomads⁴⁷. The proposed reconstruction seems to explain much more likely the appearance of both precious and more ordinary Parthian artefacts than if we try to link them to the later events known to us from written sources, in which the nomads took part. They include the campaign in Asia Minor of 49–47 BC led by the Bosphoran king Pharnakes (which I suggest resulted in the appearance of the silverware in the burial no. 1 at Kosika⁴⁸), or of the Ibero-Parthian war of 35 AD.⁴⁹ And of course, the dating of complexes discussed above exclude completely the possibility of association of the Parthian artefacts with the Alanian raids in Transcaucasia in the 70s AD⁵⁰.

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⁴⁶ Olbrycht 1998, 82-105; Gregoratti 2014, 46-48; Olbrycht 2015, 374-377.

⁴⁷ See above notes 22 and 46.

⁴⁸ Treister 2005, 229-240.

⁴⁹ Vinogradov 1994, 159-163.

⁵⁰ Cf. Raev 1986, 67-68.

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Abbreviations

| | |
|------|--|
| ACSS | <i>Ancient Civilizations from Skythia to Siberia</i> |
| NAV | <i>Nizhnevolzhskii arkheologicheskii vestnik</i> |
| RA | <i>Rossiiskaya arkheologiya</i> |
| SA | <i>Sovetskaya arkheologiya</i> |

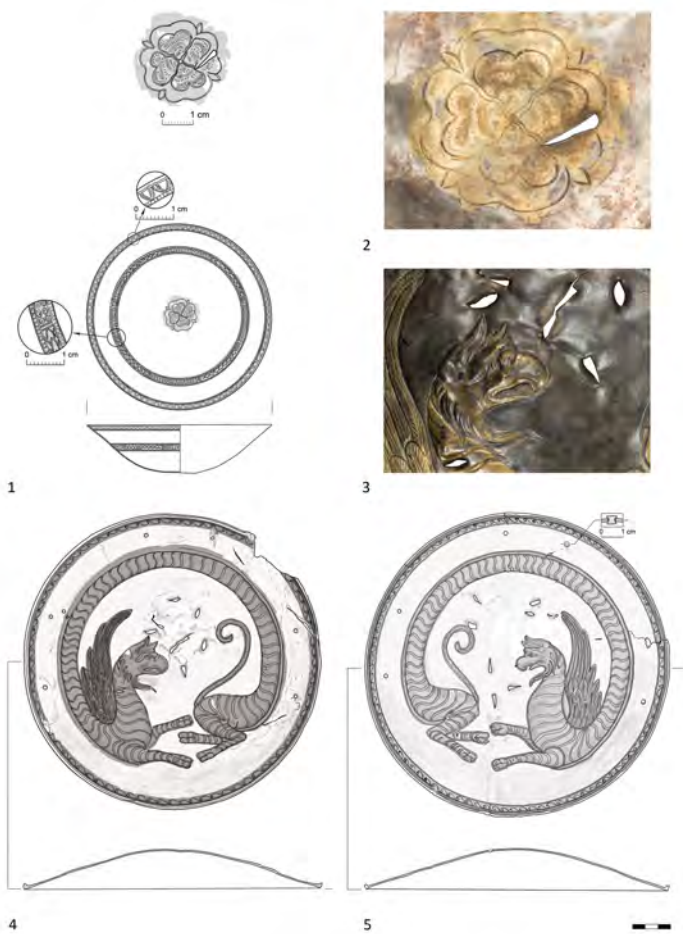


Fig. 1. Silver-gilt phalerae from Novouzensk and the bowl from Maïerovskii-III cemetery. 1-2 – bowl from Maïerovskii-III; 3-5 – phalerae from Novouzensk. 1, 4-5 – drawings, N.E. Besspalaya, 2 – photo, State Historical Museum, 3 – photo, M. Treister.

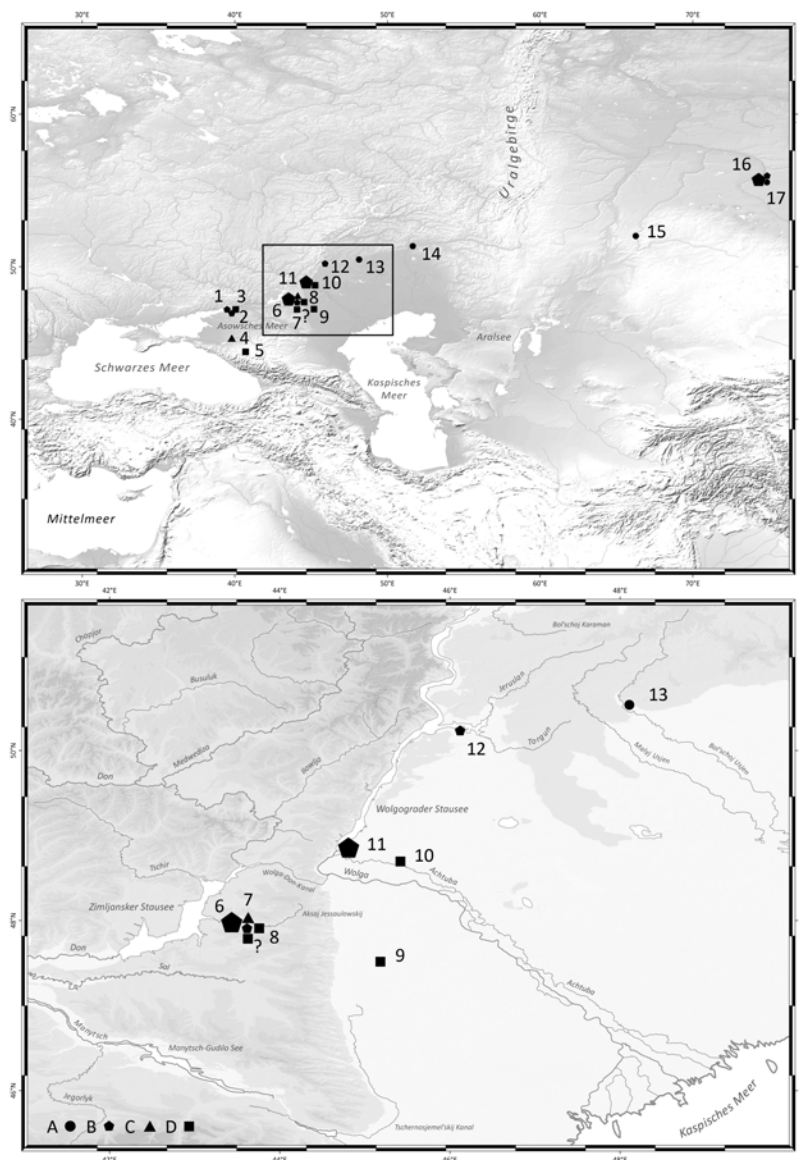


Fig. 2. Distribution of the Parthian artefacts in Sarmatia: 1 – general map; 2 - detail. 1 – Novo-Aleksandrovka-I, 2 – Vjsochino-VII, 3 – Krepinskiĭ-I, 4 – Ust'-Labinskaya, 5 – Ostrÿi, 6 – Okt'yabrskiĭ-V, 7 – Zhutovo, 8 – Aksaĭ-I, 9 – Évdÿk-I, 10 – Tsarev, 11 – Verkhnee Pogromnoe, 12 – Maĭerovskiĭ-III, 13 – Novouzensk, 14 – Voldarka, 15 – Ishim, 16 – Isakovka-I, 17 – Sidorovka. A – silver-gilt phalerae, B – silver- and goldware, C – refurbished silverware, D – glazed pottery. Map, M. Treister, 2017.

Rethinking Cultural Contacts – Revised

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Nicht zuletzt angestoßen durch die Schrecken des zweiten Weltkriegs wurde von Historikern die Prozesse analysiert, welche durch die Jahrhunderte hindurch über ethnische und kulturelle Grenzen hinweg wirksam waren. Im Zuge dieser Forschungen wurden auch die ethnischen bzw. kulturellen Einheiten selbst und damit auch die Annahme von ausgeprägten Grenzen zwischen ihnen als problematische Postulate erkannt. Auf diesen Erkenntnissen aufbauend wurden neue theoretische Konzepte entwickelt, mit denen die multiple Herkunft von ethnischen und kulturellen Verhaltensmustern erkennbar gemacht werden sollten. Dafür stehen Konzepte wie die „transferts culturels“ (M. Espagne), „histoire croisée“ (M. Werner/B. Zimmermann), „entangled/shared history“ (S. Subrahmanyam, S. Conrad/S. Randeria), ebenso die Rede von Interkulturalität oder Hybridität.

Bei diesem Freilegen der Mehrdeutigkeit von angeblich eindeutig auf eine Ethnie bzw. Volk reduzierbaren Verhaltens- und Denkmustern wurde zudem die Notwendigkeit sichtbar, zwischen der Einschätzung der Akteure und der extern vorgenommenen wissenschaftlichen Analyse zu unterscheiden. Zur Abhebung dieser beiden Perspektiven voneinander wurde manchmal auf die in der Ethnologie dafür gebräuchlichen Begriffe ‚emic‘ für die Innenperspektive und ‚etic‘ für die Außenperspektive zurückgegriffen. Parallel dazu wurde die Intentionalität aufgedeckt, welche hinter den kulturellen bzw. ethnischen Selbstzuschreibungen oder Selbstdefinitionen steht. Hiervon ausgehend geriet auch das Konzept des ‚Kollektiven Gedächtnisses‘ ins Blickfeld, insbesondere die von J. Assmann vertretene These, dass eine Gesellschaft bzw. Kultur eine für sie spezifische und in wesentlichen Teilen stabile Tradition („Speichergedächtnis“) ausbilde.

Geht man davon aus, dass die Abgrenzung von Kulturen zwar in der emischen Perspektive als gegeben und real erscheint, dies jedoch aus der etischen Perspektive keineswegs der Fall ist, gewinnt erst das Konzept der Kontaktzone (M.L. Pratt) seine volle explanatorische Kraft. An diesem Punkt setzte der 2009 erschienene Artikel Rethinking Cultural Contacts an. Er war dazu gedacht zu analysieren, welche Prozesse kulturelle Transfers bestimmen und wie sie analytisch erfasst werden können. Durch die Einbettung der an den Prozessen beteiligten Akteure in ihr jeweiliges Umfeld (Differentiating Factors) werden auch die ‚Biographien‘ von Objekten, Texten und Ideen und die verschiedenen auf dem Transferweg vorgenommenen Zuschreibungen von Bedeutungen voneinander abhebbar und damit beschreibbar. Entscheidend für diesen Zugang war die Verlagerung der Perspektive von den Produzenten zu der der Rezipienten. Damit wurde der Erkenntnis Rechnung getragen, dass die Bedeutung von Objekten nicht kulturell oder ethnisch vorgegeben ist, sondern je nach Situation von den Akteuren immer von neuem festgelegt wird.

I. Contact Zones

| | Producers | Indirect Transmission | Recipients | | Contact Zones | Receptivity |
|--------------------------------|---|--|---|---|--|--|
| Differentiating Factors | | | | <i>different kinds of 'croisement' account for:</i> | | |
| cultural characteristics | from intracultural uniformity to diversity | culture 3, 4 ... n | from intracultural uniformity to diversity | | <i>Heter</i> open contact zones | <i>archy</i> adoption completely changed meanings |
| individual status | social, economic, political | social, economic, political | social, economic, political | | dense contact zone lacking a dominant partner | adoption nearly complete change of meanings |
| type of society | local group regional polity different types of states | society 3, 4 ... n | local group regional polity different types of states | | | imitation, adaptation conscious or unconscious change of meanings |
| societal and individual needs | various sorts of needs (economic, cultural, social, symbolic) | various sorts of needs (economic, cultural, social, symbolic) | various sorts of needs (economic, cultural, social, symbolic) | | | accommodation new meanings by misunderstanding |
| goods/commodities/ ideas | material goods ideas (with clear meanings) | goods – commodities skills, technologies texts (religious, literary, medical ...) ideas (with meanings) | goods – commodities skills, technologies texts as 'discourses' ideas (with adopted, adapted or new meanings) | | "middle ground" dense contact zone dominated by one partner | refusal or derivation change or acceptance of meanings |
| | | | | <i>Hier</i> | <i>archy</i> | |

Ausgehend vom Konzept des ‚croisement‘, d.h. des Einwirkens von verschiedenen Faktoren auf die in kulturellen Kontakten wirkenden Akteure, wurden mehrere Typen von Kontaktzonen voneinander unterschieden. So werden Kontaktzonen aus physischen zu sozialen Räumen (P. Bourdieu) und können als solche beschrieben werden.

Aus dem Zusammenspiel der verschiedenen Faktoren ergab sich, dass nicht vorgefertigte kulturelle oder ethnische Muster, sondern die Absenz oder Präsenz von Macht im Augenblick des Transfers für die Art der Rezeption von entscheidender Bedeutung ist. Von dieser Voraussetzung ausgehend ergaben sich die auf einer Skala zwischen Heterarchie und Hierarchie angeordneten Typen. Um die Wirksamkeit des Faktors ‚Macht‘ präziser fassen zu können, ist es nötig, auch die anderen auf die Akteure wirkenden Faktoren näher zu beleuchten. Zur Erläuterung dieser Zusammenhänge sei nur auf den häufig benützten Begriff ‚Elite‘ verwiesen, der ebenso häufig undefiniert bleibt und nur als Platzhalter für die fehlende konkrete Beschreibung der gesellschaftlichen Zustände fungiert. Die weiter führende Revision setzt beispielshalber beim Faktor ‚Gesellschaft‘ an, um zu zeigen, wie der genannte Zusammenhang zwischen den verschiedenen im Schema gelisteten Faktoren und ‚Macht‘ konkretisiert werden kann.

Gesellschaftstypen

Zur Beschreibung von Gesellschaften in historischen und archäologischen Untersuchungen werden immer wieder Begriffe aus der Ethnologie wie ‚Big Man‘ oder ‚Chief‘ verwendet – meist allerdings nur, um die in die Kritik geratenen Begriffe wie Volk oder Kultur, aber ebenso Fürst oder König zu vermeiden. Will man jedoch mit dem Rückgriff auf ethnologische Begriffe eine höhere Erklärungskraft erreichen, ist es notwendig, diese wenigstens in ihren Umrissen zu definieren. Dagegen scheint eine gewisse Reserve zu bestehen. Diese leitet sich zum Teil aus der Vorstellung ab, dass dem Raum der Geschichte zugeordnete Gesellschaften nicht mit sogenannten ‚primitiven‘ in Parallele gesetzt werden dürfen. Dahinter steht explizit oder implizit die Behauptung von kultureller Superiorität bzw. Inferiorität. Eine etwas anders gelagerte Begründung für die genannte Zurückhaltung gegenüber der Definition ethnologischer Begriffe ergibt sich aus dem Vorwurf, dass die ethnologische Typologie von Gesellschaften evolutionistisch sei, also eine lineare Entwicklung von primitiv zu zivilisiert impliziere.

Der Ausweg aus solchen Vorurteilen besteht darin, Kriterien zu benennen, mit denen das funktionale Zusammenwirken der (wesentlichen) Teile einer Gesellschaft erfasst werden kann – und zwar unabhängig von der jeweiligen historischen Situation. Wenn die so entstehenden Typen von Gesellschaft auf diese Weise definiert werden, dann lässt sich auch besser eingrenzen, in welcher Form Macht auftritt.

Die im Folgenden stichwortartig gegebene Beschreibung solcher Typen von Gesellschaft orientiert sich in ihrer Benennung an der Art der Führung in den Gesellschaften. Deshalb wird von Head Man, Great Man, Big Man und Chief gesprochen, und davon abgehoben von archaischem Staat (Hayden 2001). Innerhalb der Typen, insbesondere der Big Man Gesellschaften, kann weiter differenziert werden. Zudem gibt es, wie das wohl bei jeder Typologie der Fall ist, Übergangsformen. Die Kategorisierung in Typen erfolgt nach den Kriterien Ökonomie, Siedlungsweise, soziale Gruppen, Mittel zur Herstellung und Stabilisierung von sozialen Relationen, Art der sozialen Anerkennung und Führung. Erst die Berücksichtigung aller Faktoren führt zu einer hinreichend deutlichen Charakterisierung

einer Gesellschaft. Zur Erläuterung dieses Weges sei am Beispiel des Festes eine skizzenhafte Definition von solchen Typen gegeben.

In Head Man Gesellschaften werden dann fallweise gemeinsame Feste, u.a. für Initiationsfeiern oder Heiratsbeziehungen, abgehalten, wenn das Zusammenrücken der selbständigen Familien aufgrund von saisonaler Verknappung der Nahrungsmittel nötig ist. Niemand kann zur Teilnahme gezwungen werden, und die Familien gehen wieder ihre eigenen Wege, sobald dafür die ökologischen Voraussetzungen gegeben sind.

In einfachen Big Man Gesellschaften nützen die Big Men Feste, um ihre auf soziale Anerkennung beruhende Position zu sichern. Eine eigene Form von Festen (*Empowering Feasts*) dient dazu, soziale Bindungen herzustellen bzw. abzusichern und gleichzeitig Unterstützer in der Nahrungsmittelproduktion zu gewinnen. Als Mittel steht dazu das von ihnen erwirtschaftete Surplus zur Verfügung. Diese Art der Präsentationen ihrer persönlichen Qualitäten erfolgt im Wettbewerb mit anderen ambitionierten Männern in den Dörfern und Clans, welche denselben sozialen Status als *Big Man* anstreben.

In komplexen Big Man Gesellschaften sind Big Men in der Lage, auf ihre Unterstützer Druck auszuüben. Daher verfügen sie über ein auf geplanter Koordination der Arbeit erzeugtes, vergleichsweise hohes Surplus. Sie benützen dieses, um den Zusammenhalt nach innen u.a. durch die Veranstaltung von Festmahlen (*Work Feasts*) zu stärken und transferieren über eine andere Form von Festmahlen (*Promotional Feasts*) die Arbeitsleistung in soziale Anerkennung.

In Chiefdoms wird die Bevölkerung über Festmahle vom Chief und von ihm abhängige Sub-Chiefs zu zusätzlicher Arbeitsleistung motiviert (*Work Feasts*). Die gegenüber Big Man Gesellschaften gesteigerte Produktion wird auch durch den Einsatz von abhängigen Personen erreicht. In so genannten *Patron Role Feasts* übernimmt der Chief die stark formalisierte Rolle eines Gastgebers. Die auch von ihm erwartete Generosität zeigt sich gegenüber der sozial gegliederten Bevölkerung in Abstufungen. Die asymmetrische Machtverteilung und die soziale Hierarchie wird zum Beispiel durch die Verwendung von Speisegeschirr unterschiedlicher Qualität für die einzelnen Personen bzw. Personengruppen vorgeführt und dadurch auch verfestigt.

Anwendungen

Allein diese fragmentarische Charakterisierung unterschiedlicher Typen von Gesellschaften lässt erkennen, dass zu deren Nachweis archäologische und schriftliche Quellen genügend Informationen liefern. Die Möglichkeit, Einblick in den Zusammenhang zwischen der Gestaltung des Festes und des gesellschaftlichen Rahmens durch die Analyse der materiellen Güter zu gewinnen sei Beispiel Athens indirekt über die sogenannten Beigaben bei Bestattungen in Athen vom 10. bis zum 8. Jh. v. Chr. kurz angedeutet. In diesem Beispiel wird die strukturelle Übereinstimmung von Totenfesten mit denen zwischen den Lebenden vorausgesetzt (Hayden 2009).

Die Qualität des Toten, ein gemeinschaftliches Mahl auszurichten, wurde in dessen symbolischer Präsentation im 10. Jh. mit einfachen handgemachten, dem Alltag entstammenden Gefäßen signalisiert. Im 9. Jh. verweist die Verwendung von besonderem Geschirr, wie die auf das Grab gestellten großen Kratere, auf eine Reduktion der durch den Big Man zum Mahl geladenen Teilnehmer. Zusätzlich deutet die Verwendung der Kratere, bestimmt zur Verdünnung des Weines mit Wasser, auf eine neue Form des Weintrinkens.

Die daraus abzuleitende Tendenz der sozialen Hervorhebung und Abgrenzung wurde noch dadurch verstärkt dass ab dem 8. Jh. aus der Fremde bezogene Gefäße in Gebrauch kamen. Darin ist eine Verfestigung der ökonomischen und sozialen Abhebung einer kleiner gewordenen, d.h. sich zur Aristokratie schließenden Gruppe zu sehen. Dadurch dass in der Kerameikos-Nekropole parallel zueinander unterschiedliche Bestattungsformen entwickelt wurden, zeigt sich innerhalb dieser neuen Aristokratie das Weiterwirken des alten Wettbewerbs zwischen den ehemaligen Big Men in neuer Form (Kistler 1998; **Morris**). Dieser Wandel war offensichtlich eine Folge der an nicht wenigen Stellen der griechischen Welt ab dem ausgehenden 8. Jh. vor sich gehenden Formierung von Streusiedlungen zu städtischen Siedlungen (Crielaard 2013; Mohr 2013). Durch das Zusammenwachsen der einzelnen Weiler und das dadurch hervorgerufene Entstehen einer größeren Öffentlichkeit lockerten sich die bisher dominanten Bindungen zwischen den Big Men und ihren Gefolgschaften. Um in der neuen Situation sichtbar zu bleiben, investierten sie immer mehr in die auf die neue Öffentlichkeit bezogenen Heiligtümer mit Tempeln mit Kultbild.

Der Prozess der Abgrenzung der sich parallel dazu formierenden Aristokratie dokumentierte sich in mehrfacher Weise. Schon im 9. Jh. tauchten in der Dekoration von geometrischen Trinkgefäßen Bezüge zur der im östlichen Mittelmeer gebräuchlichen luxuriösen Bekleidung auf. In solchem Kontext in der 1. Hälfte des 9. Jh. gefundene Reibeisen weisen darauf, dass der Wein mit verschiedenen Gewürzen versetzt wurde. In der Bestattungsgruppe ‚Hagia Triada‘ im Kerameikos von Athen kommt die Tendenz der Abgrenzung in der Mitte des 8. Jh. beispielhaft zum Ausdruck. Es wurden nicht nur exotisch-fremde Trinksets verwendet, sondern zudem auch Parfumfläschchen herumgereicht und auf eigenen Ständern (Thymiateria) wohlriechende Pflanzen verbrannt. Neben den schon genannten Neuerungen gehörte dann auch, dass man das Essen nicht mehr im Sitzen einnahm, sondern auf einer Art von Sofa (Kline) liegend (Fehr 2000). Daraus lässt sich ableiten, dass für die weit verbreitete Neugestaltung der Gastmähler im ausgehenden 8. Jh. an die eigenen Gegebenheiten adaptierte Verhaltensweisen aus dem östlichen Mittelmeer aufgenommen wurden (Matthäus 1999; Crielaard 1999).

Das hinter dieser Interpretation materieller Befunde stehende Konzept der Konsumption verhilft auch in der Analyse von Texten zu einer verfeinerten Beschreibung gesellschaftlicher Zustände (Ulf 2014). Mit ihm kann z.B. der unterschiedliche Umgang mit lydischen Prestigegütern in Lesbos und Kolophon im 6. Jh. durch Sappho und Xenophanes verständlich gemacht werden. Sappho sah in der lydischen Mitra, die sich ihre Tochter so sehr wünschte, ein Merkmal der Zugehörigkeit zur Elite in Mytilene. Xenophanes beurteilte andere lydische Prestigegüter, wie mit Purpur gefärbte Mäntel oder Parfums als nutzlosen Tand. Die unterschiedliche Einschätzung war nicht nur die Folge individueller Blickwinkel, sondern die Folge unterschiedlicher Lebensstile. Sappho bejahte den luxuriösen Lebensstil der Reichen in Lesbos, während Xenophanes eben dieser Lebensstil der Ausdruck tyrannischer Attitüde war. Da die beiden Urteile nicht bloß als persönliche Äußerungen zu verstehen sind, sondern als Bekenntnis zu einem Lebensstil, leuchten hinter ihnen miteinander in Konflikt stehende Diskurse innerhalb einer Gesellschaft auf.

Mit diesen Beispielen der Analyse archäologischer Befunde und von Texten ist der Weg angedeutet, wie der Zusammenhang von gesellschaftlichen Gegebenheiten und Macht so weit wie möglich aufgeschlüsselt werden kann. Ethnische oder essentialistisch verstandene

kulturelle Deutungsmuster spielen keine Rolle, selbst wenn die antiken Quellen von solchen Denkmustern geprägt sind und damit eine vorgebliche Grundlage für eine derartige moderne Sehweise zu bieten scheinen. Damit ist ein wesentliches Element zu einer genaueren Beschreibung von Kontaktzonen gewonnen. Auch hierfür ein Beispiel.

In den Streusiedlungen der lokalen Bevölkerung an der Ostküste Unteritaliens, vom Hinterland des Golfs von Tarent bis nach Brindisi, dürften im 8. Jh. erste griechische Migranten aufgetreten sein. Die an der Küste gelegene lokale Siedlung Otranto wurde in der 1. H. des 8. Jh. für die Seefahrer ein Stützpunkt zur Nahrungsaufnahme, Tauschhandel und kurze Aufenthalte auf dem Weg entlang der italischen Küste nach Süden. Mit der Intensivierung der Seefahrt entstanden ab dem späten 8. Jh. zudem kleine griechische Gemeinschaften innerhalb oder an der Peripherie der lokalen Siedlungen (Enoikismos) an mehreren Stellen entlang des Küstenstreifens. Daraus entstanden ‚Mischsiedlungen‘ wie im Hinterland des späteren griechischen Städte Metapont oder Tarent oder auch in Kalabrien in Torre di Satriano bei Potenza.

Besonders gut ist das an dem im Hinterland von Tarent gelegenen L’Amastuola zu beobachten (Yntema 2000; Osanna 2015). In der aus Rundhütten bestehenden lokalen Siedlung finden sich im späten 8. Jh. vielfältige Importgüter vom Balkan (Albanien) und aus Griechenland (Thapsos-Krater, korinthische Keramik). Parallel dazu dürften sich an der Küste griechische Migranten erstmals festgesetzt haben. Ab der 1. H. 7. Jh. erhielt L’Amastuola das Aussehen einer Mischsiedlung, in der man nebeneinander nach unterschiedlichen Verhaltensformen, einer eher traditionalistischen und einer eher progressiv-‚griechischen‘ lebte. Einige Jahrzehnte später wurden rechteckige Häuser zum Standard und gaben der Siedlung ein deutlich verändertes Aussehen. Erst im 7. Jh. bildeten sich klar als solche auszunehmende griechische Siedlungen von städtischem Charakter an der Küste aus – nach wie vor in engem Kontakt mit der lokalen Bevölkerung (Donnellan/Burgers 2016).

Die lokale Bevölkerung war vermutlich in einem einfachen Big Man System organisiert. In diesem Kontext verlief der Kontakt zwischen der lokalen Bevölkerung und den hinzukommenden Griechen, wie es nach der Charakteristik solcher Gesellschaften zu erwarten ist, ohne gewaltsame Auseinandersetzungen. Die Neuankömmlinge wurden in die lokalen Siedlungen aufgenommen. Die lokale Bevölkerung adaptierte deren Verhaltensformen und materielle Güter in dem Maß, wie das ihren eigenen Bedürfnissen bzw. Interessen entsprach. Erst als die griechischen Siedlungen an der Küste einen bestimmten Umfang erreichten und sich damit die Machtverhältnisse gravierend geändert hatten, wurde das Küstenland in die griechischen Städte integriert. Dennoch blieb ein Austauschverhältnis mit den im Hinterland gelegenen Siedlungen aufrecht. Denn die griechischen Städte waren auf deren Unterstützung nach wie vor angewiesen. So benötigten sie für ihre eigene Viehzucht Land, das im Besitz der lokalen Bevölkerung geblieben war.

Résumé

Mit Hilfe der Typologie der Kontaktzonen kann der skizzierte Ablauf klarer beschrieben und damit zum Teil einer Erklärung für das Aussehen kultureller Transfers werden. In der ersten Phase des 8. Jh. liegt offensichtlich eine dichte Kontaktzone ohne den Einsatz von Gewalt vor. Von einer solchen kann dann ausgegangen werden, wenn die Kontaktpartner (Big Man Gesellschaft, kleine Gruppen von Migranten) nicht über strukturell vorgegebene

Machtmittel verfügen. Mit der Etablierung von städtischen Siedlungen durch die Griechen veränderte sich die Situation hin zu einem Middle Ground. Obwohl die Griechen nun über überlegene militärische Machtmittel verfügten, brachten sie diese nicht zum Einsatz, weil sie dadurch die Vorteile verloren hätten, die sie aus dem Kontakt mit der lokalen Bevölkerung zogen. Umgekehrt näherten sich die lokalen Siedlungen in ihrem Aussehen der griechischen Stadt an, aber nur bis zu einem von ihnen als sinnvoll (und vielleicht auch als akzeptabel) empfundenen Punkt.

Diese Veränderungen haben nichts mit ethnischen Gegebenheiten oder kultureller Überlegenheit bzw. Unterlegenheit zu tun, wie das Termini wie Hellenisierung oder Akkulturation suggerieren, aber auch die Rede von einem Gegensatz zwischen ‚Indigenen‘ und ‚Fremden‘. Im Gegenteil: Das Verhältnis zwischen der lokalen Bevölkerung und den Migranten wurde durch die Art der Kontaktzone und damit die jeweils gegebene Ausprägung von Macht entscheidend bestimmt, nicht von deren ‚ethnischen‘ oder ‚kulturellen‘ Selbstverständnis.

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The Glass Road – Late Bronze Age Glass Beads in Denmark, Germany and Romania

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Introduction

Glass from the Late Bronze Age has for many years been overlooked in the archaeological record – especially in Northern Europe. But new methods for analyzing the composition of the chemical components in the glass has made it possible to trace the origin of the small annular, mostly blue or Turkish blue, glass beads. Most of the glass beads dated between 1450 – 1100 BC origin from unknown workshops in Mesopotamia/Syria and a few come from Egypt, probably from workshops in Amarna or Malkata (Thebes) (Rehren & Freestone 2015, Shortland 2012). North of the Mediterranean area the glass beads most likely spread along the exchange routes connecting the rich metal sources in the Eastern Alps, Erzgebirge, the Carpathians and to South Scandinavia where the semiprecious stone amber was found along the thousands of kilometers' shoreline (Vandkilde 2016, Varberg et al. 2015, Varberg et al. 2016).

Until now, it has been possible to attest almost 3000 annular glass beads from 1450-1100 BC found in Denmark, Germany and Romania. In Poland, a recent study shows the same picture regarding the number of glass beads found. From 1600 – 700 BC a total of c. 3000 beads comes from 40 archaeological sites in Poland. Some of them were made in Mesopotamian/Syrian or Egyptian workshops (two Egyptian beads) and many were made in later workshops in Europe, typically Northern Italy (Purowski et al. 2016). Such a large material offers a great potential for research into the sources and the distribution of glass (Jantzen & Schmidt 1999; Petrescu-Dîmbovita 1977; Varberg et al. 2015).

Two of the largest glass finds in Europe are the Cioclovina Cave hoard from West Romania and the Neustrelitz hoard from North Germany. But in South Scandinavia we find the largest number of graves with glass beads dated between c. 1450-1100 BC.

The intention here is to trace the movement of early glass from its origin in Mesopotamia and Egypt, into the Mediterranean via Mycenae or Tiryns (Walton et al. 2009), towards Northern Europe and the Nordic Bronze Age culture with emphasis on the Cioclovina Cave hoard in Romania, the Neustrelitz hoard in Germany and Northern German and Danish (here called South Scandinavia) graves with glass dated between 1450-1100 BC.

Recent chemical analyses of blue glass beads from well-dated Bronze Age burial contexts have yielded new evidence of long distance exchange. In a collaboration of the National Museum of Denmark, Copenhagen, The Moesgaard Museum, Aarhus, and the Institut de Recherche sur les Archéomatériaux, Université d'Orléans, France, 24 Danish glass beads from Montelius period II and III burials (1450-1100 B.C.) were spectrometrically analyzed. With a basis in the increasing amount of comparative material, it can be demonstrated that the glass comes from Egypt and Mesopotamia. The chemical analyses were carried out by

director and professor Bernard Gratuze at the Institut de Recherche sur les Archéomatériaux, CNRS/Univ. Orléans, France.

Glass from the Cioclovina Cave, Romania

Romania is in the South-East of Central Europe on the lower course of the Danube, to the north from the Balkan Peninsular. On its territory, we find the Southern and Central part of the Carpathian Mountains. Transylvania is a historical and geographical region of Romania situated in the interior of the Carpathian arch. Here, in the heart of the South Carpathians in the Sureanu Mountains a great hoard was discovered inside the Wet Cioclovina Cave in 1953 (Emödi 1978).

The cave is situated next to Ciclovina Village (com. Bosorod jur. Hunedoara). The source of the Cioclovina River runs deep inside the cave and flows down the mountains until it flows into the river Strei not far from the great River Mures. Inside the cave, just opposite the source of the river, high above on a terrace a great number of artefacts has been found. The terrace is located approximately 4-5 meters above the current cave floor and approximately 8 meters above the Late Bronze Age floor level.

The excavation of the find was very difficult. To get to the excavation the excavators had to walk upstream inside the cave for c. 400 meters climbing two small waterfalls in sometimes very narrow passages. When one gets to the source of the river, the cave opens in a room the size of a small cathedral with 15-20 meters to the ceiling, but covered in total darkness. In the spring, the cave is flooded by melting water from the higher mountains and work can only be obtained in the late summer until winter and it is only made more difficult if it rains heavily for days causing the river to contain more water.

Still, it was possible to excavate more than 7500 artefacts of highest quality. The hoard is dated to the Late Bronze Age between 1300 – 1200 BC. The hoard contains among others 5 phalerae, 21 round plaques, 1858 tutuli, 520 tin beads, 2339 glass beads, 1784 amber beads, 572 faience beads, 4 bone cheek pieces, ceramic sherds and pork and deer bones. But more may be hidden in the cave. In 2016 a research team from Moesgaard Museum and the National History Museum of Transylvania in Cluj Napoca made a small excavation inside the cave and we discovered small fragments of amber, ceramic sherds and a glass bead. Therefore, a new excavation campaign has been initiated to try to find out more about the function of the cave in Late Bronze Age and recover artifacts, that still may be hidden inside.

The glass from the cave has been analyzed and identified as Mesopotamian/Syrian glass of the same type as the glass found in the Neustrelitz Hoard in North Eastern Germany by the river Oder and in the Danish graves (Varberg et al. 2016). The Cioclovina Hoard is by far the largest hoard containing glass beads in Europe and it is therefore a key find in understanding the exchange routes through Europe. It is of special interest that the hoard also contains numerous amber beads, because it seems likely that amber from the north was as highly valued as the blue glass beads and therefore one of the main reasons for developing the exchange networks through Europe from south to north (Kaul 2013, Varberg et al. 2015, Varberg et al. 2016).

We are still not able to grasp the full range of the offering practice in the Cioclovina cave – much more excavation should be done, but it is not unlikely that the beads and bronze objects have been accumulated in the terrace for a longer period. Maybe during 100 years or

more. Therefore, the cave cult may reflect a practice of offering exotic objects as glass, faience and amber to the spirits of the river and mountain on special occasions or times a year. Thus, the glass beads hint a substantial flow of goods going north-south through Europe along the glass and amber road in the Late Bronze Age between 1300-1200 BC. It may reflect a far more complex exchange network than previously thought.

As we shall see amber and glass belongs together both in hoards and graves. Going up north following the river Oder we arrive to one more spectacular find.

Glass from Neustrelitz, North Germany

In 1991, a large hoard was found at Neustrelitz, North Germany. A ceramic vessel contained 880 objects; most were of bronze, but 179 annular glass beads (divided into two types one being slightly larger than the other), one polychrome bead and 20 amber beads were also part of the find. The objects were dominated by: female ornaments (most typical for the region), a few bronze tools and a perforated boar tusk. The hoard is dated to the middle part of the Montelian period III (c. 1200 BC – Late Bronze Age) (Jantzen & Schmidt 1999).

A chemical analysis of 12 blue glass beads (number 721, 722, 752, 803, 814a, 856, 865, 878, 719, 864, 879 and 720) from Neustrelitz has been carried out by the Stephanie Mildner research team at University of Würzburg, Germany, using the LA-ICP-MS analyses equipment/method, the same as used by Institut de Recherche sur les Archéomatériaux (Mildner et al. 2010, 2014, 2015).

Based on the published list of the chemical composition of the Neustrelitz beads (Mildner et al. 2010), the comparative analyses (Varberg et al. 2016) demonstrate that the compositions of the Neustrelitz beads are in accordance with the patterns of Mesopotamian glass. Once again objects of glass and amber is found together not far from one of Europe's great rivers.

Glass from Danish and North German graves

In Denmark and Northern Germany, we find quite a lot of graves containing glass beads. Not only are there a high quantity of glass beads, but they also differ in both morphology and geographical origin (Varberg et al. 2015). From 1450 BC to 1100 BC, during almost three decades 46 graves has been excavated containing in total 296 glass beads. The graves are for most part well preserved and excavated by professionals. From the Montelian period II (1500 – 1300 BC) we have 18 graves containing a total of 32 glass beads. Of those we have been able to analyse two glass beads are of an Egyptian origin (see also Flemming Kauls contribution), the rest is from Mesopotamia/Syria. From the Montelian period III (1300-1100 BC) there are 29 graves containing 257 glass and one faience beads, and the analysed beads show that the raw glass is Mesopotamian/Syrian of origin.

In most of the graves the person buried is a female and she is often buried with rich graves goods and full set of jewellery. Amber and glass seems to belong together worn around the neck, wrist or upper arm. Gold rings, bronze belt disks and daggers is often seen in relation to glass beads in the female graves and it makes it highly probable that glass should be considered high-end pieces of jewellery only permitted for the elite.

Two child graves contained glass beads, and only seven graves with glass are considered male graves. But what may be the oldest Danish grave with glass beads from Serridslev in Northern Jutland – probably dated to c. 1450 BC – is a male grave with sword, razor and four glass beads (Lomborg 1969, Vorting 1977). Another male grave from Silkeborg,

Eastern Jutland, Denmark, is also an example of a rich male grave, although most likely slightly later from c. 1400 BC. The man was buried with a sword in a scabbard and a bandoleer with two attached bronze discs, a dress pin for keeping the cape in place and a bracelet made of a total of 24 beads, one blue glass bead, 19 amber beads and 4 bronze spirals that divided the other beads in sections of five (Fischer 1974). This could indicate that glass may initially have been brought to Northern Europe by elite warriors travelling along the trade-routes of Late Bronze Age Europe (Kaul 2013, Varberg forthcoming). When the routes were additionally established, glass beads may have become an adornment associated with female dress more than with males.

The chemical analyses

All the glass beads from Denmark and Romania have been analyzed by laser ablation-inductively coupled plasma-mass spectrometry (LA-ICP-MS). The ablation system used here consists of an excimer laser working at 193 nm (Resolution M50E from Resonetics) coupled with a Thermo Electron Finnigan ELEMENT XR mass spectrometer. The technique requires no special preparation of the samples and is virtually non-destructive (Gratuze 2013).

Chemical compositional results show that the glass used to make the Danish and Romanian glass beads were fused from powdered quartz or siliceous sands containing various amounts of alumina and lime, mixed with the ashes of plants high in soda, such as *Salicornia* sp. or *Salsola* sp.

Some of the Danish glass beads are colored dark blue by cobalt oxide while copper is the main coloring agent for the turquoise blue Romanian glass beads. The tin/copper ratio measured for the Romanian glass beads suggests the addition of relatively pure copper for two of them, while in the four other cases (Cioclovina a-c and e), the tin levels indicate the use of bronze scrap containing from 1.5 to 4.6 % tin (Varberg et al. 2016).

When the major element compositions of the Danish and Romanian glass beads are characteristic of Late Bronze Age Near Eastern glass, their trace element patterns (chromium, lanthanum, zirconium titanium and rare earths elements) allow us to differentiate between two distinct primary glass patterns associated with Mesopotamian and Egyptian glass productions (Shortland et al. 2007, Walton et al. 2009, Jackson and Nicholson 2010, Varberg et al. 2015).

According to these criteria, all the studied glass beads (Danish and Romanian) share the patterns of Mesopotamian glass while two Danish beads, are associated with Egyptian glass workshops.

The peak and collapse of glass trade in Europe north of the Mediterranean area

It is very clear that during the Late Bronze Age the number of beads in the South Scandinavian graves increases. And in the Montelian period III (1300 – 1100) a significant amount of 257 glass beads is found in North European graves at the approximately same time as the two hoards from Neustrelitz and Cioclovina. That gives the impression of an initial phase of establishing long distance exchange with glass and probably amber during 1400-1300 BC and a highly-established phase with a well-developed trade or exchange network during 1300-1100 BC. During that time, we have a total of 2775 glass beads from Denmark, Germany and Romania. Even though, most of the glass could in theory come from one single big leather bag, the chemical compositions are so diverse that they very

probably may reflect many different glass workshops and thereby it may also be different “shipments” of glass reflected in the finds (Varberg et al. 2015, Varberg et al. 2016).

The exchange with glass from the Mediterranean area and amber from the north seems to be well established, but at the break of Urnfield Culture in Northern Europe (c. 1200 BC), the glass disappears from the North European graves and hoards. One explanation could be the collapse of the Eastern Mediterranean trade network in the 12th Century BC. The attacks by the mysterious Seapeople destroyed many of the trade ports where the glass may have been shipped from. As for instance Ugarit in Northern Syria that was totally whipped out by the Seapeople and never rebuild (Cline 2014). Later a European production of glass beads was established in Northern Italy in Frattesina where substantial finds of Nordic ambers shows how the flow of trade goods continued to flow through Europe (Henderson 1988, Bellintani 2014). But strangely enough we have yet to find frattesina glass in South Scandinavian graves.

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Figure 1. Glass beads from Humlum, Northern Jutland, Denmark. From a female burial and found together with two gold spirals c. 1200 BC. Photo: The Danish National Museum.



Figure 2. The entrance to the Wet Cioclovina Cave, Romania. Photo: Jeanette Varberg.

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«A Barbarian by birth, yet a Hellen in everything else»: the Image of a Pious Barbarian in the Works of Late Roman Pagans

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The gradual decrease of the number of pagans and the legislative restriction of the activities of pagan cults in Later Roman Empire, made their followers to generate a vivid sense of religious solidarity and to form a concept of internal unity of all pagan cults and practices. In fact, many pagans started to accept the model of the social dichotomy "Pagan-Christians", formulated by Christian apologists with changing the "our-alien" markers to the opposite meaning. The expansion of these ideas in the second half of the IV - the beginning of the VI centuries led to the fact that, for many pagans, the basis for forming an attitude to a certain person became linked to his/hers religious preferences. In other words, in the writings of the defenders of the traditional pagan cults the commitment to the old faith itself became a cause for a positive assessment of the individual co-religionist¹. The influence of this idea was so great that even the traditional division of mankind into Greeks (or Romans) and barbarians dimed before it.

In the fifth century, the writings of the pagan intellectual elite formed an image of a pious barbarian, that is, a pagan barbarian, in many ways superior not only to his fellow tribesmen, but also to Christian citizens of the empire. This discourse made its manifestation in the writings of Eunapius of Sardis, Olimpiodorus and Zosimus.

Eunapius is known as the author of three works: the fully preserved hagiographic "History of the Rhetors and Sophists", "History" from which excerpts have survived to the present day in the extracts of Constatine Porphyrogenitus and Suida, as well as the lost biography of Emperor Julian. In general, his works reflected the ideology of the most conservative part of the East Roman municipal nobility. Coming from a wealthy family of a curial rank, Eunapius was a zealous adherent of paganism and a staunch opponent of Christianity. The author frankly extolled the pagans and blasphemed Christians anytime possible. Eunapius ruthlessly criticized the Christian emperors, clergy and monks. At the same time, the historian highly appreciated prominent political supporters of paganism, and representatives of the pagan intelligentsia: prefect Sallustius, prefect Tatianius, and most of all Julian the Apostate (Patriarch Photius even noted that the historical work of Eunapius is a panegyric to Julian (Phot. 77)).

The younger contemporary and successor of the Eunapius - Olimpiodorus of Thebes wrote a historical work in 22 books. Like the work of his predecessor, the work of Olympiodorus was preserved only in the extracts of the famous bibliophile of the 9th century Patriarch Photius. Describing Olympiodorus, Photius mentioned that he was a

¹ For example, Emperor Julian was indifferent to Christian pogroms: Greg. Naz. Or. IV.93; Soz. V.9.

Hellene (i.e. a pagan) by faith and a poet by profession. The surviving evidence allows us to conclude that Olympiodorus was not just another Egyptian wandering poet. The degree of his involvement in the events of the political history of the first quarter of the fifth century, his awareness of court rumors and intrigues, the fact that he participated in performing delicate diplomatic assignments for the Constantinople court suggest that Olimpiodor held some official post. It is hardly possible to agree with the position of Z. Udaltsova, who listed Olympiodorus as active representative of the oppositional historiographical tradition. Socio-political views of Olympiodorus were significantly different from those of his more radical predecessor Eunapius and his follower Zosimus. Nevertheless, in matters of religion, Olympiodorus was undoubtedly a conservative. He sincerely believed that the intercession of the ancient gods protected the empire from external threats; and kept high opinion on the peoples who preserved the traditional cults intact.

Much of Zosimus' work, «The New History», is a compilation of the works of his predecessors: Eunapius of Sardis and Olympiodorus. In this work, he vividly manifested his rejection of Christianity, as an official religion, as well as the discontent with the growing influence of the court nobility and the bureaucratization of the empire. Zosimus accused the new faith and its adherents of all the current troubles of the empire. According to the historian, Rome owed its greatness to the protection of the pagan gods, who turned away from the state due to the spread of Christianity. The author sharply criticized the activities of Christian emperors, the Church and the monks. At the same time, Zosimus glorified the pagans (above all the "ideal king" of the pagan opposition - Julian the Apostate). Despite the lack of originality in the interpretation of Roman history IV - V centuries Zosimus' work is of exceptional value, as the only, almost completely preserved, work of pagan historiography of the late-antique period.

The first of the "pious barbarians" described in the writings of pagan historians was a gothic nobleman Flavius Fravitta. According to Eunapius and Zosimus, despite being rather young Fravitta managed to become the leader of the pro-Roman party among the Gothic federates under Emperor Theodosius (Eunap. Hist. Fr. 61²; Zos, IV.56). Later, during the reign of Arcadius, Fravitta, probably holding the post of magister militum, became famous for his fights with the robbers in Thrace (Eunap. Hist. Fr. 80, Zos. V. 21). His finest hour came in 400 AD, when he was appointed commander-in-chief in a war with another barbarian commander Gainas, who had previously revolted against the empire. His victory over the insurgents in the sea battle at Chersonesus was glorified not only by pagans like Eunapius and Zosimus (Eunap. Hist., Fr. 82, Zos. V. 21-22), but even by the church historians (Philost. XI.8; Soc. VI. 6; Soz. VIII.4.21). After the victory Fravitta was awarded a triumph in Constantinople, as well as consular dignity for 401 (Eunap. Hist. Fr. 82; Soc. VI.6). However, soon, Fravitta came into conflict with Arcadius's favorite John, which eventually led to a downfall and execution of the barbarian commander (Eunap. Hist., Fr. 85).

Eunapius attributed almost all possible virtues to Fravitta. The historian noted that despite his youth, the barbarian was the first of all men in "virtue and love of truth", as well as distinguished by exceptional sincerity and "great valor" (Eunap. Hist. Fr. 61). Despite the severe illness that afflicted him, the commander supported his life only in order to "serve

² Numeration of the Eunapius' fragments according to the edition of S. Destunis.

good" (Ibid. 80). Finally, Eunapius, and Zosimus, who closely followed his writings, noted the military talent of the barbarian and his ability to treat soldiers (Eunap. Hist., Fr. 82, Zos. V.20). The religious views of Fravitta caused an exceptional admiration of pagan historians. The fact that Fravitta honored the gods according to ancient customs is mentioned thrice by Eunapius, and twice by Zosimus (Eunap. Hist., Fr. 61; 80; 82; Zos, V. 21). With unconcealed delight the historians noted that Fravitta publicly declared that he owed his victory to the patronage of the gods (Eunap. Hist., Fr. 82, Zos. V. 21), and after the Emperor Arcadius promised him any reward for his exploits, the general asked only for permission to honor the gods according to the paternal customs (Eunap. Hist., Fr. 82). It is interesting to note that after the victories of Fravitta, the eastern court stopped the anti-pagan policy for several years. It is unclear to what extent such a sharp turn in religious policy was associated with the activities of the barbarian general. Most likely, the termination of persecution of pagans was caused by objective factors such as an internal political crisis **caused** by the bitter struggle of the court factions, rebellions of Gothic mercenaries led by Gainas and Tribigild, as well as strengthening the barbaric onslaught on the borders of the empire. In these circumstances the governments of the prefects Aurelianus and Anthemius, who tried to consolidate the widest possible layers of the east roman aristocracy around the Constantinople court, avoided active actions against religious dissidents, including pagans. However, one cannot exclude the possibility that, from the point of view of the pagan intelligentsia, the victories of Fravitta and his bold confession of faith in the face of the emperor played a role in the temporary cessation of repression.

Another heathen barbarian who received praise from pagan historians was Generidus. Information about him was preserved only in Zosimus' "New History", which, in turn, drew from the unpreserved part of the work of Olympiodorus. Until November 408 Generidus held a high military post in the Western Empire. He was forced to leave this position due to the publication of an edict forbidding the pagans, to occupy court, military and administrative positions by the government of Honorius (Zos. V.46). In 409, soon after the resignation of magister officium Olympius – who was responsible for the the antipagan law, Generidus, along with other military commanders, was called to the court and asked to return to the service. According to Zosimus, he refused referring to the new law. Emperor Honorius first tried to convince the commander that in exceptional cases, the law can be neglected, but Generidus flatly refused to head the army, motivating his answer by that «he could not accept this privilege which was an insult to all those who had been unable to hold office because of the law. And he would not resume his office until the emperor... will repeal the law and allow everyone to hold civil and military office regardless of his religious opinions» (Zos. V.46) Thanks to the pressure of Generidus, the antipagan law was abolished and the commander was appointed to the post of magister militum of Dalmatia, Lower Pannonia, Rhaetia and the Transalpine territories (ibid.) The new government of Honorius, facing the Visigoths in Italy, the barbarians from behind the Rhine in Gaul, and usurpers who seized parts of Gaul, Spain and Africa, did not dare to return to antipagan actions for several years. Only in 415, after the relative stabilization of the internal political situation was ensured, the court of Ravenna returned to antipagan legislation.

Zosimus described Generidus as a man of exceptional qualities, absolutely selfless and true to the religion of their ancestors. In addition, the historian noted that the

commander was adamant to the barbarian enemies of Rome and a benefactor for the provinces under his control (Zos. V.46). Thus, as in the case of Fravitta, for the pagan intelligentsia Generidus became a striking example of a talented statesman and commander, whose successes were connected to the faithfulness to the paternal religion. Like his eastern counterpart, he was not afraid to openly declare himself a pagan before the emperor. His firm position helped him to achieve the abolition of discriminatory law.

Somehow atypical in this row of «pious barbarians» is the image of magister militum Arbogast, drawn in the writings of Eunapius and Zosimus. The exceptional influence that Arbogast had on the events of the political history in the end of the fourth century contributed to the fact that the biography of this barbarian commander is known in some detail. Frank by birth and a pagan by faith Arbogast probably began his service in the army of Valentinian I. In 378, he was sent to the East by the young Emperor Gracian to help Theodosius in the struggle against the Goths (Zos. IV.33). After the end of the Gothic war, Arbogast remained in service to the eastern augustus and later distinguished himself in the war with the usurper Magnus Maximus (Philos. X.8; Oros. VII.35.12; Prosp. Chron., 388; Zos. IV.47). After the fall of Maximus, Theodosius placed Arbogast at the head of the Western armies and entrusting him control over the actions of the inexperienced august Valentinian II. In this position he actively protected Gaul from barbarians and even led a campaign across the Rhine (Paul. Med. V. Amb 30; Greg. Tur. HF II.9). As the influences of Arbogast grew his relations with Valentinian II worsened. The maturing emperor became burdened with the «overprotection» of the barbarian warlord. In spring of 392, under the pretext of helping Mediolanum, which was threatened by barbaric invasion, Valentinian tried to take control of the troops and withdraw to Italy (Amb. De Ob. Val. 22). It seems that Arbogast refused to give the emperor an army. After it Valentinian made an unsuccessful attempt to remove the commander from power. Arbogast, who completely controlled the army and civil administration of Gaul, simply ignored his resignation (Zos. IV.53). May 15, Valentinian II, who was locked up in his palace and relegated to "the position of an ordinary citizen" (Greg. Tur., HF. II.9), committed suicide. After a few months of unsuccessful negotiations with the eastern court, Arbogast proclaimed his friend Eugenius, who had previously held the post of head of imperial notaries, as emperor. In fact, all power remained in the hands of the barbarian warlord (Oros. VII.35). In 393, the armies of Arbogast occupied Italy, after it the commander began to prepare for war with Theodosius, who did not recognize Eugenius as an emperor. The clash between the armies of Eugenius and Theodosius took place on September 6, 394 at the Frigidus River. The battle, which lasted for two days, eventually ended in complete defeat of the usurper's troops. Eugenius was captured and executed, Arbogast and prefect Flavian, who managed to escape the captivity, committed suicide.

One of the main features of the image of Arbogast and his protégé Eugenius in the writings of Christian authors were their sympathies for paganism and hostility to Christianity: the usurper and his commander patronized the pagan aristocracy of Rome; restored (albeit covertly) the state support of the pagan cults, which was previously withdrawn by emperor Gracian; returned the altar of the Victory to the curia (Paul, Med. 26); in Rome and other cities blood sacrifices were performed (Ruf. HE II.33.); Argobast and Flavian prefect threatened to set up a stable in the Basilica of the Mediolanum church,

and to enlist clerics to the army (Paul, *Med.* 31); pagan divinations, predicting victory for the usurper and "the end of the Christian faith", were performed by Nicomachus Flavian at the court of Eugenius (Soz. VII.22); the troops of Arbogast went into battle under the banners with the images of Hercules (Theod, *HE*, V.24); the statues of Zeus, ensuring the victory of the army of the West were installed in the alpine passes (Aug. *De Civ.* VI.26). In general, in the writings of Christian authors, Arbogast and Eugenius act, pagan rulers, enemies of the faith and new persecutors. For example, Paul Orosius reported that Arbogast went to war «mainly relying on the service of idols» (Oros. VII.35.12).

In the works of pagan historians (namely Zosimus and Eunapius) the evaluation of Arbogast has a fundamentally different character. He is described as a talented commander and a brave warrior, favored by his soldiers for justice, courage and exceptional selflessness (Eunap. *Hist.*, Fr. 54; Zos. IV, 33, 53). It is easy to guess, that this positive image that the pagan historiography has drawn was at least partly based on the pagan «piety» of Argobast. At the same time, pagan historians kept silent about the religious preferences of the barbarian. Why, then, did neither Eunapius, nor his follower Zosimus mention such a widely known fact? The answer seems obvious. As it was demonstrated above on the examples of Fravitta and Generidus, the concept of the pagan historians was based on a belief that the gods constantly support and exalt their followers, bring them glory and victory. The fact that, despite his support of pagan cults, Arbogast lost the battle of Frigidus, clearly indicated that the faith in the ancient gods itself was not enough to win the war. Probably this fact, clearly uncomfortable for a devote pagan, was the main reason for Eunapius and Zosimus to ignore the information about personal religious preferences and the religious policy of Arbogast.

Similarly, Zosima avoids the discussion of the religious views of another pagan barbarian Radagaisus. In 405 the barbarian horde under his command invaded Italy, ruined many cities and even jeopardized the capital itself. However, eventually the West Roman troops under the command of Stilicho were able to block the army of Radagaisus, after which the barbarians, who were lacking food supplies, were either killed or taken captive, the warchief himself was executed (Prosp. *Chron.*, 405, Oros. VII. 37.4-16, Zos, V. 26, Marc. *Chron*, 406, *Chron.*, Gall., 452. 50, 52, Paul, *Med.* V. *Amb.*, 50, *Olymp.*, Fr. 50).

Describing the invasion of Radagaisus, Christian writers paid particular attention to the paganism of the barbarian leader. Augustine of Hippo and Paul Orosius reported that Radagaisus constantly sacrificed and performed rites in honor of the gods. They explained the defeat of the barbarian horde to the infidelity of its leader. In their opinion, God protected Rome from the heathen Radagais, but gave it to Christian Alaric, thereby demonstrating the impotence of pagan rituals, as well as His own greatness and mercy (Aug. *De Civ.* V.23; *Serm* 105.10; Oros. VII.36.12).

Zosimus (and, one can assume, his source Olympiodorus) gives no indications of religious affiliation of Radagaisus and his warriors (Zos. V. 26). Here, as in the case of of Arbogast, the desire of the pagan historian to keep silent about the religion of the barbarian is evident. Probably, this was due to the author's inability to explain to his readers, how it was possible that a person so sincerely devoted to the pagan gods suffered such a devastating defeat. Besides, unlike Fravitta or Generidus, Radagaisus wasn't a friend of the empire. For Eunapius, Olympiodorus and Zosimus, the Olympian gods were first of all

defenders of Rome and could hardly support its rivals. His case also significantly differed from that of Arbogast. Zosimus (and obviously Eunapius) blamed Arbogast of death of the young Emperor Valentinian II and the usurpation of Eugenius. At the same time, comparing the virtues of Eugenius and the legitimate Emperor Theodosius, the historian undoubtedly preferred the former to the latter. If Eugenius was described as an educated and noble person (Zos. IV.54), Theodosius was not only an enemy of the gods but also a carefree, greedy and cruel ruler (Eunap. Hist. Fr. 49; 50; Zos. IV. 29ff; 33: 41). In fact, from the point of view of pagan historians, Arbogast was on the side of a man worthy of supreme power, albeit a tyrant. Thus, Radagaisus couldn't be compared to him as well. Radagais was an open enemy of the empire.

Finishing the analysis of the concept of pious barbarians, it seems reasonable to give a general description of the image of their antagonists - the Christian barbarians in the writings of pagan historians.

Eunapius believed that the barbarians accepted the new faith insincerely. They did it only to exploit the naive sympathy of Roman Christians to their imaginary co-religionists, and their senseless respect to the bishops and monks for entering the territory of the empire (Eunap. Hist. Fr. 56). Moreover, according to the pagan historians, Christians were, in fact, fighting against the empire alongside the barbarians. In his "Lives" Eunapius claimed that Christian Monks were responsible not only for letting the «Christian» Goths of Alaric pass to Achaia but also for ravaging the ancient temples together with the invaders (Eunap. V. Soph. 477; 488). It is obvious, for the historian, as for many other representatives of the pagan opposition; monks were the same, if not the even worse, enemies as barbarians³. In their struggle against the temples of the gods - defenders of the empire, and consequently with Rome itself, they acted in concert. Thus Eunapius and Zosimus believed that only pagan barbarians can be friends of the empire, while Christian barbarians are mostly traitors and plotters. This discourse is indicated, in particular, by their assessment of such barbarian warlords as Eriulf, Alarich, Gainas, Tribigildus etc. Their opposition to such pious barbarians as Fravitta and Generidus is indicative. The former were enemies of the Romans, the latter – true friends and protectors of the Empire.

Thus, the image of a «pious barbarian» formed in the writings of pagan historians performed several functions. First of all pagans saw these «pious barbarians» who held high military posts, as the defenders of their faith against the anti-pagan state policy. Comparing pagan barbarians to their fellow Christian tribesmen they tried to prove that only pagans can be true allies of Rome. Finally, the military successes of the pagan warlords served as evidence of the active participation of the gods in the affairs of their followers and thus were the apology for the need to preserve the traditional forms of worship.

The discourse of the «pious barbarian», formed in the writings of pagan historians, turned out to be rather tenacious. In the V century pagan intellectuals repeatedly looked for salvation from the barbarian commanders. At the times of Theodosius II pagan intellectuals spread rumors that their fortunes could be reversed by the conspiring Isaurian commander Zeno (Dam. V. Isid. 115). In the end of the V century, pagans of Alexandria, Gaza and Asia Minor supported the failed usurpation of the Isaurian warlord Illus, who, as it was stated by his slimy emissary Pamprepius, raised the banners of the gods of old. Damascius, who was

³ Cf. Lib. Or. XXX. 7-11; Eunap. V. Soph. 472; Zos. Ant. Pal. XI. 384.

in Alexandria during Pamprepius' visit to the Egyptian capital in 482, reported that many were «bewitched» with his speeches (Dam. V. Isid. 113A) and «...the majority were raised up by their hopes for the restoration of the good old way of life» (Dam. Isid. 113C). Evidences of the widespread sympathy for Illus and Pamprepius among the pagan nobility of the eastern provinces could be also found in the report of Zacharias of Mytilene. According to him, after the defeat of Illus and the death of Pamprepius, Paralius of Aphrodisius wrote to his brother: «... how many sacrifices we pagans offered in Caria to the gods of the pagans, when we asked them, those so called gods, while dissecting livers which we examined by magic, to tell us whether, with Leontius, Illus and Pamprepius and those who rebelled with them, we would conquer the emperor Zeno of pious memory. We received a multitude of oracles and promises as well that Zeno could not withstand their attack, that the time had come for Christianity to disintegrate and disappear, and that the cult of the pagans would return» (Zach. V. Sev. 40).

In the VI century the belief in a «pious barbarian» idea led the exiled Neo-Platonists of the Academy headed by Damascius to the court of the Persian shahanahsh Khosrow I, who was believed to be an educated follower of Plato's philosophy. Expectations appeared to be far from reality (Agath. II. 30). Knowing that many pagans sincerely believed in the possibility of the cometh of the barbarian «redeemer», Khosrow I heavily exploited this image during his wars with Eastern Roman Empire. During the fight in the Roman territory Khosrow openly courted the pagan population of the occupied provinces. For example, Khosrow ordered to sacrifice to nymphs in the captured Antioch (Procop. BP. II. 11, 6), graciously refused the tribute presented to him by the inhabitants of Harran-Carrhae, on the grounds that the inhabitants of the city were "not Christians, but adhered to the ancient Faith "(Ibid. II. 13. 7). These actions seemed to have been intended for warming up internal opposition in the Roman state thus, complicating the situation in the empire.

Obviously, after the conclusion of a five-year truce between the Persians and the Romans in 545, the pagans who lived in the empire could be accused of collaborating. This ultimately led to new persecution. The second half of Justinian reign as well as the reign of his direct successors saw the most severe repressions against the adherents of the old faith. Any open manifestations of sympathy for pagan cults became impossible. By forceful baptism and physical extermination of the members of the upper class, who retained faith in the ancient gods, the state power achieved visible eradication of paganism in the East Roman Empire.

Greek Colonization on the Taman Peninsula

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II. Postres

Osteological Characteristic of Meotes Inhabiting the Kuban Region in the Period Between the 4th Century BC and the 3rd Century AD

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The Krasnodar archeological expedition of Kuban State University has been exploring of the Meotes burial grounds of the Starokorsunsky ancient settlement №2 (the settlement includes the West and the East burial grounds) and the burial ground №3 of Lenina hamlet for more than 30 years. These burial grounds are dated back to the period of the 4th century BC and the 3rd century AD. Leaders of the expedition are N.U. Limberis and I.I. Marchenko. Researchers have been found a vast material since then. Today the author has explored 126 male and 69 female skeletons. The methodology of the study includes traditional research methods (ex. Alekseev, 1966, Mamonova, 1986), and new approaches to the [studying](#) of fossil human bones (ex.: Tikhonov, 1997, Pezhemsky, 2011).

Longitudinal sizes of upper limbs' large bones are characterized by average values, the sizes of inferior limbs' large bones – small values for the male part of the sample. Longitudinal sizes of both - upper and inferior limbs' large bones are characterized by small values for the female part of the sample. The conditional parameter of the size of the male skeleton is 1321,8 mm. It means that this group has small total body sizes (tab. 1). The osteological limbs' length is characterized by just below average values for the male part of the sample. According to the Intermembral Index, the upper limbs in the relation to the inferior limbs are of a medium size. It is true for both men and women. Taking into account the tibias-femur parameter, male and female samples are characterized by slightly shorter femur bones. The radiohumeral index is average for males. This index is lower for females. That's why we can say about an elongate shoulder in the relation to the ulna. The shoulder-femur index shows us that men and women had a relatively longer shoulder. So there are not significant differences in male and female skeletal structures. The author has used six different formulas to the body length reconstruction. The reconstruction was made with femur bones only. The average male body length is 160-162 sm., and the average female body length is 150 -152 sm.

Table 1. Parameters of skeleton's longitudinal proportions of Meotes inhabited the Kuban region (average values, the right side).

| Attribute name | male skeletons | female skeletons |
|--|----------------|------------------|
| (H1+R1):(F2+T1) The Intermembral Index I | 71,8 | 70,0 |
| (H1+R1):(F1+f1) The Intermembral Index VI | 72,8 | 69,4 |
| (H1+U1):(F1+f1) The Intermembral Index VIII | 76,2 | 72,8 |
| (R1:H1) The radiohumeral index I | 75,9 | 73,9 |
| (T1:F2) The tibias-femur index I | 82,7 | 83,3 |
| (f1:F1) The tibias-femur index IV | 79,4 | 83,4 |
| (H1:F2) The shoulder-femur index I | 74,5 | 73,8 |
| (H1:F1) The shoulder-femur index II | 74,2 | 73,2 |
| (R1:T1) The radius-tibias index I | 68,4 | 65,5 |
| (H1+R1+F1+T1) The conditional parameter of the skeleton's size | 1321,8 | 1232,5 |
| (H1+R1) Osteological hand length I | 551,4 | 506,2 |
| (H1+U1) Osteological hand length II | 577,3 | 530,8 |
| (F1+T1) Osteological leg length I | 770,4 | 726,3 |
| (F1+f1) Osteological leg length II | 757,8 | 729,5 |

The Heritage of the Ancient Greek Colonization and Turk-speaking Nomads in the Gene Pool of Crimea

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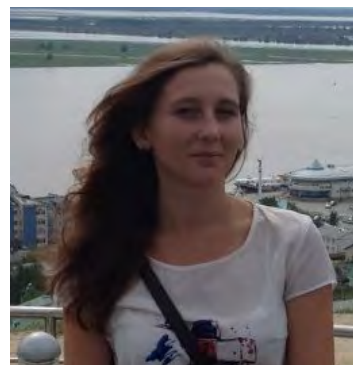
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A Polis at the Asiatic Bosphorus in the 6th and Early 5th Century BC: a Territorial Aspect

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Abstract. The article reviews the model of a spatial organization of an ancient Greek polis on a base of written and archaeological sources. A comparison of a detected model with a case of settlement structure on Taman peninsula (Asian Bosphorus) permits to make some observations concerning the dynamics of the Greek colonization in the region.

Key words: Greek colonization, Asian Bosphorus, Taman peninsula, ancient Greek polis, settlement structure, hierarchy of sites.

The phenomenon of polis is one of the most discussed topics in the ancient Greek studies in all its aspects. The present report is dedicated to the model of a territorial organization of a Greek polis.

The main principles, laying in the Greek settlement pattern can be revealed through investigation of the written and archaeological sources.

The written sources in general outline the dualistic scheme: polis (urban center) – chora (rural neighborhood). Some cases, such as synoecism of Theseus [Thuc. 2.15.2-3] or the advice of Thales to the Ionian polises [Hdt. 1.170.3.], point out that the three-level hierarchical structure could exist as well.

The first hierarchical level of the Greek settlement pattern is always presented by the polis. The term “polis” approximately can be equal to the term urban center, although two of the most famous polises in the ancient history – Athens and Sparta – demonstrate significant deviation from this definition. Despite all the difficulties, undoubtedly polis was a center of the ancient Greek community, the peak of the social organization, as is illustrated in the Aristotle’s “Policy” [Arist. Pol. I. 6-8].

The situation with the second hierarchical level, which was presented by the settlements, named “deme” and “kome” is much more embarrassed, due to the absence of the clear definitions of both of them. M.H. Hansen in his article, dedicated to this type of settlements, resumes, that demes, at least in the Classic periods, were a subdivisions of a polis, while the term kome mostly was attributed to the small rural sites¹.

It seems that one of the most important attribute of the ancient Greek polis is his central position in the settlement pattern. Consequently it provoked concentration of the population and the growth of urbanization. Of course, as it was stressed above, there could

¹ Hansen 1995, 71.

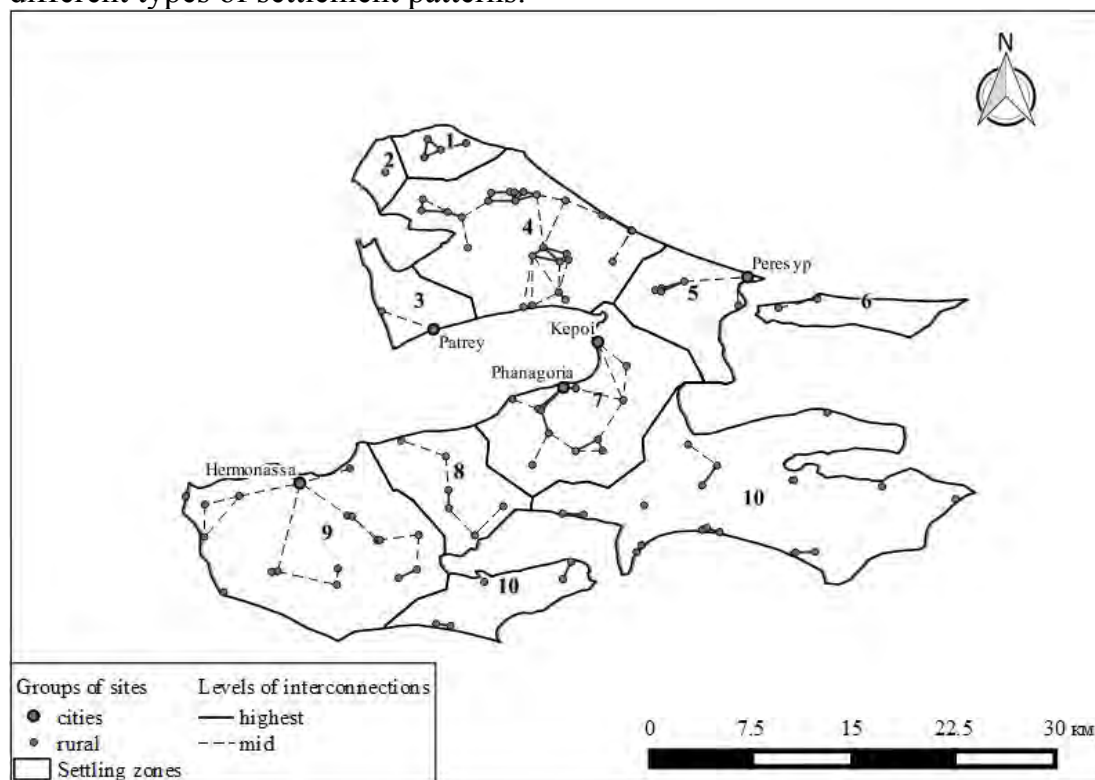
exist a certain gap between the polis as a center of the community and the poleis as an urban site. All in all the image of each polis depended on its economic potential and its history.

Archaeological evidences in general support the proposed hierarchical model. In Greece there was detected a three-level hierarchy, which includes

- A) First rank settlements (towns / cities) – polis, polisma, asty;
- B) Second rank settlements (villages / hamlets) – kome, deme;
- C) Third rank settlements – isolated farmsteads.

It is worth mentioning that, according to the research of the Copenhagen Polis Centre, the principal difference existed between the nuclear (A+B) and the dispersed (C) patterns². The systems of the hierarchical subdivisions were explored in Attic³, Laconia⁴, Boiotia⁵.

The results of investigation of the settlement pattern, established on Taman peninsula in the VI-V BC represent a case for comparison with the model described above. The multistage analyses of all the ancient sites of Taman peninsula, included analyses of distribution of the ranked settlements, permitted to split all the territory in ten zones with different types of settlement patterns.



The first type is a cluster (group) of sites. On Taman peninsula there are 6 zones settled this way. They are located mostly in the western part of the peninsula.

Zone 1. North part of Fontalovsky peninsula (4 sites).

² Hansen 2003, 277.

³ Bintliff 2006, 17.

⁴ Cavanagh 2009, 411.

⁵ Bintliff, Snodgrass 1998, 57-71.

Zone 4. Central and south part of Fontalovsky peninsula (16 sites).

Zone 5. Near the villages Akhtanizovskaya, Peresyp, Za Rodinu (6 sites) Zone 7. Central part of Taman peninsula, near Sennoy village (13 sites)

Zone 8. A chain of sites, extended from the liman Zokur to the Gulf of Taman (6 sites).

Zone 9. South-west of Taman peninsula (20 sites)

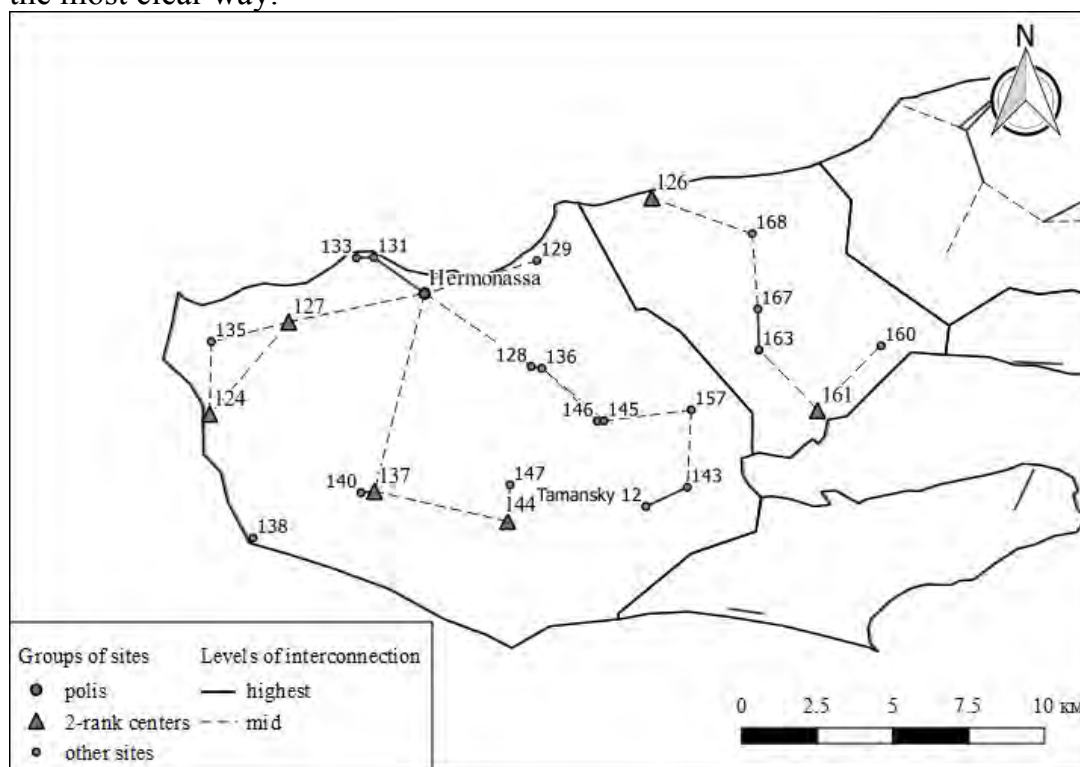
The second type is presented by the pairs of sites, located at a significant distance from clusters and nearest single sites. There are just two examples of such pattern.

Zone 3. At the foot of the Gorelaya mountain, on the shore of the Gulf of Taman.

Zone 6. At the west end of the Golubitsky island.

The third type of settlement pattern is a dispersed one. It includes a single site Ilyich 2 near the North (Chushka) plait (Zone 2) and all the eastern part of Taman peninsula, which is settled by single settlements and isolated groups of two or three close located sites (Zone 10).

A type that corresponds more to the hierarchical scheme is a cluster type. After more detailed analyses of each cluster there were detected levels of the hierarchical subordination. A case of chora of Hermonassa (south-western part of Taman peninsula) demonstrates it in the most clear way.

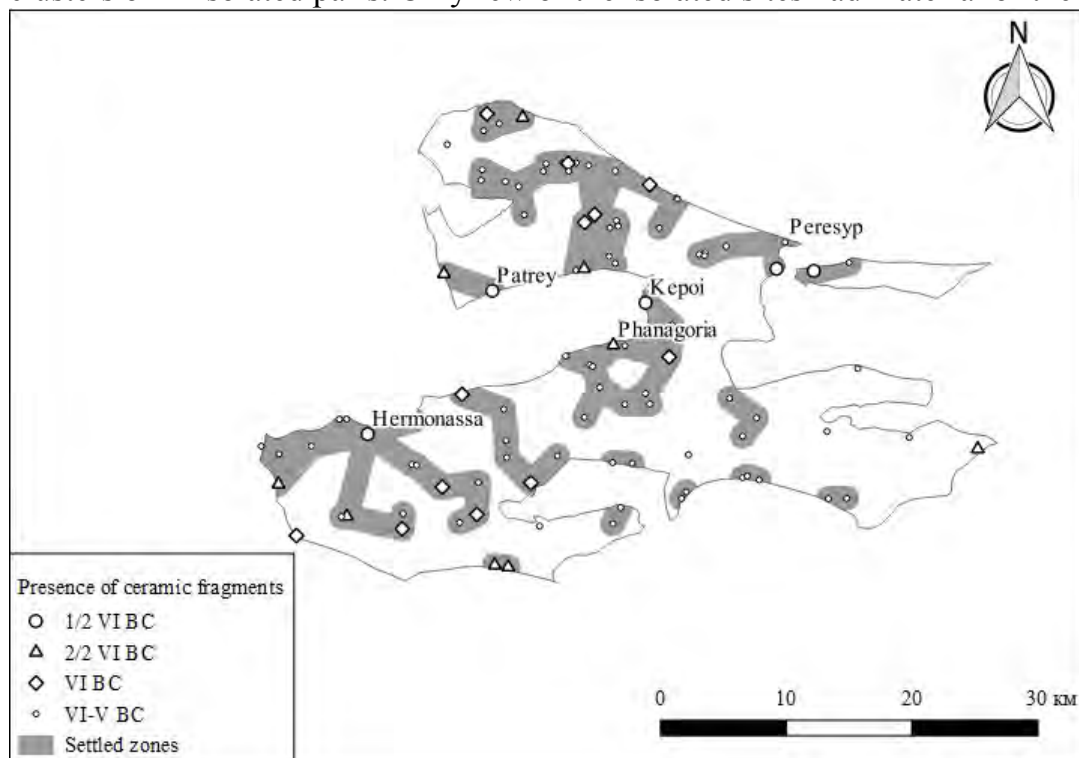


The central place of this settled zone is attributed to polis Hermonassa itself. On the fringe of the chora there is a chain of the 2nd rank sites, some of them accompanied by the satellites – small sites of the 3rd rank. Also there is a chain of the 3rd rank sites. In case of other clusters the situation is not so clear, mostly due to the low degree of archaeological investigations of these zones, although the relations between the 2nd and the 3rd rank sites are the same in general.

A comparison of the sites in the isolated pairs suggests that the sites were not equal. With high probability one site in a pair was subdominant to another.

In the case of isolated single and small groups of sites there is obviously no any subdivision.

A very important question is what is the reason for such a difference? Why on a small territory of Taman peninsula in the VI-V BC existed both the cases corresponding with the model of polis' spatial structure and the ones seem to be in contradiction? The resolution of the problem can lie in the aspect of time. Foundation of a colony, expansion, formation of a settlement structure is a gradual process. One can suppose a correlation between the time passed from the beginning of settling and the degree of structural complexity in a zone. In the case of Taman peninsula such correlation was revealed: the majority of high-rank sites and sites with ceramic fragments of the VI BC were located in clusters or in isolated pairs. Only few of the isolated sites had material of the VI BC.



It seems that the earlier and the more intensive was the process of colonization of a zone, the more hierarchically structured system was formed by the beginning of the V BC. At the same time a non-structured pattern points out the later time of settling or less intensive expansion in the zone due to any obstacle, which could face the Greek colonists.

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The „Textile“ Ceramics as a Marker of Cultural Contacts of the Population of Eurasia in Bronze Age

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The article considers such phenomenon of before pottery production in the Eurasia territory as "textile" ceramics. The principle of its appearance is disclosed, the culture-carriers of this phenomenon are listed and the question of the links between these cultures is raised. The types of "textile" ceramics are listed and its potential is indicated as an indirect source for the reconstruction of textile production in the societies of the past.

Key words: Archaeology, Bronze Age, textile pottery, reconstruction of textile production

Introduction. An important part of the recreating the life-style of the past society is the reconstruction of its craft component. For example, the manufacture of fabrics in ancient times is not in doubt, but there is no direct evidence of textile production on the most archaeological sites,. However, a number of indirect sources confirms its existence and contains information about its individual aspects. In particular, such sources can be spindle, special tools for pincers (pin-beaters)¹ and "textile" ceramics. A great interest for us is the third group of sources. It received its name because of the special technology of pottery production, in which the molding of a new product takes place on an old vessel-base with the use of a textile fragment as a gasket between a base-vessel and a new raw product².

Vinogradov N., Glushkov I., Glushkova T., Galliulina M., Medvedeva P. paid attention to the subject of "textile" ceramics in their works. As one of the methods for studying this type of ceramics, they proposed, is an experimental reconstruction of the vessel formation with subsequent analysis of impressions on its inner surface in order to determine the type of thread and the type of textile weave³. At the same time, and most importantly, the researchers did not concur on how accurately we can adjudicate the level of weaving development on the site, with only such indirect source as an imprint of cloth on the clay. In our opinion, this point of view cannot be a single one, because on the sites of one culture the quality and quantity of "textile" ceramics can differ. Therefore, not only the source itself has great importance, but also the methodology applying to it.

¹ Smirnova 1993, 153.

² Vinogradov 1985, 82.

³ Medvedeva 2015, 75.

During the study of the ceramic complex of the Bronze Age fortified settlement Kamenny Ambar, a group of ceramics designated as "textile" was identified. The site is multilayered. In his "history" two periods are singled out: Syntashtinsko-Petrovskij (21-18 centuries BC) and sрубno-alakulskij (19-17 centuries BC)⁴. "Textile" ceramics comes from the early layer, and its share is a small percentage (3.17%) of the total number of collections. Such ceramics is found in the cultural layer throughout the first period, that is this before pottery tradition is stable, but not dominant for the Sintashtinsko-Petrovskij population of the Kamenny Ambar. The study of textile prints on the inside of ceramics fragments can provide information about the initial textile material and the kind of textile weave that tissue fragment used as a gasket. On the basis of the obtained data it will be possible to understand the level of weaving of the Kamenny Ambar population (the term "weaving" is conditional enough in this case). For the period under review, the technology of fabric production has not reached such level of weaving, when creating the material includes the following features: the separation of threads into two groups - the warp yarn and weft and the mechanical alternation of shed, and also involves the use of a weaver's loom in the fabrication process. To determine the presence of a shed - the space formed between raised and lowered warp yarn, into which a weft is laid, is a difficult concern having only print on a clay. In addition, weaver's looms, if they existed, are not represented in the archaeological collection of the site, because they have not survived. Proceeding from this, we consider that it is correct to apply the term "half-woven" or "primitive weaving"⁵ to this technique of obtaining fabrics. The choice of one the most accurate variant will be possible only if we receive archaeological tissue from the sites of Sintashtinsko-Petrovskoj culture.

The Kamenny Ambar settlement is one of the sites of the cluster type closed fortified settlements in the Southern Ural. "Textile" ceramics was found in the explored them and in many repositories. In addition, it was also found in the archaeological monuments of northern and south-eastern Kazakhstan⁶. Thus, this territory can be designated as an area where the technology of the "textile" ceramics production in the Bronze Age for Sintashtinska, Petrovskaya and Alakulskaya cultures existed.

At the same time, we know that "textile" ceramics is found in sites of other territories and periods. This ceramics is represented as vessels with tissue impressions on the outer and inner surfaces or with ornaments that imitate the image of the fabric on the product. Thus, there are two types of "textile" ceramics, which can be designated as technological and decorative. The second, in turn, is divided into two subgroups: with real textile impressions and with their imitation. Mentions of such type "textile" ceramics are found in publications, for example: "textile" ceramics of West-Siberian cultures of the Odinosvskij type of the Bronze Age⁷, the culture of setchataya ceramics of the Bronze Age of the Southern Ladoga Lake⁸, which, perhaps, is a variant of "textile" ceramics, "textile" or setchataya ceramics of the Dyakovskaya⁹ culture of the early Iron Age. A detailed description of these types

⁴ Koryakova, Kuzmina 2017, 93-94.

⁵ Cvetkova 2002, 13.

⁶ Doumani, Frachetti 2012, 373

⁷ Korochkova, Stefanov, Stefanova 1991, 73.

⁸ Yushkova 277-278.

⁹ Krenke 2011, 132-134.

"textile" ceramics has to be done, but there is already a obvious link between textile and before pottery craft, as well as the variety of "textile" ceramics.

This situation provokes a number of questions about the origin of these traditions and their correlation. It is also important to find out whether the second tradition was only decorative or impressions on the outside of the vessel could have technological importance for the molding the product. The most interesting and difficult to find the answer is the question of why the ancient master connected two manufactures - textile and before pottery - in the ceramics manufacture. At this research stage, we can only assume answers to the posed questions. But we hope that the gradual accumulation of data and work with ethnographic sources, will lead to an understanding of the "textile" ceramics phenomenon.

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Imported Black-Glazed Ceramics on the Territory of the European Bosphorus in 6th – 2th Centuries BC

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Das römische Kastell Echzell in der Wetterau am Obergermanischen Limes

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Echzell in the Wetterau: A Roman fort on the Upper-German Limes

Echzell lies 1.3km west of the Eastern Wetterau Limes in the Northern Wetterau. According to the current state of research, the wooden fort was constructed in Trajanic times. With the size of 5.2ha, it was one of the largest forts on the Upper-German Limes. During the Hadrianic period the defensive circuit and the headquarters were reconstructed in stone while the barracks were continued to be built half-timbered. The examination showed that the fort was destroyed during two destruction phases and reconstructed only a short while afterwards. It probably existed up until the end of the Limes border about 260 AD. The objectives of the dissertation project are the presentation and re-evaluation of the entire features and finds of the old excavations from the years 1962-1967, which were conducted by Dietwulf Baatz. All stratified finds are being classified, if necessary re-recorded, the chronology of the superstructures is to be revised. Every feature of the fort is being recorded in a geo-information system, in order to make precise plans, regional and interregional relations, and to facilitate the use of geographical methods. On the basis of this, the impact of the fort Echzell on the dynamic settlement processes in the surrounding area and the impact of the fort as economic centre should be investigated, both within and beyond the Roman border.

Hermonassa in Late Antiquity: between Romans and Barbarians

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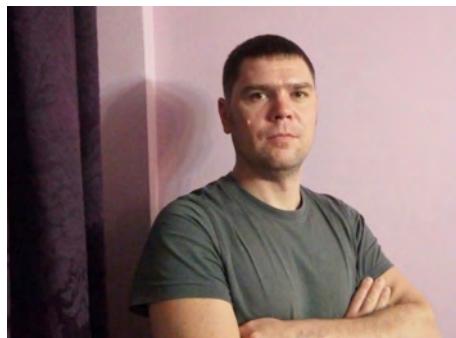


Formation of the Elite Among the Settled Barbarians of the Kuban Region in Ancient Times

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Abstract. The article is devoted to the question of the addition of the elite to the settled barbarians of the Kuban region in the ancient era; it deals with the main causes and historical background on which this genesis occurred. The author also considers communications in the system of social ties that unite the elite of the region.

Keywords: Elite –Kuban – ancient era –trade – Greek – Sindica – Meotian tribes – Bosphorus – social relations

One of the main tasks of modern archeology, and not only of its theoretical part, is the search for convenient, universal forms, which establish values that reveal the meaning of specific concepts, terms or phenomena. The purpose of this search is quite obvious, and it consists in a more accurate information transfer, which ultimately leads to an accurate formulation of the issue, and hence to its simplest solution. However, the principle of uniqueness does not always work. There is some number of broad concepts that cannot be inserted in a separate terminological formula. Among such concepts in the field of social archeology is the "elite". Traditionally, in order to designate a group, which performs administrative functions and possesses some powers, such categories as "nobility" and "aristocracy" are applied. "Elite" does not in its meaning counterbalance the designated categories (moreover, their separation is very conventional), but it demonstrates great broadness of the concept, which in practice expands the possibilities of its use.

The term "elite" in the national historiography appeared not so long ago, at the turn of 80 – 90s of the XX century. Its original meaning designated outstanding archeological complexes that contrasted sharply with respect to the ordinary burials; and by the way, this position is widely used to this day. Meanwhile, at the moment, issues are increasingly shifted to the field, where the "elite" is considered as a social group, which is a stable community with deep links of its people, who have common interests and access to real power. In the long term, it allows us to consider the social and political processes, which take place in a particular region through the prism of relations of power structures. Moreover, while reconstructing these structures within society, along with the cultural and social aspects, we need to consider the issues of "elite" formation, as well as the historical background in which this genesis occurred.

When we speak of "elite", especially in a developed society, then we must understand that it is not just a privileged social stratum, which has the power and material resources, but

a whole culture which, as a rule, does not depend on borders and "ethnicity". These special forms of culture sometimes had such a specific appearance, that in some cases there is every reason to talk about a single, over-cultural phenomenon - "the culture of nobility" (Shnirelman, 1985, 64-122; 2013, 63). A very important point to pay a special attention is: in most cases, in the applied archeology, the "elite" can be judged only through the study of the abovementioned phenomenon. This situation is related primarily to the specifics of the discipline, where the material source is the most important aspect, and the "culture of nobility" can be allocated solely on the basis of material differentiation. Therefore, we can designate the study course as: from the object through culture to the society¹.

If we look at the archeological materials of the studied region, by means of following this simple formula, the "culture of nobility" often stands out from the surrounding array of monuments by magnificent funerary complexes, which, in turn, are correlated with the local elites. In one of my recent works devoted to some parallels in the funeral ceremony of "luxury" complexes of Asian Bosphorus, Sindica and Kuban regions, I came to the conclusion that on a rather vast territory of certain social groups there were very close forms of funeral ritual, in which a special place was given to horses, as well as to its equipment (Ivanov, 2016, 236-239). These results I got from a rather cursory comparative analysis of such complexes as: the Seven Brothers, Elizabethan mounds, various "elite" monuments of Kuban region and Asian Bosphorus. Of course, I didn't take into account the overwhelming share of the richest burial mounds of the Bosphorus; in particular, the European part of it has not been studied. However, I didn't put such a problem. Meanwhile, the conclusions turned out to be so unexpected and interesting, that a question appeared: what has influenced the formation of a social group that has left such magnificent monuments, and what links united this social group?

To understand this problem we can turn to the currently available information. In VI BC, in the North-West Caucasus region, the stage of culturalgenesis begins. During Scythian migration, on the basis of Proto - Maeotaen population of VIII-VII BC, two cultural formations appear: Maeotaen culture appears in Trans-Kuban region, and on the territory of the Black Sea coast in the region of Anapa and Novorossiysk appears a tribal formation, which is united by one archaeological culture, and includes such the tribes as the Sindh, the Kerkets, the Torets (Ivanov, 2016, 261-262). This process took place during one significant event for the region - the beginning of the Greek colonization. On the Black Sea coast, in the Bosphorus Strait and on the Taman archipelago appear the first apoykis. From that moment between the Greeks and aborigines appear pretty close relationships, which are based primarily on trade. At that time and later trade will play a main role in cross-cultural interaction, as well as define it in many ways.

Until recently, the contacts between aborigines and the Greeks in the VI century BC were described only by specific findings, but after the recent intensive excavation works² the magnitude of this trade becomes obvious. Yes, it is largely less than the volume of

¹ Where the first one is a luxurious products that are in the funerary complexes, which stand out from the surrounding array of synchronous monuments, the second one is the abovementioned phenomenon of "elite culture", and finally, the last one is the "elite" itself, which was allocated on the basis of the first two definitions.

² Work on ancient settlement "Maryan" in Stanitsa Maryanskaya near Krasnodar (expedition headed by V.Y. Kononov in 2013 and P.A. Larenka in 2015), regular academic settlement research "Tarasova Balka" in Kostroma mounds in the foothills of Adygea (Ryabkova, 2016, 108 -111), not to mention the coastal monuments (Sudarev, 2014, 99-100).

turnover of the further epoch, but here it is necessary to understand that this is only the first contacts, when only ways and routes were outlined, the first connections were established. Early contacts between cultures were probably not sustainable and were sporadic. They did not significantly affect the aborigines' way of life, nor demanded changes in the economic sphere and in the social structure. Kuban monuments of this period show a fairly simple social scale. Human settlements were small tribal villages (Kamenetsky, 1989, 249; Limberis&Marchenko, 2010, 206), burial grounds associated with these settlements, which also corresponded with the tribal system, without the expressed property differentiation. Identical picture can be observed in the region of Anapa and Novorossiysk (Dmitriev&Malyshev, 2009, 53-70).

At the turn of VI–V centuries BC there is a surge in trading activity. On the monuments of the coastal zone the scientists observed a surge in the antique centers production, especially of amphorae. A little later, in the V century BC tableware appears here, and later its number is increasing³. Evidence of this activity can be traced among the Kuban Maeotaens⁴.

The growth in trade was caused by the strengthening of the position of the Greek colonists and the foundation on the Asian side of the Bosphorus such a large city as Phanagoria, and then, a little later, Labrita. These polises, along with Sindhi Harbor, were the link between the ancient centers and the population Kuban region, which made it possible to saturate the market by more diversified products. It was formed in the first place by goods which, for various reasons, could not be produced in the local area, and were therefore in demand. It is not clear to this day, what the economic basis is and what was the item of trade in this period in the local tribes. According to researchers, for example the Maeotaens in trade with the Bosphorus were the less developed partners. They exported primarily raw materials (Kamenetsky, 1989, 248). The "export" included metals, wool, leather, fish, slaves and bread (Koshelenko, Malyshev, Ulitin, 2010, 268-277; Kamenetsky, 2011, 308-309). We should probably add cattle to this list. Kuban molded ceramics is also met in the ancient monuments of Taman region (Vinogradov, 2006; Kamelina, 2009; Zhuravlev, Shlottsauer, Kelterbaum, Porotov, 2009), which apparently served as a container for some specific types of goods.

Nature of trade between the aborigines and the Greeks is obvious. In view of the fact that in the indicated time period in material barbaric monuments we don't find coins. We can more probably speak of natural exchange operations for transactions. And where these operations took place is an open question. Meanwhile, the presence of import among the barbarians certainly indicates the existence of markets where these products were purchased. The fact that the amount of import within the Hinterland with the removal from the Greek cities reduced, indicates that trade was very close to the polises. This version seems to be more justified for the reason that the Greeks could offer a greater variety of

³ Particular attention to the ceramics in a barbaric environment is not accidental, since it is often the only archaeologically preserved category. Naturally, in addition to the dining and ceramic products in amphorae, which at first was comparable to luxury, there were other imported goods - a variety of jewellery, mirrors, beads, ceremonial utensils, perhaps fabrics, etc.

⁴ See the Set of imported ceramics of Early Maeotaen period monuments of Kuban region (Ivanov, 2010, 178-180; Limberis&Marchenko, 2012, 47-49.).

quality goods than the barbarians, and therefore were dominant. It is necessary to take into account the fact that an important role in the promotion of Hellenic goods themselves played the local tribes, which distributes them into the areas remote from the sea (Kuznetsov, 2016, p. 256). Perhaps, in addition to a simple direct trade we may admit the existence of mediation and its forms. Finally, there is the view that one cannot exclude transit trade for the Maeotaens (Kamenecky, 1989, 249), which could exist in the coastal tribes.

Another equally important issue, which we have to mention is: “who among the barbarians carried out this trade and which status did they have? As I mentioned above, the tribal organization of local tribes of region colonization time had no different social stratification, at least these conclusions can be done from the archaeological materials. That is, simple community members were engaged in trade. Unfortunately, we cannot clearly say if they acted on their own, or under someone else's control or protectorate. After all, no one canceled institution of chiefdom or, for example, the presence of the old nobility, which had been formed in the earlier Scythian time. As I.S. Kamenetsky has noticed, the fact that we don't observe the differentiation on materials of barbaric monuments, is mainly due to the level of our knowledge (Kamenetsky, 1989, 249), rather than by the lack of it. However, in archeology, with no clearly defined property status⁵, it is impossible to understand the social status, especially in the tribal system. It is difficult to agree with the fact that the aborigines did not know the wealth - that is contrary to luxurious pre-Scythian and Scythian complexes of the previous era, and it means that we are dealing if not with the public, but with the material equality.

This conclusion can be made only at the first stage of research. The development of trade and the gradual build-up of its volume must necessarily have an impact on the structure of the barbarian societies. Let's say that for some groups, perhaps for individual families, commerce eventually became the main activity, with further generation of profit and the accumulation of it. Enrichment, which resulted to trade, inevitably changed the social status of these groups, which laid the basis of social inequality, which was expressed in the formation of social elites. Of course, the author is aware of the fact that the described above enrichment principle is quite a simple mechanism, without taking into account many factors, and it is not the only possible one. And yet, at the present level of our knowledge on this issue in the present aspect, it is the most preferred one. Reflecting on this theme, I noticed one consideration of K. Ulf. The researcher pointed out the importance of the fact that persons having control over various forms of capital, are likely to be successful in politics and in society (Ulf, 2009, 90), and so we must take into account the relevant economic, social and cultural needs and aspirations, as well as those aspects that lead to the acquisition of symbolic capital.

Why have I addressed this issue? Now, while tracing the social development of the Kuban barbaric societies, researchers rarely study the question the elite origin. The formation of this category, probably due to lack of knowledge, was especially never considered in the context of historical processes. I think that the genesis of the elites among the settled Kuban societies is closely linked to the designated enrichment mechanism, and is not so much the social development of society as a response to the "challenge" from the

⁵ This situation is related primarily to the specifics of the discipline, where the source material is the most important one.

Greek settlements. The answer to this question was the implementation of political control over the trade and shipping routes.

Interestingly, after the burst of trading activity at the turn of VI–V centuries BC after only about fifty years, that is, only two historical generations later, the phenomenon of Seven Brothers mounds appears in the Kuban region, which is the richest burial monument of not just an outstanding individual member of society, but of the whole dynasty. Thus by the middle of V century BC, at least in the the Sindica territory, which by the way is the nearest territory to the Greeks, we can experience the formation process result of the barbarous elites. By this time the society of the coastal tribes has obtained the hierarchical structure: along with simple, ordinary burial grounds and apart from the grandiose "royal" burial mounds, we know the complexes of a lower level, e.g. the Small Seven Brothers complex, the Utashmounds, burial mounds at the colony Mihaelsfeld.

The process of elite forming among the Maeotaens was somewhat later - at the turn of V–IV centuries BC, but it also was associated with a surge in trade and import saturation of Kuban aborigine population. Some "lateness" most likely was caused by only a matter of removal from the Greek centers. This was also caused by the fact that the Maeotaen tribes were much more numerous than in the coastal zone, and the area of their settlement was much broader. As among the Cinds, already from the moment when there is a tradition of "royal" burial mounds less rich complexes appear; this also shows the formation of the social hierarchy. It seems logical that the Elizabethan mounds, beneath which the same dynasty were buried, are located next to a large area - trade area which was situated, in the opinion of N.V. Anfimov, on the Elizabethan settlement (Anfimov, 1987, 124). I think we can draw a parallel with the Seven Brothers mounds, the location of which is directly linked to Labritom.

From all this it becomes clear that the author of this opinion, that luxurious complexes of the second half of the V–IV centuries BC, which we relate with the local elites, are the result of trade and the activities that accompanies it. In this regard, another point is curious.

As we know, the period when the Archaeanactids came to power coincides with the message of Herodotus, which refers to the ships with the grain from Pontus (Herodotus, VII, 147). According to the researchers, including V.D. Kuznetsov, the grain came from the Bosphorus: the Archaeanactids obtained grain as a tax, grown in the territory subject to them, and sold it to merchants from Greece (Kuznetsov, 2009, 198). The conclusion, in general, is quite obvious, if we consider that the same system worked quite well in the times of the Spartocids, as the economic basis of not only the state but also of the king's power. If trade in adjacent territories with the Bosphorus gave impetus to the formation of authorities, who will vouch for the fact that the benefits form trade in grain is not a true cause of the usurpation of power by a some Arheanact? We must admit that science has a very limited range of information about these events, and in many moments we can only speculate. However, without interest is the fact of gaining power at the very moment when the Bosphorus began to export the grain and it seems to me that these events are not accidental and they are linked. Just like formation of addition elite region.

Another topic is also important. It is clear that commerce and the presence of the elite formed in connection with this activity, helped to establish communications. Their

reliability was responsible not only for the success of commercial enterprises under the control of a new social group, but also contributed to the further accumulation of resources, expand its influence, strengthening of the authority and its legitimization. However, these questions lie in a completely different field – the laws of sociology work here.

One of the main points in the field of social relations is the maintenance of mutual role expectations: if this does not happen, that is, mutual role expectations are not confirmed, then the social bond disintegrates. The incentive here is an economic good, which encourages the economic cooperation. The effectiveness of social relationships depends on the satisfaction level of its participants. The more satisfied they are the more stable social bond is, the more informal its nature is. It is characterized by a natural division of communication participants on the status and roles, expressing their needs, values, norms, beliefs embodied in the traditions. This social bond is characteristic of family kinship in traditional society. Overall, this leads us to an understanding of how these ties were fastened.

I have already spoken about the fact that between the representatives of the region's elite there were long and productive relationship, contacts, well persevered, established connections, having assumed that the basis of these communications were dynastic marriages (Ivanov, 2016, 239). Almost the only source of this is the Polyaeus novel, which tells about the conflicts of the royal house in the Sinds, changing wives by a barbaric ruler depending on the political situation, and the consequences of these actions. It seems to me that this kind of marriages could exist, apart from the kings, also among the elites standing below in the social hierarchy. Thus, the region has been entangled with over-cultural and over-ethnic social network through which cultural space with a unique cultural area was created. However, we must admit that, unfortunately, we are still very far from what would be at least a rough estimation of the scale, and sadly archeology is not able to help us.

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Scythian Neapolis Population according to Data of Physical Anthropology

(A correlation analysis of craniological and funerary data on the findings from the ground crypts of the Eastern necropolis)

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Introduction

The Eastern necropolis of the Scythian Naples was explored by archaeological expeditions under the leadership of E. A. Simonovich, I. D. Marchenko, and O. A. Makhneva in 1956-1958. The collection of skulls from graves of the necropolis was presented in a publication by T. S. Konduktorova in 1964. The results of archaeological excavations were described in a monography by E. A. Simonovich (1983), in which T.S. Konduktorova's findings were discussed only briefly and outside the context of burial customs. Exploration of the Eastern necropolis was continued in the 1980s under the leadership of A. E. Puzdrovsky and Yu. P. Zaytsev, but the newly found anthropological materials have not been analyzed yet. In the review on the Scythian Naples archaeology by Yu. p. Zaitsev (2003), the anthropological data were only mentioned in the historiographical overview and were not used as an additional historical source.

The aim of this work is an attempt to integrate the data of physical anthropology and archaeology. The objects of research include male skulls and burial customs in the ground crypts of the Eastern necropolis.

Materials and methods

Individual dimensions of 46 male skulls from 18 ground crypts (Fig. 1) were reported by T. S. Konduktorova (1964). Five crypts were represented by single skulls. For thirteen crypts, each represented by two to six skulls preserved sufficiently for the measurements, eleven craniometrical traits with the most complete set of individual data were chosen, and the arithmetic means were calculated.

The degree of similarity between the cranial groups was estimated by calculating the Mahalanobis distances. These values were transformed by multidimensional scaling method using L. Guttman's algorithm to obtain two-dimensional graphs.

The anthropologically defined subgroups of the Scythian Naples population were compared with each other according to the frequency of occurrence of archaeological traits.

The variability of burial customs was evaluated based on 33 traits by the principal component method.

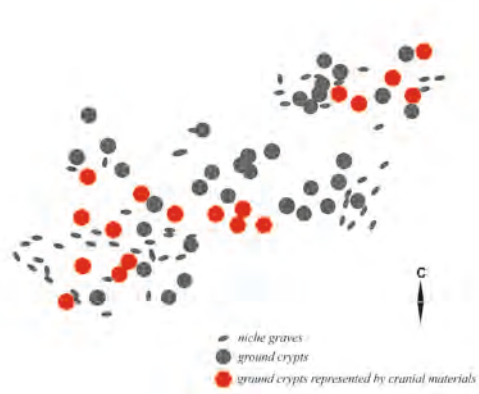


Figure 1. The plan of the Eastern necropolis in the Scythian Naples.

Results and discussion

Almost all the individual cranial parameters of the skeletal remains vary in a broad range of values, from small or very small to large and very large on the global scale. The analysis of intragroup correlation matrix of craniometrical traits demonstrates reliably increased correlation coefficients between cranial length and height (at $p=0.02$), cranial length and naso-malar angle ($p=0.0000$), cranial length and simotic index ($p=0.01$), cranial height and naso-malar angle ($p=0.0009$), zygomatic angle and Minimal frontal breadth ($p=0.0015$), orbital height and nasal breadth and height (at $p<0.05$). This may be an indication of anthropological heterogeneity of the studied population.

The chart on Fig. 2 shows the results of multidimensional scaling of the Mahalanobis distances. Individual skulls and series of skulls from different crypts are distributed on the x-axis from the broader and lower ones with broader faces and higher orbits – to long and narrow skulls with medium broad faces and low orbits. The classification is arbitrary: the skulls with x-values below zero are included into the euryomorphic subgroup while those with positive coordinates are considered leptomorphic.

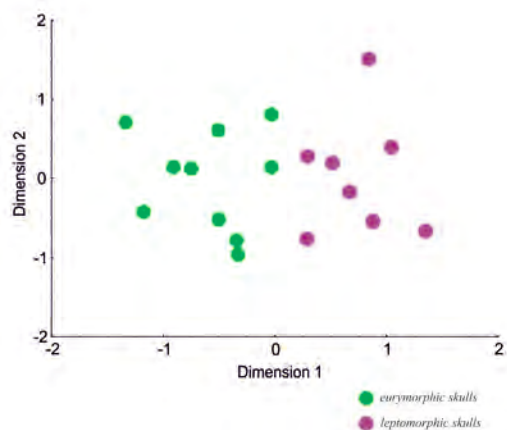


Figure 2. The results of multidimensional scaling of the Mahalanobis distances between examples and series of male skulls from ground crypts of the Eastern necropolis.

The occurrence frequencies of burial goods of twenty-two categories for the crypts with eurymorphic and leptomorphic skulls amounted to 48 and 82 total findings, respectively. The crypts with eurymorphic skulls contained fewer items of seventeen categories, namely, handmade ceramics and pottery, spearheads and arrowheads, horse harness items, knives, grinding bars, fibulas, horn-beaded threads/ringlets/beads/pyramidal clasps/buckles, rings and signet rings, earrings, temple rings/bracelets/neck rings, belt buckles, mirrors, knobby rings, bells and pendants.

The burial customs analysis of ground crypts of the Eastern necropolis by principal component method allows defining two primary variates (Fig.3)

The first variate, on the horizontal axis, represents 16.5% of burial customs variability expressed as simultaneous variations of such traits as grave depth and frequency of occurrence of burial goods from 10 categories: molded ceramics and pottery, spearheads and arrowheads, knives, grinding bars, fibulas, horn-beaded threads/ringlets/beads/pyramidal clasps/buckles, mirrors, knobby rings, and bells.

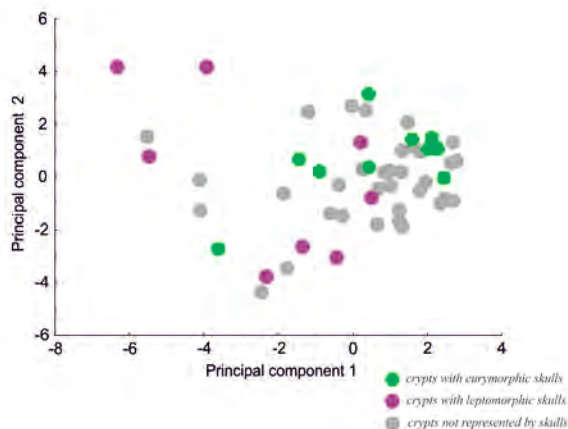


Figure 3. The results of the analysis of burial custom traits variability by the principal component method.

The vertical axis (10.5% of total variability) demonstrates the variations of grave coordinates on the Necropolis plan correlated with the frequency of occurrence of spearheads, arrowheads, and belt buckles. The probability of simultaneous occurrence of these objects depends on the grave location in the necropolis.

The grave complexes with spearheads, arrowheads, and belt buckles are more common in the Northern (or North-Western) part of the necropolis than they are in the South (South-East), as confirmed by the marks on necropolis plan (Fig. 4).



Figure 4. Crypts with spearheads, arrowheads and belt buckles on the plan of the Eastern necropolis.

Thus, the following trends can be observed in the ground crypts of the Eastern necropolis regarding the variability of archaeological traits. Firstly, a trivial variation from the deeper and "richer" to more shallow and "poor" graves; besides, leptomorphic skulls are more common for the first type of crypts, and eurymorphic skulls are more common for the second type (see Fig. 3). Secondly, the frequency of occurrence of spearheads and arrowheads as well as belt buckles reduces from the North (or North-West) to the South (or South-East). Besides, the crypts in the South-Eastern part of the necropolis contain eurymorphic skulls a little more frequently (Fig. 5).



(see the legend to Fig. 3)

Figure 5. Crypts with eurymorphic and leptomorphic skulls on the plan of the necropolis.

The relationship between anthropological and archaeological traits may indicate the presence of at least two population components in the composition of the population under study, whose funeral traditions were different. An insight into the question of their origin was provided by the intergroup analysis involving the comparison of Antique cranial materials (Fig. 6).

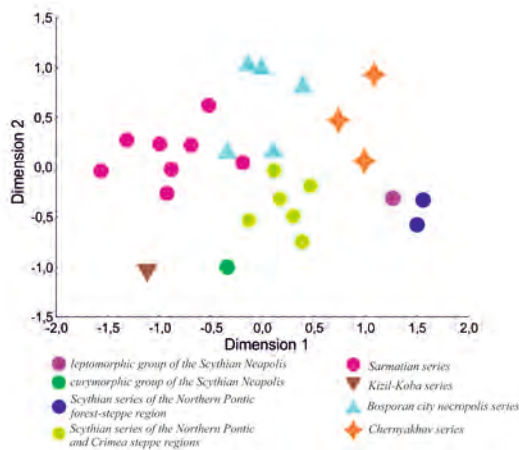


Figure 6. Intergroup analysis of male craniological groups of the Antique period.

The leptomorphic group of skulls from the Scythian Naples exhibits a significant similarity with the combined Scythian groups of the Northern Pontic forest-steppe, while the eurymorphic collection resembles the steppe and Crimean series of Scythian culture. At the same time, the low cranial breadth and height together with a sharp horizontal profile, which is a rare combination of craniometrical parameters for the eurymorphic subgroup of Scythian skulls, makes this subgroup closer to the series of skulls from the burial sites of the Crimean Kizil-Koba culture.

Natural Terminologies in the Aulus Cornelius Celsus's Treatise *De Medicina*: Linguistic Interpretation

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Keywords: Latin language, A.C. Celsus, term, terminology

Most of the terms used in the natural sciences come from Latin and Greek languages. The paper presents an attempt to analyze and to interpret the natural terminologies found in the Latin treatise *De Medicina* of A. C. Celsus (about 25 BC - 50 BC), which is the only surviving part (eight books) of the encyclopedia of this author.

Based on the analysis of Celsus's text, the genesis of definite lexical units, their morphological structure, their inflection, syntactic and semantic characteristics were described. The linguistic mechanisms lead to the development of Latin natural terminology (acquisition of the word of general language, Greek borrowings, derivation / composition based on native stems, etc.) and it also shows the terms functioning in the language (morphological and semantic stability / instability, loans and substitution).

Simultaneously it presents also a general view of knowledge about nature and its utility for man from the point of view of its application specifically in medicine.

Extensive in the number of lexical units, is a botanical section in natural terminology. This shows how much was the knowledge in this field in the Celsus's era.

However, here there are also a number of difficulties associated with the identification of plant species, since various species of representatives of the flora may be hidden behind a single name, and with time those names changed their meanings. Thus, the recognition and precise translation of the plant names used in Celsus's book turns out to be controversial, and sometimes difficult.

Another difficulty from the semantic point of view is represented by lexemes denoting materials and substances that were in use only in a concrete historical epoch, and then lost their significance and application in this field of knowledge.

In general, the analysis of the work of Celsus gives an imagination of the level of development of medicine and the features of scientific knowledge in the ancient Rome in the 1st century AD.

Alexandrian Origin of the Roman Iconography of the Happy Afterlife

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Abstract. This study attempts to trace the origins of popular iconographic types of the Roman funerary art representing the Happy Afterworld.

Keywords: funerary painting, Roman painting, Alexandrian monumental tombs, Ptolemaic art, pastoral landscapes

In the beginning of the Christian era a new tradition grew more and more popular in monumental funerary painting of the Roman oecumene. The pastoral landscapes inhabited by cows, sheep and birds were willingly adopted by pagans, Jews and Christians as a universal code of the happy afterworld. The scenes of agricultural works (primarily the grape harvesting) also entered the repertoire of the Roman funerary art. The symbolic motives went triumphantly through Roman provinces and by the 3rd century AD appeared in the funerary painting of the Balkans and Asia Minor. Rome and the Italic Peninsula took the most vigorous interest in pastoral representation of the *vita felix* paradigm.

The origins of some iconographic types remain questionable. While early Etruscan tombs contained some landscape elements, the time gap between these tombs and the new tradition of the Roman funerary art is more than five centuries. The abundant Roman landscape paintings remained in villas, private houses and palaces. Until the end of the 1st century BC the Roman funerary art had tended to stay within the long established conventions of visualizing ritual acts (e.g. processions, banquets, libations), funerary portraiture and celebration of *gens* and social and civil virtues of the deceased. The earliest known funerary sacro-idyllic landscapes in Italic peninsula dating back to the Principate period (around 20-10 BC) ornate the walls of the two columbaria found in the area of the Villa Doria Pamphilj – Great Columbarium and Columbarium Scribonis Menophilus¹. But until the 2nd c. AD the landscapes remained largely exceptional in the funerary context².

The Greek culture was a major influence on the development of the Roman tradition, the funerary art being a part of such impact. The Greek and in particular Macedonian tomb painting was focused on representation of Orphic and Dionysiac mysterial motives and symbolic heroization of the deceased, for the Dionysiac initiation and the heroization were believed to ensure the happy afterlife. The depictions of the Afterworld were scarce in Greek

¹ Frölich, T. 2015, 388

² Casagrande-Kim, R. 2012, 154

tomb paintings, either deriving from the Homeric descriptions or visualizing symbolic moments of the Afterworld judgment, a meeting of the deceased with his/her ancestors or a funerary banquet in the Afterworld. No interest towards the pastoral landscapes can be traced in the Greek (Macedonian) art. The explanation of this indifference lays in a specific cultural milieu of the Greek elite, which was predominantly military. The battles and hunt, charioteers' competitions and horse races were the popular motives of funerary art, thus the representations of horses and dogs versus cows and sheep of the later Roman pastoral landscapes, as well as wild forests versus cultivated lands.

Obviously the Romans had developed a certain mental realm of the Underworld long before the 2nd century AD when the representations alluding to *Sedes Beatae* became omnipresent. Their perception largely based on the Greek tradition, lately elaborated by Roman authors, particularly by Virgil in his *Aeneid*, where he generally described Elysium among the other parts of the Underworld³. The landscapes of Elysium comprise plains, pastures where the heroes' horses walk freely, groves, grottoes, hills, grooves and the shadowy banks of the Eridanus River. R.Casagrande summarizes the principal features of the Elysium realm: no season shift and general absence of human productive activities⁴. The blessed inhabitants of Elysium do not have homes, live in the groves and are engaged in the activities deemed to be appropriate for the idealized elite (sports competitions, horse keeping, banqueting, dancing and singing⁵). There is no mention of any agricultural works.

R.Casagrande argues that the Roman mental image of Elysium also relied on descriptions of Utopian lands elaborated by Roman authors on the basis of Greek prototypes⁶. This explains the fact that the early depictions of landscapes in the funerary context were almost identical to those decorating the walls of mundane buildings. The idyllic utopian realm was easily extrapolated on the realm of the happy Afterworld. The sacro-idyllic landscapes first appeared in public columbaria built for *clientes*, slaves and low-income *liberti*. They neither belonged to famous *gens* nor had professional success to boast of⁷. The paintings in such public columbaria had to find some universal themes appropriate to the context. The sacro-idyllic paintings alluding to the happy afterlife and rituals commemorating the deceased turned out to be the optimal choice.

Until the second half of the 2nd c. AD depictions of sacro-idyllic landscapes had remained scarce in the funerary context⁸, and since then the variety of landscape iconographic types grew noticeably. First appeared the pastorals depicting flocks, shepherds milking sheep or shepherds calf bearers⁹ and somewhat later, in the beginning of the 3rd c. the scenes of harvesting (mostly with mythological actors) grew more and more popular¹⁰. The symbolic

³ Virgil. *Aeneid*. VI. 638-678

⁴ Casagrande-Kim, R. 2012. 40

⁵ Virgil. *Aeneid*. VI. 653-657

⁶ Casagrande-Kim, R. 2012. 69

⁷ Frölich, T. 2015. 389

⁸ Casagrande-Kim, R. 2012. 154

⁹ Zanker, P., Ewald B.C. 2012. 168. Fig. 158; 205. Fig. 186

¹⁰ Pavia, C. 1012. 119, 120

representation of the happy Afterworld as a *semis* of red flowers was incorporated into the funerary painting repertoire approximately in the mid-2nd century AD. Probably, its origins could be traced back to the literary descriptions of Elysium, such as Pindar's Θρήνοι. In his ode known as *fr.129* he mentioned «meadows red with roses»¹¹. Yet, the earliest depictions of red flowers in Italian Peninsula in the funerary context could only be dated back to the second half of the 2nd c. AD.

For a long time the Roman funerary art did not take much interest in visualization of the happy Afterworld. The pastoral and cultivated landscapes entered its repertoire rather late as compared to the Roman province of Egypt. The country had witnessed a long story of incorporating pastoral and cultivated landscapes into iconographic programs of the monumental tombs. Egyptian civilization was based on three millenniums of successful agricultural activities, and the Egyptians' happy afterlife beliefs were intimately associated with the agricultural prosperity and the pastoral landscapes.

The large-scale meeting of the two powerful funerary art traditions – Greek and Egyptian – was ensured by Macedonian conquest of the country. The syncretization of the iconographic traditions started surprisingly soon – during a short term of Alexander's rule. The most conspicuous funerary monument bearing the features of both Greek and Egyptian styles comes from Hermopolis Magna in the Middle Egypt. The temple-like tomb of high priest Petosiris (dated back to Alexander's rule¹²) was traditionally decorated by painted relief friezes. While some of the scenes adhere to Egyptian visual conventions, the others display obvious Greek origin. The episode of grape harvesting is probably the first extant representation of this activity performed predominantly in Greek style (fig.1). The depictions of grape harvesting are omnipresent in Egyptian funerary art, while the Greek and Roman representations of these activities before the turn of the 2nd-3rd centuries AD are only known from the vase painting. It seems rather safe to assume a possibility of Egyptian impact on the development of the Roman landscape painting tradition, both funerary and mundane.

The Egyptian artistic conventions influenced the Roman art mostly indirectly – via Alexandria. The Alexandrian art grew on the basis of three major artistic traditions – Hellenistic Greek, Egyptian and Roman. Despite the bad state of preservation of the city's cultural heritage, even the extant monuments (mostly the monumental tombs) demonstrate sophisticated artistic tradition that borrowed and mixed styles, subjects, symbols and meanings. The Alexandrian funerary art (and very likely mundane art as well) became a sort of experimental area where the various visual conventions were put in unconventional context.

Thus, the persevering Egyptian motive of alternating date palms and deciduous trees emerged in the Alexandrian tombs Anfushi II and V (dated back to 1st c. BC¹³), accompanied by ornamental décor imitating the Greek order. Later this motive migrated to

¹¹ Sandys, J. 1915. 588-589: «φοινικорόδοις τ' ἐν λειμώνεσσι προάστιον αὐτῶν»

¹² Venit, M.S. 2016. 8

¹³ Venit, M.S. 2002. 86-89

the Roman art. It firstly appeared in the mundane painting. The Pompeian House of Amazons, dated by the third quarter of 1st century AD, provides a good example¹⁴. In 90-110 AD a sculptor used this motive to ornate the funerary altar of Gaius Clodius Primitivus¹⁵. The painting on a slab closing the so-called loculus of Atimetus (150-250 AD¹⁶) of San Sebastiano catacombs (Rome) represents another version of the same egyptianizing motive¹⁷.

Alexandria is most likely a place of origin of the famous Nilotic landscapes¹⁸, a special type of idyllic, often humorous landscapes alluding to the pleasant and careless lands places. The earliest examples of the egyptianizing Nilotic scenes dated back to 1st c. BC were found in Alexandria. Nilotica was omnipresent in the Roman World, most of the monuments coming from Italy. Nilotic compositions, among the earliest funerary sacro-idyllic landscape depictions, made part of iconographic program of the above-mentioned Great Columbarium.

The symbolic motive of *semis* of red flowers that became a universal paradisiac code in the Early Christian art had been known to the Italian Peninsula at least since the 1st century AD. It wasn't applied to the funerary context, though, remaining on the walls of *lararia*. The earliest examples of this motive in the tombs were also found in Alexandria. The plafonds of two so-called tombs of Persephone (late 1st – early 2nd c. AD¹⁹) are decorated with red flowers. It seems plausible that Alexandrian artists incorporated the chthonic motive into the funerary context for the first time, and it proved to be efficient in conveying the mental codes of the happy Afterworld.

While the landscapes with alternating date palms and deciduous trees are definitely egyptianizing, the earliest known cultivated landscapes depicted in purely Greek artistic manner also come from Alexandria. The walls of the Wardian tomb were decorated with frescoes of exceptional quality depicting a couple of bulls turning the water-wheel (*saqiya*) under the gourd vine, a shepherd with his flock carrying a calf on his shoulders and a male figure reclining under the vine (fig 2). The paintings are loosely dated from 2nd c. BC to 1st c. AD²⁰. Even if the frescoes are not Ptolemaic but early Roman, they still outdate the earliest Italian funerary depictions of pastoral landscapes with bulls, shepherds and flocks by about a century.

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¹⁴ Ling, R. 2013. 153. Fig. 161

¹⁵ Casagrande-Kim, R. 2012. 188

¹⁶ Casagrande-Kim, R. 2012. 188

¹⁷ Pavia, C. 1012. 162

¹⁸ Versluys, M.J. 2002. 244-245

¹⁹ Guimier-Sorbets A.-M., Seif El-Din, M. 1997. 406

²⁰ Venit, M.S. 1988. 89; Riad, H. 1967. 96; Guimier-Sorbets A.-M., Seif El-Din, M. 1997. 406

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Ein Germane in der römischen Legion. Der Helm des L. Sollionius Super

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A German warrior in the Roman legion. The helmet of L. Sollionius Super

In 1970 a Roman helmet was found in Niedermörnter, a district of Kalkar which is located in the Lower Rhine area, during gravel stripping. The find spot, though not giving much information was eponymous: in publications the helmet is known as “Helm von Niedermörnter”. The helmet is characterized by an inscription and by its decoration. The inscription mentions the owner *L. Sollionius Super*, a Germanic name, as well as the *legio XXX Ulpia victrix*. Perhaps this indicates that the owner of the helmet was as member of the *Ubii* from the area around Cologne, who is stationed in the legionary camp *Vetera II* near *Colonia Ulpia Traiana/Xanten*. The decoration shows Roman symbols; many of them have a nautical theme.

The objectives of this research are the analysis of the type of the helmet, its imagery and its inscription. The symbols are being compared with other images on military equipment. This requires a discussion about the acculturation of this probably Germanic warrior in the Roman legion. Can the name *Super* be attributed to the *Ubii*? What kind of responsibilities did he have in the legion?

Symbols of Prestige – Flint Daggers in the Light of a Functional Analysis

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Key words: daggers, symbols of prestige, use-wear analysis, fire-making

There is no doubt that flint materials and the ability of their processing were one of the most important branches of prehistoric manufacturing. The main objective of siliceous rocks processing was the preparation of tools designed for domestic works and hunting, which are also weapons, as well as the symbols of prestige. The changes observed in the way of flint tools perception began in the Eneolithic. In the flint material appeared a group of products, to which the researchers begun to extend believe, that they were not mere tools, but also played a role as objects of special value (Zakościelna 2008, 586-588). This group of tools includes items that are significant in size, workmanship and the type of raw material. In the case of materials from Poland, the role of raw material of good quality played the Volhynian flint, imported from the western Ukraine (Zakościelna 1996, 16-18; Konopla 1982, 17-18). This category of non-utilitarian tools include, among others, flint retouched blade-daggers and bifacial daggers (commonly called spearheads or daggers).

Within this reflections will be presented the results of works on the materials originating from southern Poland, where it is possible to separate two chronological horizons of flint “daggers” occurrence. The older is related to the Eneolithic. At that time the Lublin-Volhynian culture developed in the loess uplands of southern Poland (4400/4500-3400 Cal BC; Zakościelna 2006, 89-90). Another chronological horizon of flint daggers occurrence should be related with the beginning of the Bronze Age. This phenomenon is connected with the appearance of Mierzanowice culture (2300-1600 Cal BC; Kadrow & Machnik 1997, fig. 70) or Strzyżów culture ((2350?)2050-1650? Cal BC; Libera 2016, fig. 15) in the areas of southern Poland.

In the flint inventories of Lublin-Volhynian culture the forms made of massive, macrolithic blades, known as retouched blade-daggers are present (Zakościelna 2008, 578, 583). These products are characterized by edges formed by low angle, parallel pressure retouch. It seems that the value of the mentioned objects of prestige did not depend solely on the complex manufacturing process. The vast majority of these forms are produced of

cretaceous flints, whose deposits are located in the area of Volhynia. Some of the daggers originate from archaeological sites located at a distance up to 360 kilometers away from the deposits of raw material. These forms are among the most impressive flint artefacts of Eneolithic period. Due to the high level of flint-working mastery required in production process, their special value is emphasized in the literature. These products are mainly discovered in the richly equipped graves of males, and usually located in the vicinity of the chest, head or waist of the dead, which was interpreted as a determinant of high social status (Zakościelna 2008, 586-588).

Different types of flint daggers occurred in the early Bronze Age, the appearance of these forms is related to the population of Mierzanowice or Strzyżów cultures. These are forms made by surface retouch technique. The most distinctive and widespread are products with a triangular or leaf-shaped blades and with weakly or strongly separated tang (Fig. 1). There are also forms of laurel - or rhomboid-shaped outline (less frequently triangular), without a separated tang. Also in this case, in production were used mostly the raw materials imported from Volhynia (Libera 2001, 25-31).

Within this reflections will be presented the results of micro-wear analyzes of the selected retouched blade-daggers of Lublin-Volhynian culture and flint daggers related to Mierzanowice culture or Strzyżów culture, originating from the lands of Poland. The discussion focused mainly on the products made from imported Volhynian raw materials. In the case of early Bronze Age materials, as a comparative background was studied a small set of tools made of local, Lesser-Poland raw materials, originating from middle Vistula region near Annopol – Świeciechów flint and Gościeradów flint.

The microscopic analysis was conducted for a series of Eneolithic flint products, originating from cemeteries: Złota, site "Grodzisko II", Sandomierz district; Strzyżów, site 2a, Hrubieszów district and few stray findings from the eastern part of Lublin Upland. Among the early Bronze Age artefacts are only stray findings from: Białowola, Chełm district, Bielin, Chełm district, Opole Lubelskie, Opole Lubelskie district, Wojciechów, Opole Lubelskie district (Fig. 1) and Zarudnia, Chełm district.

Traseological analysis was performed with use of two types of microscopes. In the early stage of research the stereoscopic equipment by Carl Zeiss, Discovery V8, was used and which is capable of producing real magnifications from 10 to 80 times. The microscope was used together with a dedicated source of cold LED light. This first step involved searching and separating potentially used edges (van Gijn 1989, 13). The next step in prospection was the observation of artefacts using the Meiji Techno MC-50T equipment. It is a metallographic microscope which allows for much larger magnifications: 50-500x. At this stage of study, the focus was placed on the observation of polish and linear traces. For the removal of fingerprints, the flint products were purified with acetone or ethanol prior to analysis.

The applied method of microscopic analysis does not differ from the general assumptions used in this type of research (van Gijn 1989, 13). Also, the conceptual system and terminology used in the work was based on the naming convention functioning in the literature of the subject (van Gijn 1989, 3-8, 16-20; 2010, XV; Osipowicz 2010, 25-35 and further literature therein).

The microscopic analysis of flint retouched blade-daggers of Lublin-Volhynian culture revealed the presence of numerous use-wear traces on the surfaces, originating from their use in varied works in plant (cereal/crop cutting knives) and animal (hide scrapping) materials. Some of the forms were also used in fire-striking, what is evidenced by rounded edges of their butt-parts. In addition to the mentioned changes, also traces of their long-term bearing or storage in sheaths made of hide or plant materials were recorded (Mączyński 2015, 17-18; 2016, 29; Wilk & Kufel-Diakowska 2016a, 23; 2016b, 157-163; Mączyński & Zakościelna in press).

The microscopic observations of early Bronze Age flint daggers revealed the presence of well-developed traces on their surfaces, related to storage/bearing of tools in the sheaths. The extent of these changes was limited to protruding points, such as ridges and side edges. These traces revealed in the form of stone natural micro-relief polish and a presence of black scratches running parallel to the tool axis (Fig. 2: 1). The origin of observed traces is likely to be related to repeated tool insertion and removal of the sheath (see Beugnier & Plisson 2000; fig. 12C-D, see also Rots 2010, pl. 90, 91). Traces of a different nature occurred on the surface of the tangs, where the bright polish of flat texture was recorded, indicating the use of socket/hilt made of wood or plant material (Fig. 2: 2). These observations also seem to confirm the findings of the daggers with preserved sockets, made of organic materials (Borrello, Mottes & Schlichtherle 2009, fig. 7). It seems, that the changes related to the use of sheaths and sockets can be attributed to some of the most characteristic and widespread use-wear features recorded on the surface of flint daggers (Gruzdź, Migal & Pyżewicz 2015, 124-129).

Due to the strong development of the traces related to the use of the sheaths, the identification of work-traces on the dagger edges was strongly hindered. However, on one of the forms, quite well developed traces, related to cutting of siliceous-origin plants have been observed. An interesting example of the of the tool use is presented by a dagger discovered in Wojciechów (Fig. 1). It is a form of blade with distinct tang of macroscopically-visible rounded tip. The microscopic analysis revealed that the observed rounding originating from the use of this tool part in the fire-striking process. The nature of the traces indicates the technique based on rubbing of the tip on ferrous mineral, such as marcasite or pyrite (Fig. 2: 4, 6). The obtained results were also corroborated by experimental research (Fig. 2: 3, 5). The technique itself is one of the oldest used fire-striking methods and is known from ethnographic sources referring to the different regions of Europe, Africa and Australia (Hough 1890, 360, 368-369; Davidson 1947, 434-435; see also Moszyński 1951, 4, 18, 153, 272, 279).

The microscopic analysis of flint retouched blade-daggers from Lublin-Volhynian culture inventories revealed the presence of numerous use-wear traces on their surfaces, indicating storage in the sheaths, but also the use in varied domestic activities. Such varied micro-traces indicates that these forms, in addition to their prestige importance, could also be used as utility tools. Slightly different is the issue of the use of flint daggers in early Bronze Age (Mierzanowice or Strzyżów cultures). On these forms numerous occur the traces, indicating sockets or storage in the sheaths. Whereas the traces observed at edges are not numerous and may be related to their extemporaneous use in domestic works, which may indicate their role as items emphasizing the high social status of the owner.

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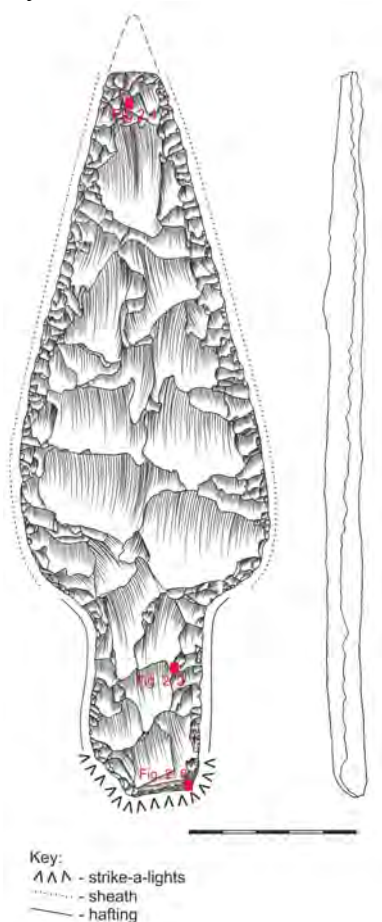


Fig. 1. Wojciechów, Opole Lubelskie district. Flint dagger. Drawn by P. Mączyński.

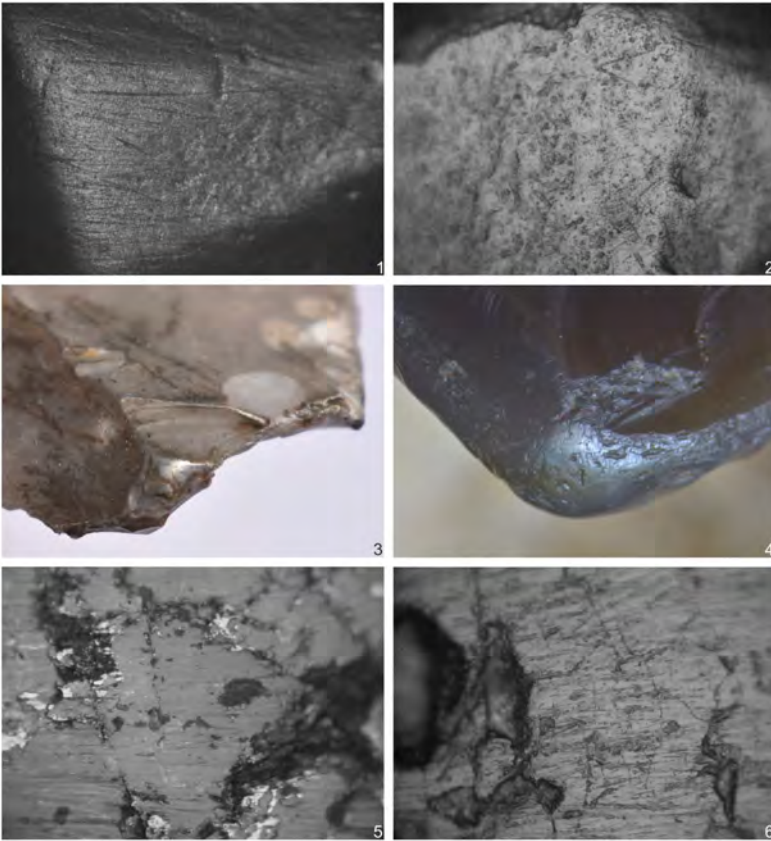


Fig. 2. Wojciechów, Opole Lubelskie district. Flint dagger (1, 2, 4, 6): 1 – polish and linear traces indicating that the tool was kept in the sheath (x50, ob. x5); 2 – hafting traces visible on the tang (x200, ob. x20); 4 – rounded end of the tang (x10, ob. x1); 6 – distinct use-wear pattern (bright polish and linear traces) indicating that the tool was used for striking fire (x200, ob. x20). Experimental flint tool (3, 5): 3 – rounded end of the experimental strike-a-light, 5 – use-wear pattern on the experimental strike-a-light (x200, ob. x20). Photographed by P. Mączyński.

Methods of Using Flint Raw Materials in the Crimea in the Roman Influence Period

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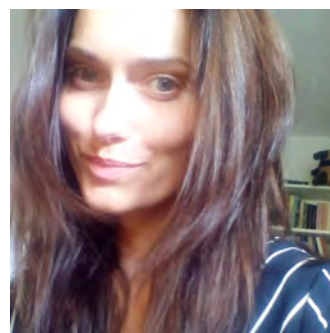
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Keywords: Roman period, Crimea, flint tools, fire striking, fire worship

Archaeological materials from the Crimea include atypical for the Roman period artefacts made of flint. This group encompasses items discovered in settlements and in cemeteries. Such objects are known from many sites, including Barabanovskaia balka, Belogorsky rai.; Belbek IV, Nakhimov rai.; Belyaus, Chornomorske rai.; Levadki, Simferopol rai.; Neizats, Belogorsky rai.; Opushki, Simferopol rai.; Sovkhoz №10, Balaklava rai.; Ust'-Al'ma, Bakhchysarai rai. (Mączyński & Polit 2016; Dashevskaya 2014, 20, 23, 25, 30, 31; Gushchina & Zhuravlev 2016, 14; Khrapunov, Vlasov & Smokotina 2007, fig. 29:2; Strzheletskiĭ, Vysotskaya, Ryzhova & Zhestkova 2005, pl. 28:23, 30:42, 33:2, 38, 39). Their occurrences in settlement and sepulchral materials have been mentioned in a number of articles (Khrapunov 2002, 16-19, 29-31, 33; Khrapunov, Vlasov, Smokotina & Shaptsev 2009, fig. 64:3, 4). What is more, the phenomenon of depositing flint objects intentionally in graves has been also remarked by scholars (Vysotskaya 1996, 68; Khrapunov, Vlasov, Smokotina & Shaptsev 2009, fig. 64:3, 4). Unfortunately, in most cases, such flint artefacts have not been subjected to technological and functional analysis, therefore we do not have information concerning their morphology. Such data cannot be obtained from previously published drawings because most of them have not been prepared in a methodical fashion. Such a state of affairs may result from a belief that flint products did not play a significant role in the Roman period. This is probably why the presence of flint artefacts in the Roman period Crimea was not discussed until recently. A stimulus to gain insight into this issue, on the example of materials from the peninsula, were the results of studying 65 flint items found in the Neizats cemetery (Mączyński & Polit *in press*), situated approximately 20 kilometres east of Simferopol. Despite obtaining interesting results that made it possible to answer many questions, including the one that regards the reason of the occurrence of flint material in graves, and the methods of its provisioning, many issues concerning the functions of such artefacts remain unsolved.

Due to the state of the corpus of sources available to us, conducting the functional analysis of the flint artefacts discovered in burials is somewhat difficult. All the same, data obtained from publications, archival documentation, and museum collections allow us to draw several interesting conclusions regarding the discussed problem. The greatest portion of information concerning the functions of the flint objects has been provided by materials from graves, and for this reason, they serve as the starting point for our study. The analysis of the discussed artefact category was based on artefacts found in the bottom layers of grave pits, alongside the skeletons. At the same time, flints discovered in robbed burials were omitted, because their find contexts are not reliable.

The analysis of the flint artefacts from burial sites has proved that they had been deposited there intentionally. Such items occurred mainly in male graves and were located near the hip area (mainly close to the right ilium) or, less frequently, near the right arm or close to the feet. In such an arrangement, they appeared individually or sporadically in 2-3 specimens (Mączyński 2014, 24; Mączyński & Polit 2016, 78). In the Crimea, there are known cases where over a dozen or even several dozens of flints were chaotically arranged in a single grave. Such a situation occurred in single, as well as in collective burials (Dashevskaya 2014, 50-51; Mul'd & Kropotov 2013, 117). The morphological observation of the flint artefacts from the Neizats and Druzhnoe, Simferopol rai. cemeteries have confirmed that the majority of the tools were prepared in a style typical for the Stone Age and Bronze Age (Fig. 1:1-5; 2:1). Such a remark makes it possible for us to assume that one of the methods of obtaining raw materials by the population inhabiting the Crimean Peninsula in the discussed period was collecting flint objects from chronologically older sites and from flint outcrops. Nevertheless, we cannot exclude the possibility that independent flint tool production functioned in this area. It could have been based on manufacturing simple items (Mączyński & Polit in press).

The functional analysis of the flint artefacts has proved that most of them were used as strike-a-lights. Such a function of the objects is confirmed mainly by the materials from the Neizats and Druzhnoe cemeteries (Mączyński, Polit 2016). Most often, flakes were used as strike-a-lights. Slightly less frequently, blade forms and chunks were utilised in this role. The rest of the specimens is represented by bifacial tools, as well as by blade and flake cores (Mączyński & Polit in press). Traces recorded on the artefacts indicate that flint strike-a-lights were used in two fire striking techniques. Except flint, such materials as pyrite, marcasite, sulphur, as well as iron fire strikers or other iron objects were used in this process (Mączyński & Polit in press). It is also worth emphasising the fact that one of the two distinct techniques was utilised mainly in the younger, whereas the other had a wide appeal in the older Roman period.

From the area chosen for our analysis comes also an example of using flint artefacts in a threshing board. The presence of a *tribulum* was recorded in the Ust'-Al'ma site (Hellström, Hochmuth & Zajcev 2009). Unfortunately, we do not know analogical examples of employing flint items in the region.

Interesting is also the fact of employing this raw material for decorative uses. An isolated specimen of jewellery ornamented with flint was found in the Levadki necropolis (Muld 2013, 329). It is a gold pendant in which a polished flint inset of plano-convex cross-section was placed. Its shape imitates a predatory animal claw. Ornaments of this type were also deposited in Sarmatian graves dated to the first centuries AD which were spread in the territories adjacent to the Kuban River, in the areas of the lower Volga and the Don River, as well as on the north-western Black Sea Coast (Mordvintseva & Treïster 2007, 71). Most often, amulets of this type were ornamented with beads, less frequently with such materials as amber or chalk. In relation to the discussed issue, a pendant found in the "Oval'nogo" burial mound, grave No. 15, Kalininsky dis. (Mordvintseva & Treïster 2007, 71) is of great importance. In this ornament, a pencil-shaped obsidian core was used as an inset.

It is not inconceivable that the presence of flints in graves can be linked to ritual and magical actions performed by the Crimean population in the Roman period. As we know, fire played an important role in rituals performed by these people. This fact is proved by numerous finds in graves: clay censers, remains of bonfires, lumps of charcoal, traces of charring and ochre (Mul'd 1996, 282; Puzdrovskii 2007, 122; Gushchina & Zhuravlev 2016, 14). This group of objects can also include flint, which has great symbolic value and is connected with the cult of fire (Kłosińska 2012, 135, 136). The Crimean community probably used flint items for ritual purposes. Such a supposition is corroborated by materials from collective graves of the Late Scythian culture, in which the bottom layer of the skeletons was covered with small flint artefacts (Fig. 2:2-12). The employment of this procedure was registered, among others, in the Belyaus, Levadki and Ust'-Al'ma cemeteries (Mul'd & Kropotov 2013, 117; Dashevskaya 2014, 50-51; Puzdrovskii & Trufanov 2015, figs. 15:12; 17:1; 18:6; 20:3). Atypically situated flint items occurred also in single burials. There, such objects formed a layer on which a dead person was laid. It is plausible that its presence was connected with ritual activities. Nevertheless, we cannot ascertain whether their function was to protect the dead person or to preserve the earth from the impure process of decomposition. Here, it is worth focusing on the fact that flint layers on which buried persons were placed occurred mainly in the Late Scythian Culture graves. It is possible that a flint blade, located on the left knee of a woman (burial No. 4 in grave No. 307) inhumed in the Neizats cemetery also played a special role. In the necropolis, one additional example of depositing a flint tool was recorded. In grave No. 556, a flint flake rested on the left knee of a deceased child (Mączyński & Polit 2016, 84). Such a position of flint artefacts was not recorded in other sites.

Undoubtedly, flint products found in Crimean precincts from the Roman period played a more important role than it was thought. The remarks above demonstrate that we should pay more attention to flint items and prompt us to study this group of finds in a more nuanced way. In consequence, this will result in expanding the existing corpus of sources and improving its interpretations. At the same time, new and, what is more important, well-researched materials can contribute to answering many questions concerning the everyday life of the Crimean population in the Roman period.

Translation by Piotr Moskała

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South Ural as a Contact Area. Skulls and Artifacts: South Ural Nomads of the Early Iron Age according to Anthropological Reconstruction

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FILIPPOVKA: SKULL AND FACE. NOMADS OF THE EARLY IRON AGE ACCORDING TO ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECONSTRUCTION

The Early Iron Age is one of spectacular periods in the ancient history of the Eurasian Steppe. Just in the centre of the nomadic world, there is the Filippovka kurgan cemetery between the Volga and the Ural Rivers. Twenty five kurgans are located on the left bank of the Ural River 100 km to the west of the city of Orenburg. As a result of excavations undertaken during 1986-1990, the expedition of the Institute of History, Language and Literature, Ufa Scientific Centre, RAS, under the guidance of A.Kh. Pshenichnyuk investigated burial complexes of the nomadic elite accompanied by unique sculptures of gold-plated deer and other pieces of jewelry. The excavations also gave craniological material consisted of five skulls (including 3 male and 2 female skulls) of varying integrity.

Craniometric investigations along with morphological and total analyses of the male skulls from Filippovka showed a mixed origin of their anthropological type. The male skulls are characterized with large size, brachycrania, well-developed macrorelief, high face, slightly weakened profiling at the level of the orbit and small or medium projection of nasal bones above the facial plane. This combination of craniological features observed in paleoanthropological materials of the 5th and 4th centuries AD from the East European steppe region has been determined as “eastern Europoid type”. Two male skulls and one female skull from Filippovka formed the craniological basis for plastic facial reconstructions.



Fig. 1. Sculptural reconstruction based on a male skull from the Filippovka 1 burial mound. Excavations by Anatoly Pshenichnyuk. Prokhorovskaya culture of the 5th–4th centuries BC. Author: Aleksey Nechvaloda.



Fig. 2. Sculptural reconstruction based on a female skull from the Filippovka 1 burial mound. Excavations by Anatoly Pshenichnyuk. Prokhorovskaya culture of the 5th–4th centuries BC. Author: Aleksey Nechvaloda.

Typologically, the basis for the racial type of the buried men from kurgans 5 and 12 of the Filippovka kurgan cemetery is represented by a complex of Protoeuropoid traits with a slight addition of Mongoloid peculiar features in the facial architecture. Weakened profiling of the facial skeleton at the horizontal level can be explained by preservation of the archaic features in the Protoeuropoid-type morphological complex. The female skull from kurgan 12 is characterized with a more pronounced Mongoloid appearance that is reflected in the facial reconstruction sculpture. In the process of restoring the appearance we

employed the Gerasimov's method with methodological modifications proposed by G.V. Lebedinskaya and S.A. Nikitin.

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EARLY NOMADS OF THE SOUTH URALS WITHIN THE SYSTEM OF EURASIAN CONTACT ZONES: THE BEGINNINGS OF ICONOGRAPHY AND THE PROBLEMS OF INTERPRETING THE MOTIFS OF FIGHTING CAMELS ON THE PHALAR FROM THE BURIAL MOUND OF FILIPPOVKA

The range of problems associated with the image of a two-humped camel in the art of Scythian-Sarmatian tribes has long drawn researchers' attention (Akishev, Korolkova et al.). The Bactrian camel in the animal style art of early nomads is by no means popular motif. It occurred within a certain region embracing the South Urals and Kazakhstan. Korolkova noted that about 90 items with the figures of Bactrian camels from 35 sites of the Sarmatian sphere have become known by 2006. A large number of these artifacts (41 items) were found in the Sarmatian necropolis of Filippovka 1. All items with the figures of camels were discovered in the "royal" burial mound (kurgan 1). As was noted by Akishev, in Sogdia and Greater Central Asia people venerated the camel as a royal animal and put its image on the rulers' thrones. It is evident that in Filippovka 1 there also was an association between the status of a person buried in kurgan 1 and the presence of camel images in the grave. The Bactrian camel was to mark a special "royal" status of the buried person.

Among all depictions of the Bactrian camels in the necropolis of Filippovka 1 the subject of two fighting camels is predominant: this scene is represented on 31 items out of 41. It is not improbable that the subject of the camels' antagonism is closely related to the composition of two Bactrian camels with bare-toothed muzzles placed not in opposition, but one behind the other on the hemispheric object. The scene of two fighting camels depicted on plaques and phalars of Filippovka was also found in other sites attributed to steppe cultures of the early Iron Age (Pyatimary 1 in the South Urals, Besoba in Western Kazakhstan) and has stable iconographic features. Compositions of opposed or fighting camels in the art of early nomads can be seen in the items made of metal and bone and also among petroglyphs. The latest reminiscences of this tradition were Early Medieval petroglyphs of the Minusinsk Hollow that depicted antagonism and fights between Bactrian male camels. The origin of this compositional structure is associated with Ancient Eastern art.

The prototype of the scene of two fighting Bactrian camels is found in the art of Margiana dated back to the late 2nd and early 1st millennia BC. The composition of two fighting camels on the phalar from the “royal” burial mound closely reproduces the iconographic features known from the Margian amulet with the picture of camels, or to be more precise, from the fragmented piece with the scene of fighting camels. On the fragment one can see the humps of one camel and the head and neck of the other camel biting its rival’s leg. This stone amulet was discovered in the temple complex of Togolok 21 dated back to the turn of the 2nd millennium BC. It is indeed striking to note the sustainability of the oldest iconographic tradition over many centuries and its exact reproduction in Sarmatian art. The Bactrian camel is one of the most stable artistic motifs of Ancient Margiana (Bactria-Margiana Archaeological Complex) where figures of two-humped camels are scratched on the outside bottoms of gold vessels and ceramics. They also can be recognized in seals, stone amulets and a silver pinhead as well as in the embossed design of a silver cup. The figures of the Margian camel are made in terms of the ancient Iranian art tradition. Thus, a muscle above the forelimb of the Margian camel is outlined in the form of a slightly bent semi-oval, inside of which there is the angle scratched upwards. Its rival also has an identically drawn muscle on the body. In the reliefs of Persepolis the camel’s figure demonstrates quite a similar peculiarity, and the muscles on its body are shown analogously. It is worth saying that in Ancient Margiana, like in Sogdia and Filippovka, the camel was apparently one of the “royalty” marks. Sataev who investigated the osteological material from the site of Gonur-depe (Bactria-Margiana Archaeological Complex) pointed out that the “royal” necropolis contained skeletal remains of a dog, a horse and a camel as contrasted to the other burials.

It is interesting to note that the figures of fighting camels on the phalars from the “royal” kurgan of Filippovka 1 are iconographically much closer to the old “Togolok” prototype, although remote in time and space, than coeval versions of this composition in the art of congeneric Scythian-Sarmatian tribes discovered in geographically adjacent sites of the South Urals (Pyatimary 1) and Western Kazakhstan (Besoba). There is a number of traits that connect the camels of Togolok and those of Filippovka and differ them from the above-mentioned compositions of the same type: a specific position of camels’ hindlimbs (bent at an angle), fur “caps” on the humps, clear cut fangs in the open mouths. The heads of the animals on these artifacts are arranged so that they fit well into the “arch” of the rival’s underbelly. Other versions of these compositions in Scythian-Sarmatian art show camels with almost straight hindlimbs, without fur “caps” on the humps and without fangs. One more important difference lies in the fact that the duel of camels on the phalar from Filippovka is “symmetric”, since each of them digs its teeth into the rival’s hindlimb, their heads are at one and the same level and follow the line of the rival’s underbelly. The compositions from Pyatimary 1 and Besoba have somewhat another structure where the right-hand camel bites its rival’s leg and the left-hand animal bites the hump. In this “asymmetric” version the heads of the animals are placed almost one beneath the other. The Togolok fragment does not show the camel’s head just above that of its rival. Its position evidences that in all probability this composition was initially “symmetric”, like the combat scene on the phalar from Filippovka, and this common compositional structure associates the objects in question even more than the aforesaid similar details. There is only a slight

difference between the figures under comparison: the camels of Filippovka have the head of the right-hand animal in the foreground, and those of Togolok show the head of the left-hand animal.

The sustainability of the iconographic tradition to depict the combat scene of two camels, its preservation over many centuries and reproduction in the sites situated quite far from each other make us think about the symbolic meaning of this composition and the relevance of the idea embodied in it for the worldview of ancient communities. In early nomadic art the religio-mythological and cosmogonical notions about the dual nature of the world as a precondition for its existence manifested themselves in the animal-style images, and the torment scenes served as a plastic expression of this dualism. For Scythian-Sarmatian art the duels between the animals of one and the same species (except for camels) were not a typical subject especially with a sustainable iconographic tradition. Why is an exception made for camels? What is expressed by the scene of their duel?

Combining the traits of herbivorous animals and beasts of prey (adult males have got fangs), the camel has two natures in the artistic system of the animal style. In Scythian-Sarmatian art the artistic embodiment of the Bactrian camel's image often emphasized its "predation", and the camel was infrequently depicted with an open mouth full of fangs. In the combat scene it simultaneously plays the part of the predator and the prey. Belonging to two worlds, the camel acts like a mediator between them. But not only camels were "two-natured" animals in early nomadic art. Being ungulate animals on the one hand, wild boars also have fangs and can be both herbivorous and carnivorous. Owing to this, they occupy a special place in the spiritual culture and art of early nomads and evidently have the status of a mediator between the worlds. Yet we know nothing about the combat scenes of two wild boars among the animal style objects.

The reason for endowing the camel with an exceptional status lies apparently in its biological rhythms. Wild boars have their mating season in winter. Contrastingly, male camels are the most aggressive late in March, and their mating season coincides with the vernal equinox. In Central Asia camel combats, as well as horse fighting and ram fighting, were arranged during the Nowruz celebration. Camel fighting is organized in northern Afghanistan and Turkey even nowadays. Kuzmina believes that such competitions reproduce a "cosmic duel preceding Nowruz." Only grown-up seven-year old he-camels with fangs could take part in the fights over a female. Camel fighting marked the advent of spring and New Year.

It is probable that precisely such a coincidence of natural biological rhythms in camels and annual planetary cycles motivated their association with the Sun. Myths about the celestial camel, its affiliation with the solar deity and the origin from the Sun were widely known throughout Greater Central Asia. At the same time the image of a camel in folklore and ethnography relates also to the world of the dead. It should be noted that the interpretation of the camels from Filippovka 1 emphasizes their aggression: we can see massive fangs inside their open mouths resembling griffin beaks in outline shape. In Scythian-Sarmatian art camels were often depicted with terrifying teeth. Emphasis on the natural killing tools in the images of herbivorous animals helps to correlate them with the theme of Death.

In the worldview and art of the Scythian-Sarmatian tribes the camel combining drastically different characteristics could embody the harmony and unity of the world divided into hostile opposites and act as some Absolute. Perhaps, it was precisely this unity of fundamental elements that endowed it with such a special status. Probably, this circumstance, alongside the association with the Sun, was responsible for its being perceived as one of the marks of royalty and supreme power.

The association of the camel's image with the vernal equinox and the advent of New Year and also its affiliation with the "two worlds" facilitated its tight connection with the transition situations (Old Year/New Year, Death/Birth) exerting an effect on the ritual practice. Peoples of Central Asia, Kazakhstan and the Caucasus used a camel as a participant of funeral and wedding rites (wedding as Death/Birth), i.e. in the rites of passage. A camel was also present at difficult childbirth.

And it is evidently no coincidence that in the royal kurgan of Filippovka 1 we see a multiple repetition of one and the same subject related to the combat of two camels as a visible embodiment of the struggle between the two polarities, not only between Old Year and New Year, but also between Life and Death, since death in this world means birth in the afterworld. In this case the popularity of torment motifs becomes explainable in the objects made especially as grave goods. Perhaps, the camel was a guide to the afterlife already in Ancient Margiana (we have already mentioned the camel's remains found in graves). Thus, the camel in the funeral ceremony is a guide and mediator.

We would also like to note a possible association between the motifs of fighting camels and the horse harness items. Korolkova have previously called attention to sufficiently great number of horse harness items among the objects of Scythian-Sarmatian art with camel depictions. The phalar from Filippovka 1, as well as the plaque with the camels' duel from kurgan 5 of the Besoba burial mound, are also the horse harness items. Certainly, it is no coincidence. According to the worldview of Iranian-speaking nomads of the 1st millennium BC, the horse probably did not possess the quality of a mediator and in order to endow it with such power they decorated the horse harness with scenes and motifs of the appropriate symbolism (torment scenes, depictions of the representatives of the underworld, like predatory canines and burbots) and the horse's head with an antler or goat-horned mask. Perhaps, the phalar under consideration with the combat scene of two camels that embodies the notion about "Death/Resurrection" played the same part as the masks on the heads of Pazyryk horses, i.e. it was intended to endow the horse with mediative abilities. It is interesting to note that among the interpretations for the purpose of the masks on horses' heads there is also an assumption that prior to the funeral ceremony they were used in rites, and in the ritual practice of the Pazyryk people the masked horse was, in Barkova's opinion, "a symbol of the vernal equinox and new year attribute." Hence horse harness items with the scenes of fighting camels and horse horned masks from the kurgans of Altai can be to some extent similar in their functions. Embodying the idea of the New Year and Death/Birth, they ought to endow the horse they decorated with mediative abilities so that it, in turn, would become a guide of the deceased (buried) person into the afterlife.

The association of the horse image with the Sun links it with the images of stags and griffins. As a result, camel-like deer with their antlers made of griffin heads came into being in Scythian-Sarmatian animal style art. Under Sarmatian influence this artistic motif

appeared in the art of Kara-Abyz tribes of the forest-steppe zone in the South Urals and became emblematic. On the Kara-Abyz bronze plaques a deer with the antlers made of griffin heads has a silhouette characteristic of the camel images in Sarmatian art, including a deep chest, a wiry belly, a “beard” and strong straight legs, but only without humps. Scythian-Sarmatian art knows another combination of deer’s and camel’s traits: a humped camel with its antlers made of griffin heads is depicted in the recumbent position characteristic of deer (Karban II, Altai).



Fig. 1. Phalars with the figures of fighting camels from kurgan 1 of Filippovka 1 burial mound. (Museum of Archaeology and Ethnography, Institute for Ethnological Studies, Ufa Scientific Centre, RAS, nos. 831/1212, 831/30).

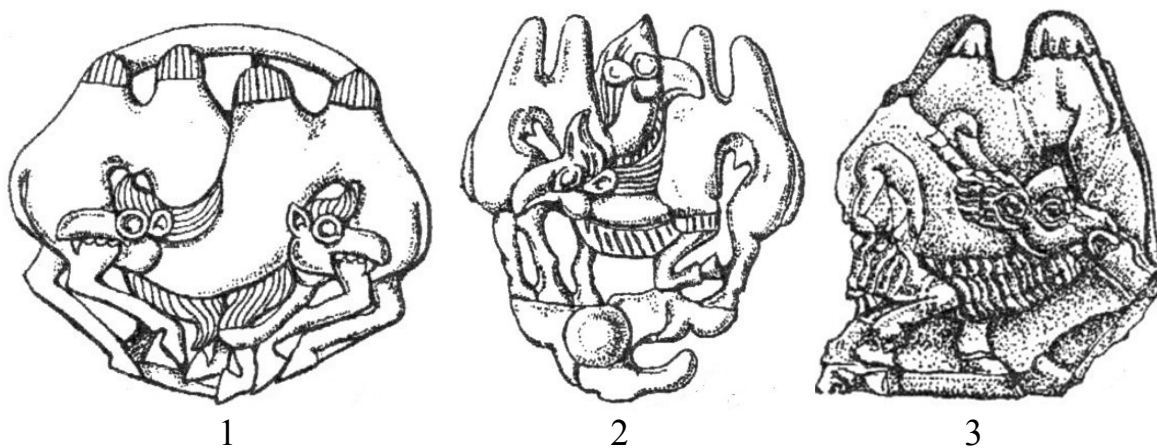


Fig. 2. 1 – Filippovka 1, kurgan 1, phalar; 2 – Pyatimary 1, kurgan 8, plaque, Orenburg District; 3 – Togolok 21, Bactria-Margiana Archaeological Complex, amulet fragment. 1, 2 – according to Korolkova, 2006, p. 219, Table 52 (2, 6); 3 – according to Sarianidi, 2002, p. 139.

**Between East and West – the Multicultural Settlement Complex in Ulów
(Eastern Poland) in the Light of Intercultural Contacts and
Interdisciplinary Research**

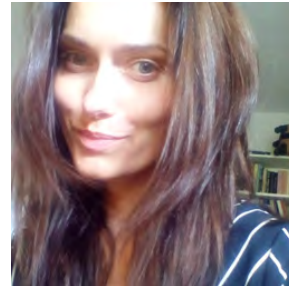
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Metal Bracelets from Late Scythian Culture Child Graves in the Crimea

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Key words: Late Scythian, child graves, bracelets, jewellery, Crimea

A distinctive feature of the Late Scythian culture necropolises is the fact that a considerable percentage of all graves are child burials. Materials from the Opushki cemetery (Simferopol rai.) show that they may represent even half of all the excavated funerary constructions (Stoyanova 2012, p. 7). Child graves occurred in pit, undercut, and catacomb graves, graves with slabs facing their walls, as well as in characteristic for the Late Scythian culture collective burials that are related to the vaulted graves (Dashevskaya 1991, p. 25; 2014, pp.15, 16; Puzdrovskii 1992, p. 184; Khrapunov, Stroyanova & Mul'd 2001, p. 112; Stoyanova 2012, p. 68; and others). On the other hand, the funeral custom itself, according to which children of the *infans I*, *infans II*, and *infans III* age groups were buried, did not diverge from the prevalent in the Late Scythian culture general rules of burying the dead. The inventories obtained from this type of graves are similar to those found in female burials. This fact was also noted in the case of materials from the Late Roman period (Khrapunov 2006, p. 195). The inventories of child graves consist of vessels, fibulae, beads, pendants, little bells, speculums, and jewellery. In the last category, bracelets, which constitute the subject of this study, are clearly the most common group.

The library, archival, and museum research made it possible to create a source base, which consists of 141 bracelets from the following sites: Beliaus, Chornomorske rai.; Belbek IV, Nakhimov rai.; Kol'chugino, Simferopol rai.; Levadki, Simferopol rai.; Scythian Neapolis, Simferopol rai.; Opushki, Simferopol rai.; Ust'-Al'ma, Bakhchysarai rai.; Zavetnoye, Bakhchysarai rai. (Fig. 1:A). Bracelets discovered in child graves were discussed along with other artefacts mainly in monographs concerning the Late Scythian sites (Vysotskaya 1996, pp. 108-112; Stroyanova 2012, p. 71; Gushchina & Zhuravlev 2016a, pp. 87-89, and others). However, it should be noted, that this issue has never been the subject of a separate study.

Artefacts of this type were present in all types of graves used by the Late Scythian culture people to bury their children. Unfortunately, in many analysed cases, the poor state of preservation of the bone material, or its lack, made it impossible to estimate the age of the children. The state of preservation of the skeletons, the lack of detailed data, and the scattered character of the osseous material (result of robbing the graves or of burying of the dead on top of each other prevent us from determining the original locations of the bracelets. Despite these difficulties, it was possible to establish that the bracelets were worn by the children likewise on the right or the left hand (Fig. 1:B). It should be noted that in

most of the graves only single bracelets were found. Such a scheme has been noted in all the analysed necropolises (e.g. Symonovich 1983, p. 58; Khrapunov, Masyakin & Mul'd 1997, pp. 12-14; Puzdrovskii 2007, p. 304; Zaitsev, Voloshinov, Kjunel't, Masyakin, Mordvintseva, Firsov & Fless 2007; Hrapunov & Stroanova 2013, pp. 188-191; Mul'd & Kropotov 2013, p. 114-124; Dashevskaya 2014, pp. 26-28, 28-31, 38-40; Gushchina & Zhuravlev 2016a, p. 128, 131, 163; and others). There were also few cases of discovering two bracelets deposited by a buried child. Their locations indicate that they could have decorated only one arm of a buried person, or each of them was worn on a different hand. Left-sided location of two bracelets was recorded, among others, in vaulted grave No. 27 (burial No. 6), in undercut grave No. 123 from the Beliaus cemetery, and in vaulted grave No. 42 -near a child of the *infans II* age group (burial No. 26) that was buried on the level of stratum 7 (Khrapunov, Mul'd & Stroyanova 2009, p. 10; Dashevskaya 2014, pp. 26, 69, 70). Right-sided location of two bracelets was noted in grave No. 21 from the Opushki cemetery (by burial No. 10, on the level of stratum 4) and in pit grave No. 667, by burial No. 4, in the Ust'-Al'ma cemetery (Medvedev 2010, p. 119). However, in undercut grave No. 70 from the Scythian Neapolis, in grave No. 4 (burial No. 63) from the Mausoleum of the Scythian Neapolis, as well as in pit graves Nos. 47 (burials Nos. 1 and 2) and 67 from the Opushki cemetery, the locations of two bracelets indicate that each of them was worn on one hand (Pogrebova 1961, pp. 193, 194; Puzdrovskii 1992, pp. 184, 186; Stroyanova 2012, pp. 28, 32, 36, 37, 54, 56, 57). In the Opushki cemetery, in pit grave No. 51, three bracelets occurred (Stroyanova 2012, pp. 42-44). The locations of two of them indicate that they both were worn on the right hand, whereas the third one adorned the left arm of the buried person (Stroyanova 2012, pp. 42-44). Interesting and rare for child graves was the locations of two bronze bracelets discovered in undercut grave No. 21 from the Scythian Neapolis cemetery. The distribution of the artefacts suggests that each of the ornaments was worn by a child of the *infans II* age group on one leg (Zaitsev 2003, 165; Puzdrovskii 2007, figs 31:2, 10, 11). It is also worth emphasising the fact that a bracelet decorated with zoomorphic endings was found on the right hand of the buried person (Puzdrovskii 2007, fig. 31:9). The practice of wearing such type of ornaments was followed also by adults and was present in the Late Scythian culture (Petrenko 1978, p. 58; Symonovich 1983, p. 94).

The overwhelming majority, that is 95% of all the analysed bracelets, are made of bronze. Only 7 specimens are iron items. Such artefacts were recorded in the Beliaus (grave No. 27, burial No. 6), Kol'chugino (grave No. 10, stratum No. 4, burial No. 1), Levadki (grave No. 19, burial No. 1), and Opushki (graves Nos. 32, 51, and 67 - two specimens) cemeteries. However, according to the data presented by È. A. Symonovič, in grave No. 21 from the Scythian Neapolis necropolis, an electrum bracelet was found (1983, pp. 62, 63). It is worth mentioning that the ratio of raw materials used in producing child bracelets did not diverge from the one present in the case of analogous adult ornaments. Also in other cultures, bracelets from child graves were generally made of bronze. Such items were rarely made of other metals (Petrenko 1978, p. 49; Korpusova 1983, pp. 100-102, 104, and others; Khrapunov 2006, pp. 163, 166, 175; Skóra 2014, p. 212). Materials from the Druzhnoe cemetery, Simferopol rai., indicate that silver bracelets occurred in the Late Roman period child graves (Khrapunov 2002, pp. 18, 19).

From the morphological point of view, bracelets from the Late Scythian culture child graves represent a wide variety of forms. Nevertheless, they are simple ornaments made of wires that are round or, less frequently, oval in cross-section. The ends of such adornments take various shapes. They can be straight cut, pointed, rounded, surmounted with globular or pineal ends, contracted, wound around the hoops, or stylized as viper heads. The analysed bracelets are analogous to types I, II, III, V, and IX assigned by Vysotskaya (1991) on the basis of materials from Ust'-Al'ma. Bracelets with endings that overlap and are wound around the hoop represent a great percentage of the analysed ornament group (Fig. 2:1). The category also includes adornments whose ends fold, taking the shape of pince-nez, and are wound around the hoop of the bracelet (Fig. 2:2). An artefact of this type was found, among others, in pit grave No. 329 from the Belbek IV cemetery (Gushchina & Zhuravlev 2016b, Tab. 218:9), which is dated to the 2nd-3rd quarter of the 2nd century AD. Bracelets with globular or pineal bosses (Fig. 2:3, 8), as well as ornaments with ends stylized as viper heads, are also often found (Fig. 2:4-7, 9). Within this group, endings take various forms and their surfaces are often ornamented. The analysed group includes also tape bracelets, but they represent a small percentage of the studied collection. The most spectacular ornament of this type comes from the Ust'-Al'ma cemetery and was registered in undercut grave No. 38, where a child of the *infans I* age group had been buried (Vysotskaya 1991, fig. 8:21).

Adornments bearing traces of damage or repair represent an interesting group of artefacts (Fig. 2:5, 7-9). The most common are specimens with one end broken off. Such bracelets come, among others, from grave No. 27, dated to the first half of the 1st century AD, from the Beliaus cemetery, as well as from pit grave No. 32, dated to the second half of the 1st century AD, where a child of the *infans I* age group was buried (Khrapunov, Stroyanova & Mul'd 2001, fig. 6:2; Stroyanova 2012, fig. 32:2; Deshevskaya 2014, tab. 47:28, 29). The analysed group also includes specimens whose morphology indicates that they were originally worn by adults. Probably, after being damaged (broken or bent), they were adjusted for children's arms. Such items are characterised by lack of symmetry and considerably warped hoops. Re-used bracelets occurred, among others, in the Opushki cemetery, in undercut grave No. 25 (Stroyanova 2012, fig. 15:3, 4). Probably, part of the bracelets with one end broken off might have been also originally worn by adults. Such a secondary use of objects belonging to the analysed group was recorded in the case of bracelets from the Wielbark culture child graves (Skóra 2014, pp. 215, 216).

The analysis of bracelets discovered in the Late Scythian culture child graves has proved that artefacts of this type are not different from those found in female graves. Undoubtedly, the re-used items included in the archaeological material are vital for understanding the social status of children in the Late Scythian culture, as well as for comprehending particular habits of its population. The presence of such artefacts has not been noted so far, but their analysis can produce interesting results.

Translation by Piotr Moskala

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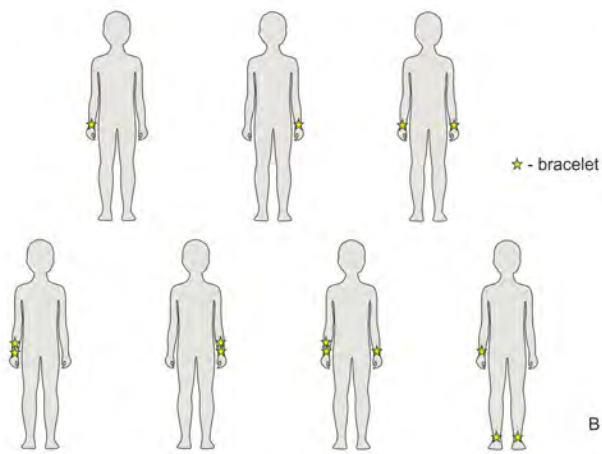
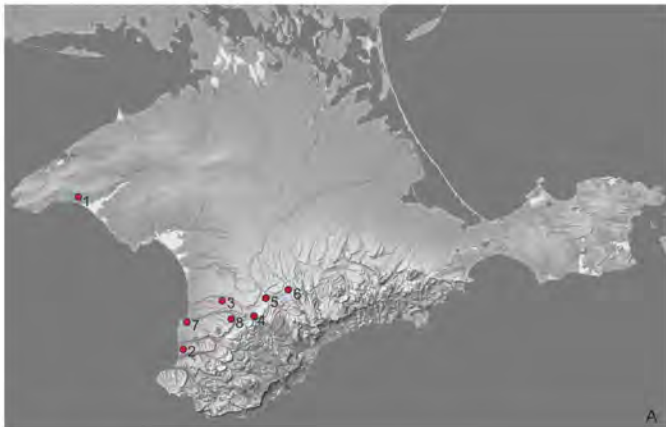


Fig 1. A – locations of the sites: 1. Beliaus, Chornomorske rai.; 2. Belbek IV, Nakhimov rai.; 3. Kol'chugino, Simferopol rai.; 4. Levadki, Simferopol rai.; 5. Scythian Neapolis, Simferopol rai.; 6. Opushki, Simferopol rai.; 7. Ust'-Al'ma, Bakhchysarai rai.; 8. Zavetnoye, Bakhchysarai rai. B – locations of bracelets in Late Scythian culture child graves.

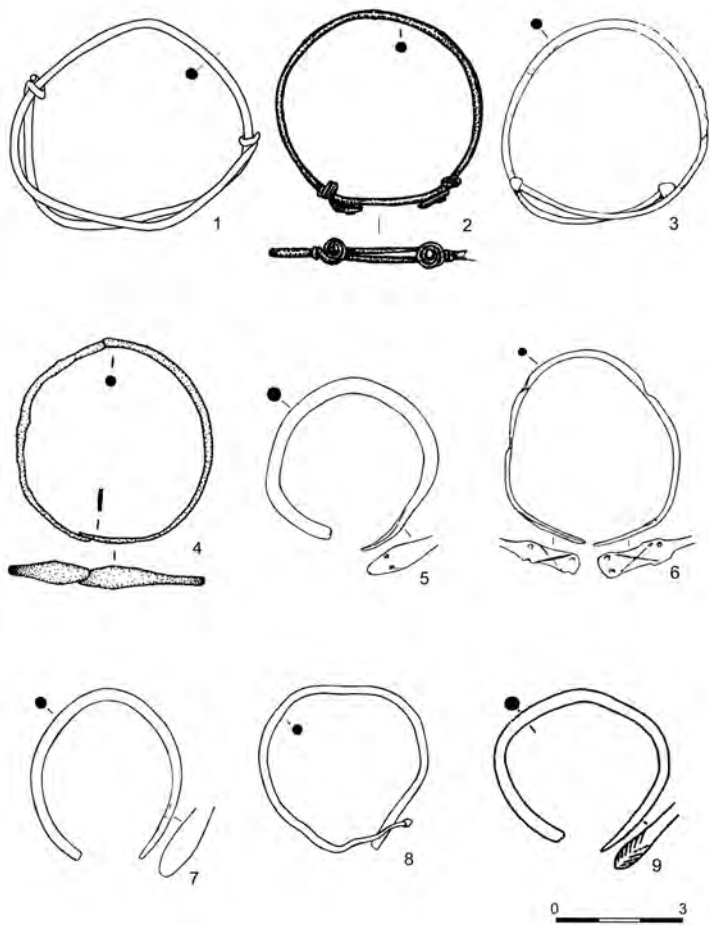


Fig 2: Exemplary bracelet types occurring in the Late Scythian culture child graves

Olbia Pontike and its *chora* – a Question of the Self-definition of Urban and Rural Societies

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This paper discusses the intercultural and ethnic relationship and the self-definition of urban and rural communities of Olbia Pontike. The two settlement zones that are taken into consideration – urban (concentrated upon Greek *poleis*) and rural (concentrated upon Greek *chorai* as well as the North Pontic steppe) – were areas in which different ethnic, social, environmental and political factors had a significant impact on the creation of cultural identity and self-definition of their inhabitants. These factors changed over time according to the current situation in the region. This study aims to show discernible trends in the expression of self-definition of the inhabitants over an extended period of time. These trends can be detected through such aspects as the popularity of certain cults, funerary customs, maintenance of old traditions, and the use of objects of a cross-cultural character.

The urban and rural settlement zones of Olbia have been investigated on many occasions, but mostly with regard to their ethno-cultural nature; often the main aim of previous research was either to demonstrate the ‘Greekness’ of Olbia and its *chora* which were perceived as culturally homogeneous, or the opposite – scholars argued in favour of a more ‘mixed’ character of the settlement.¹ However, such insistence on dividing the archaeological material according to assumed ethnic ‘markers’ (such as hand-made pottery, semi- and dugout housing, niche and catacomb graves, and certain elements of the funerary assemblage such as ‘Scythian’ mirrors) does not lead to satisfactory conclusions, since it ignores the specific ‘colonial’ context of the North Pontic Greek settlement in which cultural appropriation, exchange and hybridization appear to have been natural phenomena. A more useful approach should take into consideration the local nature of Olbian settlements that was created by the common experience of migration, local traditions developed by the settlers, and close cultural and economic ties between the city and its *chora* as well as the steppe world.²

The traditional ethnic-oriented approach that mainly focuses on the expression of ethnic identity does not pay much attention to other kinds of identity related to such criteria as status, gender and age that may have been manifested by the inhabitants. Also, a distinction between ethnic and cultural identity should be drawn: cultural identity should be perceived as a feeling of belonging to a particular group of people (for example, but not necessarily, an ethnic group) who have their own distinctive culture.³ In that sense, ethnic and other social groups can function within the same cultural milieu and try to express their own

¹ Skundova 1988; Parovich-Peshikan 1974; Kryzhitskii et.al. 1987; 1989; 1990; Marchenko 1988; a notable exception is a study based on a social interpretation of the burial data from the Olbian necropolis by Petersen 2010.

² Kryzhitskii et.al. 1989, 15; 1990, 120.

³ Antonaccio 2003.

identity. Therefore, cultural identity should be perceived as an ongoing process of formation and re-formation which greatly depends on changeable circumstances.⁴ In the case of North Pontic poleis, such circumstances were created through common migration and the foundation process of a new *apoikia*. The settlers were not a homogeneous group of people; they were more likely a collective group of Greeks of different origin, but it is also reasonable to assume that non-Greek people were incorporated into new settlements. It is crucial that the cultural identity of an *apoikia* was established through the social, religious and political order reflected in the city's *nomima* (i.e. customary institutions applied by a newly established community).⁵ This, however, did not have to exclude the existence of other groups that may have expressed their self-awareness so long as it did not affect the city's cultural coherence that was maintained through the city institutions.

The archaeological material from the Olbian chora demonstrates that the rural settlements and the city followed similar cultural patterns, since there are no substantial differences in the material culture between the city and its *chora*, which is certainly the result of a close economic and administrative relationship between these two settlement zones. Olbian influences can be visible through the analysis of funerary structures found at rural necropoleis between the 6th and 3rd centuries BC: pit graves, catacombs and earthen vaults (which are structures characteristic of the Olbian necropolis) as a rule appeared at rural cemeteries later than in Olbia.⁶ This may indicate that trends created in the city spread among rural communities gradually, which may have been caused by the fact that rural communities are usually more conservative in their lifestyle.⁷

A conceptual distinction between 'urban' and 'rural' zones can be observed with regard to deities worshipped there. The cults of Apollo (with the epithets Ietros and Delphinios), Zeus, Athena and other gods from the Olympic pantheon that were worshipped in Olbia are almost absent outside the city, where in turn the cult of Achilles appears to have been very prominent. This may indicate that the variation in the prominence of certain deities was connected with the way in which Olbia created its urban self-image centred upon specific cults (in particular the Apolline cult) rather than with potential cultural differences between the city and its rural territory.⁸ A similar opposition is visible between the urban and steppe zones that are associated with different traditions and a different lifestyle. The Orphic-Dionysiac cult attested in Olbia as early as the 6th century BC appears to have played an important role in expressing the city's unity through the establishment of a close relationship between the territory and the citizens of the *polis*.⁹ Moreover, the Olbian cults of Demeter and Dionysus had a distinctive chthonic nature that was related to agriculture which stayed in opposition to the nomadic traditions of the Scythians.¹⁰ This is likely to have been reflected in Herodotus' stories about Scyles and Anacharsis (Hdt. 4.76-80) in which such a juxtaposition of the rural and urban environments and their way of life is

⁴ Hall, du Gay 1996.

⁵ Malkin 2009.

⁶ Snytko 2013

⁷ The conservative nature of rural settlements can also be combined with the attachment to other old traditions, such as the use of open cult areas (zol'nik) (Koshary, Papuci-Władyka, Redina 2011, 287, and Kozyrka 2, Kryzhtskii et. al. 1990, 58-59; Marchenko 2013), and organic bedding in graves (Koshary, graves 111 and 107; Chochorowski 2008).

⁸ Braund 2007, 56

⁹ Guldager Bilde 2008.

¹⁰ Hinge 2008, 383-338.

expressed. When Scyles comes to the city, he leaves his Scythian train outside, on the outskirts of Olbia. Once he crosses the zone of the city – the Greek space, he adopts Greek manners that include Greek dress, language and cult. The spatial boundaries are demarcated not only by the city walls (that expressed both the physical and psychological borders of a *polis*), but also by two different cultural ways of life: urban (Greek) and rural (related to the steppe and based on nomadic customs). The use of lead *bucrani* in a funerary context during the Hellenistic period, which does not have analogies in other parts of the Black Sea and appears to be a local Olbian tradition, can perhaps be perceived as the continuation of a similar chthonic Dionysian cult.¹¹

The city's cultural identity became particularly important after the attack of the Getae in the middle of the 1st century BC when the city was destroyed and abandoned for several decades.¹² One of the most significant changes during that time was the increase of a new, non-Greek component in the city's community.¹³ The great amount of non-Greek, mostly Scytho-Sarmatian names that occur at this time is attested on dedications to Achilles Pontarches and Apollo Prostates, the two main city cults associated with the most important political institutions and magistracies in Olbia. This is likely to suggest that a certain number of these new citizens most probably belonged to the city's elite. Due to the fact that both epithets, Pontarches and Prostates, have not been attested before the Getic attack, the establishment of these cults appears to be a reaction to the new situation in the city. The Sarmatian and Olbian elite must have closely interacted with each other and negotiated mutual benefits from participation in the political life of the city, which was the basis of their collective action and collective identity. It appears clear that their sense of cohesion was strengthened through participation in the urban cults that were rooted in the older Greek religious traditions of the region, which provided a symbolic link between the past and the present.

During the Roman period, the existence of a specific conservatism within the rural communities can also be observed, which is supported by child burials in pits, amphoras and other vessels (the so-called *enchytrismoi*) found under the floor of houses at rural settlements. Such a tradition is well attested in the Archaic period, but is virtually absent in the necropolis of Olbia of that time.¹⁴

To sum up, the first period of the existence of Greek *apoikia* is likely to demonstrate a conscious, conceptual juxtaposition between urban and rural steppe communities, whereas in the post-Getic period, when a strong need for the preservation of cultural coherence is visible, a sense of collective identity based on older traditions appears to have played a more important role. In the case of the Olbian *chora*, the cultural impact of the city is visible in the way in which rural communities followed trends that were characteristic of the urban area. During the Roman period, the tendency towards older traditions is visible in the spiritual life, which may have been connected with a stronger need to preserve local identity as a result of a new political and demographic situation in the region.

¹¹ Rusjaeva 1979, 87-88.

¹² Krapivina 2007.

¹³ Tokhtas'ev 2013.

¹⁴ Kryzhitskii et al. 1989, 214.

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Hettite and Hurrian Traditions in Europe?

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Economic Relations and Cultural Contacts of the Scythians Settling on the Left Bank of the Lower Dniester from the 3rd to the 2nd Centuries BC

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During 1995-2012 and 2017 the Scythian burial ground was studied near Glinoe village, Slobodzeya district, situated on the left bank of the Lower Dniester. At the moment, 114 Scythian barrows have been excavated, in which 183 Scythian burials were found. The cumulative analysis of chronological indicators (amphorae (often with stamps), other ceramic imports, fibulae etc.), allows us to conclude that the Scythian steppe culture of the Dniester Region did not cease to exist at the end of the 4th century BC or in the first third of the 3rd century BC, but continued to develop without any break until the late 2nd century BC.

The most significant result of the research of the Glinoe cemetery was the acquisition of a unique volume of archaeological information. The amazing degree of preservation of the catacombs, as well as the integrity of most of them provided an opportunity to form representative collections of armament, horse harness, tools and household items, vessels, ornaments, accessories and costume elements, toiletries and religious objects. These materials allow to unequivocally ascertain the Scythian identity of the funeral complexes and to obtain reliable information about the material culture, life, economy, warfare and ideological views of the Scythians of the Dniester Region.

In addition, a comparative analysis of the grave goods from the Glinoe cemetery, as well as materials from other sites (barrows excavated by Stempkovsky couple in 1896-1911 and Parkany, Slobodzeya-VI, Chobruchi and Krasnoe settlements, etc.) on the left bank of the Lower Dniester showed that they are of Scythian origin and were made or existed in the 3rd-2nd centuries BC.

The economic relations of the Scythian population of the Lower Dniester could be illustrated by amphorae. There are entire vessels, profiles, stamps on the handles and necks of amphorae discovered in the Scythian burials and settlements. The Black Sea Greek centres are represented by the production of Heraclea Pontica, Sinope and Chersonesos; the Mediterranean centers — by amphorae of Rhodes, Knidos, Paros, Thasos and Kos. Without any doubts, wine in amphorae came to the Scythians of the left bank of the Dniester Region through such a large trading center as Tyras, Greek polis located on the right bank of the Dniester river.

Materials obtained during the study of Scythian sites of the 3rd-2nd centuries BC, allow trace certainly the Greek (Hellenistic), Thracian (Getian) and La Tène (Celtic, Jastorf,

Poienеști-Lukașevka, Zarubintsy cultures etc.) elements, expressed in the funeral rite and material culture of the Scythians of Lower Dniester.

The Greek influence on the funerary rite is most clearly represented in the construction of *dromoi* and in placing in burial chambers the lamps – imitations of Greek items (in special niches, as a rule). Other elements of rite and categories of material culture, which could be reasonably associated with Greeks, are met occasionally and rarely on the Scythian sites of the Dniester Region.

Not only the Greek cities like Tyras or Nikonion were the conductors of Greek influence on the burial rite and the material culture of the Scythians of the Lower Dniester in the 3rd-2nd cc. BC, but also the settlements Krasnoe and Chobruchi, located near the Glinoe cemetery.

Neighborhood with the Thracian tribes are reflected in the only item of weaponry (double-edged axe), few ornaments (bracelet with snake heads on the ends, bracelets and earrings with shovel-shaped ends, earrings with conical ends). But the strongest expression it has in the ceramic complex (morphology of vessels and various elements of design).

There is no doubt that the Thracian component, especially in the ceramic complex of the Glinoe cemetery and other Scythian barrows or settlements of the 3rd-2nd cc. BC is associated with the Getian population. It is obvious that these people not only penetrated the left bank of the Lower Dniester in the 3rd century BC, but permanently inhabited this region, at least until the late 2nd century BC.

The elements of the material culture of the tribes of Central and Eastern Europe (La Tène) are also confidently documented on the Scythian sites of the Lower Dniester. It is extremely rare reflected in jewelry (bracelets with lugs, earrings with “eights”), costume elements (finial with lugs, belt plaques), details of horse harness (round plaques) and weaponry (spearhead). At the same time, the appearance of most belt hooks and all fibulae found in the Glinoe cemetery and other sites should be explained not only by the influence of the La Tène cultures of Eastern Europe, but also by the penetration of its carriers directly into the Lower Dniester Region.

It is necessary now to make a conclusion about the permanent contacts of the Scythians with the carriers of various La Tène cultures of Eastern Europe, since neither the settlement nor the funeral sites belonging to them are known not only in the Lower Dniester, but also in the steppes of the North Black Sea Region.

It is very important that, despite the noted La Tène and Greek, as well as Thracian influences on the burial rite and the material culture of the Scythians of the Lower Dniester of the 3rd-2nd cc. BC their Scythian basis seem to be obvious and indisputable.

The analysis of the available materials showed that other cultural influences on the burial rite and, especially, the material culture of the Scythians of the Lower Dniester were possible due to the transition of the Scythians from nomadic and semi-nomadic to predominantly sedentary way of life.

Osteobiographies at the Edge of Empire: ‘Roman’ Provincials in Scythia Minor and their ‘Barbarian’ Neighbors across the Danubian Frontier

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Keywords: Bioarchaeology, osteobiography, identity(ies)

Introduction

Skeletal remains excavated from archaeological sites are one of the few direct testimonies which provide information on demography, health status, accrued trauma and injury, and other factors affecting resilience and adaptability under different political regimes.

Bioarchaeology integrates biological data from the analysis of the bones and teeth with the archaeological and the mortuary context, the cultural and environmental reconstructions, and with the historic information. Bioarchaeology addresses complex questions and requires using and synthesizing information from many different areas; it coordinates a large body of information and utilizes multiple lines of evidence in interpretations. ²

This project looked at differences in overall health and trauma between two groups living across the Lower Danube frontier: a skeletal sample from populations living in the Roman frontier province of Scythia Minor at the site of Ibida (Slava Rusă) during the 4th – 6th centuries C.E., and a skeletal sample from groups living to the north of the Lower Danube frontier, in what was considered the ‘barbaricum’, at the site of Târgșor during the 3rd – 4th centuries C.E. (the burials from this site dating to 5th – 6th centuries CE were destroyed during the 18th century ³). Both Ibida and Târgșor collections have been stored at the “Francisc I. Rainer” Institute of Anthropology, in Bucharest, Romania, and the author has analyzed 32 adults from each collection. The Ibida assemblage included 18 males and 14 females. The Târgșor assemblage consisted of 16 males and 16 females. The results showed that the ‘barbarians’ from Târgșor had a higher mortality risk and a lower survivorship rate, whereas the ‘Romans’ from Ibida were living longer but had a higher morbidity burden, showing a higher frequency of stress indicators.⁴

Osteobiographies

Populations are comprised of individuals, and bioarchaeology is about the people, not just the bones. To this end, osteobiographies become fundamental in putting faces on people in the past.⁵ The life-history approach complements the population-level data. Every skeleton has a unique story to tell and osteobiographies give a glimpse into the much more intimate scale of human life in social context.⁶ By employing methodologies that move between the two different levels of analysis, population framework and individual level, bioarchaeology is better equipped

to get a more informed and insightful picture of health.

One such individual, whose skeletal analysis has revealed a wealth of information, is individual M17a from Ibida. An elderly male aged at 50 or older, he had a single healed cranial depression fracture on the right side near the top portion of his head. In terms of trauma, he also suffered from two rib fractures, both healed at the time of death. Potential causes are falls, interpersonal violence, or an underlying pathological condition.⁷ Far from being mundane, fractured ribs can have serious consequences. Even a single rib fracture can result in significant amounts of pain and breathing difficulties, both effects potentially preventing an individual from working.⁸

Individual M17a also had a lot of pathological conditions. Some of his vertebral bodies were affected by Schmorl's nodes. A relatively common spinal pathology in both archaeological and clinical contexts, Schmorl's nodes have been attributed to flexion and extension of the spine during loading, to developmental or congenital factors, to traumatic events, or to the senescent process.⁹ Therefore, their complicated etiology cannot be explained by physical activity alone.¹⁰ His Schmorl's nodes were accompanied by severe osteoarthritis of the vertebrae. Six of his vertebrae were fused two by two: five-six, seven-eight, and nine-ten. A differential diagnosis might be diffuse idiopathic skeletal hyperostosis, known as DISH.¹¹ Signs of degenerative joint disease were also showing on the right glenoid fossa, on the left tibia condyle, and on the hallucal metatarsals and distal phalanges. There was also a slight case of healed periosteal lesions on the distal ends of his femora and tibiae.

The skeletal remains for individual M17a are a concrete example of allostatic loading, the piling up of indicators of stress.¹² When interpreting all his pathologies and trauma, care should be taken to include all possible explanations, also accounting for the interplay between various factors. One of these factors is his age, which could exert a great influence on affecting his patterns of disease.¹³ For example, degenerative joint disease has a complex pathogenic etiology¹⁴, and this individual's advanced age and compound allostatic load might have played an important role in its development.

No funerary objects have been recorded for individual M17a from Ibida. However, he was found buried with infant remains (labeled M17b): a femur and some long bone fragments.

Schmorl's nodes on eleven vertebral bodies (Figure 2), interesting finding in light of her young age.

[Insert Figure 2 here]

Figure 2. Individual M42. Schmorl's nodes. Photo curtesy of Andrei Soficaru.

In the course of this analysis, subadult animal bones were discovered among M42's remains. Therefore, it is speculated that she was buried with a young animal as an offering. At the time of the original excavation several objects were found buried with her: a bronze brooch, two bronze pieces, a small, fine red glass disk, one bone comb, 96 blue glass beads under her chin, and six ceramic vessels, one of which contained the remains of a predatory fish.²⁰ This relatively rich funerary content is similar to some other burials from the site, and very different from Ibida funerary inventories where rarely any objects were buried with the deceased²¹.

Another individual from Târgșor selected for a more in-depth presentation is M91. A male with an estimated age-at-death of 35-39 years old, this is one of only two individuals from Târgșor who showed signs of cut-marks/chop marks. He had a perimortem (around the time of death), not healed, cut mark on the right second cuneiform. This type of trauma would have not limited his mobility, but would have caused him a lot of pain, possibly indicative of performative violence or torture.²² He also displayed a healed vertebral fracture, a healed rib fracture, and a healed right tibia injury.

M91 was also suffering from all three stress indicators. He had slight, healed cribra

orbitalia in both orbits, slight, healed porotic hyperostosis on the occipital and on both parietals, and moderate periosteal reaction on the right tibia. Signs of moderate osteoarthritis could be observed on the preserved vertebrae, and also moderate Schmorl's nodes on nine thoracic and lumbar vertebral bodies.

Listed by the original excavators as dating to the 4th century CE and belonging to the Sântana de Mureș/ Černjakhov Culture, M91 was found buried with four ceramic vessels, an iron buckle, a bronze brooch, a bone comb, and bovine bones placed as an offering after his body was laid to rest.²³ His was yet another burial from Târgșor to exhibit a varied funerary inventory.

Discussion

The osteological and funerary analysis of these four individuals give a more detailed and intimate picture of who these people were, a glimpse into their complex identities. They are: an older, frail male buried with an infant; an outsider who wore one of her identities, the one she inherited at birth, in her bones; a young mother who died at birth or close to term; and a pathologically, physically and traumatically stressed male who might have been tortured and maybe made an example of.

Identity is never fixed in time and space, nor is it completely political or completely ethnic. By the end of the 5th century “barbarian” and “soldier” were synonyms: barbarians were now frontline troops in the Roman army, fighting Rome's enemies.²⁴ The Roman identity was changing too in the 5th century, starting to drift away from the ancient world. In this new world order, people were searching for new appartenances, seeking to define membership and relationship within new communities.²⁵

Seen in this context, the female M122 from Ibida might not actually have been an outsider or non-Roman. Her artificial cranial modification set her apart from Romans born in Rome. But she was living in a Roman frontier province, where ‘Roman’, ‘barbarian’, and local/native identities were probably just different facets of an individual's identity, coexisting in the same person. If she was born inside the empire and her parents did not consider that she would have had anything to lose by displaying a strong tie to a particular (ethnic) group, they would have culturally modified her cranial bone structure. Whatever group identity this woman might herself had ascribed to, her cranial modification was a signifier of the group identity her caregivers ascribed to her while an infant.

The 4th century saw the rise of local elites, overlapping with the spread of ‘emblemic styles’ as symbols of some type of group identity.²⁶ Recent studies have shown an increased standardization of female burial assemblages from the ‘barbaricum’ shortly before and after c. 350 CE. This style is sometimes labeled by some scholars as a typically ‘Gothic’ fashion: a dress style with two brooches on shoulders and a large belt-buckle at the waist.²⁷ Both individuals M42 and M91 from Târgșor were buried with some of these material identity markers. The grave goods and mortuary dress symbolized events in the deceased's life, becoming metaphors and signifiers of a past identity. Thus, clothing, body modification (painting, tattooing, scarification, cranial modification, etc.), and other bodily adornments become a “social skin”, the frontier between the self and society²⁸, a canvas on which all facets of identity get enacted.

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From the Sea to the Forest and Back Again: «The Don Route» in the Migration Period and the Early Middle Ages (studying the issue about interactions between populations of the Forest and the Steppe Zones from the 4th to the 7th centuries AD)

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The Don River at all times has been a main waterway bounding together different natural zones as well as different culture outlooks. In the ancient world it was a sort of the East boundary of the Mediterranean civilization whose outpost – Bosporian Tanais in the mouth of the Don – was a point of direct contacts between bearers of different cultures. Supposedly, ancient geographers saw in Tanais a border between European and Asiatic parts of Sarmatia (according to Claudius Ptolemaeus).

The steppe population was an active liaising counteragent for the Black Sea region and large areas of the Forest-Steppe and the Forest zones, including those along the Don and Volga Rivers, that in the region of Kalatch on Don and region of Volgograd drew together to a distance of 60 km.

Upper reaches of the Don River are situated immediately close to the middle course basin of the Oka River, an important waterway at the South boundary of the Forest zone. The biggest right confluent of the Don, the Seversky Donets River, was a route to the region of the Dniepro River basin («Podnieproov'ie»).

The Don River basin – «Podon'ie» – gains its special importance in the 1st millennium AD, when the East Europe went through several stages of drastic cultural changes related to the ending of the Middle Sarmatian culture and the formation of the Late Sarmatian culture; the Great Migration period; turbulent cultural-historical events of the Khazar Kaganat formation.

The Late Sarmatian populations of the middle Don, the Voronezh, the upper Don and the Koper area's variants of the Sarmatian culture directly influenced the formation of the Volga Finns culture on the right bank of the middle Volga basin («Povolzh'ie») and the Oka River basin («Pooch'ie») as

well as on the formation of such ancientries as Novo-Kleymenovo at the watershed between the Oka and the Don Rivers.

Since the 2nd AD a migration tide of the late Zarubinetz-Kiev population flew from the west through the Podon'ie, leaving after them in the Khoper River area such archaeological sites as Iniasievo. This process, provoked mainly by cultural transformations related to the arrival in Podnieprovyie of Velbark culture bearers and formation of Tchernyakhovskaya culture-historical community, provoked the emergence of a new culture in the Povolzh'ie area: archaeological sites of the type of Sidelkino-Timyashevo and related to them by origin Imen'kovskaya culture, – that some researchers associate with the Early Slav World.

The next outstanding stage in the history of Podon'ie is attached to the Hun period. From this age dates a series of nomad archeological records in the lower reaches of the Don: a regenerated settlement on the site of the ancient Tanais, as well as certain archeological sites in the middle reaches of the Don and an array of burial and settlement monuments such as Ksizovo-Zamyatino, characterized by the synthesis of traits typical both for «Hun» ancientries and for «Forest» cultures in the Pooch'ie: Moshchinskaya and Ryasano-Okskaya cultures.

A number of findings originated from the North Caucasus and Priazov'ie, as well as a single unique finding in the territory of Tanais, a set of female ornaments belonging to Ryazan' Finns dated from the first half of the 5th century, suggest the functioning of the Don Route at those times. This ornaments set directly evidences the presence here of a she-representative of the remote forest world.

In the 6th–7th centuries in the upper Podon'ie and the upper reaches of the Voronezh River populations emerged that left ancientries reminding of Slav ones: Kolochinskaya and Pen'kovskaya cultures in the Podnieprovyie. They would mediate transferring to the population of the upper and the middle course of the Oka River not only of certain Byzantine and the Dniepro River area' imports but of technological traditions of metal-working as well. Evidently, in the Don River area a direct interrelationships took place between Ryasano-Okskaya cultures population and Steppe formations of the North Caucasus and Priazov'ie, expressed, first of all, in a specific appearance of the martial culture of the end of the 6th–7th centuries, having reproduced steppe models. Imports originating from the North Caucasus are known, such as zoomorphic figurines of saddle decoration, that would be manufactured in the current territory of North Ossetia.

The most clear evidence of steppe habitants using the Don River as the road to the Forest zone provides the well-known burial of a noble steppe warrior in Artsybashevo, on the watershed between the Don and the Oka Rivers, belonging to the horizon of steppe ancientries such as Utch-Tepe–Artsybashevo–Krupskaya, dated from the third quarter of the 7th century AD. That burial have been found more than four hundred kilometers north to those ancientries areal and seems to be an evidence of a military journey of steppe habitants being one of the reasons of dramatic changes in the everyday life of Ryazan' Finns, bearers of the Moshchino culture, and of the Penkovka-Kolochin population in the upper course of the Voronezh River.

In the last centuries of the 1st millennium AD a North boundary defensive line of the Khazar Kaganat was formed in Podon'ie, where interactions took place between steppe inhabitants and populations of northlands, specifically, with the Slavs of the Romny-Borshevo culture and the group of ancient Mordva in the region of the Tsna River, an Oka's tributary. The overland route from Bolgar to Kiev, reconstructed by Russian archeologists, went through Podon'ie as well.

**Lower Don as a Contact zone of Interaction of Nomads and Sedentary
Population in the First Centuries AD**

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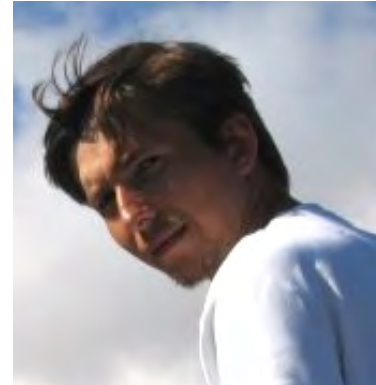
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Traces of Contacts between Sedentary and Nomadic Peoples in Eastern Europe during the Roman Period

(Sarmatian Tamga-signs and “Enamelled-style” Items)

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Abstract. This paper touches upon two classes of archaeological materials: items with Sarmatian tamga-signs from the forest area in Russia from the range of East-European champlevé enamels from the Crimean Peninsula. Both classes of considered finds are not typical for the locations they had been found. The paper considers the possibility to discover them in strange territories due to Sarmatian tribes. The nomads established connection between remote territories.

Keywords: Eastern Europe, Roman period, Sarmatians tamga-signs, East European enameled ornaments, Sarmatians.

There are numerous proofs of interaction between sedentary and nomadic population in Eastern Europe in Roman period. In this paper, though, I would like to touch upon only two classes of archaeological materials. At the first glance, they are not interconnected in any way, and still they bear evidence of contacts between the inhabitants of different remote regions in Roman time.

The first class consists of items with Sarmatian tamga-signs from the forest area in Russia. They were discovered in archaeological sites of Late Zarubintsy culture group, Moschino y Dyakovo cultures.

The materials from Pochep settlement (Late Zarubintsy culture) in Bryansk Region (2nd half of the 1st c. – early 2nd c. AD) include a black-glazed bowl with a tamga-like sign on the inner bottom surface (Fig. 1, 1). The technique and location of the sign is undoubtedly similar to the tradition of Sarmatian tamgas on the inner and outer bottom surfaces of various vessels in the Middle Sarmatian culture¹.

The Moschino culture produced a bronze trapezoidal pendant with a tamga (Fig. 1, 2) from the Moschino hoard of items from the range of East-European champlevé enamels (late 2nd – 3rd c. AD) in Kaluga Region². Occasional materials from Serensk hillfort of the same region, produced a bronze plate (Fig. 1, 3) that bears a Sarmatian tamga³. The most

¹ Voroniato 2009, 80–95.

² Bulýchov 1899, Tab. XI, 1; Yatsenko 2001, 70.

³ Vorontsova 2003, 316, Fig. 1, 9.

recent find with the sign, within the area of Moschino culture, represents a bronze plate (Fig. 1, 4), surface finds objects Solodka-1 settlement in Tula Region⁴.

In Late Dyakovo culture, items bearing Sarmatian tamgas were found in two hillforts on river Pakhra, in the river Moskva valley, namely in Dyakovo hillfort and Lukovnya-1 hillfort. The «enamels layer» (2nd – 4th c. AD) of those sites includes uniform bronze plates with a tamga (Fig. 1, 5–7)⁵.

The bridle set with tamga-shaped cheek-pieces (Fig. 1, 8) was included in the hoard from Dolmatovo hillfort in Starozhilovo District, Ryazan Region. In addition to harness, the hoard includes jeweller torcs, temple rings and a buckle-brooch. The hoard is dated around 1st – early 2nd c. AD⁶. Analogies to the bridle set are found in archaeological material of the Crimea, the Kuban river region and Lower Don.

The above-mentioned items of the forest area reflect various ethnocultural processes. The bowl with the tamga-like sign (Fig. 1, 1) of Late Zarubintsy site resulted from the collision between Zarubintsy culture and Sarmatian tribes in the Middle Dnieper Region, in the 1st half of the 1st century AD. The Sarmatian bridle set in the hoard of Dolmatovo hillfort is a consequence of new territorial developments by representatives of the culture of the Andreevo-Piseralsk range⁷, related to the Sarmatian world.

Pendants and plates with tamgas coming from Kaluga, Tula and Moscow Regions find no analogies in the Sarmatian world, which makes it possible to suggest that the cultural momentum coming from the steppe, once it penetrated the forest area, the continued and evolved in isolation from the main territory where Sarmatian tamgas prevailed. The ways and circumstances of its penetration are still unknown. However, it should be noted that the items under consideration are closely related to objects of the range of East European enamels, which were wide-spread in forest and forest-steppe areas between 2nd and 4th c. AD. This is the second class of items considered in the paper.

Rare finds of East European enamels style are known within barbarian materials of the Sarmatian range. Particularly, six locations of those finds are known on the Crimean Peninsula.

In the late 19th century, excavations in Chersonese produced two triangular fibulas (necropolis) and two lunar pendants (finds without exact documentation). The items (Fig. 2, 1–4) date back to the 3rd c. AD and have numerous analogies in forest and forest-steppe areas of East Europe.

An archive gives the picture of the top part of the fibula (Fig. 2, 5) of Kerch⁸. The item belongs to the final evolutionary phase of the East European enamels style and dates back to the 4th c. AD.

Finds from the two burial complexes of Neysats barrow include: openwork link of a chain (burial V, grave 275) and a fibula fragment (grave 480)⁹. Both items (Fig. 2, 6, 7),

⁴ Vorontsov 2010, 68. Fig. 2, 2.

⁵ Krenke 2011, 89, Fig. 165.

⁶ Akhmedov 2003, 128–138.

⁷ Akhmedov 2003, 136.

⁸ Levada 2010, 575.

⁹ Khrapunov 2008, Fig. 2, 3; Oblomskiy 2017, 60.

though without any enamel insertion fragment, undoubtedly represent the style of East European enamels, in its final phase.

The fibula fragment (Fig. 2, 8) comes from a destroyed burial of the Čhatyr-Dag barrow¹⁰. The fragmentary nature of the item prevents from establishing its precise date of origin¹¹.

Items from a child's burial of the necropolis in Scythian Neapolis (burial 3, grave 2) include a bracelet (Fig. 2, 9) with diametric (transversal) crests¹². Its design looks typical of the bracelets in East European enamels style. The burial complex dates back to 2nd half of 2nd and 1st half of the 3rd c. AD.

Burial no. 28 of Skalistoye 3 barrow includes two spurs (Fig. 2, 10, 11) with enamel¹³. Similar items are widely spread in East European forest and forest-steppe areas¹⁴. This burial complex dates back to the 1st half of 3rd c. AD¹⁵.

The above items of the style of East European champlevé enamels appeared in the Sarmatian world, and the Crimean Peninsula in particular, throughout the period between 2nd half of 2nd and 4th cc. AD. Researchers conclude that they moved from the North along with Sarmatian nomads¹⁶.

Therefore, the conclusion is: the two considered classes of items appeared in strange for them territories due to Sarmatian tribes. Nomads established connection between remote territories. This very process transferred the considered items and images to strange cultural environment.

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¹⁰ Shchukin 2002, 7–15.

¹¹ Oblomskiy 2017, 60

¹² Sýmonovich 1983, 94, Tab. XXXIII.

¹³ Bogdanova, Gushchina, Loboda 1976, 146. Fig. 8, 48, 49.

¹⁴ Radyush 2012, 239–251.

¹⁵ Oblomskiy 2017, 62.

¹⁶ Voroniatov 2016, 31; Oblomskiy 2017, 64.

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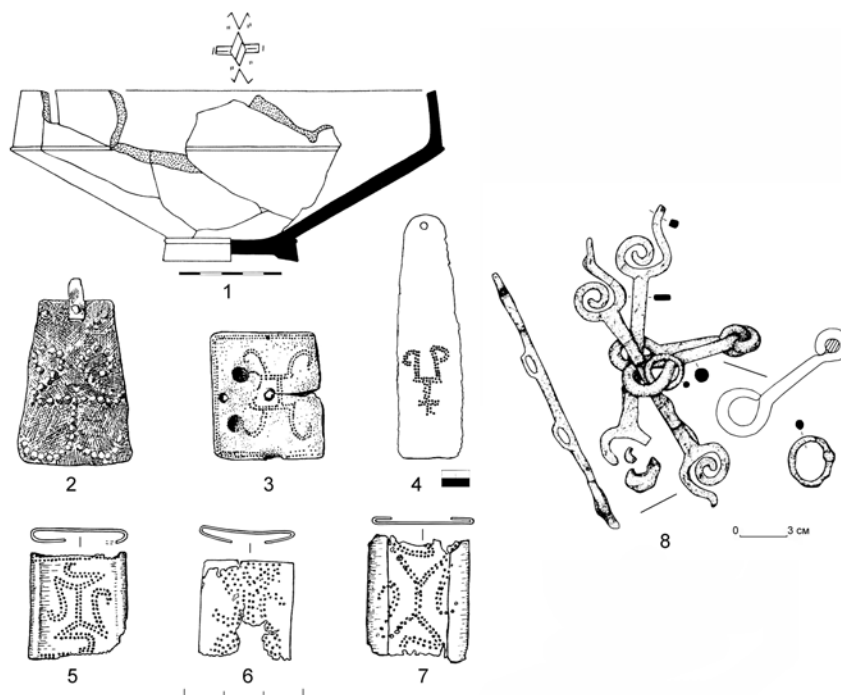


Fig. 1. Items with Sarmatian tamga-signs from the forest area in Russia. 1 – Pochep, 2 – Moschino, 3 – Serensk, 4 – Solodka 1, 5 – Dyakovo, 6, 7 – Lukovnya 1, 8 – Dolmatovo. (1 – drawings by the

author, 2 – after Voroniatov 2012, 3 – after Vorontsova 2003, 4 – after Vorontsov 2010, 5-7 – after Krenke 2011, 8 – after Akhmedov 2003).

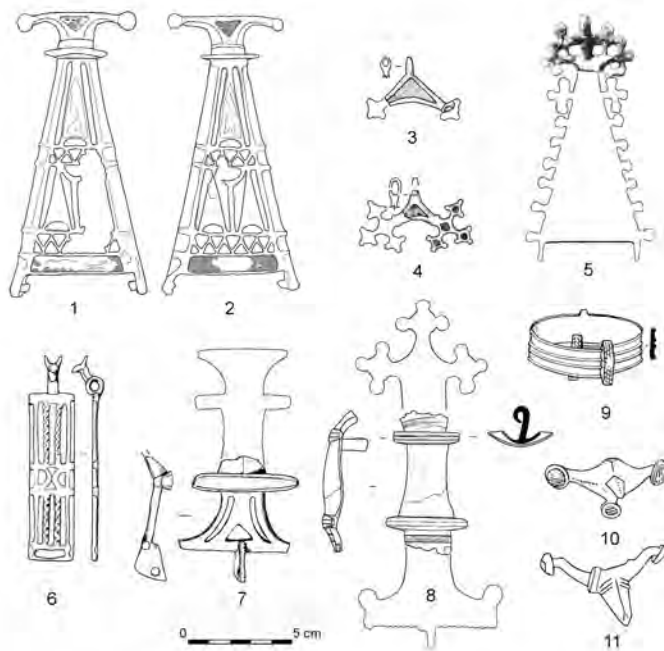


Fig. 2. Items of East European enamels style from Crimean Peninsula. 1-4 – Chersones, 5 – Kerch, 6, 7 – Neyzats, 8 – Čatyr-Dag, 9 – Scythian Neapolis, 10, 11 – Skalistoye-3. (1-4 – drawings of the author, 5 – after Levada 2010, 6 – after Khrapunov 2008, 7 – after Oblomskiy 2017, 8 – after Shchukin 2002, 9 – Sýmonovich 1983, 10, 11 – after Bogdanova, Gushchina, Loboda 1976).

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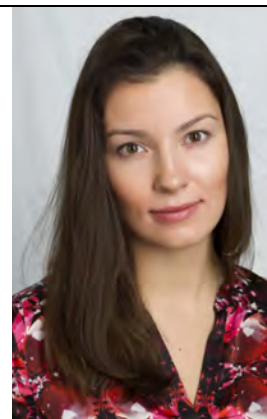


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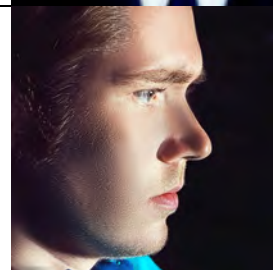
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