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1. Alemany, Agusti (Barcelona)–Arzhantseva, Irina (Moscow) *Alanica Bilingua: Sources vs. Archaeology. The Case of East and West Alania*

One of the most difficult problems of historical science is the comparison of written sources and archaeological data. Moreover, difficulty is increased by the fact that, most frequently, philologists and even historians make little use of archaeological data, while on the other hand archaeologists very often resort to written sources to prove hypotheses based on material culture, but having no direct access to the original texts or, in the best of cases, disregarding a philological approach.

This way of proceeding has undoubtedly hindered further progress in the analysis of many historical problems, and the study of the Alanic period is not an exception to this rule: an uncritical treatment of the scanty available sources has led to several hypotheses which have turned into axioms, in spite of being based on weak evidence. An additional problem lies in the fact that some questions are linked to a particular methodology due to the limitations of available evidence: for example, the history of the Alans in the West has been built mostly on information provided by written sources, while the problem of Ciscaucasian Alan migrations on a local scale has been dealt with exclusively from an archaeological viewpoint. However, in some cases, both approaches have been possible at the same time, as in the study of the role played by the Alans in the North Caucasian branch of the Silk Road or the survival of paganism in –so to say– “christianized” Alania.

As a sample of this, we would like to discuss here the hypothesis of the existence of East and West Alania. As early as 1958, V.B. Kovalevskaya conjectured that “apparent contradictions in written sources regarding friendly and hostile relations of the Alans with Byzantium [in 6th c. A.D.] are explained by the fact that in the Northern Caucasus there were two groups of Alan tribes, Western and Eastern, differing in their political sympathies and orientation”. This assertion, followed by V.A. Kuznetsov, was the starting point for further speculation, and even two distinct political entities have been suggested after a presumed division of Alania –like Georgia and Armenia– in Byzantine and Persian areas of influence. In spite of meagre evidence, mostly place and ethnic names quoted by a handful of sources (among which the Armenian geography *Asxarhac ‘oyc’* deserves special attention), this East-West division has also been applied to later centuries and has recently been linked to the dichotomy Alania-Asia (cf. Arm. *Aš-Tigor*, **Awsowrk*’, Gr. Ἀζία, Heb. אַסִּיָּא **Asia*, etc) by C. Zuckerman. On the other hand, archaeologists have tried to identify Western (Upper Kuban and Kuma) and Eastern (Upper Terek and Darial) variants of Alanic material culture, giving rise to new hypotheses, like the one by S.A. Pletneva, who compared Caucasian elements in Saltov culture with the aforesaid Eastern variant and explained them as the result of migrations from East Alania under Arab pressure. All in all, the purpose of the present paper is to question the reliability and chronological boundaries of this East-West division.

We have chosen the title *Alanica bilingua* for several reasons, closely related to the spirit we both, as organizers, would like to foster during this conference: the term *bilinguis* is intended to stress the desirable cooperation of scholars “speaking two languages”, this is, belonging to different scholarly traditions and working from different perspectives (in our case, archaeology and philology), in order to face unsolved problems with more guarantees or, at least, in order to question simplistic solutions. But, in fact, Latin *bilinguis* also means “double-tongued, deceitful, treacherous”, clearly alluding to the results we can expect if we keep on working without taking these considerations into account.

3. Balakhvantsev, Archil (Moscow) *The Date of the Alans' First Appearance in Eastern Europe*

The formation of Late Sarmatian culture in the Eastern European steppe was preceded by the appearance of the Alans. However, since it has been stated quite often that the Alans have in some way participated in the formation of Middle Sarmatian culture, this makes necessary to conduct more analyses of the data available in written sources, which permit to make conclusions about the time of the Alans' appearance in Eastern Europe, as well as about the territory taken by them.

The testimonies of ancient authors (Sen. *Thyēs.* 629-630; Lucan. *Phars.* 8.222-223; Val. Flac. *Arg.* 6.42-43; Amm. Marc. 23.5.16; Plin. *NH* 4.80; Jos. *AJ* 18. 97; Tac. *Ann.* 6.33-35) allow to assume that the Alans became known to Rome not later than the early 60s A.D. Their exact localization can be clearly identified through the analysis of a passage by Josephus (*BJ* 7.244-251), dated 72 A.D., where he tells about an Alan raid in Media and Armenia. There is one contradiction in Josephus' history: the Alans, who lived to the North of the Caucasus, could not invade Media through Hyrcania. J. Marquart made an attempt to solve this contradiction. At first, he supposed that "Hyrcanians" was a wrong Greek translation of the Armenian term *Virk'* "Iberians". Thus, J. Marquart suggested that Greek authors could also call Iberia by the name of Hyrcania, so that this would be a testimony of an Alan invasion through Darial.

However, this theory does not stand any criticism. At very first, Marquart's reference to the "Armenian term" produces perplexity. As it is known, written Armenian language occurs only in the 5th c. A.D.; before that time, Greek writing was used in Armenia, and the Aramaic script was used for writing texts in Iranian languages. Even if we suppose that Josephus had access to sources of Armenian origin, the name "Iberia" should be either in the Greek form Ἰβηρία, or in the Parthian *Wyršn*.

The correction of Josephus' text suggested by Marquart is not acceptable because of one more reason. The rule is that any conjecture might be acceptable only in the case that it eliminates existing contradictions and absurdities in the text without creating new ones. The replacement of Hyrcania by Iberia is completely in contradiction with Josephus' further narration. Indeed, a movement of the Alans through Darial or Darband suggests that the first attack, accordingly, had to be against Armenia or Albania, and only after that the time of Media had to come. Actually, the Alans first defeated Media and only then Armenia. The names of kings mentioned by Josephus are in conformity with the picture of the Alan invasion: Pacorus in Media and Tiridates in Armenia, who are also known as rulers of those countries from other sources (Tac. *Ann.* 15.2.1).

A movement of nomads through the Caucasus is ruled out by the fact that there is no passage from Josephus' predecessors or contemporaries about a presence of Alexander the Great on the territory of modern Eastern Georgia. The mention by Josephus of aid from the king of the Hyrcanians to the Alans conforms well with the information (Tac. *Ann.* 13.37.5; 14.25.2; 15.1.1) about the Hyrcanian revolt against Parthia in 50-60 A.D. The ensuing request for help by the Parthian king Vologeses I to Vespasian (Suet. *Dom.* 2.2; Dio Cass. 66.15.3) testifies against a participation of the Iberian king Mithridates II in the Alan invasion: otherwise, the Arsacid had asked the Romans to punish their ally, instead of requesting an army.

Meanwhile, our data show that the territories to the East of the Caspian sea were under the sway of the Alans (Dio Cass. 69.15.1; Amm. Marc. 23.5.16; 31.2.12; Ptol. *Geog.*

6.14.3, 9, 11). All this allows us to conclude that Josephus' passage bears witness to an invasion of the territory of Iran and Transcaucasia through Hyrcania by particular Central Asian Alans. What conclusions can we draw from this event? First, most of the Alans were to be found East of the Caspian in 72 A.D. Second, by this time the Alans took over European territories in the lower Don basin and near the Sea of Azov, but did not control the North Caucasus yet. Third, considering that the Aorsi lived in the lower Don in 49 A.D., then we may suppose that the resettlement of Alans to the banks of the Tanais took place between 50 and 60 A.D.

5. Bezuglov, Sergej (Rostov-na-Donu) *La Russie meridionale et l'Espagne: a propos des contacts au début de l'époque des migrations*

En 1986, Madame Magdalena Mączyńska a réédité l'ensemble des ornements en or du costume féminin, trouvés à Grenade (la partie de la ville Albaicín, situé sur la rive droite de la rivière Darro) dans le sud de l'Espagne le troisième janvier de 1880. Maintenant il se trouve dans le musée Archéologique de Grenade. L'ensemble comprend 12 objets: 2 pendentifs en forme de *lunulae*, 6 doubles tubes cannelés et 4 plaques-appliques en forme de losange.

L'ensemble de Grenade est évidemment incomplet. Sans doute, il représente les restes du mobilier funéraire - la partie de la finition de la robe riche féminine. Les sépultures, où les objets de ce type trouvés *in situ*, permettent d'affirmer que les petites plaques-appliques en or se trouvaient autour du col de la robe féminine. Elles étaient les imitations des colliers prestigieux d'or, répandus dans le milieu de l'aristocratie supérieure barbare au début de l'époque des migrations.

Les ornements modestes, trouvés à Grenade, depuis longtemps attirent l'attention des chercheurs. Pour la première fois ils étaient publiés par Nils Åberg en 1923. Ensuite les ornements de Grenade étaient reproduits beaucoup de fois dans les éditions les plus diverses. Madame Mączyńska a accompli l'analyse la plus complète de la trouvaille de Grenade. À son avis, les ornements de Grenade appartiennent à un groupe d'antiquités de la période pré-visigothique, qui sont rares en Espagne. Elle datait la trouvaille du premier tiers de 5^e siècle et supposait que les ornements de Grenade étaient laissés par les Vandales et leurs alliés Alains entre les années 409 et 429 après J.C. Mme Mączyńska a proposé une large série d'analogies aux ornements de Grenade. Ils sont dispersés partout en Europe, de la Scandinavie jusqu'à la mer Noire.

Sûrement, il faut accepter cette estimation de la trouvaille. Nous remarquerons seulement, qu'au moment de la sortie de l'article de M. Mączyńska on ne publiait pas pratiquement les parallèles *directes* aux pendentifs et plaques-appliques de Grenade (sauf les ornements sans les données de leur provenance de la collection de Baurat Schiller «de la Russie méridionale»). Certains des objets, examinés plus bas, ce moment-là se trouvaient encore dans la terre. C'est pourquoi certaines lignes de comparaisons, proposées par Mme M. Mączyńska, étaient insuffisamment concrètes.

Pendant les recherches archéologiques des dernières décennies de 20^e siècle au sud de la Russie et dans la région pontique on découvrait quelques ensembles archéologiques (les sépultures du début de l'époque des migrations), contenant des analogies directes aux trouvailles de Grenade. Il s'agit des ensembles des ornements de la robe féminine en tôle d'or contenant trois éléments:

- les tubes cannelés - simple ou double,

- les pendentifs - *lunulae* (ou «lounnitsy» en russe) avec le décor estampé,
- les plaques-appliques losangiques en deux couches - inférieur et supérieur.

À mon avis, les antiquités de la Russie méridionale offrent des nouvelles possibilités dans l'interprétation culturelle et historique de la trouvaille de Grenade.

1) Tanais (l'embouchure du Don), sépulture 10 de 1981. Dans la tombe féminine avec les objets expressifs de la fin du 4^e–début du 5^e siècles on a trouvé l'ensemble des ornements: 13 pendentifs - *lunulae*, 13 plaques-appliques losangiques, 48 tubes cannelés.

2) Tanais, sépulture 3 de 1990. Dans la tombe avec les objets de la période D₁ ont été trouvés 12 pendentifs - *lunulae*, 12 plaques-appliques losangiques, 38 tubes cannelés.

3) Tanais, sépulture 251. Sur un squelette d'enfant a été découvert un pendentif - *lunula*, orné par un décor estampé. Il est identique aux pendentifs trouvés dans les tombes 10/1981 et 3/1990 à Tanais et à Grenade.

4) Kytée (la Crimée Orientale), tombe 3 dans la chambre 2 de la catacombe 145. Parmi les objets, très proches à ceux de Tanais, ont été trouvés 11 pendentifs - *lunulae*, 9 plaques-appliques losangiques, 46 tubes cannelés.

5) Krasny Mak (au sud-ouest de la Crimée), la crypte 3. Dans la tombe, qui a souffert du pillage, ont été trouvés 8 pendentifs - *lunulae*, 6 plaques-appliques losangiques, 34 tubes cannelés.

6) Louchistoe (Crimée méridionale), tombe 82. Dans un grand ensemble des ornements d'or on a trouvé 12 pendentifs - *lunulae*, 13 plaques-appliques losangiques, 48 tubes cannelés.

7) dans le musée Historique d'Etat à Moscou se trouve la collection des objets trouvés à 1849 dans le district Obojansky non loin de Kursk. Ces objets étaient datés par L.A. Matsulevich environ de 400 après J.C. Parmi les objets de la trouvaille il y avait quelques plaques-appliques, y compris les pendentifs estampés.

Les renseignements recueillis sur les ensembles des ornements d'or (les pendentifs - *lunulae*, plaques-appliques losangiques et tubes cannelés) permettent d'affirmer le suivant:

1) ces ensembles sont assez nombreux et sont localisés assez distinctement (la Crimée et le Don Inférieur). En dehors de ces régions, détails pareils d'or se rencontrent assez rarement (le district de Obojansky, la trouvaille de 1849) et, sûrement, sont importés de la zone pontique.

2) on peut supposer que chacun des trois éléments des ensembles examinés a prototypes plus précoces au milieu culturel des steppes de la Russie méridionale.

3) les détails de l'ensemble des ornements d'or, trouvés en 1880 à Grenade, sont fabriqués, selon toute apparence, directement au sud de la Russie et sont apportés à l'Espagne en flot migratoire des Vandales et des Alains au début du 5^e siècle (l'automne de 409).

L'identification ethnique des ensembles de la *Russie méridionale* est assez difficile. Ils appartiennent à la culture internationale, unissant les composants ethnographiques et ethniques divers. La trouvaille *espagnole*, probablement, a la charge certaine ethnographique. Il est plus probable, que pour la péninsule Ibérique les détails d'or de la finition de la robe féminine se sont trouvés avec la population de la région pontique. Compte tenu des données de la tradition historique, les candidats les plus probables au rôle de propriétaires des ornements en or de Grenade peuvent être les Alains, déplacés de la sud de la Russie vers les frontières de Pannonie durant les années 70 de 4^e siècle et entrés puis à l'union avec les Vandales.

Si l'attribution des plaques-appliques de Grenade est fidèle, on peut supposer, que les

Alains, alliés et compagnons des Vandales dans leurs voyages à travers l'Europe, pouvaient être les porteurs du type culturel pontique, présenté dans la Crimée, au Bosphore et sur le Don Inférieur à la fin de 4^e–le début de 5^e siècles. Ces Alains ont assimilé à un fort degré les éléments de la culture sédentaire, la partie des traditions ethnographiques germaniques et étaient partie de la civilisation pontique. Dans les manifestations extérieures ils se distinguaient fortement des nomades, pareils aux Alains-Tanaïtes ou aux Alaines européens d'Ammien Marcellin.

6. Borjian, Habib (Tehran) *Looking North from the Lofty Iranian Plateau: a Persian View of Steppe Iranians*

Sometime before the turn of the 2nd to 1st millennium B.C.E., the Iranian-speaking tribes of the Steppe Bronze Cultures parted into two main groups: those who migrated south into the plateau which bears their name, and those who expanded their domain within the steppes, westward into the Volga and Pontic regions and beyond, and southward well into the Caucasus and Central Asia. These two branches of the same people evolved in very different ways that have been characteristic to other societies living in south and north Eurasia. Nevertheless, as South and North Iranians were actually immediate neighbors, they kept influencing each other as long as the Iranian pastoralist riders continued to rule the Eurasian Steppes. After all, many of the vicissitudes undergone by Persia since the dawn of her history have been related to the Steppe warriors, and on the other hand much of what we know today about the history of the Scythians, Sarmatians, and Alans are from sources written in Iranian languages.

The intention of this paper is to give a broad outline of the persistent presence of Steppe Iranians in Persian history and culture, something that has been overlooked in the field of Iranian studies. It begins with the 7th c. B.C.E. Cimero-Scythian invasion of the Near East, and their affairs with the Medes, who spoke an Old Iranian dialect probably mutually intelligible with that of the Scythians. In order to secure the northern frontiers of the Persian Empire against the invading nomads, Achaemenids waged several wars: in one Cyrus the Great was killed by the Massagetae; in another Darius I suffered great loss confronting the Saka Tigraxauda. It was only after the downfall of the Achaemenian Empire that some of the nomads could penetrate into the Iranian Plateau: this was the case of the Arsacids, originally a Dahae tribe, who gradually pushed Alexander's successors out of the Iranian homeland and revived Iranian traditions. During their long reign (ca. 238 B.C.E.–224 C.E.), other Saka groups migrated south: one moved into Drangiana, which has since been called Sakastan ('land of Saka', corresponding to the present Seistan in Afghanistan and Persia); moreover, the Plateau is dotted with many more toponyms bearing the "Saka" element, e.g. *Saqez* (where the famous Scythian Zivia treasure was discovered) and a number of *Sagzi* 'of or related to Saka'. The policy of sealing the northern borders of Ērānshahr continued during the dynastic rule of the Sasanians, who built long walls in the Caucasus (Darband) and Hyrcania to shut out Alans and Chionites, the last Steppe Iranians before the Turko-Slavic takeover.

The most fascinating of all is the perennial presence of Northern Iranian peoples in Iranian traditional history, best narrated in the *Shāhnāma*. Its heroic core begins with the partition of the world into Ērān, Tūrān, and Rōm to Frēdōn's sons Ēraj (Av. *Airyā-*), Tūr (Av. *Tūra-*), and Salm/Sarm (Av. *Sairima-*, cf. *Sarmat*, a plural form of *Sarm* in Eastern Iranian languages), respectively. It is actually the series of long wars between Iran and

Turan (i.e. nomadic Iranians of the Steppes) that stitch together the reign of successive Kayanid kings. Interestingly, the arch-hero of Iran in these wars is a Scythian: Rostam the Sagzi (Saka), who is adopted from a cycle of historical traditions from Sakastan.

7. Bzarov, Ruslan (Vladikavkaz) *The Scytho-Alanic Model of Social Organization (Herodotus' Scythia, Nart Epic and Post-Medieval Alania)*

It is convenient to define as a model of social organization peculiar to certain cultural-historical tradition the principles of social order, consecrated by the ideal conceptions of the harmonious society and embodied in real social life. The model or systematic scheme of social arrangement is a necessary element of the tradition itself, is a foundation of cultural stereotypes and a guarantee of their reproduction.

Due to the works of G. Dumézil, V.I. Abaev, E.A. Grantovskij, D.S. Raevskij, A.M. Khazanov and others the social model of Herodotus' Scythia was reconstructed and the society of the epic Narts was described in its main features. Having discovered the direct analogies between the social organization in the Nart epics and the Scythian social ideology, G. Dumézil could not hide his astonishment: "I have already underlined more than once" –he wrote in 1968– "that this epic collection is of interest, first of all because of surprisingly true transmission by the Ossets of the mental structure which had a long time ago –probably two thousand years ago– stopped to correspond with their social order". It was by calling this phenomenon a mysterious and inexplicable one that G. Dumézil for the first time raised the question of correspondence between the ethnic-cultural and social-historical succession, to be more precise – of fundamental and inalienable *social* dimension of Scytho-Alanic ethnic-cultural tradition. It was evident for him that it was social history – and first of all the concrete forms and principles of the social arrangement– that should make the basis for linguistic and cultural continuity.

In fact, there could be no correspondence between the linguistic and ethnological facts known to the modern science and out of date descriptions of the social order of the Ossets that were made in the historiographic epoch of unifying study of the Caucasus. The situation began to change only in the last two decades, together with the discovery of the civil community and other peculiarities of the Alanic social history of the Post Medieval period.

The mountain communities that were established in the 15th-16th c., after the Alanic kingdom had been ruined, differed from each other by the size of the land they possessed or by the number of the people, yet everywhere it was the same civil community that was the form of social-political unity, called in Ossetian *bæstæ* –a whole self-governed social body, a collective of citizens possessing sovereign rights. The population of the community was divided into three generations, each one having its own territory. A citizen who enjoyed full rights was called *wæzdan* (Dig. *wezdón*). The inseparable unity comprised by the land property, social and political ties, was built as a hierarchy of the collective bodies: individual family – family – settlement – one of the three generations – civil community. There existed many level territorial system of representative self-government – *nyhas* (dig. *nihas*). The genealogical legend of the spring of three generations from a common ancestor (whom the founders of all three levels of social-political hierarchy were consistently derived from) served as an ideological basis for the unity of the community.

The same situation is found in Herodotus' description of Scythia: family – the group of relatives – area/tribe – one of three kingdoms – Scythia. This description served as a basis

for reconstruction of the multilevel Scythian social hierarchy, which is characterized by the fictitious genealogical kinship at the highest levels and real one at the lowest ones. The well-known legend of Scythian origin presents the ideological principles of such a social arrangement.

Finally, the society of the epic Narts is also a modification of the archaic Indo-Iranian community, arranged in accordance with the idea of three cosmic levels and three social functions. The closest parallels are fixed by the Avesta, where we find both the tripartite division and a multilevel system of relations, according to Gershevitch: house – clan – tribe – country.

There are at least three characteristic features that can be singled out for a preliminary description of the Scytho-Alanic model of social organization:

1. The tripartite principle of cosmic and social harmony, embodied in a territorial-political division of the traditional society.
2. The multilevel structure of the social relations and self-government.
3. The ideology of kinship (fictitious at the highest levels and real at the lowest ones) among the levels and segments of social-political structure.

8. Canepa, Matthew (Charleston) *The Problem of Indo-Scythian Art and Kingship: Evolving Images of Power and Royal Identity between the Iranian, Hellenistic and South Asian Worlds*

This paper explores the development of the visual culture of power under the Indo-Scythian (Saka) kings, who controlled portions of what is now Afghanistan, Pakistan and northern India in the first centuries B.C.E. and C.E. The advent of the Indo-Scythian kings in South Asia marked an important watershed in the development of the culture of kingship in these regions, blending elements of Central Asian Iranian and Hellenistic kingship with South Asian elements. The study argues that the Indo-Scythians established a cross-cultural Iranian-Hellenistic language of kingship which later dynasties, such as the Indo-Parthians and Kushans, responded to and, to a certain extent used as a template for, their evolving cultures of kingship. While numismatic evidence provides the most important source of information for the official expressions of power, the luxury arts of the region thought to come from the Scythian era can provide several clues to how the elite interacted with the aristocratic common-culture of Hellenistic art and evolving idiom of Buddhist art. While the focus of the paper is on the Indo-Scythians, it will also consider parallel and succeeding developments under the Indo-Parthians, remaining Indo-Greeks, and growing Kushan powers in order to evaluate the processes that led to such commonalities. As a contribution to the author's wider considerations of the ancient Iranian kingship, it asks whether these were simply parallel developments, the marks of influence or the result of a concerted program of appropriation and competition; it will also consider the relationship – if any – to other manifestations of Central Asian Iranian visual culture, though temporally or geographically distant.

9. Cheung, Johnny (Leiden) *On Ossetic as the Modern Descendant of Scytho-Sarmato-Alanic: a (Re)assessment*

Ossetic is considered to be the last, living remnant of Iranian languages that were once spoken in the Eurasian steppes. Much is debated on the exact affiliation of Ossetic within the complex of languages or dialects which would encompass well attested Middle East Iranian languages, such as Khotanese, Sogdian and Choresmian, and the little known or even totally unknown languages of the North Iranian tribes (as mentioned in the classical sources), not only Scythians, Sarmatians and Alans (the theme of this conference) but also Cimmerians, Issedonians, Massagetae, and so on. Quite often the term “Scythian” is used as an umbrella term for all Eurasian tribes who may be vaguely Iranian, on account of the onomastics, customs, certain artifacts in burial sites or descriptions of their physical appearance. Also the term “Sarmatian” is used similarly. The only difference between “Scythian” and “Sarmatian” is a matter of chronology. More is known about the customs of the Sarmatians, no doubt due to their relations with the Roman empire. But again, frustratingly little is known about the language or languages spoken by the Sarmatians. Finally, towards the end of the Sarmatian period, the Aorsi and Alans came into prominence. The names of these two tribes suggest that they may have spoken a language that is more intimately related, perhaps even ancestral to Ossetic, as both names are not only attested in Ossetic, but, more importantly, also reflect sound developments specific to Ossetic, viz. **-aru-* > **-aur-* and **-ry-* > *-l(l)-*.

In this paper I shall give a survey of features, from the phonology, morphology and lexicon, characteristic to Ossetic as a North Iranian “steppe” language, which in turn can be employed to identify linguistic affiliations within this complex of Iranian nomadic tribes who used to roam the steppes of Eurasia.

10. Dzitstsojty, Jurij (Vladikavkaz) *A Propos of Modern Hypotheses on the Origin of the Scythian Language*

The last two decades have shown a new rise of the interest in the problem of the origin of the Scythian language (K.T. Vitčak, A. Loma, D.S. Raevskiy, S.V. Kullanda). Despite the distinct evidence of Herodotus in favour of a Scythian origin of the Sarmatian language (confirmed by such scholars as Vs. Miller, M. Vasmer, V.I. Abaev, L. Zgusta, J. Harmatta and others), an attempt was made to separate these languages from each other. Sarmatian was supposed to be a language of the Northern branch of the Eastern group of Iranian languages, while Scythian –one of the languages of the Southern branch of the same group (S.V. Kullanda). As the result of such an approach, Ossetic was declared a successor to Sarmatian exclusively and to have nothing in common with Scythian. The key role in this theory is supposed to be played by the Scolotian dialect of the Scythian language that, in fact, does demonstrate linguistic features (discovered and described by E.A. Grantovskij) characteristic of the Southern branch of the Eastern group of the Iranian languages. Yet the arguments that are laid in the basis of this hypothesis do not seem absolutely convincing.

There are two phonetic features of the Scythian language that are thought to have a strong value for distinction of the Scythian forms from those of Sarmatian:

1. In Scythian the OI cluster **ri*, **ry* has resulted as *ri*, while in Sarmatian it led to *l(l)*.
2. In Scythian the OI **d* has resulted as *l*, like in Bactrian, Pushto and Munji, but in Sarmatian as *d*.

What escapes the attention of the colleagues is the fact that these distinctive features do not cover all the Scythian material. The origin of Scythian *ri* from OI **ri/ry* exclusively is contradicted by the Scythian anthroponyms Λιπόξαις and Κολάξαις (Hrd. IV, 5-6) from **Ripa-xšaya-* and **Xvarya-xšaya-* respectively (E.A. Grantovskij). On the one hand, we have the Scythian ethnicon Ἄλαζῶνες / Ἄλιζῶνες (Hrd. IV, 17) from OI **arya-zana-* (E.A. Grantovskij–D.S. Raevskiy) and the Scythian (?) anthroponym Ὀλκάβας from **upari-kapa-* (V.I. Abaev) –on the other. Hence OI **ri, *ry* has two different reflexes in various Scythian dialects: *ri* and *l(i)*. At the same time, as the Sarmatian ethnicon *Areatas* from OI **arya-ta-* (J. Harmatta) does show, the OI clusters **ri, *ry* do not have a common reflex *l(l)* in all Sarmatian dialects. Hence OI **ri, *ry* has just the same reflexes in Sarmatian – *ri* and *l(l)*.

The second group of arguments does not correlate with the Scythian *d* (from OI **d*) in such undoubtedly Scythian hydronyms as Δάναπρις, Δάναστρις, Τάναις etc., where Δάν-/Τάν- is from OI **dānu-*. The name of the Scythians in Assyrian (*aškuṣzai, askuzāi, ašguzai, asguzi, iškuṣzāi*), Ancient Greek (Σκύθαι) and Hebrew (*aškenaz < *škwz*) goes back to the autoethnicon of the Scythians – **skuḍa-* (from **skuda-*). The last stem was recognized also in the Old Persian name of Western Scythia – *Skudra* (O. Szemerényi) and the Ossetian toponym *K'wydar* 'South Ossetia' from **skuda-* + suffix *-āra* (Yu. Dzittsoity). It is quite possible that the ethnicon *Suguda* 'Sogdians' also goes back to the ethnicon **skuda-* (O. Szemerényi). Hence the form **skuda-* (not **skula-*) was widespread over the vast territory from the river Danube in the West to ancient China in the East and ancient Assyria in the South, including ancient Ossetia. In the form of **skula-ta* this ethnicon was spread over the narrow dialectal group in Scythia. Together with the other forms that have *l* (from OI **d*), it is an evidence of the existence of a special –Scolotian– dialect of the Scythian language, which had mixed features (both of the Northern and Southern branches of the East Iranian languages). Just as the modern Tajik, belonging to the Western group of the Iranian languages, has a Vanji dialect, which has a lot of Eastern Iranian features.

Thus there is no serious reason so far to refuse the Scythian language its right to be attributed as an East Iranian language of the Northern group and, as it was proposed by I. Gershevitch, to consider the Kudar dialect of modern Ossetic as its direct descendant, as it was done before.

11. Erlikh, Vladimir (Moscow) *Scythians in the Kuban Region: New Arguments to the Old Discussion*

The material culture found along the Kuban River left bank in the Scythian epoch, which we can date to the mid-seventh through sixth century B.C., has provided the largest number of artifacts similar to those from Scythian sites in the Central Forecaucasus and Ukrainian forest steppes. At the same time, the local «Meotian» culture continued cultivating its own specific characteristics. This has long been food for the traditional quarrel in archeological circles about the “Scythian” or “Meotian” nature of the “Great Kuban Kurgans”.

In addition to kurgan burials, generally considered to be Scythian by the majority of scholars, a contemporary burial without a kurgan mound flat-graves was found in the well-known Kelermes burial grounds. The burial ritual and pottery are related to the preceding Proto-Meotian period (Galanina 1985, 1989). Today it is quite certain that the Kelermes kurgans 23 and 29, excavated in the 1980s by an archeological team from the Hermitage, are not burial complexes but in fact kurgan shrines with horse sacrifices – a typically

Meotian feature. The same can be said about the Ulsky kurgans, which, it would seem, were ritual and not burial complexes (Balonov 1987; Galanina, Leskov 1996; Erlikh 2001).

This kind of exchange between the Proto-Meotian and Early-Scythian periods can be followed throughout use of Proto-Meotian burial grounds in Early-Scythian times. Examples of such kurgan cemeteries are the “Klady” and Holmsky cemeteries, which remained in use up to the Kelermes period (Leskov, Erlikh 1999; Vasilinenko, Kondrashev, Pyankov, 1993).

Very few necropoleis are known that can provide information about the burial traditions of the “Kelermes” period. At this time, the standard example for this period would be the Kelermes cemetery itself. L.K. Galanina classifies four types of burial structures here, which were implemented “in accordance with the deceased's social status and, possibly, ethnic affiliation” (Galanina 1997:8-74).

Close examination of the different burial rituals found in this “Early-Scythian” monument has led me to the conclusion that all the types of burial and cult structures found here lead to the Proto-Meotian group of monuments.

A number of features typical for funeral rites in the Kelermes flat-graves (type 4 according to L.K. Galanina) can also be found in Proto-Meotian monuments existing in the pre-Novocherkassk / early-Chernogorovka period.

Secondary burial structures in kurgans (type 3) are also well known of Proto-Meotian sites.

In the later “classical” Novocherkassk and “early-Zhabotin” periods of the Proto-Meotian group, we see the appearance of large pit burials beneath kurgan mounds (type 1) as a result of Transcaucasian campaigns and the formation of an elite class (Erlikh 2005:35-39).

We also find parallels to the ritual complexes of the Kelermes cemetery (kurgans 23 and 29 – type 2 according to L.K. Galanina) amongst Proto-Meotian monuments.

Therefore, the burial rites of the Kelermes cemetery give us no good reason to assume that a radical change in population brought about by the arrival of a new ethnic group took place at the beginning of the Scythian period.

It should be noted that the occurrence of varied burial structures within a single cemetery is also characteristic for Proto-Meotian sites, for example “Klady” and Uashhitu I.

Having examined the Early-Scythian monuments of the Kuban area and compared them with Proto-Meotian monuments, we are able to confirm an old conclusion made by A.A. Iessen: “the culture of the Early-Scythian Kelermes kurgans ... developed in a structured fashion based on the culture of the preceding period” (Iessen 1954:129). However, this does not contradict the idea of the existence of a “center of Early-Scythian culture” (Galanina 1997), as long as this is viewed in a traditional, broad sense, based only on horse gear, weapons and items of Animal Style, and not according to the concrete-ethnic meaning of Iranian Scythians from the northern Black Sea steppes. In a similar broad sense, the northwest Caucasus is undoubtedly one of the centers of the “Early-Scythian complex”, in which “Scythian” features, characterized by elements of the triad, continue developing to one extent or another up to the 4th c. B.C. while increasingly taking on local characteristics.

12. Fidarov, Rustem (Vladikavkaz) *Horse Burials in the Zmeysky Catacomb Burial Place*

Zmeysky catacomb burial place is situated in the Kirovsky region in North Ossetia-Alania. Archaeological excavations of the 1950s provided extensive evidence: among artifacts there are parts of harness for a saddle horse. But only one horse burial place was registered. From 1981 to 2005 during 18 field sessions we investigated more than 400 burial complexes including 269 catacombs of the 10th-13th centuries and, synchronous to them, 41 horse burial places; 9 of them have already been catalogued. Alan horse burials are regarded as a universal phenomenon. They are abundant in medieval Alan catacomb burial sites (Balta, Coban, Galiat, Koltzo-gora, Khaznidon, Dargavs, Sadon, Arkhon, Dagom etc.)

Horses were buried in ground trenches, but not in catacombs. No regularities between horse burial sites and definite catacombs have been established so far. Undoubtedly, horse burials were part of the funerals of noblemen. This fact is confirmed both by analogous rituals of other related Iranian peoples and by the fact that in Zmeysky burial site harness is found only in the most gorgeous burials. The ratio is one horse burial to six catacombs and, as two and more male burials are found in the major part of catacombs, the ratio approximates to: one to ten.

Horse burials in Alan burial sites are regarded as the archaeological equivalent to the traditional Ossetian rite of horse consecration or *bæx fældisyn*. This very rite is associated with the Scythian kings' funerals as described by Herodotus and horse burials in Scythian burial mounds.

This archaic rite of horse consecration (*bæx fældisyn*) observed during the funerals in Ossetia has long become a matter of scientific interest. The earliest description of the rite dates back to the second half of the 18th century and the last scientific records were made in the second half of the 20th century.

There is marked difference between the rite of *bæx fældisyn* and horse burial rituals as derived from archaeological evidence. In the Middle Ages a consecrated horse was to be slaughtered and buried near his master. No cases of slaughtering and burying a consecrated horse have been registered in the modern history. The rite of cutting off, excising or incising horse ear is regarded as symbolic killing. There is every ground to suppose that even in the past slaughtering and burying a consecrated horse was not obligatory. The non-correspondence between the number of buried men in Alan mounds and the number of buried horses verify that consecrating a horse at a burial did not necessarily presuppose its killing and burying. The relatives of a deceased could have no possibility to consecrate him a saddle horse with full harness. Other factors account for not killing a horse, such as the loss of lowlands by the Alans, which restricted their horse breeding facilities. The rite of *bæx fældisyn* is a compromise between two antagonistic tendencies – to preserve the ritual and to abandon slaughtering a horse during it. Within the context of moral humanizing the latter dominated.

Horse bones in Zmeysky burial –place are as a rule unearthed with the elements of harness. Head harness, stirrups, horse brasses are frequently found, while the saddle fragments are rare finds. Not a single case of a complete set of harness has been registered. It is noteworthy that full sets of harness are regularly found in the catacomb funeral stock. Lists of incomplete harness in horse burials are in conformity with the incompleteness of harness of a consecrated horse in Ossetia reported by V.F. Miller.

Burial sites contain only parts of saddles or scattered fragments of smashed saddles, which brings to mind smashed hearses and harness parts found in Scythian kings' mounds.

13. Gabuev, Tamerlan (Moscow) *The Centre of Alanic Power in North Ossetia in the 5th c. A.D.*

In 1989, 1990 and 2004 fourteen burial mounds were excavated near the village of Brut in Northern Ossetia (Northern Caucasus). It contained a catacomb of the times of the “Great Migration”, dated as 5 cent. A.D. The funerary chambers were plundered in antiquity, but there were hiding-places in burial mounds № 2 and № 7, which were found near the entrance pit to the catacomb. In these hiding places a multitude of precious objects were found.

The most important item in the burial mound № 2 is a sword with gold plates on the scabbard and hilt. The other objects, including a dagger, a whip handle, bridle hooks, a harness, buckles and belt tips were found grouped around the sword. The position of the objects allows us to reconstruct the harness and the way the sword and the dagger were hung on the belt. The sword, dagger and whip handle are unique finds with unknown analogues which are very prestigious and socially important. All the objects are made of gold plating and incusted with garnets, which form geometrical ornament. They are works of a special kind of jewelry known as the “polychrome style of the Huns epoch”. Objects of this type are found all the way from Altai Mountains to Western Europe.

Not so many swords with gold plates are known in Europe; most of them were interpreted like attributes of prince or even king armament, although not all of them had gold plates on the scabbard. There are only a few daggers with gold plates and whip handles made of gold and silver –only two– and they are both from Brut.

The finds from burial mound № 7 are not as rich as from burial mound № 2. There are very many items made of silver, bronze or both covered with silver gilded plates but only a few made of gold with garnets. Possibly this is explained by social or small chronological differences in burials.

All of burial mounds near village Brut in Northern Ossetia belonged to an Alan warriors cast of very high rank. The most rich burial mounds № 2 and № 7 probably can be connected with a ruling Alan generation. And burial mound № 2 quite probably was the grave of an Alan ruler of this territory because in its luxury of burial items it can be compared to the richest “royal” burial places in Western and Central Europe. Burial mound № 7 could belong to some people from his nearest relatives. The remaining burial mounds plundered in ancient times at the same time contained separate items of gold and silver and fragments of wedge-shaped weapons. This allows us to characterize this burial mound as a cemetery of Alan rulers and probably of their personal guards.

14. Gagloev, Robert (Tskhinvali) *The Sarmato-Alans and South Ossetia*

The end of the 1st century B.C. was characterized as a period of social and political changes when the ethnic and cultural bases of a number of modern nations were laid.

Old relics and monuments identified as a result of archaeological research on South Ossetia's territory are a manifestation of a rapid increase of the social and economic life of the region in ancient times.

During the first centuries A.D., the central South Caucasus –of which South Ossetia is a part– got actively involved in the life of the international community.

The comparative analysis of the funeral customs and of the related inventory in the late-antique burial grounds found in South Ossetia (1st-4th c. A.D.) revealed a number of coincidences with North Caucasian antiquities and with materials found in the Northern Black Sea Coastal area, of Rome, Parthia, the Mediterranean coastal area and Near East. Besides, this same analysis helps to identify the production centres of some artifacts, as well as the time of their production and the ways they might have reached the territory of South Ossetia.

In the initial ages A.D. the set of objects culturally characteristic of the people that inhabited the present territory of South Ossetia (called Dvaletia or Twalta in the Middle Ages and preserved in the geographic name Twalgom meaning ‘the Twal Gorge’, underwent some changes. Silver and (rarely) golden Roman and Parthian coins came into wide use bearing the names of Alexander of Macedonia, Octavius Augustus, Tiberius, Marcus Aurelius, Antoninus Pius and others.

This is explained not only by the local population’s links with the rest of the world, but also by the advance of some tribes, Sarmatians in particular and later of the Alans from the North to the South Caucasus.

This is proved by the number of objects of funeral inventory, very interesting in our opinion, referring to the early middle period of antiquity customs that are their relatives and neighbours. They practiced farming as well, though.

In the case of danger, the latter were capable of supplying dozens of thousands of warriors from their communities as well as from the Scythians and the Sarmatians (A.A. Boltunova “The Description of Iberia in Strabo’s Geography”, *BAH* 1948/4, p. 149).

According to the Georgian scientist S.N. Janashia, those tribes were the Alans-Ovses, successors of their Scythian and Sarmatian ancestors customs and traditions. (S.N. Janashia “The Works”, Tbilisi 1948, p. 184).

The burial mounds and settlements of antiquity and the archeological materials found in them are, in our view, of exceptional importance for the study of ancient history, of the material and spiritual culture of the Central Caucasian tribes and their interrelations with the surrounding world.

15. Gutnov, Feliks (Vladikavkaz) *The Genesis of Feudalism in the North Caucasus*

In this paper stages of feudalism in North Caucasus are marked out. The first one covers Early Middle Ages and finishes in 9th-10th centuries, when an early class society had been formed in Alania and the Khazar khaganate. In the second half of 11th-12th centuries, these countries saw the formation of a proper feudal exploitation system.

The next stage of “mountaineer feudalism” development took place in 12th-15th centuries. It was at that time that the major differences of a social system of “aristocratic” and “democratic” tribes were formed. In the two above mentioned groups, the development of land ownership and serfdom of immediate producers forms took place.

By the late Middle Ages ancestral lands in “aristocratic” societies absorbed almost the whole community and almost all peasants were in serfdom to a certain extent. Genesis of feudalism was still going on in part of “democratic” tribes. Probably some “free” societies were still on the stage of early class relations (according to Y.V. Pavlenko’s typology). Hence are the differences in the most important social criteria: forms of land ownership,

ancestral lands organization, character of peasants exploitation and types of non-economic compulsion, peculiarities of class structures and class struggle.

16. Istvánovits, Eszter (Nyíregyháza)–Kulcsár, Valéria (Aszód) *The First Sarmatians in the Great Hungarian Plain*

One of the most discussed problems of the Sarmatian research of the Carpathian Basin, is the time and direction of the arrival of Jazygians to the Great Hungarian Plain. The Sarmatians reached the Carpathian Basin in several different waves. In this article we deal with the events of the 1st century, preceding Traian's Dacian wars.

The main methodological problem of the research is the discrepancy between literary evidence and archaeological material. Our main sources are Tacit's (*Ann.* XII.29–30) information about Quadian king Vannius' Jazygian mercenaries and Pliny the Elder's note on the Jazygian occupation of the vicinities of Carnuntum (*NH* IV.80). On the basis of these data, some conclusions made from the analysis of Pliny's *locus* and other sources we can assume that Sarmatian Jazygians appeared in the Carpathian Basin around 17–20 A.D.

According to András Alföldi's idea, Sarmatians were invited by the Romans to make a "buffer-zone" between the newly formed province of Pannonia and the Dacians, the eternal enemies of Rome, as it happened in the case of Vannius' Marcomannic-Quadian state. However, we think that there are no good arguments to support this theory. The settling of a hardly known Eastern nomadic tribe in the heart of Europe would be rather unusual in Roman foreign policy. At the same time, if we compare the archaeological material of the Germanic Barbaricum – the so-called *regnum Vannianum* – with that of the Sarmatian Barbaricum, we'll find that Germans received plenty of Roman goods. Sarmatians at the same time hardly had any trade contacts with the Empire in the 1st century.

Considering the direction of Jazygian immigration, there are two main theories. One of them marks the valley of the Danube as the possible route for their move. According to another idea, Jazygians arrived through the North-Eastern passes of the Carpathians, similarly to the Early Hungarians in the 9th century. In this case, their route would lead through the Upper Tisza region. Neither of these theories can be supported sufficiently.

The so-called "golden horizon", considered to be the earliest Sarmatian material in the Hungarian Plain, has the following main characteristic features: golden jewellery including earrings, pendants, beads, flitters. Granulated or pseudo-granulated ornamentation, blue or bluish black glass insets are especially characteristic. Since Mihály Párducz it is a commonplace in Sarmatian archaeology that this jewellery was made in the Greek workshops of the North Pontic Region. However, up to know, the researchers did not succeed in determining a territory and period that can serve as a good antecedent for the material of the Carpathian Basin.

Several elements of the golden horizon do not have any or have only single analogies from the eastern steppe. Among them we have to mention the horseshoe shaped pendants, earrings decorated with granulation and/or glass insets, the prototypes of which we do not find either among North Pontic Greek, or among Sarmatian antiquities. No antecedents are known in Hellenistic jewellery. At the same time several types of the golden horizon (earrings, spherical carnelian beads etc.) find analogies in the Crimean Late Scythian cemeteries.

After the examination of dating finds (Roman fibulas, pottery), we have to assume that they do not give us more chances for narrowing our chronology. Roman objects reached

Sarmatians early enough. But whether it happened in the first half of the 1st century, or only at the turn of the 1st/2nd centuries, still remains a question. Another problem is that the number of early graves is very small and most of objects come from stray finds.

18. Ivantchik, Askold (Moscow) *Greeks and Iranians in the Bosphorus in the 1st c. B.C. - 1st c. A.D.: New Epigraphical Data from Tanais*

The role of the Iranians in the Bosphorus considerably increased in the 1st c. B.C.–1st c. A.D. and they occupied here an important place in the later period. The Iranian influence in the Bosphorus had a double origin. Its first source was the policy of Mithridates Eupator, who was proud of his Achaemenid roots. During his reign, people and traditions of Persian origin penetrated into Bosphorus from the Anatolian part of his kingdom. But the influence of local Iranians, the Sarmatians and kindred peoples, who spoke Iranian languages of the North-Eastern group, was much more important. The inscriptions recently found in Tanais throw new light on the Greek-Iranian relations in the Bosphorus of this period. The Iranians played an especially important role in this city in the Roman period, as it is attested by the names mentioned in the inscriptions of the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D. The city had also a very specific internal organization: it consisted of two communities, “Hellenes” and “Tanaitai”, directed respectively by Hellenarches and by “archontes of the Tanaitai”. New inscriptions of the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C. recently found in Tanais are the first ones dating to such an early period. They allow us to suppose that this structure, previously attested only for the later period, did exist in the city since the Hellenistic period. The same inscriptions confirm the hypothesis about the Iranian origin of the Tanaitai and prove in any case that the Iranians were present in the city in the Hellenistic period. Other new inscriptions concern the reign of queen Dynamis, the grand-daughter of Mithridates, who faithfully kept up his traditions. They confirm that Dynamis enjoyed the support of Tanais and of some Iranian (Sarmatian) tribes in her fight against the Roman protégé Polemon. One of her close retainers, who had the Iranian name of Mathianes, son of Zaidaros and was perhaps one of the Sarmatian chiefs, was at the same time closely connected with Tanais.

19. Jablonskij, Leonid (Moscow) *New Excavations of the Sarmatian “Tzar’s” (Royal) Kurgan in the South Ural Area*

The Priuralskaya expedition of the Institute of Archaeology, Russian Academy of Sciences, has carried out excavation of the second “tzar’s” kurgan in the Filippovka’s necropolis (South Ural steppe area). This kurgan together with already world-known kurgan 1 placed in the central part of the burial ground. The height of the mound exceeded 7 m, and its diameter reached 120 m. A wooden constriction has been investigated under the mound and five burial places. Four of them are dated by the Early-Sarmatian time (preliminary, 2nd half of the 5th–4th c. B.C.).

Three additional burial places, situated around central one. They never have been robbed. Warriors were buried in the two neighboring tombs. An iron armour, quivers ornamented with gold and silver details, full of bronze arrowheads, iron swords and spearheads and an iron fighting axe have been found. There were gold molten neck rings which have been decorated with sculptural figures made in animal style on their breast.

Several burial places excavated in the central tomb were made in the special wooden

coffins. We especially have to note a wooden vessel imposed by silver and gold sheets in the form of dual ornamented bowls with handles, performed in the form of a ram head, and also a bronze oil lighting made in the form of a zebu-bull figure.

Excavation of kurgan 4 is very important for the reconstruction of the ancient Sarmatian funeral rite. Almost all tombs of the Sarmatian burial ground have been plundered by robbers. But in the case of kurgan 4 we were lucky: both ancient and modern robbers did not touch significant parts of the central tomb and could not find other (additional) burials. It has enabled to fix the clay altar-fireplace, a construction of tomb overlapping, to reveal a lay-out and interposition of separate burial places inside of a collective crypt. So, for the first time, wooden coffins with bronze details and massive bronze nails have been found.

As a result, today we have good data on the shape of Early-Sarmatian heavily-armed warriors: a forged iron helmet was on his head, the torso was protected by a scaly armor on a leather basis, a long spear with a massive spearhead, a short iron *akinakes* sword on the right hip, an iron fighting axe, a bow and a quiver with arrowheads (sometimes more than 200) on the left hip, a sword belt supplied the gold buckle for belts crossing and silver quiver's hook decorated in animal style.

It is very important, that "ordinary" goods from kurgan 4 (arrowheads and spearheads, swords and daggers, beads and earrings) have direct analogies in other, less rich kurgans of the necropolis.

Besides it has appeared that the layout of burial places and sacrificial gifts in kurgan 4 around the central altar definitely corresponds to a picture revealed earlier in the burial of kurgan 15.

All the data allow to synchronize "tzar's" and "ordinary" kurgans of the necropolis within the "narrow" date (may be one hundred years).

20. Jackson, Tatjana (Moscow) *An Echo of Ancient Scythia in Old Norse Sources?*¹

The Old Norse Icelandic sources of the twelfth through the fourteenth centuries have preserved traces of some knowledge about the Iranian world of Eastern Europe. In particular, they include numerous mentions of *Scythia* (*Scitia*, *Cithia*).

In geographical treatises and religious literature (*Stjórn* and some Apostles' sagas), as well as in *Alexanders saga* (a prose translation of *Alexandreis*), *Scythia* is not merely included into the lists of lands in different parts of the world, but is always accompanied by an explanation: *Scitia*, *þat er nu Sviþjod hin mikla*, or *Cithia*, *þat kollvm uer Suiþiod hinu myclu*. We encounter such explanatory constructions in Icelandic texts when the "bookish" word of a non-Icelandic origin is used, the second component being local. However, *Sviþjóð in mikla* is not a widely used local name, but part of *gelehrte Urgeschichte*, in terms of Andreas Heusler.

Stjórn, the translation of the Old Testament into Norwegian, includes information from Peter Comestor's *Historia scholastica* and the *Speculum historiale* of Vincent of Beauvais, as well as from the works of Augustine, Gregory the Great, and Isidore of Seville. Geographical treatises are mostly based on Isidore's *Etymologiae*, and *De imagine mundi* of Honorius of Autun. Still, it would be a mistake to assert that *Sviþjóð in mikla* in these sources designates the South-Eastern part of Europe identical with *Scythia* of Isidore and

¹ Supported by RFH, grant 07-01-00058a.

later authors. Information preserved in geographical works is contradictory: the treatises place *Svíþjóð in mikla* either in Europe, or in Africa, or in both Europe and Asia.

As far as *Svíþjóð in mikla* is concerned, the earliest record of this place name can be found in the *Skjöldunga saga* (ca. 1180–1200). The preserved Latin fragment of this saga (ca. 1590) includes the story of Óðinn who, on arrival from Asia, gave his sons, Scioldus and Ingo, large territories in Europe, i.e. Denmark and Sweden. Since then the Danes have been called *Skjöldungar* and the Swedes *Ynglingar*. *Ipsi autem Svetiæ (sic specialius dictæ) de nomine earum regionum nomen inditum, unde Odinus cum suis primum emigravit. Huilche som ligger norden for palude Moeotide, og de gammel norske kallede Sufi]thiod hin store eller kolde.*

Here we have a variant of a euhemeristic legend of the settlement of Scandinavia by emigrants from Asia, according to which the ancestors of Swedish and Norwegian kings were pagan gods headed by Óðinn, the God of the *Æsir*. This legend goes back to Ari the Wise (early twelfth century) and is widely spread in Old Icelandic sources. It was further developed in Snorri Sturluson's *Edda* (1222–1225) and *Ynglinga saga* (ca. 1230). According to Snorri, *Svíþjóð in mikla* lies both in Europe and Asia, as the river *Tanais*, or *Tanakvisl*, separating Asia from Europe, flows through this land. It partially coincides with, or includes, *Ásaland*, the land of the *Æsir*, stretching to the east of the river *Tanais*. *Ásgarðr*, the capital of *Ásaland*, is also in *Svíþjóð in mikla*, and this is the starting place for Óðinn's trip to the North.

In my lecture I would like to discuss whether all these mentions are an echo of some actual past events, or a pure “scholarly” construction of educated Icelanders.

<p>21. Jatsenko, Sergej (Moscow) <i>Methodological Problems in the Study of the Tamga-Nishan Signs of the Sarmatian Nomadic Clans</i></p>
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The ethnological material on the North Caucasian peoples serves as a reliable basis for the Sarmatian tamga signs (*gakk* in Ossetian) study (as the forms analogous to them, methods and instruments used for branding domestic animals were preserved in this region up to the 20th c.).

The mechanisms of long preservation of certain property-sign types in one ethnos and borrowing of it by neighbors, the specificity of social (clan and family) character explain many peculiarities of their much earlier use in Sarmatia. There are no serious arguments in favor of tamga-nishan signs origin for Iranian peoples based on “the theory of magic” (M. Ebert, 1909) and “the theory of a written language” (P. Burchakov, 1875). Mapping of items with tamgas and eliciting the local specificity of their types are of principal importance. Sign accumulations on different items are usually connected with the procedure of collective vows, the signs of people from different neighboring regions being often met on them as well. Nomadic clans whose tamgas are repeatedly presented in sign accumulations in different regions can be considered most active politically. Their symbols were usually used for a short period of time as nomadic clans in Sarmatia disappeared rapidly in the condition of military and ethnopolitical instability of that time. Sign pairs, presenting, according to the ethnological data, a symbol of a joint action of two clans play a very important role. Some artifacts which usually belonged to grown-up women (bronze caldrons, mirrors-pendants) reveal the directions of marriage unions. The magic meaning of tamgas was the least one; tamgas were a visual symbol of a collective vow to gods or the first master's power over the thing. It was evident in the cases of disinclination to cover

this or that sign with a later one in accumulations or in rare occasions of proper rebranding of a single sign with a new one on expensive prestigious things taken by strangers.

The fact of Sarmatian tamgas being used by many kings of the Greek-Barbarian Bosporan Kingdom is of great significance, the methods of using them being the same as Iranian ones. Clan and family members branded even the items of one type (coins, official inscriptions concerning building) not in each case and it seems impossible to clear up many details of this process.

Many problems can be appreciated adequately only in case of complex investigation of all the data in the bounds of the vast Iranian world. The accumulations of tamga signs in sacral complexes of Western Turkestan (Sidak, Bayte, Takht-i Sangin) and South Siberia (Salbyk) have an important role at that. Sarmatian signs have a number of differences if compared with Iranian ones or those in Western Turkestan: here, on bricks and belt buckles of award the tamgas of kings (the Bosporan Kingdom) can be depicted, but there are neither images of pilgrims from different regions on the series of votive items with single signs nor tamgas on dice (as in Sidak).

Precise copying of signs (many of them being fragmental or obliterated by age) and differentiating of ancient tamgas from later ones (made by people of another cultural tradition) in cultic centers of long usage present serious problems.

22. Kambolov, Tamerlan (Vladikavkaz) *Some New Observations on the Zelenčuk Inscription and Tzetzes' Alanic Phrases*

The Zelenčuk Tomb Inscription and two lines in a Byzantine–Greek poem by I. Tzetzes are monuments of the Alanic language which have already been put into scientific circulation and have got different explanations.² Nevertheless, not all the ways of their interpretations seem to be exhausted. Thus, some very interesting correction in the interpretation of the Zelenčuk Tomb Inscription was recently made by the Ossetian researcher G. Chedzhemty, who proposes to read the name of *Bagatar's* father with metathesis as *XORS*.³

A. For our part, we would like to advance a new interpretation of the final word of the inscription: *cirta*. The peculiarities of the morphology and semantics of Digor dialect give us an opportunity to suggest that the last word in the inscription under consideration is the form in plural (*čirttæ*) without gemination of *t* and means ‘graves’. Correspondingly, we consider the final meaning of the whole inscription as follows: “Saxir’s son Xors, Xors’s son Bagatar, Bagatar’s son Anbalan, Anbalan’s son Lag – *their graves*”. In this case we can insist that the Zelenčuk Tombstone was erected in the place of separate burials of the four representatives of one and the same Alanic family.

² Миллер, В.Ф. “Древнеосетинский памятник из Кубанской области”, *Материалы по Археологии Кавказа* III, 1893, p. 103-118; Абаев, В.И., *Осетинский язык и фольклор*, М. 1949, p. 261-266; Алборов, Б.А., “Новое чтение надписи на Зеленчукской надгробной плите”, *Ученые записки Северо-Осетинского государственного педагогического института* 21, № 2, 1956, p. 229-253; Zgusta, L., *The Old Ossetic Inscription from the River Zelenčuk*, Wien 1987, p. 23; Bielmeier, R., “Das Alanische bei Tzetzes”, *Medioiranica. Proceedings of the International Colloquium organized by the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven from the 21 to the 23 of May 1990*, Leuven 1993, p. 1-28; Alemany, A. “The ‘Alanic’ Title *Baghātar*”, *Nartamongæ. The Journal of Alano-Ossetic Studies; Epic, Mythology and Language*, Paris-Vladikavkaz/Dzæwydzyqæw 2002, vol. 1. p. 79-80, and others.

³ Чеджемты, Г., “Надгробие алана” (in Ossetian), *Рæстдзинад* 1993, 24th April.

B. The interpretation of Tzetzes' Alanic phrases was hitherto limited by the studies of separate words or their combinations. We suggest the interpretations of these phrases correlated with modern Ossetian language.

FIRST PHRASE

1. Tzetzes' Alanic phrase: Ταπαγγας μέσφιλι χσινά κορθι καντά
2. The meaning of this Alanic phrase by Tzetzes: "Good afternoon, my Lord, Mistress, where are you from?"
3. The modern Ossetian (Digor) equivalent: *Dæ bon xwarz, me 'fšini 'xšinæ. Kurdigæj dæ?*
4. The meaning in the modern Ossetian language: "Good afternoon, my Lord's Mistress (wife). Where are you from?"

Our interpretation of the group μέσφιλι χσινά differs a lot from the traditional ones. We consider that here it is not the question of case homogeneity between two members of the sentence implied, but the question of possession between σφιλα (= *fšina*) 'Lord' and χσινά (= *'xšinæ*) 'mistress; wife', that is expressed by the Genitive σφιλι (= *fšini*) and the corresponding word order. Such interpretation provides adequate explanation not only for the case endings of nouns but also for the difference in their gender, obvious from the Greek translation (my Lord, Mistress).

SECOND PHRASE

First version:

1. Tzetzes' Alanic phrase: [To] φάρνετζ κίντζι μέσφιλι καιτζ φουα σαουγγε
2. Its meaning by Tzetzes: "Aren't you ashamed, my Mistress? (Holy) Father has a love affair with you, doesn't he?"
3. The modern Ossetian (Digor) equivalent: *F(s)arm neč(ij) kinži æfšini, kæči fæwwa sawgini.*
4. The meaning in the modern Ossetian language: "The Mistress, daughter-in-law, has no shame, who gives herself to the (Holy) Father".

If we adopt R. Bielmeier's version concerning φάρ (= *fsarm*) and present the whole composite phrase φάρνετζ as three separate words *fsarm neči æj*, the falling out of *m* in *fsarm* can be explained by merging of *m* and *n* at junction of *fsarm neči*. The verb "to be" in the third person singular *æj* is naturally reduced and interflows in speech with the negative pronoun – *neč(ij)*.

We interpret the group κίντζι μέσφιλι as the Genitive of κίντζα μέσφιλα 'mistress, daughter-in-law», i.e. as the definition of the hostess, who is also the daughter-in-law in the house, which semantically correlates with the address in the first phrase.

Second version:

1. The Alanic phrase by Tzetzes: (To) φάρνετζ κίντζι μέσφιλι καιτζ φουα σαουγγε
2. Its meaning by Tzetzes: "Aren't you ashamed, my Mistress? (Holy) Father has a love affair with you, doesn't he?"
3. The modern Ossetian (Digor) equivalent: *(De') f(s)arm neč(ij), kinži æfšini xæcc(æ) (ku) fæwwa sawgin.*
4. The meaning in the modern Ossetian language: "(Your) shame is nothing (means nothing), (if) (Holy) Father has love affair with (you) the Mistress, daughter-in-law".

We see the advantage of the given interpretation in the fact, that the case forms and syntactical functions of the members of the Alanic phrase mostly correspond to the Greek variant: σαουγγε is used in the Nominative case and is the subject of the sentence, and the combination *kinži æfšini* fulfills the function of an object.

23. Kantorovich, Anatolij (Moscow) *On the Problem of the Genesis of the Scythian Animal Style*

The Scythian or Scytho-Siberian animal style, as a special art tendency, includes a number of local variants, i.e. properly Scythian (divided, in its turn, in Northern Black-Sea littoral steppe, forest-steppe and North-Caucasian subvariants), “Sauromatian” (divided in Low-Volga and South-Ural subvariants), Sako-Massagetian, Pazyryk, Uyuk, Tagar and Ordos variants.

This vast extent of the Scytho-Siberian animal style and lack of proportionate basis in preceding art systems in the Eurasian steppes caused multiplicity of hypotheses on its genesis. The whole of them fall into two principal versions – monocentric and polycentric. Monocentric versions (Ionian, West-Asiatic, Middle-Asiatic, Central-Asiatic or South-Siberian, North-Eurasian) do not exclude the heterogeneous nature of this art, but assume that the most ancient style elements were initially created in certain regions and then were adopted in other places. Polycentric version presumes that the general process of formation of the earliest elements of the Scytho-Siberian repertory and figurative facilities was a result of some local autochthonous traditions, inner-Nomadic connections and migrations and the contact of Nomads with the art of ancient civilizations.

On my opinion, the validity of polycentric version is proved by the heterogeneity of the origin of principal images, subjects and figurative means.

Particularly, the theme of bird of prey (primarily reduced to its head or beak) is immanent to the properly Scythian local variant, being inherited from the pre-Scythian (“Cimmerian”) culture of the Northern Black-Sea littoral and North-Caucasian region (with the simultaneous influence of West-Asiatic tradition). The same image in the Saka-Siberian region of the so-called “Scythian world” could be inspired both by the autochthonous traditions of Karasuk culture and by the influence of Scythian and Sauromatian art and the foregoing West-Asiatic tradition.

The motif of “flying stag or red deer” (recumbent in sacrificial position) was probably created in Saka-Siberian region and then extended to Scythia and to the Near East. The motif of stag with “pendant legs” so as of ram and goat standing with their hoofs coinciding in one point were also originally formed in South Siberia and Eastern Kazakhstan. But the motif of goat with bent legs (often with head turned round) came from Near-Eastern and Greco-Ionian art.

The motif of “coiled panther” was obviously born in the early South-Siberian art (maybe under some influence from China) and then was required by Saka-Scythian repertories including different coiled predators. On the contrary, the motif of “crouched predator” is rooted in the rich and variable West-Asiatic (originally Near-Eastern) tradition.

Such specifically Scythian image as syncretic ram-bird formed in the Northern Caucasus on the base of the junction of separate iconographic lines of ram and bird rooted, in their turn, in autochthonous pre-Scythian (bird) and West-Asiatic art (ram, bird, bird-head monsters); simultaneously, the Ionian tradition of early Greek griffin influenced on the process. The Greco-Ionian and West-Asiatic roots of earlier Scythian griffins are also doubtless.

The rich tradition of partial (more rare: total) zoomorphic transformation of animal images into other animals –one of the most characteristic features of the Scythian animal style– is a result of the influence of West-Asiatic (Hittite and Luristan) and Transcaucasian

traditions initially on the proper Scythian art where it became unprecedentedly popular and from this local variant spread to the Eastern regions of the Scytho-Siberian community. Also the sharp relief accentuation or enclosure of muscles is more characteristic for the Western variants of the Scytho-Siberian animal style probably because it was reinforced by the West-Asiatic art.

Though all these and some other heterogeneous elements mixed together in the “melting caldron” of the art of Eurasian nomads of the Scythian epoch resulting in the general trend of Scythian animal style, the iconographic and thematic “birthmarks” can denote the sources of influences. Thereafter, the correlation between vectors of affiliations and influences inside and outside the system of Scytho-Siberian animal style and the historical destiny (particularly migrations, contacts etc) of nomadic tribes of the Scytho-Siberian community can be ascertained not totally but concretely and discretely.

25. Kazanski, Michel - Mastykova, Anna (Paris) *La culture “princière” barbare de l’époque des grandes migrations et les Alains*⁴

La civilisation princière barbare de l’époque des Grandes Migrations en Europe centrale et occidentale est attestée par des tombes et trésors relevant de trois grandes horizons : Untersiebenbrunn (période D2, selon la chronologie de *Barbaricum* : 380/400-440/450), Smolin-Kosino (période D2/D3 : 430/440-460/470) et Apahida-Blučina (D3 : 450-470/480) (Tejral 1997). Cette civilisation, qui se forme autour de 400 dans le milieu de l’aristocratie barbare, germanique et non germanique (alaine, sarmate) ponto-danubienne, possède des origines diverses et reflète en cela l’hétérogénéité des élites dirigeantes de l’époque hunnique et post-hunnique.

Le costume féminin de ces sépultures comporte au moins trois composantes culturelles différentes (Kazanski 1996) : germanique orientale, romaine et «pontique», souvent considéré comme alaine ou alano-sarmate (Kiss 1994). Dans le dernier cas il s’agit des

⁴ Cette étude est effectuée avec l’aide financière de la Fondation russe des recherches fondamentales pour le projet n° 05-06-80337 « La formation des traditions d’artisanat en Europe entre l’Antiquité et le Moyen Age ». Orientation bibliographique:

– Kazanski 1996 : Kazanski M., “Les tombes “princières” de l’horizon Untersiebenbrunn, le problème de l’identification ethnique”. In: *L’identité des populations archéologiques. Actes des XVIe rencontres internationales d’archéologie et d’histoire d’Antibes*, Sophia Antipolis, 1996, 109-126.

– Kazanski 1999 : Kazanski M., “Les tombes des chefs militaires de l’époque hunnique”. In : *Germanen beiderseits des spätantiken Limes*. Brno-Cologne, 1999, 293-316.

– Kazanski, Mastykova 2003 : Kazanski M., Mastykova A., “Les origines du costume «princier» féminine des Barbares à l’époque des Grandes Migrations”. In: *Costume et société dans l’Antiquité et le haut Moyen Age*. Paris, 2003, 107-120.

– Kazanski, Mastykova, Périn 2002 : Kazanski M., Mastykova A., Périn P., “Byzance et les royaumes barbares d’Occident au début de l’époque mérovingienne”. In : *Probleme der frühen Merowingerzeit im Mitteldonauraum*. Brno, 2002, 159-194.

– Kazanski, Périn 1988 : Kazanski M., Périn P., “Le mobilier funéraire de la tombe de Childéric Ier. Etat de la question et perspectives”. *Revue Archéologique de Picardie* 1988/3-4, 13-38.

– Kiss 1994: Kiss A., “Stand und Bestimmung archäologischer Denkmäler der «gens Alanorum» in Pannonien, Gallien, Hispanien und Afrika”. *Acta Antiqua Hungarica* 35, 1994, 167-204.

– Schukin, Kazanski, Sharov 2006 : Shchukin M., Kazanski M., Sharov O., *Des Goths aux Huns. Le Nord de la mer Noire au Bas-Empire et à l’époque des Grandes Migrations* (BAR International Series 1535). Oxford, 2006.

– Tejral 1997 : Tejral J., “Neue Aspekte der frühvölkerwanderungszeitlichen Chronologie im Mitteldonauraum. In : *Neue Beiträge zur Erforschung der Spätantike im mittleren Donauraum*. Brno, 1997, 321-392.

miroirs métalliques, des appliques et pendentifs de forme géométrique en tôle d'or, des pendentifs en forme de lunule, des boucles d'oreille à pendentif polylobé, des boucles d'oreille en forme de croissant et des tubes en or. Or, comme nous l'avons démontré auparavant (Kazanski, Mastykova 2003 ; Kazanski, Mastykova 2006), ces éléments sont connus à l'époque romaine tardive et à celle des Grandes Migrations, avant tout dans le costume féminin de la population sédentaire du Bosphore Cimmérien (Crimée orientale et Taman), Tanaïs (Don Inférieur) et du Sud-Ouest de la Crimée et, seulement dans une moindre mesure, dans celui des Alains de la steppe ponto-caucasienne. Ainsi, cet apport dans la culture princière « barbare » n'est pas spécialement alain, même si les Alains étaient parmi les porteurs et parfois promoteurs de la « fashion » pontique de l'époque des Grandes Migrations.

Le costume masculin et l'équipement militaire n'ont pas des traces de l'influence alaine directe. En fait, les riches parures du style cloisonné et des armes d'apparat des princes barbares, que nous connaissons grâce aux célèbres tombes de Tournai, d'Apahida ou de Blučina, représentent la manifestation de la mode de l'aristocratie militaire de l'Empire romain « barbarisée » (Kazanski, Mastykova, Périn 2002). Cependant, certains éléments de cette mode, tels les bracelets en or massif aux extrémités élargies, peuvent avoir une origine asiatique et arriver en Europe avec des vagues des Alains déjà au Ier s. ap. J.-C. (Kazanski, Périn 1988).

En revanche, les pratiques funéraires de certains chefs barbares en Europe semblent être marquées par les coutumes steppiques, et, très probablement, alaines. En effet, au Bas-Empire, les chefs militaires se faisaient enterrer avec toute une panoplie, incluant l'épée, bouclier, lance, éperons, hache, etc. Cette pratique en Occident existe toujours durant l'époque des Grandes Migrations et celle mérovingienne ancienne; les tombes privilégiées mérovingiennes, alémaniques, gépides ou lombardes en sont la preuve. Mais, à côté de cette tradition funéraire européenne apparaît une autre, qui consiste à mettre dans les tombes des chefs uniquement l'épée d'apparat et, parfois, des éléments de harnachement. On peut citer, à titre d'exemple, les tombes de Beja, d'Altusheim, de Wolfsheim, de Mundolsheim etc. Les tombes à épée comme arme unique sont très bien connues dans le monde alano-sarmate de l'époque romaine et celle des Grandes Migrations, ainsi que chez l'aristocratie du Bosphore Cimmérien, relativement « sarmatisée ». Sans aucune doute activité militaire des Alains, leur haute valeur guerrière reconnue par les contemporains, ont beaucoup contribué à la diffusion de cette mode funéraire parmi les différents peuples (Kazanski 1999 ; Schukin, Kazanski, Sharov 2006).

Mais en général, force est de constater que l'apport des Alains dans la formation de la civilisation matérielle « princière » des élites barbares de l'époque des Grandes Migrations est bien exagéré par les historiens, archéologues et philologues du XXe s.

26. Khrapunov, Igor (Simferopol) *New Archaeological Data Regarding the Sarmatian Presence in the Crimea*

This paper will discuss the necropolis called Neyzats. It is located in the central part of the Crimean foothills, approximately 25 km far eastwards from Simferopol. The site has been excavated since 1996. During this period, 323 burial structures were unearthed.

All the graves discovered within the territory of the necropolis could be divided into two cultural and chronological horizons. Early horizon dates to the late second and first half of the third century A.D. (there are several artifacts, for example two mirrors of the type

Khazanov VIII, red slip plate with stamp *planta pedis*, chalk anthropomorphic sculpture, and others, that belong to earlier, mid-Sarmatian period). Later horizon dates to the fourth century A.D., though some burials were made in the second half of the third century A.D.

Early horizon includes for the most part undercut and in-ground graves. Both features of their construction and funeral rite are almost the same as those of the Sarmatian burials in the steppe. However, these constructions were not covered with barrows, so these graves formed in-ground necropolis. The burials were accompanied by numerous and various grave goods. Each grave usually contained one or two red slip vessels. Female costume was embroidered with beads; in total, there are about 30,000 beads uncovered from the necropolis. Women graves contained different pendants, finger-rings, signet rings, bracelets, bells, caskets, headdresses with bronze details, mirrors (there are more than 30 mirrors of the type Khazanov IX), and other artifacts. Fibulae (bow-shaped with returned foot of A.K. Ambroz's 4 and 5 variants, of the so-called Inkerman series with knob or scroll on the tip of plated receiver, profiled Black Sea ones, and some other types) clasped both female and male cloths. Male costume details were buckles and strap-ends. Some graves contained horse harness of which numerous metal parts remained. The morphology and style (faceting, cutting, precious metal covering of many artifacts) of the finds from the early horizon do not differ from the Sarmatian ones in the steppe. Neyzats necropolis probably appeared when the Sarmatians were settling in the Crimean foothills.

Among the hundreds of undercut and in-ground graves, there are few burial vaults of the third century A.D. that consisted of rectangular entrance pits, short dromoses, and rectangular or trapezoid funeral chambers. Such vaults have no prototypes in the Crimea, so many scholars have related them to the migration of the ancestors of medieval Alans from the Caucasus to the Crimean peninsula.

Such vaults were places where the most part of the fourth century A.D. burials were made. Corpses were placed in one layer, 6 to 8 on the floor of each burial chamber. They were accompanied with long swords without metal pommel and guard, short swords with cuts at the shoulders of blade (these were put on heads or shoulders of the dead in all cases), various metal parts of cloths and horse harness, few decorations, and other artifacts. Each vault contained a great deal of pottery. The finds include more than 1,000 hand-made vessels (among them are unique ram-shaped artifacts), about 300 red-slip ones, and more than 50 glass items. At the same time, undercut and in-ground graves were still constructed. Great number of horse burials in every moment of the necropolis existence is a peculiarity of Neyzats. Horses were buried in special grave pits, in entrance pits of undercut graves, in undercuts that were especially carved into walls of entrance pit of vault, and in burial chambers of vaults. In the fourth century A.D., they dug pits in between of the graves and filled these pits with vessels. Excavations uncovered more than 20 pits of this type.

There are reasons to think that, in Crimean foothills, the fourth century A.D. was the time of assimilation of the Sarmatians who lived there for ages by the Alans. This process did not come to the end probably because of the invasion of the Huns. The latest burials in Neyzats necropolis date to the late fourth or early fifth century A.D.

27. Kidd, Fiona (Sydney) *Steppe Elements in the Art of Chorasmia: the Kazakl'i-yatkan Wall Paintings*

Remarkable discoveries by the Karakalpak-Australian Expedition to Chorasmia of wall paintings in the monumental building/temple at Kazakl'i-yatkan are re-focusing attention on the indigenous art of this challenging region. Figurative scenes, such as the procession and now the unique "portrait gallery" exposed during the 2006 field season, in addition to apparently ornamental patterns, provide crucial new material to assess external influences on the art of ancient Chorasmia. Chorasmia, perhaps more so than the other historical lands of ancient Central Asia, has traditionally been aligned with the surrounding nomad populations. Yet little is known of the influences of the art of these steppe dwellers on the sedentary populations. The Kazakl'i-yatkan wall paintings, dated tentatively to between 50 B.C.E. and 150 C.E., provide a rare opportunity to explore the influence of the steppe on the art of ancient Chorasmia during one of its most enigmatic periods.

28. Korobov, Dmitrij (Moscow) *On the Areas of the North Caucasus Settled by Alanic Tribes According to Archaeological Data and Written Sources*

One of the most important and interesting written sources on the history of the population in the South of Eastern Europe is the famous "Armenian Geography" (*Ašxarhac'oyc*). Two versions of the volume, a short and a long one, are kept till our days, and during more than one hundred years scholars have been analyzing them.

Not long ago, the French historian Constantine Zuckerman has published several works that summarized the discussion about the settled areas of the different Alanic tribes in the North Caucasus. As a result, C. Zuckerman put forward an original hypothesis about the geographical order of the tribes mentioned in the "Armenian Geography". From west to east they are named as the Alans, the Aš-Tigor, the Digor and the Awsurk'. The author applied also a map with schematic areas of their population.

It seems very interesting to compare these results with the distribution of the catacomb burial rite that looks like a specific "ethnic marker" of the Alanic presence. The cluster analysis, which I have applied before, divided all the Early Medieval catacomb cemeteries in 11 groups according to their spatial coordinates (longitude and latitude). This paper is devoted to the refined data about the distribution of the catacomb burials using the information of the cemeteries excavated in the last decade. The analysis of the chronological development of the area of this burial rite was made by means of 'spatial analysis' procedures using geographical information systems (GIS).

To get the illustrative examples the buffer zones of 30 km were constructed around the cemeteries. This distance is considered as a mean of an equestrian day's march. This procedure helps to line out the hypothetical borders between the settled areas of the Alanic tribes that have been changed in time. The cemeteries with burials of four wide chronological periods were mapped: 200-350 A.D., 350-450 A.D., 450-750 A.D. and 750-900 A.D. These periods reflect the main steps of Alanic history, marking pre-Hunnic, Hunnic, pre-Khazarian and Khazarian periods.

The results of mapping compared with the settled areas of the Alans obtained by C. Zuckerman. Eventually the apparent picture of the correlation between distribution of catacombs and data of written sources was observed. The territory of habitation of the tribe of the Alans correlates with the group 2 of the catacomb cemeteries in modern Karachaj-

Cherkessia; the tribe of the Aš-Tigor correlates with the territory of the Kislovodsk basin (group 3); the Digor are associated with the territory of Kabardino-Balkaria and western part of Ossetia (groups 4 and 6). More complicated is to localize the tribe of the Awsurk⁴ that could be associated with the population buried in the cemeteries of groups 7, 8 and 9 (Eastern Ossetia and Ingushetia, Western and Eastern Chechnja).

As a whole the analysis of the distribution of Early Medieval catacomb burial rite in comparison with the data of the written sources give us a possibility to line out the hypothetical areas of habitation of several Alanic tribes named in the “Armenian Geography”.

30. Kullanda, Sergej (Moscow) *Scythian Wordstock in Cuneiform Sources*

Attempts at identifying Scythian borrowings in Western Iranian languages have always been controversial. As Lubotsky rightly put it, “only when we find phonological features which are characteristic of Scythian can we be confident that we are indeed dealing with a Scythian loanword”.⁵ Therefore, one has to establish specific Scythian sound changes and then look for the words or proper names showing such changes in cuneiform sources.

There was a *xš > s change in the initial position in Scythian, also typical of some modern South-Eastern Iranian languages, e.g. Pashto. This trait of North Pontic Iranian dialects was pointed out by Harmatta,⁶ although he did not tie it up with Scythian. It can be illustrated by such examples as Σατραβάτης, a proper name from a Phanagorian inscription of the 4th century B.C., where Σατρα- clearly renders Old Iranian *xšaθra- “power”; Σαῖοι < *xšaya- “ruler, king”, an ethnic name mentioned in an Olbian inscription of the 3rd century B.C. and probably corresponding to that of the Royal Scythians; and Σαταφάρνης < *Xšaitafarna-, the king of the said Σαῖοι. These inscriptions are far too early to have any connection with the Sarmatians, who did not make their appearance in Eastern Europe, let alone in the westernmost Olbia area, before the 2nd century B.C. Moreover, the Sarmatian reflex of the initial Old Iranian *xš- (Ossetic xs-) was invariably recorded as Ξ in the Greek inscriptions of the North Pontic area.

Assyrian, Elamite and Greek renderings of Iranian nouns with the initial going back to Common Iranian *xš- reflect either xš- (Assyrian *ka-áš/kaš-ta-ri-ti* < *Xšaθrita*, epigraphic Greek ξατρόπης < *xšaθrapā-, etc.) or s- (*sa-tar-pa/ba-nu* < *Xšaθrapāna*, Greek σατρόπης < *xšaθrapā-, etc.). As the Greeks, for instance, drew a clear-cut distinction between the initial Iranian xš- and s- (see above), the fact is probably due to variations in Iranian pronunciation. Given that a *xš > s change in the initial position was characteristic of Scythian but not of either Median or Old Persian, it can be surmised that the words and proper names reflecting the initial s- < *xš- are of Scythian origin. Since these words include important social terms, such as the ultimate source of Greek σατρόπης, and Iranian names recorded as early as in the late 9th century B.C., such as *sa-ti-ri-a-a* (< **Xšaθriya-*), a king of Nairi in 819, one is inclined to reconsider the chronology and impact of Scythian campaigns in the Near East.

⁵ Alexander Lubotsky, “Scythian elements in Old Iranian”, *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 116, 2002: 189.

⁶ János Harmatta, “Studies in the Language of the Iranian Tribes in South Russia”, *Acta Orient. Hung.*, vol. I, fasc. 2-3: 308-309.

31. Kusainova, Mejramgul'-Vural, Haldun (Almaty) *Sarmatians in the Territory of Kazakhstan: Archaeological Monuments*

Sarmatian culture on the territory of Kazakhstan. Spread of Sarmatians on the territory of Kazakhstan. Hydrographical and natural and climate peculiarities of Aral-Caspian region in that period. Written resources on the spread of Sarmatians. Social and cultural genesis of Sauromatae-Sarmatian tribes on the territory of Kazakhstan.

Sarmatian monuments. Archaeological complexes of Sarmatians in Kazakhstan. Two regions are to be considered in this connection: Western Kazakhstan –valleys of the rivers Ural, Ilec, Emba, Ssaghiz, Or and Northern Kazakhstan –the valleys of the rivers Tobol and Ishim. By now Sarmatian settlements were not found in that region. The main resource of information on the archeological culture are burial grounds. Cultural and typological characteristics of the monuments.

The main periods of Sarmatian culture on the territory of Kazakhstan: early (Prochorovsky), middle and late (Souslovo). Early Sarmatian monuments. “Tseliny” burial ground –the biggest in Ural region. Barrow “Volodarovka”. The specifics of burial tradition of the early Sarmatians. Two-tiered burials. Male and female burials. Historical artifacts.

The monuments of the Middle Sarmatian period. Burial grounds “Ssyntas” and “Nagornensky”. Individual and collective burials. Characteristics of the monuments. Late Sarmatian burials. Barrow “Lebedevka” in Western Kazakhstan area. The specifics of burial tradition of Suslov culture. Artifacts.

Burials of military, tribal aristocracy and priests along river Ilec. Barrow “Araltobe”. “Sarmatian Golden Warrior”. Chronological period, characteristics of the monument. Burial ritual and artifacts. Historical importance of the monument.

The forms of material culture of the Sarmatians. Economic life. Sarmatian weapons, ceramic vessels and utensils, saddles and harnesses, jewelry. Interaction of cultures.

Spiritual legacy of Sarmatians. “Animal” and “polychromous” style in Sarmatian art. Fine and applied arts. Monumental stone sculpture of the Sarmatians. Beliefs and cults of the Sarmatians. Rites and customs of the Sarmatians.

Findings and results of the modern Kazakhstani expeditions to Sarmatian burials.

32. Licheli, Vakhtang (Tbilisi) *Scythian Elements in Southern Georgia (7th c. B.C.)*

Among the monuments, where are found the materials dated to the 1st millennium B.C., more precisely, the 8th-6th centuries B.C., shall be pointed out a necropolis excavated in Borjomi gorge. In general, they fall within the broad chronological frame and are dated to the late bronze – early Iron Age.

In order to clarify the place of Scythian elements in the context of the archaeology of southern Georgia, I shall present a description of the necropolises.

These are: Chitakhevi, Bornigele, Rveli, Kvartskhoveli and Mzetamze necropolises. The quality of their study according to space and quantity of the necropolises, as well as publications is different. Due to the fact that the chronological picture on these necropolises is almost similar, we shall review only some of them:

Bornighele necropolis contains the archaeological evidence of the late bronze, early iron and early antiquity era. Monument example according to the excavation of 1985: 22 pit-burials were excavated on Bornighele necropolis. The oldest burials were arranged at

2.7-2.9 meters below zero level. All the burials, save # 76, contained stone and earth piles on top which in most cases were damaged by burials of successive periods. In the burials of this level, the borders of which are difficult to establish due to similarity of layers, the corpses are placed towards different directions. It shall be noted that all of them are placed on one side in embryonic posture, in each burial. Exclusion is the burial # 67, where two dead persons were buried on the right and left sides, with their heads towards different directions (east and south). The burial contained two bronze spiral-head pins, two bronze bracelets, beads and two clay vessels.

The second burial (# 69) turned out to be interesting as it contained a skeleton buried in a sitting position. The burial was roofed with plates and covered by earth and stone pile. The same burial draws attention by its composition of cattle (extremities and a skull); as well as: early type of Colchian axe of Bronze Age, a bronze dagger, a bronze spear head, stone flat axe, bronze rings, pin and coil, as well as clay vessels.

Burials # 62 and 75 belong to this layer; among items discovered in them are bronze plates characteristic of the gorge.

The burials of this layer fall within the same chronological group and date back to the 15th – 14th centuries.

Burials of next layer are similarly arranged in pits, i.e. typologically resemble its forerunner. They are located at 2.4 meters below zero level. There are untreated stones arranged around the burials. The posture of the dead is similar – crouched on the right side. The clay objects which are distinguished by high quality ornamental images, are few among other goods. These are vessels with different shapes and purposes and are decorated with prolonged triangles, cannelures or with grooves around or their combination. The surface of some of them is polished. The burials of the layer are in the same chronological group and date back to the 10th – 9th centuries.

The burials of upper layer, which are very interesting to this topic today, are arranged at 1.8-2.3 meters below the zero level. The skeletons are placed in crouched posture with different directions, though most of them are directed towards south. Each of them is individual.

Among burials of this layer there are cremated burials containing one, two or three kitchen vessels, i.e. parts of skeleton and objects are placed in them. These baskets are placed in the central part of the burial. Cremated burials are not typical of Georgia in this period. In the burials of this layer are mostly discovered bronze, iron and clay items, including axes characteristic to Colchis (West Georgia) culture. The upper layer is dated to the 8th -7th Centuries.

Mzetamze necropolis is located in the mountainous range, in the open valley. About 60 burials are excavated in Mzetamze which date since the middle of the 2nd millennium to the medieval time and are divided into four groups.

Among the burials of the early period “pit-burial” is interesting; it was excavated in the north-east part of the necropolis. The skeleton is completely decomposed and it is impossible to determine its direction; moreover neither burial objects gives opportunity to do it insofar as they were accumulated together and was composed of the bronze jewelry. Thus, it is not excluded that here we are dealing with tesauration of a small number of bronze objects and not the burial. It may be assumed that the bronze objects were wrapped in organic material. The items consist of: bronze pendant disc, which is decorated with triangles; flat bronze bracelets, pitchfork-head pins, etc. The collection dates to the 12th-11th cc.

The burials of successive period are arranged in a pit. Due to poor preservation of bone materials it is impossible to determine sex and age of the dead, though their body posture is clear – they are buried in crouched posture on the right or left side.

Bronze objects are frequent in the burial, which finds close parallels in bronze culture of Colchis. Here, we find objects characteristic to Colchis culture such as decorated Colchian axe. It is worth noting that the same necropolis contains iron axes analogous to bronze axes. Near to Mzetamze necropolis, in Telovani was discovered slag and a mould for shaping a Colchian axe. In addition, at the beginning of the 20th century in the north of Mzetamze necropolis, about 1 kilometer far from it, were discovered workshop remnants.

All this indicates that the bronze objects were produced locally in the same gorge. Mzetamze necropolis is mostly composed of exactly such type of burials i.e. in about 50 % of excavated burials of all four periods special interest is raised by Scythian arrow-heads which are in the context of Colchian culture. This group of graves dates back to the 8th – 6th centuries.

The burials of the following period –6th-4th centuries B.C.– are of different types –they represent a stone-box built of flag stones, in which the skeleton was placed again in crouched posture, on the right or on the left side. Metal objects are made of iron (axes, knives, spearhead).

In the burials of the following period, metal objects are less and mostly emerge ceramics characteristic of Borjomi gorge (= Caucasian Iberia). The group of these burials dates back to the 4th-3rd c. B.C.

The burials of the last period –middle centuries– do not contain objects.

Almost the similar chronological succession is evident in other necropolises (Kviratskhoveli, Rveli, Chitakhevi).

Thus, in general, five chronological groups can be distinguished from the late Bronze Age to the middle ages. The Scythian type of objects are found in chronological groups of the 3rd (the 7th-6th B.C.; arrowheads and sword)

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1. Archaeological material from Southern Georgia. 15th-14th c. B.C. (after O. Gambashidze).
2. Archaeological material from Southern Georgia. 12th-11th c. B.C. (after V. Licheli, G. Nasidze).
3. Archaeological material from Southern Georgia. 8th-7th c. B.C.
4. Archaeological material from Southern Georgia. 7th c. B.C.
5. Archaeological material from Southern Georgia. 7th c. B.C.
Scythian arrowhead and sword (Achaemenid?). 7th-6th c. B.C.

34. López Sánchez, Fernando (Zaragoza) *The Sarmatians and their Relation with Rome as Evidenced by Roman Coinage (AD 68-180): from Unstable Alliance to Declared Hostility*

According to Tacitus (*Hist.* 1.79), around the middle of February in the year A.D. 69 the news of the defeat in the Danube of nine thousand Roxolan horsemen reached Rome. Having achieved the Imperial Purple just in January, emperor Otho, taken by his enthusiasm (*laeto Othone et gloriam in se trahente*) decided to celebrate the victory in Rome by organising a triumph. A group of troops from Moesia, responsible for the defeat of the Roxolan Sarmatians, participated in the triumph. Some monetary series minted

during the very short reign of Otho, and including the legend *Victoria Othonis* and the image of Victory on the right marching with a palm and a wreath, must be considered as *donativa* distributed in Rome with the occasion of the triumph of the legions from Moesia over the Roxolans.

It is known that the Sarmatians of the Danube lived in a state of nerves due to the political events that followed after the death of Nero in A.D. 68. Tacitus regarded them, moreover, as enemies of Rome, their behaviour in A.D. 68-70 not being too different from that observed by the Batavians led by Iulius Civilis and allied to Rome until then. The Batavians were soon in direct relation with the Julio-Claudian dynasty and with Rome. A similar situation could have been present in the Iranian tribes near the Danube. The death of Nero in A.D. 68 led to the revolts of those Batavians allied to the dynasty, but also of other people such as the Sarmatians.

The Sarmatian defeat to which this emission of Otho refers to, does not show the iconography commonly used by Rome to symbolise fights with declared enemies (humiliated figures, trophies). The palm and the victory are above all used at the centre of the Roman monetary representations to commemorate a military victory, but not necessarily a confrontation with enemies of Rome. The iconographic formula “Rome versus her enemies” makes reference to the Sarmatians only since the end of the 2nd c. A.D. within the context of the Danubian wars of the emperor Marcus Aurelius. It is at this time that Marcus Aurelius dreams of creating a province called *Sarmatica*. It is also from this moment that the title *Sarmaticus* starts to be adopted regularly by the Roman emperors.

The objective of this paper is to analyse the century that covers from the death of Nero (A.D. 68) to that of Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 180). During this period there are iconographical allusions to the Sarmatians in the Roman monetary series that, up until now, have not received the attention of numismatists or historians. These allusions prove that the Sarmatians were considered to be potential allies of the Roman people until the wars of Marcus Aurelius, even though they may have been considered somewhat unreliable.

35. Lurje, Pavel (Vienna) *Iranian Nomadic Heritage in Sogdian Wordstock*

Our knowledge of the languages of Iranian nomads, Scythians, Sarmatians and Alans, limited as it is, comes almost exclusively from the western fringes of the Great Eurasian Steppe, while we have practically no information about the languages of the nomads who occupied the Central and Eastern Part of the Steppe Belt in Antiquity. From the archeological point, their culture is closely related to that of European Scythians and Sarmatians, Iranians by language, but the cultural and linguistic borders do not necessarily coincide with each other. To my knowledge, there was no attempt to analyze the languages spoken by Central Asian and Siberian peoples of the “Scytho-Sarmatian” circle, except for etymologizing several tribal names and “Dahae” glosses in Parthian —the primary material is lacking.

In the vocabulary of Sogdian, the Middle Iranian language which was in use in Central Asia and Xinjiang until eleventh century A.D., and particularly in Sogdian (as well as the little known Chorasmian) onomastics, we find a certain number of elements which can be traced back to language(s) similar to those of Pontic Iranians. In several cases, one can rely upon the sound-laws which separate Scythian, Sarmatian, *etc.* from Sogdian, in others – on the particular lexical items or cultural words. One should not forget, however, that Sogdian

and “Scytho-Sarmatian” languages were genetically closely related, so it is often impossible to ascribe some item either to the borrowed or to the inherited stratum. Analysis of such lexemes (mostly anthroponyms), borrowed or allegedly borrowed in Sogdian from a language, closely related to Scythian and/or Sarmatian, is the main body of the paper. Noteworthy such names are most common in the earliest strata of Sogdian literacy, fourth to sixth centuries (Ancient Letters, Inscriptions from the Upper Indus, coin legends).

The contacts of Sogdians with the Nomadic “Saka” peoples in Antiquity are a well attested phenomenon for the specialists in written history and archeology. The linguistic evidence of such interrelations, to my knowledge, has never been stated *expressis verbis*, but the material collected shows that they did exist.

36. Lymer, Kenneth (London) *Animal Art in the Early Saka Period of Kazakhstan*

Zoomorphic motifs, traditionally referred to as the so-called “Scytho-Siberian animal style”, are well documented in the material culture of the Early Nomads of Central Asia. Moreover, the animal forms are not only found in decorative ornaments, but also utilised in rock art images carved in natural stone at sites across Central Asia. In particular, the rock art images from the Republic of Kazakhstan provide valuable insights into the dynamic role of animal art during the Early Saka period. These are considered through case studies that focus upon the eagle and deer motifs which examine their funerary contexts as well as their relationships to the landscape through the medium of rock art.

37. Lysenko, Nikolaj (Moscow) *The Term Sarmato-Alans: Ethnological and Chronological Aspects*

1. Wide introduction of a new term “Sarmato-Alans” in a scientific circulation is predetermined by a number of objective factors. It is necessary to admit that a conceptual essence of the term “Sarmatians” causes too many questions. The main problem is that the Sarmatians of the ancient sources did not call themselves so. It seems evident that in ancient times, no doubt, such names as “Iazyges”, “Roxolani” or “Alans” had been used as ethnic self-names, but the ethnic name “Sarmatians” was not used in this respect. There appears a logical question about the rightfulness of using the term “Sarmato-Alans” in present-day historiography, to be precise, the question of the criteria of its usage. It also seems extremely important to exactly denote terminologically the whole range of the steppe Iranian-language tribes, which were sequentially coming to the borders of the ancient world for the space of almost five centuries.

2. From the point of ethnology, the best term that most fully reflects the essence of a cultural and historical commonality of Iranian-language nomads is, probably, the term “Sarmato-Alans”. Apparently, there do not exist any ethnopolitical facts which could be used as evidence that the Sarmatians (Iazyges, Roxolani, Aorsi) and the Alan tribes, headed by their chiefs, were, to a greater or lesser extent, antagonistic to each other and represented isolated genetic and cultural communities –ethnoses. Quite the contrary, there are substantial grounds to believe that even on the early stage of its development a poly-tribe Sarmato-Alan environment possessed a strong unity of a genetic and cultural complex (including a religious aspect).

3. The archaeological science points out a number of substantial distinctions existing in different cultural horizons of the Sarmatians and the Alans. One should not overestimate

these objective differences as they do not deny but sooner emphasize the presence of a single genetic-cultural complex in Sarmato-Alanic surroundings. There exists an evident fact: despite almost a century-long task-oriented practice of archaeological excavations of Sarmato-Alanic relics and monuments, until now, there have not been found any clear indications identifying a socio-cultural unity of the Sarmato-Alans. Even such an authoritative specialist in the field of Sarmatian archaeology as K.F. Smirnov has admitted that it is impossible to assuredly mark out any Sarmatian ethnos from the general mass of Sarmatian tribes by archaeological methods. It seems doubtless that the Sarmato-Alans appear as an ethnos with respect to the Germans, Greeks or Maeotae; however, in respect of each other they are considered as sub-ethnic components of a sole genetic and cultural community –the ethnos.

4. The main conclusion of the report: the Alans had managed to incorporate in its ethnic environment some different tribes of the Sarmatian circle (the number of the tribes, possibly, being a little larger than the nomenclature adopted in Sarmatology: Iazyges, Roxolani, Aorsi) just because they were acting within the bounds of a vast, but in its main features (language, beliefs, culture, social structure) single genetic-cultural community. Thus, the term “Sarmato-Alans” reflects the main, peculiar to all Sarmatians and Alans, ethnical essence –the ethnicity– a subjective reflection of a once historically real population unity of late Iranian-language nomads.

5. The term “Sarmato-Alans” has a clear chronological aspect which has been included in this very conception. The processes of absorption of all other Sarmatian sub-ethnoses by the Alans mainly was over in the end of the 2nd c. A.D. Consequently, the term “Sarmato-Alans” has an accurate chronological meaning and it can be applied to designate a western conglomerate of the Sarmato-Alanic superethnos only up to the end of the 2nd c. A.D.

<p>38. Mordvintseva, Valentina (Simferopol) <i>The Sarmatian Animal Style: Possibilities of Ethnic Reconstruction</i></p>
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Items ornamented with different images often are seen as reflected ethnic features of ancient cultures. A particularly important role as “ethnic” indications is played by objects of the Scythian and Sarmatian Animal Style. The appearance of a “new Sarmatian wave of Animal Style” was usually regarded after Rostovtzeff’s concept in general as a sign of invasion of some eastern tribes into the Northern Black Sea region in the third quarter of the 1st c. A.D. This later Sarmatian stage of Animal Style is usually suggested as a period of degradation of this art in the Great Steppe. Apart from the items with zoomorphic images there were spread many other prestigious objects made of precious metals.

It is not easy to compare archaeological material with the ethnical reality of the past. The term “ethnic” itself came relatively late in use. We should not confront our modern ideas with those of an ancient way of thinking. It is not easy, if it is possible at all, to outline sharply various ancient societies connected by their “territory, language and self-identity”. However, one could try to understand their way of thinking. This information is somehow hidden in the ancient objects of art, and it could be positively extracted from those. For this one should do the study of their formal characteristics.

In the stylistic analysis, the aim of which is to find „ethnic“ entities in the archaeological material, it is particularly important to define permanent combinations of the features, which could reflect preferences of the local population in spheres of function of the objects, their forms and subjects.

For the analysis there were chosen some categories of Animal Style objects (torques, armrings, earrings, vessels, ritual baons) spread on the territory between the Dniester and the Volga from the 3rd c. B.C. to the 2nd c. A.D.

The maps show interesting tendencies in distribution of the material (Maps 1-14).

In the Late Hellenistic period the Animal Style objects were spread mainly on the territory of the Kuban valley –on the boundary with the Bosporan kingdom as well. At the same time there was another region with some concentration of such objects – the Volga-Don steppes. One region differs from the other after the categories of objects and after the subjects represented on them.

The picture is changed in the first centuries A.D. The Kuban valley produces now paucity of Animal Style objects despite of quite a good deal of precious objects without zoomorphic images. The main centre of the Animal Style becomes the Lower Don. After a long interruption, the Animal style objects appear also on the territory westwards of the Dnieper. The Volga-Don Steppes show the same picture as in the Hellenistic time.

The distribution of different zoomorphic images shows an interesting picture as well. Meanwhile, in the Late Hellenistic period the ungulates are represented foremost on the items found in the Kuban valley, the beasts of pray mainly in the Lower Don basin and in the Volga-Don Steppes. In the first centuries A.D. the ungulates are often represented on the items found in the western region (Dniester-Dnieper). Among those one can see direct parallels with the Kuban objects of earlier time.

The maps of distribution reflect the cultural changes, which took place in Eastern Europe during the period from the 3rd c. B.C. to the 2nd c. A.D.

<p>39. Moshinskij, Aleksandr (Moscow) <i>The Scythians and the Caucasus in the 5th-4th c. B.C.</i></p>

The correlation between the indigenous tribes and the Scythian world is now one of the topical and most actively studied issues. The Scythian-Caucasus problem stays separately among these issues. As a rule, most attention is devoted to the epoch of Scythian campaigns through the Caucasus. The Caucasus tribes and nomads' interaction in these periods can be considered precisely documented by archaeological sources. The later epoch has been studied much more weakly. Even an opinion has spread that by the end of the 5th c. B.C. the contacts between the Scythians and the population of the Caucasus had practically ended.

The material excavated at Gaston Uota burial ground (Digorian Gorge, North Ossetia) reflects the epoch of stable Scythian-Koban connections; all the elements of Scythian triad present in the complexes; horse burials often occur in burial ceremonies. This period is dated by the end of 6th–5th cc. B.C. As for the memorials of the end of 6th c.–middle 5th c. B.C., mountaineer-nomad contacts have not been documented for sure. Probably, at this time there were no stable peaceful relations between the Mountains and the Steppe.

In 1996, the funeral 19 was explored at the burial ground. The funeral contained, besides other burials, an *in situ* extant skeleton with the entire pertinent inventory that was dated by the end of 5th c.–beginning of 4th c. B.C. The skeleton belonged to a man 35-45 years old; it laid on the large felt mat with its head directed to the South, on its right side, writhed. The bronze necklet (1) laid on its neck bones and the bronze fibula (2), in front of them. The buried man wore a long bronze neck chain (3) that reached his hip-bones. There were 6 cowry shells and a stringing of spherical two-partical silver beads on his chest, a

bronze cult baton tip with a deer protoma (8) near his head, a bronze box-like plaque in the left shoulder area. In front of the skeleton two daggers (4, 5) with zoomorphic bronze caps and a quiver set: 6 arrow heads (6) and a strap ornament (7), as well as two bronze plates (9, 10) were found. Behind the back of the man's head laid a bridle which included the bronze bit (11) and cheek-pieces (12), 4 bronze pendants in the form of lion head (13) and 17 small bronze pendants in the form of gryphon head (14) as well as two big bronze bells (15). The *in situ* extant artifacts allow reconstructing both the horse bridle and, to a great extent, the horseman's suit and armament.

One can note an extraordinary fact: the bridle set includes bells. Very likely the bells (of the Caucasus type) were fastened to the bridle, which had been purchased from the nomads, by the owner himself. Bit moulding of bronze is another peculiar fact; it is not inconceivable that the bit was moulded by Koban craftsmen.

Immediately before there were no horse attire items in the Digorian Gorge. Nevertheless this is by no means evidence of a lack of practice of saddle-horse use by Koban warriors.

The armament is Scythian in its character: there are swords with plated bronze handles in Scythian animal style (the bade of one of the sword, was possibly broken and resharpened into a shot knife-dagger), quiver set with Scythian-type arrows (to all appearances, the arrows were placed in the quiver with attached animal-style pendant and were tightened with a thong that was fastened with the strap ornament).

The suit includes the items of exclusively local Caucasian type: on the neck there is a bronze moulded Necklet with involute endings, the cloak is fastened with arcuate fibula with pseudo-twisted arch, and, finally, there is an exclusively Caucasian attribute, namely a long bronze chain. The bronze cult baton tip with a deer protoma is specifically Digorian-type. Probably such tips had not only sacral meaning, but also were the symbols of authority.

Thus, we have the warrior possessing authoritative power, in traditional Koban suit but with prestige Scythian arms and Scythian bridle, which was slightly modified according to local customs. Such is indeed the combination that reflects the essence of the mountaineers' contacts with the steppe people in this period: certain communication (frequently indirect – through the foothills population), trade and adoption of prestige set of warrior-horseman's armament and munitions.

Adopting the warrior-horseman image from the Scythian world, the people of the Digorian Gorge also take over his horse's attire. That is why just in the items of horse munitions the Scythian animal style presents in pure form. The Scythian subjects on arms and belt buckles of this period are imitative and undoubtedly were made by the Caucasian metallurgists.

Most likely the image of the warrior-horseman with Scythian armament and munitions became prestigious for distinguished highest military ranks. This image was adopted as a result of close enough contacts with the Scythian world. Thus, Scythian-looking arms and horse attire became the signs of social status.

The development of contacts with the steppe people at the end of the 5th c. B.C. may be connected with interior processes of their life. Certain stabilization in interior relations allowed the Koban tribes to inhabit again the foothills abandoned in the time of war danger and stir up in such a way the interrelations with both nomads and the population of contiguous gorges.

40. Negus Cleary, Michelle (Sydney) *The Influence of Steppe Nomads on the Architecture of Central Asia: a Case Study of Chorasmian Fortified Enclosures*

Large fortified enclosures represent an enduring, localised architectural type that is found all over Central Asia in the ancient period, most particularly in the area once known as Chorasmia. The Iranian-speaking Chorasmians have long been closely associated with the Massagetae and other nomadic groups, but the exact nature of these connections remains debated. The fortified complexes constructed by the Chorasmians were shaped by the need to defend communities from mounted attackers. But what kind of communities? The lack of urban features and the vast open spaces enclosed by the walls suggest an itinerant population or alternatively a population of people and their cattle taking refuge. Perhaps the traditional view of these fortresses, or *kalas*, as products of purely settled cultures, is not accurate. These structures likely represent the influence, if not the actual product, of nomadic communities. At the very least, the presence of these *kalas* in the heart of the agricultural zone, perhaps indicates a far greater role of pastoralism in the ancient oasis economies than has been previously thought.

41. Olbrycht, Marek Jan (Rzeszow) *Arsacid Iran and the Nomads of Central Eurasia (3rd c. B.C.-2nd c. A.D.)*

The extent and nature of Parthian relations with the nomadic tribes of the Central Eurasian steppe expanses still receive scant attention. However, the evidence articulates how profoundly the nomadic factors penetrated Iran under the Arsacids, imprinting on its cultural standards that had far-reaching consequences. Therefore, a more comprehensive investigation of Parthian relations with the nomads of Central Eurasia is desirable, a subject hitherto largely neglected in scholarship. The time has come to reshape our understanding of the Arsacid Period in Western and Central Asia as much from a political stand point as from a social and cultural history.

From the very beginning, the Arsacid kingdom created by Arsaces I had developed specific features having contained nomadic and sedentary elements. As a result, Parthia became a state which, although it had been established by nomads, possessed an expanding agricultural and urban economic basis. At the same time, the Arsacids maintained links with the steppe milieu of Central Asia. The nomadic legacy of the Dahae and Aparni exerted a strong and partially decisive influence on certain aspects of Parthian history. Although tightly bound to their steppe heritage, the Arsacids showed a remarkable ability to adopt promptly and efficiently a number of the hallmarks associated with the sedentary peoples, whom they had subjugated, including the establishment of new cities, the creation of strongholds, and the introduction of a coinage system.

The *ethos* of the Arsacid Parthians –understood as the fundamental character underlying the Parthian guiding assumptions, customs, manners, mentality and Arsacid social as well as military institutions– was essentially of nomadic descentance. Particularly striking in the picture of Parthian society is a close connection between higher status and horse-riding.

The materials (sculptures of the Bayty type) provided by the archaeological finds from Ustyurt and Mangyshtau areas (western Kazakhstan) as well as from Prokhorovka and Isakovka (Asiatic Russia) supply abundant evidence pointing towards close cultural relations between the Arsacid Parthians and the nomads of Central Asia and set the research of many aspects of the nomadic-Parthian affinities upon a new course.

All the sculptures of the Bayte type are frontal representations. Apparently, the frontality was regarded by the Ustyurt nomads as the canonic attitude in presenting warriors. The same principle applies to Parthian art in which frontality is the foremost novelty. The available data show that it was already popular in the 1st c. A.D. and predominates in the well attested art of Hatra, Elymais, and Dura Europos.

In the case of Isakovka and Prokhorovka finds, the appearance of nomadic, Chorasmian and Parthian relics together is striking. Chorasmia was traditionally a country tightly connected to the nomads, including the Dahae and Massagetae. At the same time Chorasmia supported the first Arsacids in their expansion and played a special role in establishing the Arsacid state. The archaeological finds document close relations between the Parthians and the nomadic tribes of the Prokhorovka culture.

The costume of the Arsacid Parthians may give an important clue as to the cultural tradition to which they belonged. The most characteristic Parthian dress was composed of wide trousers and a long sleeved caftan belted around the waist and crossed over the chest, with the right part overlapping the left. Parts of this garment are depicted as royal dress on most Arsacid coins. In the pre-Arsacid period, a costume similar to the Parthian dress is attested among archaeological objects coming from the steppe areas of Central Asia and southeastern Europe (Issyk, Chastye kurgany). The Parthian dress was clearly of steppe origin and it was introduced in Iran by the Aparthian nomads.

42. Perevalov, Sergej (Vladikavkaz) *Interdisciplinary Approach to Alanic Studies*⁷

Alanic Studies are one of those directions of the humanities, in which interdisciplinarity is not only desirable, but necessary. They follow the nature of a scientific discipline. Since the Alans had no own historical tradition, the sources of Alanic history are of foreign origin. A. Alemany's "Sources on the Alans" includes the data of twelve written traditions in European and Eastern languages, but in reality they are still more. The Alans are investigated by scholars from various branches of science – history, archaeology, linguistics, anthropology, folklore, etc. It should be added the division in geography, thematics, material, and technology. For compiling it is necessary to carry out a synthesis. This task needs the cooperation of specialists. The problem is how to make, and how not to make it.

The worst case is such as follows. A person, who is non-specialist in one of adjacent disciplines, tries to restore the whole picture on the basis of the facts, borrowed from the secondary sources. Certain division of labor occurs: some specialists reveal facts, others generalize them. In Russia the famous partisan of this approach was L.G. Gumilev (1912-1991). "Philologists translate texts, historians study the events described in them [...] if we do not group and do not interpret the facts [...] then the very publication of these facts is not necessary" (Гумилев 1962:210).

A similar approach was defended by A.S. Skripkin, A.V. Simonenko and V.A. Kuznetsov, all of them archaeologists. There is a problem: from one side, "the

⁷ Literature:

– Alemany A. [2000] *Sources on the Alans: A Critical Compilation*. Leiden-Boston-Köln.

– Гумилев Л.Н. [1962] "В Государственном Эрмитаже и Ленинградском отделении института народов Азии АН СССР". *Вестник древней истории*. № 3. p. 202-210.

– Скрипкин А.С. [2001] "О времени появления аланов в Восточной Европе и их происхождении (историографический очерк)", *Историко-археологический альманах*. Вып. 7. p. 15-40.

archaeologist does not completely professionally the analysis of written sources”, while “the specialist in the field of the study of written sources is situated in the same situation with respect to the archaeological sources” (Скрипкин 2001: 21). What to make? A.S. Skripkin proposes to use the Russian transfers or finished results of the previous studies. Thus, the methodology of historical synthesis proves to be different from the methodology of an historical study, based on the independent analysis and the criticism of documents: facts are created by the researcher himself for the solution of concrete problems. Furthermore, the general scientific principle, which requires conducting synthesis in a close connection with the previous analysis, is violated. This approach is amateurish and discredits the very idea of interdisciplinarity.

To my mind, it is necessary to adhere to the following principles.

1. Analysis. In order to increase the scientific culture as a whole, it is necessary henceforth to preserve the specific character of disciplines entering into interdisciplinary contact. At the analytical stage, the separate study of different sources is conducted.

2. Synthesis. At the second stage the analytical interpretation of the uniform category of sources is supplemented with the synthesis of the different categories into single whole. Thus, we pass –from particular disciplines of philology, archaeology, epigraphy, art, etc– to the complex study of history.

3. Subordination of disciplines. The third moment, at which I want to focus attention is the decisive role of history *stricto sensu*, or the knowledge, obtained on the basis of written sources. Many scholars thought that the archaeological and historical images of the past are equivalent. To my mind, of two models –archaeological and historical– the latter takes priority. History is science about the people, whose thoughts directly, with the use of the same code of information, are transferred on the writing. Written sources are leading in history. The final goal of an archaeological study is always historical reconstruction, but no one historian will approach to give the archaeological (material, graphic) reconstruction of written text.

The procedure of interdisciplinary studies is illustrated by examples in the following themes: “history and archaeology”, “history and linguistics”, “history and Nart epos”.

43. Petrukhin, Vladimir (Moscow) *The Alans in the Russian Primary Chronicle and in Russian History*

The first record of the Alans –or *Jasy* (pl.), *Jasin* in the Primary Russian Chronicle is inserted in the article of year 965, connected with the description of the raid led by the Russian prince Svjatoslav against the Khazar khaganate and the conquest of the Alanic regions (in the Don basin). Anyhow the old tradition of historiography as well as the linguistic data derive the beginning of the contacts of Slavs and Iranians (Scythians and Sarmatians) from the prehistoric period, the time of Scythian hegemony in the Pontic steppes (V.I. Abaev).

The late medieval Polish historiography used to connect the origin of the Polish people with the Sarmatians: correspondingly, the Russians were associated with the Roxolani, a Sarmatian tribal unit between the Don and Dnepr rivers –cf. Michalonis Litvani’s (fr. 9) (16th c.) designation of the population of Kiev as Roxolani. This medieval etymological tradition, though rejected by the first professional Russian historian V. Tatischev (1: 282), was revived and stimulated by the “antinormanist” controversy in the 19th (D. Ilovajsky and others) and 20th centuries. The scholars who reject the Scandinavian etymology of the

name *Rus'* in the Russian Primary chronicle insist on the Iranian (*Roxolani, Rosomoni*) or even Indo-Aryan etymology of the name *Rus'* (*Ros* –Oleg N. Trubachev and others).

In contrast with the “cabinet” Iranian etymologies of the name *Rus'*, the problem of the Iranian influence on the emergence of the Old Russian culture is actual. Vladimir N. Toporov (1995) devoted his recent studies to the “mythological Iranian element in the Russian spiritual culture”. According to the Primary Chronicle, in 980 the Russian prince Vladimir established a sanctuary for the Russian pantheon in Kiev: it included six idols – Perun, Khors, Dazhbog, Stribog, Semargl and Mokosh'. Two of these pagan deities bore Iranian names: Khors and Semargl. The mythological functions of these personages are unclear. Khors' place in the Chronicle text is between the common Slavic deity of thunder Perun and the Old Russian Sun god Dazhbog, so his functions could be connected with celestial sky sphere and Persian *xuršīd* ‘shining sun’ and other relative concepts (Toporov 1995:513; cf. Alemany 2003: §7.12; Vasiliev 1999:9ff.). The name of Semargl is relative to the Persian Simurg/Senmurv; so his functions could be connected with the functions of the messenger of gods, a dog with the wings of a bird who could penetrate all the spheres of mythological cosmos. The places of these personages in the Chronicle's description of the pantheon demonstrate the cosmographic structure of the description with Semargl between the celestial/atmosphere (Stribog) deities and the female chthonic deity of water/soil (Mokosh'). It means that the pantheon was not a kind of syncretic construction by Vladimir, but a natural and traditionally developed structure.

The problem is if this structure has developed during a few years after Svjatoslav's raid to the steppes, or it derives from the praslavonic period, sometimes associated with the spread of the Antes' tribal unit in Eastern Europe in the 6th-7th centuries. Alan-Slavonic connections from the following Khazarian period are more evident and essential. The Khazarian Saltovo culture (8th-9th c.) was developing under a great influence of Alan culture; the closest connections between the Slavs and the Alans took place on the left bank of the Middle Dnepr before the appearance of the Russian princes and their Rus' retinue in Kiev. It was the area of the Severjane and Radimichi Slavonic tribes, who had to pay tribute to the Khazars, and the area of the Volyntsevo culture, characterized by a mixture of Slavonic and Alanic artifacts and rituals (Bititsa site, Dmitrievka cemetery, etc). According to S. Pletneva and others, the system of Alan-Khazar fortresses on the Don (including the famous Sarkel) and the Donets (including Saltov) rivers were destined to control the Slavonic tribute territories. One can add that these fortresses should also have controlled the movement of Rus' rower bands via the river roads.

The Don's basin was a traditional area of Alan (resp. Sarmatian) settlement: the study of connections between the stone building tradition in Northern Caucasus Alania and in the Don-Donets basins is actual (cf. Afanas'ev 1993; Arzhantseva 2007). There was an important center of the Khazar khaganate in the Don basin with the fortress Sarkel on the left bank built by a Byzantine architect for the Khazars in 840, the so called Right Bank stone fortress, Semikarakory fortress and others (V. Flerov).

The Russian Primary Chronicle, though principally poor in Khazarian subjects, reports extremely briefly about prince Svjatoslav's campaign, fatal for Khazaria. It tells under 964 that Svjatoslav started out to the Oka and the Volga (!) and subjugated the Vjatichi, the settlers of the Oka region. Then in 965 “Svjatoslav started against the Khazars; having known that the Khazars had set off with their prince –the khagan [...], Svjatoslav overpowered the Khazars and seized their town and Belaya Vezha. He won both the Yasi and the Kassogi”. Textological problems are the most important for the understanding of

the Chronicle. The Primary Chronicle was divided into year articles after the preliminary text had been composed and organized according to Byzantine chronographic tradition oriented to the chronology of rules of emperors or princes. So the next year date (966) was once again devoted to the victory over the Vjatichi and their tribute to Svjatoslav. But Svjatoslav has never launched two raids against the Vjatichi: here we have an insertion into the text about the Vjatichi subjugation connected with the information concerning the Khazars, Yasi and Kassogi. Svjatoslav did not need to go back from the Volga to the Oka: according to Ibn Hauqal, in 967-969 the Russians rushed down the Volga and robbed the towns of the Volga Bulgarians and Itil in the Volga Delta.

The Khazarian “Town” of the Russian chronicle should be obviously interpreted as their capital Itil (Atil) in the Lower Volga; Belaya Vezha –the Russian name for Sarkel fortress– became a Russian town (cf. Artamonov 2002:428-429). Svjatoslav conquered the Yasi (the Alans) and the Kassogi (the Adyge) in the North Caucasus; probably, Tamatarkha, the Russian Tmutarakan’, was also subjugated to Kiev during this campaign. According to Ibn Hauqal, in 969 the war was still on: the Russians destroyed the former Khazarian capital in the Northern Caucasus –Samandar. Obviously, Svjatoslav crushed the khagan’s domain – the territory for roaming described in king Joseph’s letter –with Sarkel on its West frontier and Itil (Atil) as the winter camp (cf. Artamonov 2002:428 ff.; Pletneva 1986:49-50). Thus the prince has made a circular raid through the Khazarian dominions moving from the Lower Volga to the Don and returned to Kiev. Russian troops stayed in Khazaria even after the summer of 968, when Svjatoslav with his main forces moved to the Danube.

So under Svjatoslav the Alan area in the Don basin was included in the territory of the Russian state (Sarkel became the Russian town Belaya Vezha), and Vladimir Svjatoslavich had to include the Alan deities into the Russian pantheon in 980.

45. Pinar, Joan (Barcelona) *Six Golden Finds from Mediterranean and Atlantic Hispania and their Links with Early 5th c. Barbarian Graves*

A number of early 5th-century archaeological remains have been identified as traces of the presence of Sueves, Vandals and Alans in the Iberian Peninsula. They consist mainly of metal clothing accessories or personal adornments, their Barbarian nature being inferred from the existence of parallels found in graves located in Central or East European territories. Nonetheless, one has to be aware that we are dealing with a risky methodology which has to face revision periodically, a single new find being capable of changing the interpretation of the whole group of artifacts or complexes.

That seems to be the case of three recently discovered golden finds, coming from the territories of *Tarraconensis* (La Valleta del Valero, Soses, Lleida; and L’Hostalot, Vilanova d’Alcolea, Castelló) and, probably, *Lusitania* (MAN, origin: “Extremadura”). The first find consists of a braided necklace with pin-shaped pendants and lion-headed endings, whose morphology underlines once more the links of the Untersiebenbrunn-Gospital’naja feminine graves with Mediterranean traditions. The second one corresponds to a rich feminine grave containing a pair of polyhedron-headed pins and a glass ware with dropped decoration, the whole complex finding a number of analogies among graves from different territories of the *pars occidentis*. Finally, the kidney-shaped pendant with repoussé decoration conserved in the MAN points out certain connections of southern *Hispania* and the northern Pontic coastline.

The aforementioned golden artefacts, together with old-known further Hispanic evidence (the finds from Granada-El Albaicín, Beiral and the grave from the Roman theatre in *Malaca*) furnish us with new data on the role of Mediterranean metalwork and dressing traditions in the material culture of Barbarian elites –whether Germanic, Turkish or Iranian-speaking ones– during the first half of the 5th century.

46. Pirart, Eric (Liège) *Les “mauvais” nomades iranophones chez Hérodote: étude d’ethnonymie*

Nos connaissances des langues anciennes de la steppe sont exiguës: si nous laissons de côté quelques rares vestiges isolés d’époques diverses, seuls l’ossète, langue moderne, et le khotanais, langue médiévale, nous apportent des indications, mais la question que je voudrais soulever est de savoir sur quoi au juste l’ossète ou le khotanais peuvent nous apporter des indications. Autrement dit: l’ossète témoigne-t-il de la langue des Sauromates ou de celle des Scythes? Et de quels Scythes s’agit-il? Pour ce qui est des limites occidentales anciennes de ce monde mouvant des peuples iranophones, notre seule source est Hérodote. Il nous faut donc traquer le moindre indice de caractère iranophone que contiendrait l’œuvre d’Hérodote concernant les marges les plus occidentales de ce monde mal défini si nous voulons savoir jusqu’où il pouvait aller. De ce point de vue, le cas des Gètes ou des Thraces est sans doute l’un des plus intéressants. Sur base de l’ethnonymie, il sera montré que les autres peuples iranophones méprisaient les Gètes pour des raisons religieuses ou rituelles. C’est aussi l’ethnonymie qui, jointe à l’examen d’autres témoignages dialectologiques, permet de douter que Scythes occidentaux et Scythes orientaux parlent la même langue: les Scythes occidentaux partageaient des isoglosses rares avec certains Perses.

Reflétée par l’ethnonymie, la répartition qui est faite entre «bons» et «mauvais» voisins des Scythes lors de l’invasion perse est à commenter en comparant les données qu’Hérodote nous fournit avec des mythes zoroastrien (*Frydvn*) et épique indien (*Yayāti*). Le mythe a imposé ses attendus à l’histoire, mais aussi à la géographie: pour la description de l’étendue qui va du Danube à la Volga et même au delà, Hérodote procède par tranches, allant dans chaque tranche de la côte aux régions de l’intérieur qui sont les plus reculées. En tout cinq tranches, la plupart faites de cinq niveaux, or le nombre cinq est caractéristique aussi des mythes correspondants indien et persan. Il sera montré que le schéma est visiblement forcé: quelle différence y a-t-il entre *arotēres* et *geōrgoi*? Que sont donc tous ces déserts? Et cela sans parler de peuples fantastiques tels que les *Arimaspoi*. L’examen des dynasties qui régnerent sur les *Skúthai* apporte de nouveaux éléments concernant l’entrelac du mythe et de l’histoire: ici aussi nous devons recourir à la comparaison avec les mythes de la succession de *Yayāti* ou de *Frydvn* ainsi qu’au dualisme ethnonymique. Si, par la suite, Ptolémée parvient à situer *Issédónes* et *Anthrōpophágoi*, c’est que la tradition littéraire n’avait pas cessé de peser de tout son poids.

Les *Skuthikoí lógoi* d’Hérodote sont donc en bonne partie un tissu de légendes tant bien que mal appareillées à l’Histoire.

47. Pirtskhalava, Marina (Tbilisi) *The So-Called Scythian Presence in Georgia*

The regions of Transcaucasia always feature in modern Scythian studies when the early history of the Scythians is being discussed. It is accepted almost for certain that Iranian nomadic tribes from the northern steppes invaded the countries of the Near East via the Caucasus and took an active part in the political life of these countries for almost one and a half centuries. The view on the presence of these tribes in the southern regions of Transcaucasia has become firmly established in specialized literature.

The Scythian-type material found in Georgia –in the broad meaning of the term, implying the traces of the Iranian-speaking nomads on this territory– could be divided in several chronological stages, each of them corresponding to the archaeological complex of definite type.

At the first stage (end of the 8th c. B.C.–first half of the 7th c. B.C.) –when Iranian nomad tribes, according to ancient sources and the evidence of ancient Transcaucasian toponymy are seen near South Caucasia –the traces of their presence are identifiable in the archaeological culture of Eastern Georgia. Here, among the burials of the Treli burial ground two barrow burials with burial chambers, built of wooden beams and then deliberately burnt down, and 26 adjoining burials differ drastically from synchronous burials of this region. The close analogies of these burials and inventory are found in north-western Iran and Azerbaijan, on one hand, and in so-called Scythian world (in the broad meaning of the term), on the other.

Hence it is supposed that the nomads of Iranian stock invaded the regions of north-western Iran and eastern South Caucasia (including part of Eastern Georgia) at the end of the 8th and first third of the 7th c. B.C., creating an ephemeral political union on this territory in the 670s. B.C.

The new stage is characterized by the distribution of concrete Scythian items: their appearance in the material culture of Georgia begins simultaneously with the formation of the so-called Archaic Scythian culture, traditionally dated to the second half of the 7th and the 6th c. B.C. These are constituent elements of the so-called Scythian triad used to determine specific character of Scythian culture, namely weapons, parts of horse harnesses, and items treated in the Scythian animal style. Two categories of monuments, containing Scythian items can be distinguished: settlements, burned and destroyed in the middle of the first millennium B.C., in the destruction layers of which the arrowheads of Scythian type were found and burials with Scythian objects, in most cases side by side with local artifacts. In general, the spread of Archaic Scythian elements did not change the style of local forms; their appearance did not influence the manufacture of local weapons, nor alter the type of burials. Simultaneously with the formation of so-called Scythian culture, its components overlay different local cultures (Eastern or Western Georgian) to a varying degree based largely on the local conditions.

The massive distribution of Scythian objects ceased in the fifth century B.C., and there are only singular examples among the burials of the 5th to the 4th c. B.C. The Scythian-type material of this stage seems to reflect contacts with the Achaemenid world rather than with the Scythian world.

48. P'jankov, Igor (Novgorod) *Scythians, Cimmerians and the Appearance of Animal Style in Eastern Europe*

The main misconception of modern scythologists is their belief that there is a direct connection between Scythians, Cimmerians and the presence or absence of the “animal style” in the art and also attendant signs of culture (“Scythian triad”). Prestige objects of art, arms, bridles etc. cannot be ethnic indications. So, out of such a misconception there appeared many fantastic reconstructions of the Scythians and Cimmerians moving route. Even if researchers suppose that these articles have interethnic nature, nevertheless they consider the appearance of such articles in the steppes of the Black Sea has direct connection with Scythians’ coming. There is still a necessity to explain the origin of these articles in Eastern Europe.

Studying the history of the relations between the Scythians and Cimmerians we need to take into account the following things. The movement of the cattle-breeding tribes in Euro-Asian belt of steppes had happened by two ways. Firstly, this was a very gradual and step-by-step movement from the East to the West, for example, in this order: Southern Ural, Steppe basin of the Volga, Northern Caucasus, North of the Black Sea. Secondly, this was a fast-moving relocation of nomadic groups from the Far East of the steppe belt, very often from the border with China, and up to its Far West.

When the Scythians succeeded the Cimmerians it was the first type of movement. The ancestors of the Scythians, who were ethnic Iranians, possibly were the bearers of the late Andronovo culture in Southern Ural. And the ancestors of the Cimmerians, who possibly were the ethnic Thracians, were the bearers of late Srubnaya cultures in more western regions –Steppe basin of the Volga and North of the Black Sea.

The appearance of “the animal style” concerns to the relocation of the second type of movement. Spreading of other elements of material culture attended to “the animal style”, for example, “the deer stones”, and also eastern variants of the “Northern Cycle”, having similar records in ancient Greek and Chinese Literature, some linguistic and paleoanthropological phenomena, from the remote parts of Central and Eastern Asia to the West, proves the rightness of such a supposition. Though, in spite of the fact that the articles of “the animal style” didn’t have some certain ethnic characteristic, as these articles could be related both to the Scythians and to the Cimmerians, anyway the spreading of these articles was connected with the fast movement of some Far-Eastern group of nomads in the steppe zone. And these nomads were the initial bearers of all these phenomena. They could not be Scythians.

So, the goal of my report is to define and recognize those mysterious Far-Eastern tribes. And the results of my researches will be published in my articles in the following volumes of “Memoirs of the Oriental Department of the Russian Archaeological Society” (St.Petersburg) and in series of books “The Heritage of Turan” (Alma-Ata).

49. Podosinov, Aleksandr (Moscow) *Greeks and Iranians in the Olbia Region in the First Centuries A.D.*⁸

One of the most important literary sources to the Olbian history in the first century A.D. is the evidence of Dio Chrysostom (ca. A.D. 45-115) who visited Olbia probably in A.D. 97. His so-called *Oratio Borysthenitica* (XXXVI) is considered to be the most important account of the situation in the northern Black Sea region and particularly of the barbarisation of the Greeks and the Greek city in Roman times. In the paper it will be analysed, how this problem was seen by an eyewitness, and what the archaeological and epigraphic sources say about it.

In Dio's description of life in Olbia we find no mention of any Barbarian inside the city. The whole context of Dio's narrative testifies to the purity of the ethnic, social and cultural appearance of Olbia and the consolidation of the Borysthenites within Greek traditions of language, literature, cults, architecture and political institutions. The Barbarians play no part in the internal life of Olbia, apart from the permanent threat of their invasion. Who where these outside Barbarians? From the various parts of Dio' account we learn that they can be the Getae, the Scythians or the Sauromatians. The analysis of these mentions and of the data of the other ancient sources shows that the real Barbarians near Olbia were the Sarmatians (Dio uses the archaic name *Sauromatians*, known from the times of Herodotus). The Getae were active more than 150 years earlier, and the name *Scythians* is used by Dio as a general indication for the Barbarians of the Northern Black Sea littoral.

And what about Barbarians inside the city? While Dio, as said, did not see here Barbarians, the Olbian epigraphy attests a drastic increase in the number of non-Greek (mostly Iranian) personal names in the first centuries (beginning of the middle of the 1st c. A.D.), and the bearers of these names were members of the most rich and influential group of Olbian citizens belonging to archons, *strategoi* and priests. The contradiction between the epigraphic data, archaeological material and Dio's evidence could be explained by the suggestion, that in the reconstruction of Olbia after the Getic occupation took part not only the Greeks, but also the strongly hellenized Barbarians, who were already acculturated in the *chora* of Olbia during their long living here together with the Greeks (a suggestion of V.V.Krapivina).

50. Pogrebova, Marija–Raevskij, Dmitrij† (Moscow) *The Origins of Scythian Culture: Animal Style*

There is little consensus as to the time, place and conditions of the Scythian animal style formation. The present authors have adopted and substantiated the hypothesis that this style had been elaborated by the Scythians, hitherto ignorant of figurative art, in the course of their interaction with Near Eastern civilizations. We have traced numerous motifs of Near Eastern art that evolved into purely Scythian images. A mere borrowing, however, cannot account for the specific Scythian treatment of animal figures involving a complex combination of seemingly incompatible traits, such as hooves and beak, etc., within a single beast. True, such a device is not confined to Scythian art and is also recorded in the Ancient Near East, yet it was among the Scythians that the so-called zoomorphic transformations had reached their *akme* and became the focal point of the composition.

⁸ Supported by RFH, grant 07-01-00058a.

Seemingly, the way of depicting an animal was as important for conveying the idea of a scene as the choice of the animal. Scythian artists, especially those of the earliest period, strove to feature multiple images of one and the same animal on a single article, to make the image a puzzle where one and the same element seen from different angles changes completely, e.g., an antler becomes a bird's head, etc. All these traits of the animal style can hardly be derived solely from its semantics. Following the theory that narrative techniques could have influenced the arising figurative art, the late D. Raevsky suggested that Indo-Iranian oral poetry and the Scythian animal style had been created along the same lines. Scythian animal figures may be regarded as a kind of visual hymns, while their unusual traits are akin to epithets and attributes, i.e. surrogated descriptions of deities and their activities characteristic, for instance, of the Rigveda. Riddles, anagrams, and suggestivity are as typical of Vedic hymns as of Scythian animal images. It seems likely that we are dealing with the manifestation of a single Indo-Iranian cultural tradition, either verbalized or visualized.

The spread of the animal style over the Eurasian steppe-belt as well as over some mountain and forest-steppe areas implies the existence of similar ideological notions; hence the emergence of analogous motifs and patterns, images and their details on that territory. However, the above-mentioned traits of the animal style, akin to those of oral poetry, were brought to perfection in the earliest artefacts encountered in the western, resp. European, part of Eurasia. This is yet another indication that the Scythian animal style took shape in Ciscaucasia, north of the Greater Caucasus, and in the North Pontic area.

51. Polidovich, Jurij (Donetsk) *Art Objects as a Source of Identification of Ancient Iranian Peoples' Ethnic Belonging (on an Example of the Scythian "Animal Style")*

The problem of ethnic identification of archaeological cultures' carriers is one of the most difficult among the problems, which are connected with historical reconstruction. Two reasons can be found behind this situation: a) There are a lot of criteria of ethnic groups' definition in ethnology, but there are no standard among them. b) Archaeological data do not testify about all the spheres of peoples' life. It is possible to compare them only with two criteria of ethnic definition: with a generality of material culture and territory. On the basis of study, such archaeological sources as burials and cult objects are talking about rituals and religious views.

The objects of ancient art are also the sources of ethnic information. Semiotics define the methodology of the study of art. In semiotics researches a natural language is examined as the primary simulating system and an art is examined as the secondary simulating system. The researchers mark the similarity of these two spheres of culture in functioning and their direct dependence from human consciousness. In semantic researches of ancient fine art the conditionality of its form and contents from myths and rituals is determined. In antiquity the art was a material embodiment of various ideas and images, which were realised in myths, legends, names at a verbal level. Thus, the art had a precise ethnic orientation in antiquity. The distribution of certain art forms and the context of their use are comparable with the dialectal distribution of a certain language.

A vivid example of such approach is the analysis of art, which was distributed in the Eurasian steppe zone in the first millennium B.C. This art is known as the "animal" style because of the domination of various wild animal images. The original objects which were made in "animal" style are found in archaeological complexes, which are reliably

connected with such historical peoples as Scythians, Sauromatians or Sakas. It is established that all these peoples were Iranian-speaking. So the “animal” style is one of the components of the Iranian peoples’ culture. It is interesting to look after zones of distribution of certain ethnic cultures on an example of concrete territory. The given work offers an example of such approach. The “animal” style’s distribution on the territory of modern Ukraine, which was the territory of Scythians and peoples related with them, is studied. The finds of “animal” style here occur only from the steppe and forest-steppe in the Dnepr’s and Donets’ basins. According to this supervision it is possible to make a conclusion, that it was the territory of residence of the Iranian peoples, which considerably differed among themselves in the given geographical zones. Thus, the finds of “animal” style objects on the territory of Ukraine are not known in the wood zone and in the forest-steppe zone of Southern Bug’s and Dniester’s basins. Therefore this territory can be connected not with Iranian but with other peoples, for example, with the Slavs and Thracians. Thus the given analysis allows outlining the border between various ethnic groups.

52. Pstrusińska, Jadwiga (Krakow) *Remarks on the Origin of the Iranian-Speaking Nomads of the Eurasian Steppes in the Light of Human Population Genetics*

The aim of my paper is to present remarks on the origin of Iranian-speaking nomads of the Eurasian Steppes in the light of the research done, more or less within the last twenty years, by molecular biology which has created such new disciplines as the history and geography of human genes or population genetics, which discover past migrations, diffusions and relationships among groups of population living in Eurasia and the rest of the world. Are the so-called Indo-Iranian people speaking Iranian languages to be perceived as one genetically related group? Or is it shown that the languages grouped as the Indo-Iranian family have been spoken and still are spoken by a population belonging, according to this kind of research, to several separate clusters that originated in different times in Central Asia, with each one having its own genetic specificity and history?

53. Ramírez, Laureano (Barcelona) *Iranian Steppe Nomads in Chinese Accounts of the Western Regions: some Toponyms and Locations Related to Da Yuezhi’s Xiumi*⁹

The fate of the Da Yuezhi after their settlement in Daxia has been widely discussed and the general agreement today is that they were the founders of the Kušāṇa empire. One of their *yabghu* (Chin. *xihou*), that of Guishuang, imposed itself upon the other four “confederated principalities”, and under the leadership of Kujula Kadphises extended its dominions into the surrounding kingdoms and territories, giving way to an empire which altered dramatically the political layout of a big part of Central Asia in the first centuries of our era. The colonisation method carried out by the Da Yuezhi in the lands of the Greco-Bactrian Kingdom is also a controversial issue: while some scholars hold that the *yabghu* system was already in existence when the Da Yuezhi invaded Daxia, others argue that it was expressly conceived to bring under control the petty chiefs dispersed here and there

⁹ Keywords: Iranian Steppe Nomads, Daxia, Tokharistan, Da Yuezhi, Greco-Bactrian Kingdom, Kušāṇa, Wakhan, Xiumi *yabghu* / *xihou*.

over the conquered lands. The Chinese sources are of primordial importance for the reconstruction of the doings and exploits of the Da Yuezhi since their uprooting by the Xiongnu from the Qilian mountains area, but their vagueness in many cases leaves much room for debate, especially as regards the *Kuṣānization* process in itself and its previous and subsequent developments. One of the keys to this question could possibly lie in the genesis, function and extent of the five *yabghu*, a subject upon which much work has still to be done. This paper aims at providing some further clues to the identification of the first one of them, the Xiumi *yabghu*, as inferred from Chinese sources up to the 11th century.

54. Salbiev, Tamerlan (Vladikavkaz) *Contradicting Herodotus: The Scythian Personal Names from the Black Sea Coast with the Element xar- “Ass, Donkey”*

The Scythian personal names from the Black Sea coast are an important source for the understanding of the language, culture and history of this ancient people. For their interpretation time and again Herodotus is referred to as a trustworthy eyewitness and judge. Yet, in certain cases Herodotus provokes contradictions that cannot be left unnoticed.

One of such discrepancies is connected with the personal names containing the root *xar-* (Old Iranian *xara-*, Ossetian *xæræg* “ass”). There are at least two names with this element: Χαράξηνος “possessing a dark blue ass” (O) and Χάραξτος (T), Κάραστος (O), Κάραξτος (O) “possessing eight asses”. Despite this epigraphic evidence, Herodotus insists that Scythians knew neither asses nor mules by reason of the cold climate of their country [Hdt. 4.28].

In order to solve this contradiction one should start with the interpretation. It seems that for the proper understanding of these names the peculiarities of the so called mythological thinking, characteristic of archaic cultures, need to be taken into account. In accordance with these peculiarities, there existed a fusion between the object and its feature as well as between the object and its function.

In other words, the feature and the function were not treated as something acquired by the object they refer to by chance, but were supposed to be determined by certain important inner properties of the object hidden from the eyes of a man. Thus the first name, i.e. Χαράξηνος (O), is putting special stress on the colour of the ass because we have an epithet *axšen* (Old Iranian *axšaina-* “dark blue”, Oss. *axsin* “blue, dark blue”). Besides we find the notion of colour in the root itself, as Ossetian *xæræg* “ass” literally means “grey”. Two more Ossetian words possessing the same root: *xærīs* ‘willow’ literally means “grey twig” and *xæræ mīǰ* “dense mist” that also literally means “grey mist” help to understand the inner quality of the object revealed by the colour. The grey colour is integrating into one rainy complex an animal (the ass is known to forecast the change of the weather and is very sensitive to the quality of the water he drinks), a plant (the small drops of water are known to fall down from the willow’s twigs) and a meteorological phenomenon.

As for the second name, i.e. Χάραξτος (T), the key role should be played by the numeral *ašta* ‘eight’ modifying the noun. This numeral is known to have spatial connotations indicating the completeness of the space that can be illustrated by the other personal name with the same numeral: Ἀρδόναστος (T) “possessing eight bows”. In this spatial sense the ass proves to be a functional equivalent of the bow. The Ossetian euphemistic nomination of the ass, *xæssæn*, that literally means “carrier”, and the noun *axxæræg* “roof beam”, with the same literally meaning, seem to support this conjecture. In

Ossetian cultural tradition roof is often treated as a sky itself, as “the vault of heaven”. Now we can assume that the first evidence of Herodotus was an attempt to rationally explain the reason why the braying of the asses produced such an effect upon the Scythians who used to retreat in bewilderment when they heard it [4.129, 134-5]. For them it was an animal carrying the heaven on its back and participating in the mystery of the stormy weather, beliefs probably unknown to the Greeks.

55. Savenko, Sergej (Kislovodsk) *Alan Horsemen in Written Sources and Archaeological Data: Problems of Comparative Analysis*

Problems of the study of the main part of the Alan army –namely cavalry and the special social section of horsemen during the period of 1st–beginning of 2nd millennium A.D. have been discussed in scientific literature about Alan history for a long time. Recently interest on this theme considerably increased and this can be illustrated by the organization of whole series of large exhibition projects in leading museums of Russia. Sources for the theme elaboration are information and data of written sources different by their origin, archaeological data, historical subjects of folklore of Northern Caucasus nations. Now the necessity of a comparative analysis of written and archaeological sources of Alan horsemen exists. We consider that this detailed developmental work of source base can allow: to choose the most objective data, to establish a definite scientific significance of sources, to examine questionable information or to reject inauthentic information at all. Since it is impossible to solve such complicated problems in one report, we will take up the part of theoretical and practical questions of the theme.

Whole well-known for today mainly fragmentary information from written sources which are directly concerned with the Alans (an absolute majority of them are collected in A. Alemany’s book) characterizes them as cavalry warriors (leaders, regents, “tsars”, commanders of detachments, individual heroes, Alan army as a whole and its subdivisions, mercenaries at the service of Byzantium and Iran, allied units in Transcaucasian lands, dependent military forces in Western Europe, Khazaria, Mongolia and others). Only some indirect data can be estimated as indication on the fact that the Alans had subsidiary pedestrian subdivisions (for example, Maurice speaks about an “Alan exercise”). There are evidences of Alan units and troops strength. They mention mainly large units from 6.000 to 30.000 (48.000) men of the whole army of an Alan king. Naturally these figures can be overstated but it is interesting that numbers divisible by 3 and 6 predominate. This fact can point out that Alan subdivisions were divided accordingly to tripartite system and the least ones among them could be troops with 30 horsemen, divided into smaller groups. Written data contain some information about the hierarchy of Alan cavalry (horseman, commander of detachment, of army, of all troops) and features of tactics of battle direction and horsemen armament.

Archaeological data connected with the Alans are heterogeneous. As to description of horsemen, the burial data with pieces of armament and horse harness seem to be the most informative, although information about the Alan fortification system is important as well.

We use burial places of horsemen and attack horses at catacomb burial grounds of the Northern Caucasus and Middle territories of Don basin as the main sources. We marked out several groups of horsemen whose affiliation with pending category was expressed in a funeral ceremony in different ways. Their conventional names as “princely”, representatives of the supreme, middle and lowest sections of the population are offered. It

is possible to speak about quantitative and qualitative descriptions of Alan horsemen – according to the correlation of burials of pointed groups close to each other in time– at the most investigated separate memorials.

Obtained scientific data are correlated with written evidences not very precisely, there are some contradictions. There are not enough available sources for the exact conclusions. However in special cases it is possible to speak about significant facts of coincidence of written evidence and archaeological data (Northern Caucasian burial places of Alan horsemen during the rule of Byzantine emperors, for example, of Heraclius, Michael VII and some others).

57. Sharov, Oleg (St. Petersburg) *The Burials of the Sarmatian Aristocracy of Bosporus in the Late Roman Period*

In the 3rd c. A.D., in the Sarmatian environment of Northern Black Sea Coast, there is a popular new jewelry fashion. For the definition of social status, the elite of a Sarmatian society orders in Bosporan workshops new details of military parade equipment –horse-harness, weapon and belt set. Silver and bronze bases of these subjects start to decorate outside gold and gilt plates with large inserts of cornelian in the center. The new ornament also was rendered on them: in the form of slanting crosses, asterisks, circles with a point, snakes, twisted plaits, pseudo-granules, very much contrasted with animal ornaments of previous time. Such style of an ornament can be named in view of a basic element of a decor «cornelian style» unlike earlier «Sarmatian animal» or «gold-turquoise style».

The complexes, presented by the report, of the smart horse-harnesses found in rich burials in Kerch (Burial with the Gold Mask, 1837, and burial Аджимушкай, 1841) are bright samples of this new style and speak, undoubtedly, about the highest status of their owners.

58. Shcheglov, Dmitrij (St. Petersburg) *Herodotus' Geographical Description of Scythia in a New Light*

The structural basis of Herodotus' description of Scythia is the system of rivers. Most of these rivers are firmly identified: Tyras = Dniester, Hypanis = Bug, Borysthenes = Dnieper, Hyrgis = Seversky Donets, Tanais = Don, Oarus = Volga. But three rivers between the Borysthenes and the Tanais –the Panticapes, Hypacyris, and Gerrhus– defy identification and indeed cannot be fit in the modern map at all. Therefore the whole central part of Herodotus' Scythia loses touch with reality. Attempts to solve this problem have been numerous as well as futile. This failure is mostly due to the lack of methodological consistency: scholars commonly try to identify various elements of Herodotus' Scythia separately and on the basis of random similarities, without seeing them as integral parts of a coherent system, which they actually are.

During the last few decades considerable advance has been made in understanding ancient geographical tradition. One of the pivotal changes that has recently taken place in this field is the fact that two basic modes of perceiving and representing geographical space have been distinguished: the cartographical one and the so-called 'hodological' or 'linear'. This subject has been elaborated by A.V. Podosinov, I.V. Pyankov, P. Janni, and K. Brodersen. It has been shown that the mode of geographical vision prevailing in antiquity was essentially a 'hodological' one. Most sources pretending to give a

comprehensive geographical account prove to be based on simple combinations of few ‘hodological’ elements, viz. itineraries.

I reconsider Herodotus’ description of Scythia in the light of these observations, trying to bring out its original ‘hodological’ core. My conclusion is that the western and eastern parts of Herodotus’ Scythia were constructed on the basis of two itineraries leading from the Black Sea coast deep into the Hinterland. The ‘western’ itinerary went from Olbia to the Royal Scythians, crossed the rivers Panticapes, Hypacyris, and Gerrhus, but did not mention the Tanais. Conversely, the ‘eastern’ itinerary started from the crossing of the Tanais and did not mention Panticapes, Hypacyris, and Gerrhus. This interpretation of Herodotus’ account seems to be the most economical and methodologically consistent, even though, like any other interpretation, it inevitably involves a good deal of hypothesizing.

An important corollary of these conclusions for the identification of Herodotus’ rivers is that we are no longer obliged to place the Panticapes, Hypacyris, and Gerrhus to the west of the Don. On the contrary, in order to identify these rivers we have to completely abstract from the eastern part of Herodotus’ Scythia. In this case, the rivers most likely to be identified with the Panticapes, Hypacyris, and Gerrhus are (respectively) the Vorskla, Severskiy Donets, and Don. The Royal Scythians, which were the terminus of this itinerary should be placed somewhere to the east of the Don. The rivers Severskiy Donets and Don thus seem to have been duplicated in Herodotus’ account, being mentioned as the Hypacyris and Gerrhus in the ‘western’ itinerary, and then as the Hyrgis and Tanais in the ‘eastern’ one.

The advantage of this reconstruction of the ‘western’ itinerary is that it reveals new interesting correspondences between Herodotus’ account and archeological data.

59. Shnirel’man, Viktor (Moscow) *Archaeologist, Society and Politics: Krupnov and the Alan Problem*¹⁰

The Alans were the Iranian-speaking nomads who invaded Eastern and Western Europe in the early Middle Ages. In the late 1st Mill. A.D. they established settled communities in the Central Northern Caucasus, and the Alan Kingdom emerged there in the 10th century. Alan archaeology and history were highly politicized after certain North Caucasian peoples (Karachai, Balkars, Chechens, Ingush) were deported to Central Asia and Kazakhstan in 1943-1944. Their Autonomous Republics were disbanded, and their lands were granted to their neighbors. The references to the past of “punished peoples” and even to their names were prohibited by the Soviet authorities.

The Soviet archaeologists began to study the region intensively since the late 1920s, and many prehistoric sites were discovered and mapped. The earliest historic sites were identified with the Alans as the direct descendants of the steppe nomads of the Early Iron

¹⁰ Literature: Shnirelman V. A., “Inventing the Alans: origins of the peoples, and politics in the Northern Caucasus” // Keiko Sakai (ed.). *Social protests and nation-building in the Middle East and Central Asia*, pp. 57-72. Chiba: Institute of Developing Economics (IDE), JETRO, 2003; Shnirelman V. A. “Fostered primordialism: the identity and ancestry of the North Caucasian Turks in the Soviet and post-Soviet milieu” // Tadayuki Hayashi (ed.). *The Construction and Deconstruction of National Histories in Slavic Eurasia*, pp. 53-86. Sapporo: Slavic Research Center, Hokkaido University, 2003; Shnirelman V. A. “The politics of a name: between consolidation and separation in the Northern Caucasus” // *Acta Slavica Iaponica*, 2006, t. 23, pp. 37-73; Shnirelman V. A. *Byt’ Alanami: intellektualy i politika na Severnom Kavkaze v 20 veke*. Moscow: NLO, 2006 (in Russian).

Age. As the Ossetians were the only Iranian-speaking group in the region, they were naturally identified as the Alans' direct descendants. What concerns their North Caucasian neighbors, those groups were hardly mentioned by the Early Medieval writers. Therefore, the common belief was that those peoples arrived to the region after the Alans had left or when the Alans' power began to decline. One of those archaeologists was young Yevgeny Krupnov (1904–1970) who focused on the Ingush origins and early history. He traced their roots from the 12th century onwards.

Yet, the war had broken out, Krupnov left for the Soviet army, and when he came back the situation changed drastically. The archaeologists were obliged to continue their studies of the region, yet without any references to the “punished peoples” and their past. All the local early medieval sites were ascribed to the Alans. I will study the strategy which was used by Ye. Krupnov, now the main expert in North Caucasian archaeology, in the 1940–1950s when the punished peoples were still far away, and after 1957 when they returned back to the Northern Caucasus. I will argue that two ideological approaches – “nationalist” and “internationalist” – which were elaborated in those decades– highly affected archaeological interpretations.

60. Takazov, Fedar (Vladikavkaz) *Survivals of Scythian Funeral Rituals in the Ossetian Nart Epic*

History poorly knows about Scythian funeral ritual. Basically we have Herodotus' passages and archaeological data. But archeological data, because of their specificity, can be used only as an auxiliary material.

The Nart epos is not rich with an illustrative material neither. The storytellers associated themselves and their people with the Narts, thereby the ceremonies, especially rituals, were not decoded by them, as though meaning –the ceremony or ritual is made by well-known tradition, i.e. the tradition existed in Ossetia. The same ceremonies, customs or rituals, were not characteristic for the Ossetians; the storytellers added to them: «so it was accepted then among the Narts».

Scythians in general, as well as Narts and Ossetians, imagined the other world life as some repetition of real life. And, what is more, the Scythians, the Narts and the Ossetians considered that life in the earth is the false world (мæнгæ дуйне), and life after death is the true world (æцæг дуйне).

According to data on Scythian funeral ceremonies, since the 4th c. B.C. the family character of burial places dominated –in one tomb or under one artificial mound. This is the way followed by the Narts-Ossets. Thus the type of burial places is almost identical between Scythians and Narts-Ossetians. Specific underground crypts of Scythians, which look like nomad tents, are to be seen nowadays in the mountains of Ossetia. Even more, overground crypts remind of Scythian barrows. Digorians till now call crypts as a burial mound *wobaj*. In the system of religious-mythological imaginations of Indo-European people the barrow is considered identical to world mountain/tree. The acknowledgement of that are Ossetians who in the 19th c. got over from crypt burial places to individual, having reflected on burial stele a world tree with all accompanying symbols.

We find the echoes of the Scythian burial ritual and dedication of a horse to the dead man in Nart epos in a plot about Soslan, who visited the kingdom of the dead. A bright illustration of this ceremony is the ossetic custom of dedication of a horse to the dead man (*Bæhfældesun*), and also the custom of cutting the widow's braid.

It is remarkable that the ceremony of mourning among the Scythians coincides with a similar ceremony among Narts and the Ossetes.

The custom of a cult of fire in Scythian barrows is not less interesting either. The given fact is treated by researchers differently. A ritual meeting in a transformed kind in Nart epos cannot also throw light on the value of this ceremony. But, in our opinion, the key to a Scythian and Nart ritual is the ceremony of cult of fire until now celebrated by the Ossetians on graves.

Researchers cannot come to a common opinion concerning interpretation of Scythian custom to cut off the enemy's right hand too. This custom also appears in Nart epos. In the form of a symbol, this Scythian custom also exists among the Ossetians nowadays. The analysis of the Nart epos and the ethnography of modern Ossetians enables to solve the meaning of Scythian ritual of cutting the right hand of the enemy.

In general the funeral ceremonies of Scythians, Narts and Ossetians are identical.

61. Tsarikaeva-Albegova, Zarina (Moscow) *Alanic Amulets of the 5th-9th c. A.D.*

This study is based on the analysis of 530 cast bronze Alanic amulets found mostly in female and children's burials. The fact implies the significance of the demographic factor in early societies. According to V.B. Kovalevskaya's typology, used by the present author, the amulets have been divided into four "departments" and 21 types. The 8th–early 9th centuries saw the culmination point of the variety and popularity of these artifacts. Henceforth the gamut of amulets was sharply reduced. Solar amulets, i.e. rings with balls and wheel-shaped pendants, were the most widespread. They make up 58% of the total number of amulets. Solar-zoomorphic amulets, e.g., the bird-shaped brooches and rings with bird-of-prey heads account for 20% of the total. Horse and horseman figurines constitute 12% of the amulets. Male figurines make up 10% of the total number of amulets.

Central Ciscaucasia from the modern Karachai-Circassia up to the basin of the Upper Terek was the core area of all the amulets. Occasionally, e.g. in the case of wheel-shaped amulets and rings with bird heads, the area spreads over the territory of present-day Chechen Republic. The majority of the types, except bird-shaped brooches, all four types of man figurines, four of 11 types of solar amulets and a single type of horse and horseman figurines, were brought by Alan tribes to the Middle Don area in the 8th–9th centuries. The neighbouring territories have yielded a lesser number of amulets.

Some types of the amulets, namely rings with balls without eyelet (department 1, type 1), bird-shaped brooches (department 2, type 1), schematic men figurines (department 3, type 1), and horseman figurines showing some details of horse harness and occasionally the armour (department 4, type 2), are indicative of interethnic contacts.

Department 1, type 1 (81 items) – 35 items were found in Central Ciscaucasia. They can be dated to the 6th–10th centuries. Two pendants dated to the 8th–10th centuries were encountered in the Middle Don area, and 44 items dated to the 4th–10th centuries come from the territory of the Volga-Kama basin. According to A.V. Bogachev, the fashion for these pendants originated in the cultures of the La Tène circle. They penetrated into the Volgo-Kama basin with the tribes coming from the west and southwest. Their emergence among the Alans is due to their contacts with the Volga-Kama area.

Department 2, type 1 (31 items) – bronze and silver brooches and pendants decorated by falcon heads and glass inserts. They are indicative of active contacts of the Caucasus with the Mediterranean in the 5th–7th centuries.

Department 3, type 1 (36 items) – men’s figurines in a conic headdress or without it, with straight shoulders, the arms by their sides and flexed legs. Amulets were found in the North and North-East Pontic area, in the Kama and Aral regions, and in the North Caucasus. The origin of these amulets remains controversial, although they are clearly connected with the epoch of the Great Migration.

Department 4, type 2 (22 items, 8th–9th centuries). Two horseman figurines were found outside Central Ciscaucasia and the Middle Don, namely in Slovenia and Moldova.

Thus, the analysis of amulets enables us to reconstruct not only religious beliefs, but also historical processes as well as cultural, trade and casual contacts.

62. Vinogradov, Jurij [- Nikonorov, Valerij] (St. Petersburg) *A Wooden Saddle Core of the Latter Half of the 4th c. B.C. from Panticapaeum*

The problem of the saddle genesis in the Eurasian steppes is still difficult to be resolved. It seems extremely strange that experts dealing with this problematic have paid no attention to a very old, but very interesting and sufficiently well preserved, find, viz. a wooden plate uncovered in 1859 in one of the barrows in the vicinity of the city of Kerch (ancient Panticapaeon) and kept at present in the State Hermitage in St. Petersburg. Thanks to a small red-figured pelica depicting two draped personages by an altar, which was found near a sarcophagus containing a man’s skeleton, this tomb may be quite safely dated to the latter half of the 4th c. B.C.

The object under review is a curved plate of wood measuring 28×22,5 cm, its bottom having a hollow, about 1 cm deep, which was probably intended for a padding of soft material like felt. It should be noted that some spots of the plate surface had been very worn out and even polished. Its sides are provided with cuts, in which the ends of a bent wooden rod, 2 cm thick, serving in all likelihood as a basis of the saddle counter, are fastened. The rod-and-plate junction is embraced with a bronze yoke hammered into with little bronze nails. Until now, to our knowledge, N.I. Sokolsky was the only among other researchers of Bosporan antiquities who paid attention to this object, believing it to have been a part of a saddle. We share the point of view of so authoritative an archaeologist.

The finding of this wooden saddle core in a barrow of the latter half of the 4th c. B.C. is unique for the entire territory of the Cimmerian Bosphorus. Although the tomb in question and the details of funeral rites performed in it should be considered as quite Greek, the saddle core from there leads us away — to the steppe world of the Northern Pontic area, to the epoch of the decline of Great Scythia. There has been expressed already an opinion in modern scholarship that the Scythians made use of rigid-construction saddles no later than in the 4th c. B.C. (B.N. Grakov, A.I. Meljukova, Ye.V. Perevodchikova and K.B. Firsov). True, there is a different theory stating that from the 7th-6th centuries B.C. to the first centuries A.D. all the saddles were just of soft construction like the famous ones discovered at Pazyryk in the Altai. The wooden-core saddles had come into existence by the early 4th century A.D. in Central Asia and then, in the end of the same century, they were brought by the Huns to the Northern Pontic area (Ye.V. Stepanova).

We cannot accept such a conclusion, and not only in the light of the saddle wooden core from the Panticapaeon tomb dated to the latter half of the 4th c. B.C. The fact is that the available actual and iconographic data testify to the use of rigid-construction saddles by mounted forces of the Sarmatians, the Romans, the Parthians and the Sasanians. In other

words, their spread throughout the western part of Eurasia took place long before the Hun invasion of South-Eastern Europe.

Ye.V. Stepanova's theory does not take into consideration so important an impulse to the invention of wooden-core saddles as needs of the development of cavalry warfare. No later than within the 4th c. B.C., the mounted Scythian warriors began to employ long lances. In order to control such a formidable weapon in battle, a firm seat was called for the horseman to prevent him from falling down at the very moment of delivering a blow by the lance. This task proved to be impossible for the old soft saddles, unlike the newer ones, of rigid wooden construction, which were provided with rigid supports in the form of front and rear arches or in the form of four «horn»-like projections. At latest, in the 3rd c. B.C. the noted armoured knights denominated «cataphracts» appeared on battlefields, whose equestrian equipment necessarily included the rigid, wooden-core, saddles.

63. Zajtsev, Jurij (Simferopol) *The Late Scythian Culture of the Crimea in the Context of Scythian and Sarmatian Antiquities*

The archaeological monuments of Central Crimea, dated from the 2nd c. B.C. to the 3rd c. A.D., were defined by N. Ernst in 1920s as the so-called Neapol Culture, which was named after Scythian Neapolis –the most remarkable Barbarian settlement of the peninsula. In 1940s and 1950s after the new excavations at the Neapolis the local culture was named as the Late Scythian Culture, which was seen as closely connected with the Scythian archaeological Culture.

In 1990s a new concept appeared, which questioned the historical connection of Late Scythians and Classical Scythians, and postulated a chronological gap between their archaeological cultures.

Although the Late Scythian Culture was regarded primarily as based on the local ground and generated from the Scythians, there were discussed many features, which seemed to be alien to the culture of the Scythians and which were defined by many investigators as signs of the Sarmatian Culture. These are: catacombs inserted into the kurgan mounds; niche-graves; S-N orientation of graves; particular types of burial goods (weapon, mirrors, horse trappings, ornaments).

Such a burial construction as a catacomb is quite familiar as for the kurgan mounds as for the burial grounds of the Crimea in the 2nd-1st c. B.C. However, the catacombs inserted in kurgans are usually compared with the Sarmatian influence, but the same constructions found in burial grounds are regarded as a local tradition. The same picture is found in the Northern Caucasus.

On both territories this burial construction was new. At the same time the idea of collective inhumations was customary already in the 6th-5th c. B.C. for the Crimean monuments and for the Northern Caucasus. Thus, the new constructive element (type of grave) with the old idea of collective inhumations brought to the appearance of a new burial rite, which was particularly characteristic to the pre-mountain zones of the Crimea and Caucasus. It is interesting to note that catacombs similar to those of the Crimea and Caucasus dated to the 2nd-1st c. B.C. can be found among grave constructions of the Scythian Culture of the 4th c. B.C.

Graves of the “niche”-construction are believed to be another sign of the “Sarmatization” of Crimean Barbarian population. This type of graves became the most popular in the region in the first centuries A.D. However, the origin of this burial

construction is not so clear. According to one version the “niche”-construction appeared in the Crimea already in the 3rd-2nd c. B.C. and spread then widely in the necropoleis of the peninsula. This could be connected not necessarily with the migration process, but with the development of the burial rite, in which collective burials were replaced by single inhumations.

The penetration of the new Sarmatian elements in the Late Scythian Culture is quite often based on the appearance of new types of burial goods. Investigation of the so-called “Sarmatian” types of mirrors shows that they were found mainly in the monuments of the Late Scythian Culture of the Crimea and in the Northern Caucasus – much more than in the Sarmatian Cultures of the Steppe. Therefore one could ask, in which direction penetrated this kind of goods –from the Steppe to the pre-Mountain Zone or the other way? Maps of distribution and their chronological view deliver more arguments to the second possibility.

Thus, the idea about strong Sarmatian influence on the Late Scythian Culture of the Crimea seems to be exaggerated. This culture seems to be a mixture of different multicultural elements, which one can regard as its core feature. The favourable and convenient position of pre-Mountain Crimea between three main Greek cities of the Northern Black Sea region (Olbia, Chersonesus and Bosporus) had influenced its development as a transition area. In this situation, the majority of the Crimean population was involved in the process of trade and the culture itself was in its main part a “transit culture”.