T	warriors die young: increased mortanty in early adulthood of Scytmans from Gilnoe,
2	Moldova, 4th–2nd c. BC
3	Sylwia Łukasik <sup>1</sup> , Jakub Bijak <sup>2</sup> , Marta Krenz-Niedbała <sup>1</sup> , Grażyna Liczbińska <sup>3</sup> , Vitaly Sinika <sup>4</sup>
4	Janusz Piontek <sup>1</sup>
5	<sup>1</sup> Department of Human Evolutionary Biology, Institute of Anthropology, Faculty of Biology,
6	Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, Poznań, Poland
7	<sup>2</sup> Department of Social Statistics and Demography, University of Southampton, Southampton,
8	United Kingdom
9	<sup>3</sup> Department of Human Evolutionary Ecology, Institute of Anthropology, Faculty of Biology,
LO	Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, Poznań, Poland
l1	<sup>4</sup> Archaeological Research Laboratory, Taras Shevchenko University in Tiraspol, Tiraspol,
L2	Moldova
L3	
L4	
L5	Corresponding author: Sylwia Łukasik, PhD, tel.: +48 61 829 56 26, fax: +48 61 829 57 30,
L6	e-mail: lukasik@amu.edu.pl;
L7	
L8	
L9	
20	
21	

### Abstract

Scythians were nomadic groups, playing a dominant role on the Eurasian steppes in the Early Iron Age according to many archaeological and historical sources. In this paper, we aim at assessing demographic features and dynamics of a Scythian population from the Black Sea region. We hypothesise that they differed from other societies not only in terms of culture, but also demography: their fertility was lower, and life expectancy higher than in other contemporaneous populations. We examined 220 skeletons from Glinoe (Moldova), dated to the 4th–2nd c. BC, to assess fertility and biological status from life table parameters and basic indicators of the reproductive potential. The main difference between Scythians and other Early Iron Age societies seems to be a higher probability of dying in early adulthood, which could partly result from their engagement in warfare. Scythian fertility was rather low: a finding in line with studies of modern nomads. Keywords: nomadic populations, Black Sea region, Early Iron Age, fertility, life tables, Bayesian methods 

#### Introduction

1

- 2 Scythians, Iranian-speaking Indo-Europeans, are the earliest nomadic societies about whom
- 3 solid written accounts are available. In archaeological and historical records their emergence
- 4 dates back to the seventh century BC. It appears that Scythians had migrated from the Asian
- 5 steppes, and settled down in the area north of the Black Sea, displacing other nomads, the
- 6 Cimmerians (Morillo et al. 2008). Notably, the term "Scythian" refers to a chronological and
- 7 ethno-cultural phenomenon that was common across the Eurasian steppes in the Early Iron
- 8 Age rather than to any specific populations.
- 9 At its peak, the territory inhabited by Scythians extended between the Danube River
- in the west, and the Yenisei River in the east (Parzinger 2007, 2010). Many researchers claim
- that the core territory of tribes designated as "Scythian" by the written sources of Antiquity,
- including Herodotus, were the steppes of the northern Black Sea region (North Pontic
- region), between the lower Danube and Don rivers (Skoryj 2003; Meyer 2016), shown in
- Figure 1.
- 15 [Figure 1 here]
- In the ancient history Scythian communities were viewed as some of the most vivid
- 17 nomadic groups at that time. Scythians were not only breeders of cattle, horse and sheep, but
- also warriors, being among the earliest peoples to master the art of horseback riding, and
- among the best horse-riders of that time. Historical sources have shown them as
- 20 unconquerable warriors who occupied vast areas of central and western Asia and south-
- eastern Europe (Piotrowicz 1939; Sulimirski 1954; Phillips 1972; Wendelken 2000;
- 22 Chochorowski 2004, 2007). The nomadic style of life, fierce inter-tribal relations, highly
- 23 stratified social structure, and animal-style ornaments were characteristic of the Scythian
- culture (Kubczak 1978; Parzinger 2007, 2010; Meyer 2016). Scythians, like most nomadic
- societies, were rather loosely organized in a clan-based structure (Khazanov 1978), but

appear to have cooperated in the times of great need such as, for example, during the Persian
 invasion in 512 BC (Morillo et al. 2008).

The literature suggests that the main driving forces of the Scythian expansion across the Eurasian steppes were cultural factors, including their advanced technology, such as using the short reflexive arc while riding, and high social and military organization, with very strong social stratification (see Phillips 1972; Rolle 1989; Melyukova 1995; Olkhovsky 1995; Petrenko 1995; Kardin 2003; Kim 2012; Meyer 2016). However, it can be hypothesised that in order to achieve such a significant advantage over other human groups, Scythians had to differ from them also in terms of their demographic structure (especially through lower mortality and thus longer life expectancy). In the past, domination was closely related to undertaking military actions, and this in turn strongly influenced – and was influenced by – the demographic structure of populations (see Kumar 2012).

The impact of warfare on populations is quite well recognized, with substantial and

long-lasting effects of armed conflict on demography, although the casual links between demography and war are far from being well understood (Brunborg et al. 2006; Kumar 2012). Some demographic variables, such as life expectancy, adult and infant mortality rates, were found to be useful predictors of political violence leading to warfare (Goldstone 2002). The relationship between demography and war reflects the relative capacity of a given population to defend themselves or to threaten other societies. Thus, population increase and decrease have always been regarded as critical to security (de Bliokh 1977; Mearsheimer 2001).

Although research on Scythian burial sites in the region of Pontic steppes has been carried out for over 200 years, there is hardly any information on the biology and demography of those peoples. The vast majority of studies of Scythians have been conducted by archaeologists and historians. They included, among others, analyses of Scythian weapons, burial practices or trade contacts (e.g. Melyoukova 1964; Monakhov 1999; Sinika

1 2007). Information about Scythian customs, rituals and daily life are provided by written

sources, including the early accounts of Herodotus and Hippocrates, and by images present

on the items of material culture excavated from the Scythian barrows (e.g. drawings on the

vessels from the Kul-Oba kurgan).

In contrast, only a few anthropological articles on the biology of Scythians have been published so far. They include mainly short reports (e.g., Wentz and de Grummond 2007) or studies of basic anthropological characteristics of particular individuals (see Konductorova 1974; Livinova 1999). This is probably due to the small number of Scythian skeletal remains available for research and/or their poor preservation. So far, anthropological studies were predominantly conducted on Siberian-Scythians from the Altai (Ricaut et al. 2004; Jordan et al. 2009), rather than the Scythians from the Black Sea region.

Paleodemographic studies, based on the age distribution of the deceased, allow for assessing biological characteristics of past populations at the time of their existence. The population parameters being reconstructed include the population size and the level of reproductive success. Under some theoretical and empirical assumptions, these variables describe the biological status of a population and, enable a reconstruction of population dynamics, and thereby changes in the biological status over time. Moreover, knowledge of demographic changes contributes to our understanding of the ecological status of a human group, based on its adaptation to environmental conditions, and also on its cultural status, defined by technological equipment and societal organization (Henneberg 1976; Ward and Weiss 1976; Piontek and Henneberg 1981; Mensforth 1990). Thus, paleodemographic data on the population structure, dynamics, fertility, and mortality patterns can provide significant insight into past human lifestyles and population processes (Chamberlain 2009).

The unsatisfactory state of research on the biology of past populations of nomadic warriors in general, and Scythians in particular, makes further studies exceptionally useful.

- 1 Hence, the aim of this study is to contribute to the current state of knowledge by assessing the
- 2 state and biological dynamics of a Scythian population from the Glinoe site in Moldova. We
- 3 have tested a hypothesis that Scythians, due to their position and lifestyle, were characterized
- 4 by relatively low fertility, low mortality and higher life expectancy compared with
- 5 neighbouring populations from the similar period. Besides, it should be also emphasized that
- 6 the examined sample is not only a unique osteological series, but also one of the largest
- 7 collections of the Scythian skeletal remains in Europe. For the first time it was possible to
- 8 conduct a research on biodemography of Scythians on such a large sample to fill the gap in
- 9 knowledge about this unique human society.

11

#### Material and methods

- 12 Material
- 13 The osteological material used in this study comes from the Glinoe site, dated from the end of
- the 4th to the end of the 2nd c. BC (Telnov et al. 2012, 2016). The research was conducted on
- 220 individuals: 48 subadults and 172 adults (Table 1). The majority of human skeletons,
- both of adults and children, were incomplete and rather poorly preserved. It could be a
- 17 consequence of the type of soil in which human skeletal remains were deposited, which was
- highly acidic *chernozem*, known to have a negative impact on bone preservation (see Watson
- 19 1967; Ursu et al. 2014). Moreover, many of the elite Scythian burial sites had been robbed
- and partly destroyed before the excavations took place (Gerling 2015). In Glinoe, fragments
- of bones of the skull (cranial vault), shafts of long bones, teeth, vertebrae, as well as
- fragments of the pelvis (pubic bones) were mostly preserved. The osteological material was
- preserved enough to determine age-at-death in the majority of individuals, what is essential
- 24 for biodemographic research. For some individuals, however, we could assess only the lower
- limit of the age category, e.g. over 20 years.
- 26 [Table 1 here]

To evaluate fertility and population dynamics of the Scythians from Glinoe, only the

2 individuals with determined age-at-death were taken into account. This narrowed the sample

to 197 individuals: 47 subadults and 150 adults. By contrast, the analysis of the probability of

survival was performed for the whole population, since this method includes also those

individuals with known lower limit of their age range, even though the upper limit may be

undeterminable due to the poor state of preservation of the osteological material.

### The cemetery

The cemetery, from which the examined sample originates, is located on the left bank of the lower Dniester river, in the Glinoe village, south-eastern Moldova (46°66'84"N, 29°80'15"E). To the present day, only the northern part of the Glinoe burial ground has been preserved, approximately 1.5 km long and 0.35 km wide. In the southern part of the cemetery there are currently residential buildings, and therefore the majority of this area is not available for archaeological research (Telnov et al. 2012, 2016).

The burial ground of Glinoe consists of 113 barrows (Telnov et al. 2012, 2016). The chronology of this cemetery was determined on the basis of grave goods found during the archaeological excavations (mainly amphorae and epigraphic data, as well as ceramics and lamps). The functioning of the cemetery can be divided into three chronological periods: the early stage (from the end of the 4th c. BC to the first half of the 3rd c. BC), the middle stage (the second half of the 3rd c. BC to the first quarter of the 2nd c. BC), and the late stage (the second and the third quarters of the 2nd c. BC).

The analysis of archaeological material excavated from the Glinoe site, such as weapons, objects of everyday use, jewellery, toiletries, items of worship, and other cult objects, allowed to associate these funerary complexes with the Scythian civilisation (Telnov et al. 2012, 2016). In particular, the animal motifs depicting birds, horses and panthers on these artefacts were typical of the Scythian culture.

#### Burials and grave offerings

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

22

23

24

25

Burial mounds at the Glinoe site varied in terms of their size and the funerary equipment depending on the social status of the buried people. Magnificent burial mounds of distinctive design were built for Scythian nobles, with the equipment emphasizing their privileged position, while the 'commoners' were buried in much smaller graves, with scarce tomb inventory, or rarely without any. Most of the barrows excavated at Glinoe contained single graves, less frequent were double graves, and multiple graves occurred sporadically. Burial chambers were located 1–6 m below the ground level. The heads of the deceased were predominantly orientated in the northern direction (82.5%), less frequently to the south (10.0%), and extremely rarely to the east (1.5%) or west (6.0%) (Telnov et al. 2012, 2016). Almost all the Scythians from the Glinoe site were entombed in the supine position – on the back – and only in three cases the remains were positioned differently. The vast majority of the individuals were buried on a mat made of animal skins or grass, rarely of reeds; occasionally, wooden planks or the bark of trees were used for this purpose. More than 20 individuals had a "pillow" made of grass under their heads; in rare instances were these "pillows" made of felt and clay, or in a form of stone plates (Telnov et al. 2012, 2016). In the barrows at the Glinoe cemetery different categories of funerary equipment were found: weapons, tools, household items (awls, spindles, needles, lamps), dishes (bowls, jugs, amphorae), harnesses for horses (bridles, clasp), jewellery (bracelets, earrings), garments (buckles, beads, pieces of footwear and headgear), hygiene objects (mirrors), religious and cult objects (incenses and amulets). Only a few burials did not contain any funerary equipment. In most of the graves elements of the Scythian weapons were found: mostly arrowheads, and comparatively rarely, in fewer than 15 graves, axes and spears (Sinika et al. 2014; Telnov and Sinika 2014a, 2014b; Sinika and Telnov 2015a, 2015b; Telnov et al. 2012; 2016).

Archaeological research revealed evidence for the occurrence of human groups settled

2 very close to the Scythian population under study, in the contemporary villages of Chiobruchi

- and Krasnoe (Sinika et al. 2012). However, the closest neighbors of the Scythians from
- 4 Glinoe and also their trading partners were Getian tribes, and the inhabitants of the Greek
- 5 colony of Tiras, located on the Black Sea coast (Samoylova 1988).

#### Methods

*Life table biometric functions* 

Age-at-death of particular individuals was determined through standard methods applied in physical anthropology (Buikstra and Ubelaker 1994; Scheuer and Black 2000, 2004; Baker et al. 2005; Schaefer et al. 2009; White and Folkens 2005). Age of subadults was assessed on the basis of dental development according to standards proposed by Moorrees et al. (1963a, 1963b) and tabulated by Smith (1991) and Lewis (1999), as well as bone measurements (mainly long bone shafts) and epiphyseal closure using data gathered by Scheuer and Black (2000, 2004), and Schaefer et al. (2009). Age of adults was estimated from pubic symphyseal surface (Todd 1921) and the auricular surface of the ilium (Lovejoy et al. 1985), degree of tooth wear (Lovejoy 1985), as well as cranial suture closure (Meindl and Lovejoy 1985), with the last-mentioned age indicator used when other criteria were not available.

Due to the fact that sex assessment based on morphological features was possible only in a few cases, this variable was not included in this study. However, it should be emphasized that nomadic cultures (hunter-gatherers and pastoralists) featured far less rigid divisions of labour between their male and female members than did the sedentary societies (Streatfield 2016). Moreover, Scythian women were involved in warfare alongside men, as evidenced by both historical sources (Rolle 2006:175; Morillo et al. 2008:105; Mayor 2014:12; Payen 2015) and archaeological data (see Guliaev 2003; Rolle 1989:88, 2006:175, 2011:120). In contrast to Chinggiz Khan's Mongol women, who fulfilled only complementary functions

and did not play any central role in military affairs (De Nikola 2010), Scythian women have ridden alongside their men into battle, shooting at their enemy from horseback (Guliaev 2003; Fialko 2011; Mayor 2014:83; Worrall, 2014; Streatfield 2016:10). In some prehistoric populations inhabiting Eurasian steppes armed females were buried in as many as 37 percent of the graves (see Mayor 2014:63). For this reason, in the population under study mortality resulting from military actions was probably not as strongly sex-dependent as in other human groups (non-warriors), and hence sex of the individuals who died in armed conflicts most likely did not significantly influence the age-at-death distributions in our sample.

The analysis of mortality was performed by using life tables, constructed on the basis of the total number of the deceased by age, assuming a stationary population, and applying classical Halley's method. A detailed methodology for calculating the life table functions for the stationary population model was described by Acsádi and Neméskeri (1970). This model assumes a balance between mortality and fertility and thus zero population growth (Chamberlain 2009). The stationary population model for life tables is usually used to describe mortality in a short period of time.

With regard to longer periods of time, the assumption of a balance between fertility and mortality does not hold, since no real population is characterized by constant levels of fertility and mortality in the long term (Acsádi and Neméskeri 1970; Chamberlain 2009). Therefore, a somewhat more realistic model is the one assuming a stable population, with non-zero growth rate, r. For the stable population model the distribution of the deceased by age x ( $D_x$ ) was reconstructed by re-building the order of the deceased according to the following formula (Chamberlain 2009; see also Pressat 1961; Holzer 1980):

 $D_x' = D_x (1+r)^x,$ 

where D<sub>x</sub>' means the number of deaths at age x in a stable population, D<sub>x</sub> - the number of
 deaths at age x in a stationary population, and r - the annual population growth rate.

For the stationary population model we applied two different values of natural growth: one estimated for the examined sample, and one typical for contemporary population with a similar adaptive strategy to Scythians. The first one was estimated on the basis of regression function parameters (after Bocquet-Appel 2002:43) using the share of population between 5 and 20 years of age, P(5-19) = 0.269. By applying the estimators of the regression parameters proposed by Bocquet-Appel (2002:64), the r value was computed as 0.0131.

When undertaking the calculations above, one important correction needed to be made. In archaeological samples there is often inadequate representation of deceased subadults, and thus their number does not reflect the actual death rate at this stage of ontogeny, in particular for infants and children aged 1–7 (Konigsberg and Frankenberg 1994; Chamberlain 2009). To avoid errors resulting from the underestimation of the percentage of children who died before age 15, the missing number of children was therefore estimated by using the following equation (Henneberg 1977):

$$d_{0-15} = 1 - \frac{2R_0}{R_{pot} \times U_c}$$

where  $d_{0-15}$  is a fraction of deceased children before reaching age 15,  $U_c$  is an average number of children born over the reproductive period by women in the population,  $R_{pot}$  denotes the potential gross reproductive rate (see below), and  $R_0$  is the net reproductive rate (for the stationary population model  $R_0 = 1$ ). The estimate of P(5-19) = 0.269 discussed above is therefore based on the corrected number of children.

The second, alternative value for r was arbitrarily adopted from the literature. There are no demographic data for a group of exactly the same lifestyle as the Scythians (nomadic warriors). Hence, for the purpose of this work natural growth rate for a contemporary

- 1 nomadic hunter-gatherer population, the Dobe !Kung tribes, was assumed as r = 0.002. The
- 2 Dobe !Kung, inhabiting Namibia and Botswana, have been selected as being the closest to the
- 3 Scythians in terms of their ecological strategy, that is unspecialized foraging in arid areas of
- 4 low productivity (Howell 1979 after Chamberlain 2009; Schutkowski 2006).
- 5 Measures of the opportunity for natural selection
- 6 The biological status of the Glinoe Scythians was estimated using the measures of the
- 7 opportunity for natural selection by differential mortality. The potential opportunity for
- 8 natural selection was assessed by using the following three measures of the reproductive
- 9 status of a population:
- 10 (1) The Crow index  $(I_m)$ , which is the ratio of the number of children who failed to survive
- to the reproductive age  $(P_d)$  to the number of children who have reached this age  $(P_s)$ :
- 12  $I_m = P_d / P_s$  (Crow 1958). In the life-table notation,  $I_m$  can be re-expressed as:

$$I_m = \frac{d_{0-15}}{l_{15-20}},$$

- where  $d_{0-15}$  is the fraction of children who died before reaching age 15, and  $l_{15-20}$  is the
- fraction of individuals who reached the onset of the reproductive period.
- 16 (2) The Biological State Index  $(I_{bs})$ , determining what fraction of a given generation has a
- chance to fully participate in the reproduction of the next generation, under a given
- mortality level in the population (Henneberg and Piontek 1975):

$$I_{bs} = 1 - \sum_{x=0}^{\omega} d_x s_x,$$

- where  $d_x$  is a fraction of the individuals deceased at the age x,  $\omega$  is the age of the oldest
- individual in the group, and  $s_x$  is the probability of not completing childbearing for
- women at age x. The  $s_x$  thus captures female deaths before the end of the reproductive

- period, and is calculated for women under 50 years. In this study we used  $s_x$  values estimated by Henneberg (1975).
- 3 (3) The Potential Reproductive Rate ( $R_{pot}$ ), which is a similar measure, constrained to mortality of individuals at reproductive age (Henneberg 1975).

$$R_{pot} = 1 - \sum_{x=15}^{\infty} d_x s_x$$

- 5 The  $I_{bs}$  and  $R_{pot}$  values fall within the [0, 1] range. For different age categories the following
- 6 values were assumed after Henneberg (1975): for 15–20 years,  $s_x = 0.95$ ; for 20–35 years,  $s_x = 0.95$
- 7 0.55; and for 35–55 years,  $s_x = 0.07$ .
- 8 Bayesian models for estimating age
- 9 In recent years, bespoke Bayesian statistical methods, developed for estimating age in
- 10 prehistoric populations, have gained prominence in paleodemography. Notable approaches
- look at how a measurement of physical features (stages) of the skeletons map onto the age
- groups for adults (Caussinus and Courgeau 2010; Séguy et al. 2013). In this study, as the age
- 13 of individuals was determined by using a range of different methods for adults and for
- children, sometimes used in parallel, an abridged approach was used.
- To estimate the age for the Glinoe Scythian population, we propose a multinomial
- model, which is a simplified version of the approach of Caussinus and Courgeau (2010). We
- model the distribution of the overall number of deaths, N = 220, over the following seven age
- categories: 0-5, 5-10, 10-15, 15-20, 20-35, 35-50, and 50+, with  $p_1, ..., p_7$  denoting the
- 19 probabilities that the age of death for a particular individual belongs to the corresponding
- group. For the parameters  $\mathbf{p} = [p_1 \dots p_7]$ , a Dirichlet distribution was assumed *a priori*, with
- 21 hyperparameters  $\mathbf{a} = [a_1 \dots a_7]$ ' referring to 'pseudo-counts' in this case, we assumed that
- 22  $a_1 + ... + a_7 = N$ , to give the data and the priors similar weight (see e.g. Crooks et al. 2005).

1 In this study, we carried out the analysis *conditional* on the measurement results; in other

2 words, we assumed that the age identification was correct. Additionally, we assumed that the

3 counts for broad age categories, for example adults 20+ were distributed amongst the well-

defined groups in proportion to their size. We have tested this assumption by running a model

with the counts for broad age groups excluded, and the differences proved to be negligible.

The assumptions *a priori* reflect our beliefs about the distribution of deaths before the data from excavations are taken into account. In our case, the model has been estimated under four different specifications of the Dirichlet prior distributions for  $\mathbf{p}$ . Firstly, a 'vague' prior (P1) was assumed, with  $a_1 \dots a_7$  proportional to the width of the successive age classes (5, 5, 5, 5, 15, 15, and ca. 10 years). This is a uniform (flat) distribution, aggregated for broader age classes, where skeletons have equal probabilities of being classified into any individual five-year age group. The distribution is referred to as 'vague', as it reflects a lack of information *a priori* about the age at death for individual remains.

Secondly, we have estimated three more informative prior distributions based on the values of  $q_{0-5}$  and  $q_{35-50}$  for the Glinoe Scythians, by using the indirect methods of estimations described and implemented in a spreadsheet by Timæus and Moultrie (2013). To cover a range of possible shapes of the distribution of deaths by age characteristic of highmortality populations, we used the Princeton South female standards, smoothed by using either the splicing method (P2), the modified logit model (P3), or the log-quadratic model (P4). The estimated numbers of deaths were then used to calculate the values of  $a_1 \dots a_7$  for the distributions (P1) – (P4), by rescaling them so that they add up to N = 220.

For the last, open-ended age interval (50+) we have assumed that the number of years lived by people in this group is a random variable following a gamma distribution,  $\Gamma(19, 1.9)$ , with mean of 10 years and 95-per cent probability of being between 6 and 15 years.

### Kaplan-Meier method

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

22

23

24

25

The survival probability of individuals from different age classes was also estimated by using survival analysis. In general, survival analysis relates to statistical procedures in which a response variable is the time at which a given event occurs. The procedures are based on the probability of surviving between two points in time (Selvin 1998; Liczbińska 2015). The survival function, S(x), gives the probability that a given person survives up to age x. A commonly-used nonparametric method of survival analysis, which does not require grouping of the time of events into intervals of equal length, is the Kaplan-Meier estimator. The method is based on a series of points for which the data are available:  $x_0 < x_1 < ... < x_N$ , and estimates S(x) for  $x_i < x \le x_{i+1}$  as a ratio of the number of survivors up to age x divided by the number of survivors up to  $x_i$ . The method is particularly useful in the case of censored data, when values of measurements or observations are only partially known, as in our study for individuals for whom only the lower age limits are known, e.g. over 20 years. Additionally, we assumed here that deaths for particular age groups were occurring at midpoints of particular age intervals, which for broad groups, such as 20-35 or 35-50 years, is a very strong and simplifying assumption. The Kaplan-Meier estimator can be used to compare the survival times of two groups of individuals coming from different social strata. In our case, this could not be done by using a traditional method applying the  $e_0$  parameter of life table, as it was not possible to assess the social status of the majority of Scythian children based on the characteristics of their graves. **Computations** The Kaplan-Meier estimation was performed by using the STATISTICA package (StatSoft, Inc. 2011; STATISTICA version 10, www.statsoft.com), and the Bayesian analysis

was done in OpenBUGS, version 3.2.2 (www.openbugs.net). In the case of Bayesian models,

- all estimates are based on a sample of 100,000 iterations of the numerical Markov chain
- 2 Monte Carlo algorithm, after discarding the initial 10,000 as the 'burn-in'. The OpenBUGS
- 3 code is available from the corresponding author upon request.

- 5 Fertility measures assessed from mortality data
- 6 The second component of the biological dynamics assessed within this study was fertility.
- 7 The parameters of female fertility were estimated based on mortality tables and the natural
- 8 increase (Weiss 1973; Henneberg and Steyn 1994). The following measures were calculated:
- 9 (1) Mean family size (*M*), defined as an average number of children born to a woman from
- a given population, and calculated by using the formula:  $M = 2 e^{rT} / l_{15}$ , where r is the
- natural growth rate, T is the mean duration of a generation (in years), and  $l_{15}$  is a life-
- table parameter indicating the proportion of individuals surviving to 15 years of age.
- 13 (2) Mean birth interval (A), defined as the period between successive births expressed in
- months:  $A = 12 e_f / M$ . The term  $e_f$  is the number of years lived by an adult during the
- reproductive period, and calculated by using the formula:  $e_f = (T_{15} T_{50}) / l_{15}$  based on
- standard life-table quantities. *M* is defined as above.
- 17 (3) Total fertility rate (*TFR*), defined as the average number of children born to a woman
- during her whole reproductive period, i.e. between 15 and 50 years of age,
- approximated as follows:  $TFR = 30 M / e_f$ ;  $e_f$  and M defined as above.
- 20 (4) Average age-specific fertility rate  $(f_x)$ , or the ratio of the number of live births to all
- women aged x calculated from the length of intergenetic intervals according to the
- formula:  $f_x = 12 / A$ , with A defined as above.
- 23 Calculations were made according to the formulae constructed by Henneberg and Steyn
- 24 (1994), modified by the authors to account for different age categories used in this study.

- 1 Socio-economic status
- 2 The social status of adults was assessed based on archaeological evidence, such as grave
- 3 offerings, tomb construction and ritual treatment (see Ivantchik 2011). Each individual was
- 4 categorized into the one out of two social classes: nobles and commoners. Their graves differ
- 5 mainly in size and construction: the amount of clay excavated during the building of the
- 6 catacombs for nobles was greater than 20 cubic meters (Figure 2). For both groups the same
- 7 burial inventory was found in graves hand-made vessels, weaponry, horse harnesses,
- 8 toiletries but gold adornments, pottery, ceramic vessels and amphorae were found only for
- 9 individuals with higher social status (Figure 3).
- 10 [Figure 2]
- 11 [Figure 3]

13

# Results

- 14 Mortality indicators
- As mentioned before, the reconstruction of the biological status of the Scythians was based
- on data on age at death of 197 individuals whose skeletal remains were recovered from the
- burial ground in Glinoe. Two models were assumed: the stationary population model (r = 0)
- and the stable population model (r = 0.002 and r = 0.013). The first stage of the study was to
- determine the distribution of deaths by age categories in the stationary population (Table 2).
- Under this model the value of life expectancy at birth  $(e_0)$  was estimated as 28.9 years, and
- 21 that of a 20-year-old adult  $(e_{20})$  15.5 years.
- This  $e_0$  value is high, but in fact it does not reflect the actual state of the population
- 23 since it results from the low fraction of individuals dying before the onset of the reproductive
- age ( $d_{0-15} = 19.8\%$ ). Underestimation of the number of individuals who died in the youngest
- age categories is also confirmed by the value of  $l_{0-15}$ , which indicates that the vast majority of

- individuals (80%) survived to the beginning of the reproductive period: very unlikely, given
- 2 the historical era under study.
- 3 [Table 2 here]
- The values of life expectancy at birth,  $e_0$ , were subsequently calculated for the stable
- 5 population model with positive population growth (Table 2). As was expected, the shares of
- 6 deaths in the younger age categories decreased, and so did the probability of death, leading to
- a slight increase in life expectancy for each age category. However, the differences in  $e_0$  and
- 8  $e_{20}$  between the stationary and stable population model are rather small.
- 9 Based on these results alone it is not possible to draw reliable conclusions on the
- demography of the Scythians due to a very low number of subadults in the population.
- Hence, in the next step, as mentioned in the Methods section, the number of children who
- died in the age category 0–15 years was estimated according to the model proposed by
- Henneberg (1977). The method assumes that a woman during her whole reproductive cycle
- could give birth to 6 children. After correcting the number of individuals, the share of
- deceased children increased from 19.8% ( $d_{0-15}$ ) to 53.1% ( $d_{0-15}^*$ ). Next, the life-table
- biometric functions were calculated for the stationary and stable population models, taking
- into account the corrected number of children (Table 3).
- 18 [Table 3 here]
- Accounting for the number of missing children resulted in a significant decrease of
- 20 the  $e_0$  estimates, from 29.9 to 19.4 years (assuming r = 0), from 29.4 to 19.9 years (for r =
- 21 0.002), and from 31.8 to 23.06 years (for r = 0.013). As was expected, life expectancy of
- adults,  $e_{20}$ , did not change in either model (Figure 4). In addition, after correcting the
- numbers of children, the probability of death  $(q_{0-20})$  increased, as did the percentage of
- deceased juveniles ( $d_{0-20}$ ), while the fraction of adults ( $d_{20-\omega}$ ) declined (Figures 5 and 6).
- 25 [Figure 4 here]

- 1 [Figure 5 here]
- 2 [Figure 6 here]
- 3 The measures of the opportunity for natural selection through differential mortality in
- 4 the population from Glinoe are presented in Table 4. Thus, amongst the Glinoe Scythians
- 5 approximately 70% of individuals had a chance to survive to the beginning of the
- 6 reproductive period, as indicated by  $R_{pot}$ , but only slightly more than 50% could fully
- 7 participate in reproduction, as shown by the  $I_{bs}$  value. For both models, the values of these
- 8 two measures are very similar (Table 4).
- 9 [Table 4 here]
- The application of the Kaplan-Meier method confirms that, without correction of the
- number of children, the probability of survival to the age of 15 in this population exceeded
- 12 80%. In contrast, about 30% of individuals reached the end of the reproductive period (Figure
- 13 7). The nobles were characterized by a slightly higher survival probability during the period
- 14 from birth to the 20–35 years age group, as compared with those belonging to the commoners
- 15 (the highest differences were observed among people in the age groups 15–20 and 20–35
- years). However, these differences are not statistically significant (Gehan's Generalized
- Wilcoxon test; p = 0.6211). After the age group 20–35, the differences in the survival
- probability of individuals belonging to different social strata begin to blur (Figure 8).
- 19 [Figure 7 here]
- 20 [Figure 8 here]
- 21 Uncertainty and sensitivity: Bayesian model results
- The Bayesian models introduced above allowed for assessing the uncertainty in the resulting
- estimates of age, conditional on assuming correct measurements, The analysis also enabled
- evaluating the sensitivity of the outcomes to the various prior distributions.

As in the deterministic calculations presented before, the undercount of the number of children was corrected, based on the calculations shown in Tables 3 and 4. The increase of  $d_{0-15}$  from 19.8% to 53.1% implies that, for the initial value of N = 220, the number of deaths in the youngest age classes needs to be inflated ca. five-fold, from 40 to 200. Hence, it was assumed that the multiplicative correction for the numbers of deaths for these age groups is normally distributed with mean of five years and a standard deviation of one year, N(5, 1), so that with 95-per cent probability, the original numbers of deaths need to be inflated between three- and seven-fold.

The results are reported in Figures 9a and 9b in terms of estimates life expectancies at ages 0, 5, 10, 15, 20, 35 and 50. For the estimated probability distributions, the mean values are shown together with 95-per cent probability intervals, for all four priors (P1) - (P4), both with and without the correction for the undercount of the number of children.

13 [Figure 9a here]

14 [Figure 9b here]

The mean results under a vague prior (P1) broadly agree with the deterministic calculations reported in Tables 3 and 4, and are similar to those obtained under the log-quadratic prior (P4), especially after applying the correction for children. On the other hand, the results proved sensitive to the choice of the priors: the more informative priors, (P2) and (P3), produce much higher values especially for  $e_5$  and  $e_{10}$ , reflecting the relative lack of knowledge about infant and childhood mortality for the reasons discussed before.

An additional modelling exercise has been carried out separately for 176 of the skeletons, for which an approximate period of burial could be established. Given the small numbers of skeletons from the earliest and the latest phases of the exploitation of the cemetery, the errors of estimation were very high. As a result, the patterns of  $e_x$  for different

- 1 phases were not significantly different from one another. In order to examine the possible
- 2 differences in life expectancy among Scythians between different historical periods,
- 3 additional osteological material, for example from neighbouring sites, should be ideally
- 4 incorporated into the analysis to boost the samples.

- 6 Fertility measures
- 7 The values of the fertility measures are presented in Table 5. Generally, the Glinoe Scythian
- 8 population seems to be one with a rather low reproductive potential. The age-specific fertility
- 9 rates f were low, and the intergenetic intervals A long. The average number of children per
- woman with a completed reproduction cycle was around 3.49. After the introduction of the
- 11 natural increase rate into the life table, fertility figures were still at low levels: age-specific
- fertility rates f hardly changed, and the intergenetic intervals A shortened by 1 or 5 months,
- depending on the assumption on r. The number of children per woman with a completed
- reproduction cycle reached almost four (Table 5).
- 15 [Table 5 here]

# 16 Discussion

- Life expectancy  $(e_x)$ , which captures the central tendency of longevity in an examined sample
- 18 (Daugherty and Kammeyer 1995), not only summarizes the mortality experience of the entire
- 19 population, but it is also a useful measure for comparing different life table models
- 20 (Chamberlain 2009). In the Glinoe Scythian population, the deterministic estimates of the life
- expectancy at birth  $(e_0)$  without correcting for the undercount of children were between 28.9
- and 31.8 years, depending on the assumed growth rate r, while  $e_{20}$  ranged between 15.5 and
- 23 16.9, respectively. However, due to a very low percentage of subadults aged under 15 years
- 24 (19.8%), the  $e_0$  values are unreliable. Realistically, total subadult mortality is expected to
- range between 30 and 50 percent (or even 70%) for archaeological populations (Weiss 1973,

see also Lewis 2007). Thus, it seems very unlikely that only less than 20% of children from

2 the sample studied died before the age 15. Importantly, the population under study comes

from the Early Iron Age, when the medical care only slightly – if at all – could have limited

mortality of children, the most vulnerable section of a population.

The literature has widely reported insufficient number of subadults in skeletal samples (Henneberg 1977; Lovejoy et al. 1977; Piontek 1977; Mensforth 1990; Meindl and Russell 1998). This is, among others, due to the fact that child remains are much more fragile than that of adults, and therefore are easier to degrade than the mature skeletons (Lewis 2007). In the case of our sample poor preservation of bony remains could have also resulted from contemporary plundering of the Scythian graves in Glinoe for gold, and from highly acidic soil in which these individuals were buried (see Watson 1967; Ursu et al. 2014). After correction of the missing number of children the value of  $d_{0-15}$  increased 2.7-fold: from 19.8% to 53.1%, reaching similar levels to those obtained in other studies, and fitting very well the range of variability of this parameter for the Iron period (between 45% and 58%; Budnik and Henneberg 2009). The correction of the missing number of children also resulted in a decrease of the  $e_0$  parameter by nearly 10 years: from 28.9 years to 19.4 years (r = 0). In contrast, this correction did not substantially affect the value of  $e_{20}$  since it is not susceptible to the influence of the underestimated number of children.

The use of Bayesian methods has additionally enabled assessing the errors and sensitivity in the estimates of life expectancy, as presented before. There are several important implications of the findings from the Bayesian analysis. Firstly, the errors of the estimates are relatively high, even without taking measurement uncertainty into account. Secondly, the estimates are very sensitive to the choice of prior distributions and to additional assumptions, such as those on the undercount of children or the value of  $e_{50}$ . This is not surprising, given the low numbers of skeleton in many age classes (Table 1). On the other

1 hand, the main advantage of Bayesian methods is that they provide an assessment of the

2 uncertainty of the estimates, as demonstrated in Figures 9a and 9b.

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

22

23

24

25

In terms of  $e_0$  and  $e_{20}$ , the Scythian population was also compared with populations from earlier and from the same historical periods, and with those from similar geographical areas (Europe) (Table 6). Importantly, these are not societies that could have been even hypothetically conquered by Scythians (e.g., Assyria, Media or Urartu; Petrenko 1995:18). Unfortunately, there is no opportunity to compare the data on the demographic structure of Scythian groups and the populations dominated by them, because no demographic data are available for any conquered populations. One clear limitation of such comparative studies is related to making comparisons between the populations which differ in lifestyle, subsistence economy (populations defeated by Scythians were mainly farmers), biology, and so on. Also, certain a priori assumptions, which are unavoidable in plaeodemography (e.g. value of the  $s_x$ parameter), make the analysis of the results and drawing definitive conclusions difficult. As it can be seen, without correcting for the undercount of children, the population of Glinoe has been characterized by relatively high values of  $e_0$ . Similar values were obtained for the populations from a similar period, for example for S'Illot des Porros (Spain) (Alesan et al. 1999), and slightly lower values for the Scythians from Mamai-gora (Ukraine) (Litvinova 2004), but it has to be noted that in these studies, the undercount of the number of children was not corrected. Interestingly, for the Scythians from Glinoe and those from Mamai-gora the relatively low values of life expectancy of adults  $(e_{20})$  were reported. As argued before, this could have resulted to some extent from the lifestyle of Scythians. Scythians appear in the history as nomadic warriors who conquered large areas, especially in central and western Asia, as a result of many wars (Piotrowicz 1939; Phillips 1972; Kubczak 1978; Petrenko 1995:18; Wendelken 2000). Thus, the relatively low value of

 $e_{20}$  could have resulted partly from the excess deaths among adults because of their

- 1 participation in military operations. This interpretation is supported by an increase of
- 2 probability of death after age 20 (see Tables 6 and 7) as well as a decrease in survival
- 3 probability after this age (see Figure 9). Amongst the Glinoe Scythians, young adults had a
- 4 relatively high risk of death, as recorded for different life table models (see Tables 2 and 3).
- 5 [Table 6 here]

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

22

23

24

- Furthermore, it seems unlikely that poor health was the main cause of death of adults in
- 7 the population under study, which was confirmed by the analysis of skeletal indicators of
- 8 health status. In the examined sample the following frequencies of stress markers were found:
- 9 linear enamel hypoplasia -31.0%, cribra orbitalia -28.2%, porotic hyperostosis -2.7%, and
- Harris lines 29.4% (Łukasik 2015). Low values of stress markers' prevalence, as compared
- with other populations from the same period, can be seen as evidence a relatively good health
- in the group under study (e.g. Goodman et al. 1980; Lanphear 1990).
  - However, an alternative interpretation of the skeletal lesions, based on the idea of osteological paradox (Wood et al. 1992; Arcini 1999), cannot be excluded. According to Wood et al. (1992), stress markers might have occurred in relatively healthy individuals, who were able to survive long enough for bone or tooth changes to form, which usually takes weeks or months. According to DeWitte and Stojanowski (2015), to avoid the osteological paradox, multiple markers of stress should be used, because they provide information about different periods of life of individuals and suggest the presence of slightly different stress factors (Salvadei et al. 2001). Moreover, these authors highlight that the relationship between the demographic structure and the presence of stress markers also should be considered, and that both adults and children should be analysed. Furthermore, only a close interdisciplinary cooperation and a thorough archaeological context can provide a reliable interpretation of the results. Such approach was applied in the research of the Scythian population under study.

1 It should be emphasized that stress markers are very general measures of health,

2 reflecting the occurrence of only certain diseases, since not all disorders leave changes on

bones, like e.g. smallpox or measles (Lewis and Roberts 1997; Steckel and Rose 2003; Ortner

2003). However, it can be assumed that had the studied group experienced such diseases,

then the whole population should have been affected (individuals in all age categories), not

just young adults, who are by definition the strongest in the group, being immunologically

resistant (see Elgert 2009:65).

Hence, if Scythians were characterised by relatively good health, the increased mortality of adults could be a consequence of their lifestyle, marked by conflicts and warfare. In the case of past human populations conducting numerous wars (like Scythians) a relatively high frequency of skeletal evidence of violence, such as injuries or trauma, can be expected (see Walker 1989; Owens 2007; Mayor 2014; Martin and Harrod 2015). However, it was impossible to perform such kind of research in our sample, because the skeletal material was not preserved well enough.

The measures of the opportunity for natural selection in the group under study do not differ significantly from the data obtained for selected human populations from a similar period (Piontek 1979; Budnik and Henneberg 2009) (Table 7). For the Glinoe Scythians the value of Crow's index  $I_m$  is slightly over 0.20, confirming low mortality among children. The  $I_{bs}$  and  $R_{pot}$  indices show that 50% of the whole population studied, and 70% of adults, had a chance to fully participate in reproduction.

The measures of fertility indicate rather low reproductive potential of Scythians: they are distinguished by a relatively small number of children per woman with completed reproductive cycle, and long intervals between successive births. In the Glinoe sample, low fertility and hence long birth-spacing intervals, resulting in low population growth rates, are most probably consequences of their way of life: nomadism and high mobility. Low fertility

is highly adaptive and therefore is the norm for mobile groups (see Whitley and Dorn 1993),

2 leading to a better food supply for the mother and concomitantly the child, which in the long

run means a higher survival rate of the offspring (Schutkowski 2006:212).

The reproductive strategy discussed above is typical of contemporary nomadic populations. It has been well known and well documented in the literature that nomadic pastoral populations have lower natural population growth rates than sedentary farming societies (e.g. Henin 1968, 1969; Swift 1977; Roth 1986, 1994; Bentley et al. 1993; Randall 2008). This phenomenon is seen in such pastoral populations as the Tuareg and Maures (Randall 1984) or for the Sudanese Baggara population (Henin 1968, 1969). Lower fertility in free-living nomadic groups has been also reported by Steckel and Rose (2003), in which the gross reproduction rate value was around 2.5, in contrast to 3–4 for sedentary groups. For the south Sinai Bedouins the mean number of living children per family was around five (Leonard and Crawford 2008).

Finally, it is also worth emphasizing that in polygamous societies an average woman

bears fewer children (on average four) than in monogamous ones (around five) (Leonard and Crawford 2008). According to the Herodotus descriptions (Minns 2011), not only the Scythians were the populations of pastoral character, but they had polygamous relationships. This could also influence their low reproductive potential. Additionally, low fertility level is an adaptive strategy for warrior populations, as described by Gould (2015) for a modern African pastoral society, the Kipsigis. Traditionally, the Kipsigis remained unmarried until their mid-twenties and had long birth intervals, but in the 20th century their fertility rose sharply, after they have ceased their warfare activities.

The most interesting finding of our research is the relatively high risk of death in young adulthood, plausibly a result of warfare. However, it raises a question how Scythians managed to dominate over other groups on the Eurasian steppes if there were characterized at

the same time by high adult mortality and low fertility, and how they maintained their

fighting strength.

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

22

23

24

25

One possible explanation could be the recruitment of local people into the Scythian army, especially in the regions where they have direct contact with e.g. Thracians or Meotians (see Melyoukova 1979). Such a strategy was common among other past human societies with a successful military track record, like the Roman Empire (Delbruck 1990) or the Macedonian Empires (Ashley 1998). Moreover, the same phenomenon was also found for the British, during their rule in India, who had a lower fertility rate than the local populations (see Marshall 2001:283–84; Roy 2013). This hypothesis could be also supported by Meyer's (2016:1) recent interpretation of the "Scythian Empire", whereby "the power of nomadic tribes in the region was based on the armed administration of an extensive exchange network that integrated the services and resources of different local communities." Unfortunately, there are no written sources which could confirm this hypothesis, but Scythian funeral inventory suggests that such an explanation is at least reasonable, because a series of Scythian burials with one bladed swords of the Thracian type can be interpreted either as a Thracian influence on Scythian weaponry (see Melyukova 1979; Redina 2005; Sinika 2007), or – possibly – as an indication of recruiting Thracians into the Scythian armies. Hence, the recruitment of local people into the Scythian army cannot be excluded, at least as a hypothesis, until more definitive archeological and historical material can be found. In particular, since it was not unconceivable that the Scythians could recruit local people into their army to maintain fighting strength despite high adult mortality and low fertility, it would be worthy to examine if individuals ascribed in this study to commoners could have been outsiders recruited by the Scythians. For this reason, future anthropological studies on Scythians could carry on the analysis of biodistance markers of individuals from lower social status using ancient DNA or dental non-metric traits.

### Conclusions

1

- 2 In terms of biodemographic features the Scythian population from Glinoe did not differ
- 3 significantly from other human groups from the Early Iron Age, with the exception of higher
- 4 probability of dying in early adulthood, as indicated by various estimates of the life table
- 5 parameter  $q_{20}$ . These results suggest that the demographic structure could depend to some
- 6 extent on their lifestyle, including conflicts and wars, significantly contributing to high
- 7 mortality of young adults, despite their relatively good health. Fertility in this group,
- 8 reconstructed on the basis of life table parameters and the estimated population growth, was
- 9 low, which is typical of nomad populations.

10

11

# Acknowledgements

- 12 The authors would like to thank Professor Nicolai Telnov from Taras Shevchenko University
- in Tiraspol, Moldova, for making the skeletal material available for this study. We also thank
- the Editor and the anonymous reviewers for their valuable comments and suggestions, which
- contributed to improving the quality of the paper. This research was financially support by
- the Faculty of History of the Taras Shevchenko University in Tiraspol, Moldova, and the
- 17 Faculty of Biology of the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, Poland.

18

19

# References

- 20 Acsádi, G., and J. Nemeskéri. 1970. *History of Human Life Span and Mortality*. Budapest:
- 21 Akadémiai Kiadó.
- Alesan, A., A. Malgosa, and C. Simo. 1999. Looking into the demography of an iron age
- population in the western Mediterranean. I. Mortality. *American Journal of Physical*
- 24 *Anthropology* 110:285–301.

- 1 Angel, J. L. 1969. The bases of paleodemography. *American Journal of Physical*
- 2 *Anthropology* 30:427–37.
- 3 Ashley, J. R. 2004. The Macedonian empire: The era of warfare under Philip II and
- 4 Alexander the Great, 359–323 BC. Jefferson, NC: McFarland.
- 5 Arcini, C. 1999. Health and disease in early Lund: Osteopathologic studies of 3 305
- 6 individuals buried in the first cemetery area of Lund 990–1536. Lund: Department of
- 7 Community Health Sciences, Lund University.
- 8 Baker, B. J., T. L. Dupras, and M. W. Tocheri. 2005. *The Osteology of Infants and Children*.
- 9 College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press.
- Bentley, G. R., T. Goldberg, and G. Jasieńska. 1993. The fertility of agricultural and non-
- agricultural traditional societies. *Population Studies* 47:269–81.
- Bocquet-Appel, J. P. 2002. Paleoanthropological Traces of a Neolithic Demographic
- 13 Transition. *Current Anthropology* 43:637–50.
- Brunborg, H., E. Tabeau and H. Urdal. 2006. The Demography of Armed Conflict. IUSSP
- 15 International Studies in Population, vol. 5. New York: Springer.
- Budnik, A., and M. Henneberg. 2009. "Demografia małych populacji w badaniach
- antropologicznych: wymieralność, płodność i wielkość rodziny", in *Współczesna*
- antropologia fizyczna. Biodemografia i genetyka populacyjna w badaniach
- 19 antropologicznych. XII Warsztaty Antropologiczne im. Profesora Janusza
- 20 *Charzewskiego*. Edited by B. Jerszyńska and K. Kaczanowski, pp. 21–34. Poznań: Sorus.
- Buikstra, J. E., and D. H. Ubelaker. 1994. Standards for data collection from human skeletal
- *remains*. Fayetteville, AR: Arkansas Archeological Survey.
- 23 Caussinus, H., and D. Courgeau. 2010. Estimating age without measuring it: A new method
- in paleodemography. *Population English Edition* 65:117–45.

- 1 Chamberlain, A. T. 2009. *Demography in Archaeology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University
- 2 Press.
- 3 Chochorowski, J. 2004. "Scythians", in Ancient Europe 8000 BC 1000 AD. Encyclopedia of
- 4 *the Barbarian World*. Edited by P. Bogucki and P. M. Crabtree, pp. 411–13. New York:
- 5 Thomson Gale.
- 6 Chochorowski, J. 2007. Nieposkromieni władcy stepów interview for Polish Radio 1, 24
- 7 September 2007 (Electronic file,
- 8 <a href="http://www.polskieradio.pl/23/266/Artykul/172002,Scytowie-nieposkromieni-wladcy-">http://www.polskieradio.pl/23/266/Artykul/172002,Scytowie-nieposkromieni-wladcy-</a>
- 9 stepow>, accessed 8 February 2017).
- 10 Crow, J. F. 1958. Some possibilities for measuring selection intensities in man. *Human*
- 11 *Biology* 30:1–13.
- 12 Crooks, G.E., R. E. Green, and S. E. Brenner. 2005. Pairwise alignment incorporating
- dipeptide covariation. *Bioinformatics* 21:3704–10. Supplementary material (Available at
- 14 <a href="http://threeplusone.com/Crooks-prior.pdf">http://threeplusone.com/Crooks-prior.pdf</a>, accessed 10 December 2016).
- Daugherty, H. G., and K. C. W. Kammeyer. 1995. An Introduction to Population, 2nd
- edition. New York: The Guilford Press.
- de Bliokh, I. S. 1977. Population pressure as a cause of war. *Population and Development*
- 18 *Review* 3:129–39.
- 19 De Nikola, B. 2010. "Women's Role and Participation in Warfare in the Mongol Empire",
- in Soldatinnen. Gewalt und Geschlecht im Krieg vom Mittelalter bis Heute. Edited by K.
- 21 K. Latzel, S. Satjukow and F. Maubach, pp. 95–112. Paderborn: Schöningh.
- Delbrück, H. 1990. Warfare in antiquity. Vol. 1. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press.
- DeWitte, S. N, and C. M. Stojanowski. 2015. The Osteological Paradox 20 Years Later: Past
- Perspectives, Future Directions. *Journal of Archaeological Research* 23:397–450.

- 1 Elgert, K. D. 2009. Immunology: understanding the immune system. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-
- 2 Blackwell.
- 3 Gerling, C. 2015. Prehistoric Mobility and Diet in the West Eurasian Steppes 3500 to 300
- 4 *BC:* An Isotopic Approach (Vol. 25). Berlin/Boston: DeGruyter.
- 5 Goodman A. H., G. J. Armelagos, and J. C. Rose. 1980. Enamel hypoplasias as indicators of
- 6 stress in three prehistoric populations from Illinois. *Human Biology* 52:515–28.
- 7 Gould, W. T. S. 2015. *Population and Development*. New York: Routledge.
- 8 Goldstone, J. A. 2002. Population and Security: How Demographic Change Can Lead to
- 9 Violent Conflict. *Journal of International Affairs* 56:3–22.
- Guliaev, V. I. 2003. Amazons in the Scythia: new finds at the Middle Don, Southern Russia.
- World Archaeology 35:112–25.
- Henneberg, M. 1975. Notes on the reproduction possibilities of human prehistorical
- populations. *Przegląd Antropolologiczny* 41:75–89.
- Henneberg, M. 1976. Reproductive possibilities and estimations of the biological dynamics
- of earlier human populations. *Journal of Human Evolution* 5:41–8.
- Henneberg, M. 1977. Proportion of dying children in paleodemographical studies: estimation
- by guess or by methodical approach. *Przegląd Antropologiczny* 43:105–14.
- Henneberg, M., and R. J. Henneberg. 2000. Analysis of human skeletal and dental remains
- 19 from Metaponto (7<sup>th</sup>–2<sup>nd</sup> c BC). Atti del quarantesimo Convegno di studi sulla Magna
- 20 Grecia, Taranto, 29 settembre 3 ottobre 2000. Taranto: Istituto Per La Storia e
- 21 L'Archeologia Della Magna Grecia.
- Henneberg, M., and J. Piontek. 1975. Biological state index of human groups. *Przeglad*
- 23 Antropolologiczny 41:191–200.
- Henneberg, M., and M. Steyn. 1994. Preliminary Report on the Paleodemography of the K2
- and Mapungubwe Populations (South Africa). *Human Biology* 66:105–20.

- 1 Henin, R. A. 1968. Fertility Differentials in the Sudan. *Population Studies* 22:147–64.
- 2 Henin, R. A. 1969. The patterns and causes of fertility differentials in the Sudan (with
- reference to nomadic and settled populations). *Population Studies* 23:171–98.
- 4 Holzer, J. Z. 1980. Demografia. Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Ekonomiczne.
- 5 Ivantchik, A. I. 2011. "The Funeral of Scythian Kings: The Historical Reality and the
- 6 Description of Herodotus (4.71–72)", in *The Barbarians of Ancient Europe. Realities and*
- 7 Interactions. Edited by L. Bonfante, pp. 71–106. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge
- 8 University Press.
- 9 Jordana, X., I. Galtes, T. Turbat, D. Batsukh, C. García, A. Isidro, P. H. Giscard, and A.
- Malgosa. 2009. The warriors of the steppes: osteological evidence of warfare and
- violence from Pazyryk tumuli in the Mongolian Altai. *Journal of Archaeological Science*
- 12 36:1319–27.
- Kardin, N. N. 2003. "Nomadic Empires: Origins, Rise, Decline", in *Nomadic Pathways in*
- Social Evolution. Edited by J. Barfield and N. Kradin, pp. 73–87. Moscow: Project Muse.
- Khazanov, A. M. 1978. "The Early State among the Scythians", in *The Early State*, New
- Babylon series, vol. 32. Edited by H. J. M. Claessen and P. Skalnik, pp. 425–40. Berlin:
- De Gruyter.
- 18 Kim, H. J. 2013. The Huns, Rome and the Birth of Europe. Cambridge, New York:
- 19 Cambridge University Press.
- 20 Konductorova, T. S. 1974. The ancient population of the Ukraine (from the Mesolithic Age to
- 21 the first centuries of our era). *Antropologie* 12:5–149.
- 22 Konigsberg, L. W, and S. R. Frankenberg. 1994. Paleodemography: "Not quite dead".
- 23 Evolutionary Anthropology 3:92–105.
- 24 Kubczak, J. 1978. Kurhany arystokracji scytyjskiej. Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM.

- 1 Kumar, R. 2012. "Demography and Warfare", in *The Oxford Handbook of War*. Edited by Y.
- Boyer, J. Lindley-French, pp. 442–52. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- 3 Lanphear, K. M. 1990. Frequency and distribution of enamel hypoplasias in a historic
- 4 skeletal sample. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 81:35–43.
- 5 Leonard, W. R., and M. H. Crawford. 2008. *The Human Biology of Pastoral Populations*.
- 6 Cambridge: Cambridge Academic Press.
- 7 Lewis, M. E. 1999. The impact of urbanization and industrialization in medieval and post-
- 8 medieval Britain. An assessment of the morbidity and mortality of non-adult skeletons
- 9 from the cemeteries of two urban and two rural sites in England (AD 850–1859).
- 10 Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Bradford, Bradford, UK.
- 11 Lewis, M. E. 2007. The Bioarchaeology of Children. Perspectives from Biological and
- 12 Forensic Anthropology. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lewis, M., and C. Roberts. 1997. Growing Pains: the Interpretation of Stress Indicators.
- 14 International Journal of Osteoarchaeology 7:581–86.
- Liczbińska, G. 2015. Lutherans in the Poznań province. Biological dynamics of the Lutheran
- population in the 19th and early 20th centuries. Hamburg: Verlag Dr. Kovač.
- 17 Litvinova, L. V. 1999. "Antropologicheskiy material iz mogilnika Mamai-Gora gora" in
- 18 *Mogilnik Mamai-Gora*. Edited by S. I. Andrukh and G. N. Tosze Tostsev, pp. 188–210.
- 19 Zaporozhye: Institut Arkheologii NAN Ukrainy. Zaporozhskiy gosudarstvennyy
- universitet; Zaporozhskogo nauchnogo obshchestva im. Novitskogo YaP.
- 21 Litvinova, L. V. 2004. "Paleoantropologicheskiy material iz mogil'nika Mamay-gora" in
- 22 *Mogilnik Mamai-Gora*. Edited by S. I. Andrukh and G. N. Tosze Tostsev, pp. 144–181.
- 23 Zaporozhye: Institut arkheologii NAN Ukrainy. Zaporozhskiy gosudarstvennyy
- universitet; Zaporozhskogo nauchnogo obshchestva im. Novitskogo YaP.

- 1 Lombardi Pardini, E. C., D. Polosa, and E. Pardini. 1984. Gli inumati di Pontecagnano
- 2 (Salerno) (VII–VI secolo a.C.). Archivio per l'Antropologia e la Etnologia 114:3–62.
- 3 Lovejoy, C. O. 1985. Dental wear in the Libben population: its functional pattern and role in
- 4 the determination of adult skeletal age at death. *American Journal of Physical*
- 5 *Anthropology* 68:47–56.
- 6 Lovejoy, C. O., R. S. Meindl, T. R. Pryzbeck, T. S. Barton, K. G. Heiple, and D. Kotting.
- 7 1977. Paleodemography of the Libben Site, Ottawa County, Ohio. *Science* 198:291–3.
- 8 Lovejoy, C. O., R. S. Meindl, T. R. Pryzbeck, and R. P. Mensforth. 1985. Chronological
- 9 metamorphosis of the auricular surface of the ilium: a new method for the determination
- of adult skeletal age at death. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 68:15–28.
- 11 Łukasik, S. 2015. Biologia europejskich Scytów: dynamika populacyjna i morfologiczne
- 12 reakcje na warunki życia. PhD thesis, Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, Poland.
- 13 Mayor, A. 2014. The Amazons: Lives and Legends of Warrior Women Across the Ancient
- 14 *World.* Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press.
- 15 Marshall, P. J. 2001. *The Cambridge illustrated history of the British Empire*. Cambridge:
- 16 Cambridge University Press.
- Martin, D. L., and R. P. Harrod. 2015. Bioarchaeological contributions to the study of
- violence. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* \$59:116–45.
- 19 Mearsheimer, J. 2001. The tragedy of great power politics. New York: W.W. Norton
- 20 Melyoukova, A. I. 1964. Vooruzheniye skifov. Svod arkheologicheskikh
- 21 istochnikov. Arkheologiya SSSR. Moskva: Nauka.
- 22 Melyoukova, A. I. 1979. *Skifiya i Frakiyskiy mir*. Moskva: Nauka.
- 23 Melyoukova, A. I. 1995. "Scythians of Southeastern Europe", in *Nomads of the Eurasian*
- steppes in the early Iron Age. Edited by J. Davis-Kimball, V. A. Bashilov, L. T.
- Yablonsky, pp. 27–58. Berkeley, CA: Zinat Press.

- 1 Mensforth, R. P. 1990. Paleodemography of the Carlston Annis (Bt-5) Late Archaic skeletal
- 2 population. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 82:81–99.
- 3 Meindl, R. S., and C. O. Lovejoy. 1985. Ectocranial suture closure: A revised method for the
- 4 determination of skeletal age at death based on the lateral-anterior sutures. *American*
- 5 *Journal of Physical Anthropology* 68:57–66.
- 6 Meindl, R. S., and K. F. Russell. 1998. Recent advances in method and theory in
- paleodemography. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 27:375–399.
- 8 Meyer, C. 2016. "Scythian Empire", in *The Encyclopedia of Empire*. Edited by J.M.
- 9 MacKenzie, pp. 1–2. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons.
- 10 Minns, E. H. 2011. Scythians and Greeks: a survey of ancient history and archaeology on the
- 11 *north coast of the Euxine from the Danube to the Caucasus.* Cambridge: Cambridge
- 12 University Press.
- 13 Monakhov, S. 1999. Grecheskie amfory v Prichernomor'e. Kompleksy keramicheskoi tary
- 14 *VII–II vekov do n.e.*. Saratov University: Saratov.
- Moorrees C. F. A., E. A. Fanning, and E. E. Hunt. 1963a. Formation and resorption of three
- deciduous teeth in children. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 21:205–13.
- Moorrees C. F. A, E. A. Fanning, and E. E. Hunt. 1963b. Age variation of formation stages
- for ten permanent teeth. *Journal of Dental Research* 42:1490–502.
- 19 Morillo, S., J. Black, and P. Lococo, eds. 2008. "The nomadic world: central Asia to 1100",
- in War In World History: Society, Technology, and War from Ancient Times to the
- 21 *Present, Vol. 1*, pp. 100–18. New York: McGraw-Hill Education.
- Olkhovsky, V. S. 1995. "Scythian Culture in the Crimea", in *Nomads of the Eurasian steppes*
- *in the early Iron Age.* Edited by J. Davis-Kimball, V. A. Bashilov, L. T. Yablonsky, pp.
- 24 63–82. Berkeley, CA: Zinat Press.

- 1 Ortner, D. J. 2003. *Identification of Pathological Conditions in Human Skeletal Remains*.
- 2 Oxford: Academic Press.
- 3 Owens, L. S. 2007. Craniofacial trauma in the prehispanic Canary Islands. *International*
- 4 *Journal of Osteoarchaeology* 17:465–78.
- 5 Payen, P. 2015. "Women's Wars, Censored Wars? A Few Greek Hypotheses (Eighth to
- 6 Fourth Centuries BCE)", in Women and War in Antiquity. Edited by J. Fabre-Serris and
- A. Keith, pp. 214–27. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- 8 Parzinger, H. 2007. "Die Reiternomaden der eurasischen Steppe während der Skythenzeit".
- 9 in *Im Zeich. Goldenen Greifen Köönigsgräber Skythen*. Edited by W. Menghin and H.
- 10 Parzinger, pp. 30–48. München/Berlin/London: Prestel.
- 11 Parzinger, H. 2010. "Die Skythen der ukrainischen Steppe und ihre Stellung in der Welt der
- eurasischen Reiternomaden", in *Im Goldener Horiz.* 4000 Jahre Ukr. Eited by J.
- Leskovar and M. C. Zingerle, pp. 58–66. Weitra: Bibliothek der Provinz.
- 14 Petrenko, V. G. 1995. "Scythian culture in the North Caucasus", in *Nomads of the Eurasian*
- steppes in the early Iron Age. Edited by J. Davis-Kimball, V. A. Bashilov, L. T.
- Yablonsky, pp. 5–21. Berkeley, CA: Zinat Press.
- 17 Phillips, E. D. 1972. The Scythian domination in Western Asia: its record in history, scripture
- and archaeology. World Archaeology 4:129–38.
- 19 Piontek, J. 1977. Średniowieczne cmentarzysko w Słaboszewie koło Mogilna: analiza
- wymieralności. *Przegląd Antropologiczny* 43:37–53.
- 21 Piontek, J. 1979. *Procesy mikroewolucyjne w europejskich populacjach ludzkich*. Poznań:
- 22 Uniwersytet im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu.
- Piontek, J., and M. Henneberg. 1981. Mortality changes in a polish rural community (1350–
- 24 1972) and estimation of their evolutionary significance. *American Journal of Physical*
- 25 *Anthropology* 54:129–38.

- 1 Piotrowicz, L. 1929. L' Invasion des Scythes en Asie Anterieure en VIIe siecle av. J. C., Eos
- 2 32:473–508.
- 3 Pressat, R. 1961. L'analyse démographique, méthodes, résultats, applications. Paris: Presses
- 4 Universitaires de France.
- 5 Randall, S. 1984. A comparative demographic study of three Sahelian populations: Marriage
- 6 and childcare as intermediate determinants of fertility and mortality. PhD thesis, London
- 7 University, UK.
- 8 Randall, S. 2008. "Pastoralist Demography", in *Ecology of African Pastoralist Societies*.
- 9 Edited by K. Homewood and J. Currey, pp. 199–226. Oxford: James Currey; Athens, OH:
- Ohio University Press; Pretoria: Unisa Press.
- 11 Redina, E. 2005. "Scytho-Thracian cultural contacts in the northwestern Black Sea Littoral",
- in The culture of Thracians and their neighbours: proceedings of the international
- symposium in memory of Prof. Mieczyslaw Domaradzki, with a round table
- "Archaeological Map of Bulgaria" BAR International Series 1350. Edited by J. Bouzek,
- L. Domaradzka, pp. 231–8. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Ricaut, F. X., C. Keys-Tracqui, L. Cammaert, E. Crubézy, and B. Ludes. 2004. Genetic
- analysis and ethnic affinities from two Scytho-Siberian skeletons. *American Journal of*
- 18 *Physical Anthropology* 123:351–60.
- 19 Rolle, R. 1989. *The World of the Scythians*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- 20 Rolle, R. 2006. "Royal Tombs and Hill Fortresses: New Perspectives on Scythian Life", in
- 21 The golden deer of Eurasia: Perspectives on the Steppe Nomads of the ancient world.
- Edited by J. Aruz, A. Farkas and E. V. Fino, pp.168–81. New York: Metropolitan
- Museum of Art.

- 1 Rolle, R. 2011. "The Scythians: Between Mobility, Tomb Architecture, and Early Urban
- 2 Structures", in *The Barbarians of Ancient Europe: Realities and Interactions* Edited by L.
- Bonfante, pp. 107–31. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press.
- 4 Roth, E. A. 1986. The demographic Study of Pastoral Peoples. *Nomadic Peoples* 20:63–76.
- 5 Roth, E. A. 1994. "Demographic Systems: Two East African Examples", in African
- 6 Pastoralist Systems. Edited by F. Fratkin, K. Galvin, and E. A. Roth, pp. 133–46.
- 7 Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publisher.
- 8 Roy, K. 2013. The Army in British India: From Colonial Warfare to Total War 1857–1947.
- 9 London, New York: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Salvadei, L., F. Ricci, and G. Manzi. 2001. Porotic hyperostosis as a marker of health and
- 11 nutritional conditions during childhood: studies at the transition between Imperial Rome
- and the Early Middle Ages. *American Journal of Human Biology* 13:709–17.
- 13 Samoylova, T. 1988. *Tira w VI–I ww. do n.e.* Kiev: Nauczna dumka.
- 14 Schaefer, M, S. Black, and L. Scheuer L. 2009. Juvenile Osteology: A Laboratory and Field
- 15 *Manual*. Oxford: Elsevier/Academic Press.
- 16 Scheuer L., and S. Black. 2000. *Developmental Juvenile Osteology*. San Diego, CA:
- 17 Academic Press.
- Scheuer L., and S. M. Black. 2004. *The Juvenile Skeleton*. San Diego, CA: Academic Press.
- 19 Schutkowski, H. 2006. Human Ecology: Biocultural Adaptations in Human Communities.
- 20 Berlin/Heidelberg: Springer.
- 21 Séguy, I., H. Caussinus, D. Courgeau, and L. Buchet. 2013. Estimating the age structure of a
- buried adult population: a new statistical approach applied to archaeological digs in
- France. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 150: 170–83.
- 24 Selvin, S. 1998. Modern Applied Biostatistical Methods: Using S-Plus. Oxford: Oxford
- 25 University Press.

- 1 Sinika, V. 2007. Pogrebal'nyye pamyatniki skifskoy kul'tury kontsa XII–XIII nachala v. do
- 2 n.e. na territorii Dnestro-Prutsko-Dunayskikh stepey. Moskva.
- 3 Sinika, V. S., E. F. Taschi, N. P. Tel'nov, and I. A. Chetverikov. 2012. Poselenie Krasnoe na
- 4 levoberezhe Nizhnego Dnestra. *Stratum plus* 3:187–215.
- 5 Sinika, V. S., V. A. Menshikova, and N. P. Tel'nov. 2014. Lepnyie kurilnitsy iz pamyatnikov
- 6 Severnogo Prichernomorya IV–I vv. do n.e. *Stratum plus* 3:65–101.
- 7 Sinika, V. S., and N. P. Tel'nov. 2015a. Kompleks vooruzheniya i predmetov voinskogo
- 8 snaryazheniya iz skifskogo mogil'nika kontsa IV II vv. do n.e. u s. Glinoe v Nizhnem
- 9 Podnestrove. Paper presented at Voyna i voennoe delo v skifo-sarmatskom mire. Mat-ly
- Mezhdunar. nauch. konf., posvyasch. pamyati A.I. Melyukovoy (s. Kagalnik, 26–29
- aprelya 2014 g.) (otv. red.). YuNTs RAN, Rostov-na-Donu.
- Sinika, V. S., and N. P. Tel'nov. 2015b. Svetil'niki v pogrebal'nom obryade skifov Severnogo
- 13 Prichernomorya. *Tyragetia* 9:183–208.
- Skoryj, S. A. 2003. Skify v Dneprovskoj Pravoberezhnoj stepi (problema vydeleniya
- iranskogo etnokul'turnogo elementa). Kiev: IA NANU.
- Smith, B. H. 1991. "Standards of human tooth formation and dental age assessment", in
- 17 Advances in Dental Anthropology. Edited by M. A. Kelley and C. S. Larsen, pp. 143–68:
- 18 New York: Wiley-Liss.
- 19 Steckel, R. H., and J. C. Rose. 2003. The Backbone of History: Health and Nutrition in the
- 20 Western Hemisphere. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press.
- 21 Streatfield, S. 2016. Women in Combat–A Historical Perspective. Paper presented at the Phi
- Alpha Theta Upper New York Regional Conference, Plattsburgh, NY, April 30, 2016
- 23 (Available at http://digitalcommons.plattsburgh.edu/phi\_alpha\_theta/8, accessed 8
- 24 February 2017).
- Sulimirski, T. 1954. Scythian Antiquities in Western Asia. *Artibus Asiae* 17: 282–318.

- 1 Swift, J. 1977. Sahelian Pastoralists: Underdevelopment, Desertification and Famine. *Annual*
- 2 Review of Anthropology 6:457–78.
- 3 Tel'nov N. P., I. A. Chetverikov, and V. Sinika. 2016. Skifskiy mogil'nik III–II vv. do n. e. u
- 4 s. Glinoe. Tiraspol: Stratum plus.
- 5 Telnov, N., I. Chetvernikov, and V. Sinika. 2012. Skifskiy mogilnik III–II vv. do n. e. u s.
- 6 Glinoye na levoberezh'ye Nizhnego Dnestra (predvaritel'nyve itogi issledovaniya). Paper
- 7 presented at Drevnosti severnogo Prichernomorya III–II w. do n.e. Mezhdunarodnaya
- 8 Nauchnaya Konferentsiya. 16–17 okt. 2012. Tiraspol.
- 9 Telnov, N. P., and V. S. Sinika. 2014a. Zerkala iz pozdneskifskogo mogilnika kontsa IV–II v.
- do n.e. u s. Glinoe na levoberezhe Nizhnego Dnestra, in: IV Anfimovskie chteniya po
- 11 arheologii Zapadnogo Kavkaza. Zapadnyiy Kavkaz v kontekste mezhdunarodnyih
- otnosheniy v drevnosti i srednevekov'e. Mat-ly mezhdunar. arheologich. konf. (g.
- 13 *Krasnodar*, 28–30 maya 2014 g.), pp. 239–49. Krasnodar: Traditsiya..
- Telnov, N. P., and V. S. Sinika. 2014b. Miski iz skifskih pogrebal'nyih pamyatnikov kontsa
- 15 IV–II v. do n.e. na levoberezhe Nizhnego Dnestra. *Tyragetia* 8:287–316.
- 16 Timæus, I.M., and T.A. Moultrie. 2013. "Fitting model life tables to a pair of estimates of
- child and adult mortality", in T.A. Moultrie, R.E. Dorrington, A.G. Hill, K. Hill, I.M.
- Timæus and B. Zaba (eds), *Tools for Demographic Estimation*. Paris: IUSSP (Available
- 19 at <a href="http://demographicestimation.iussp.org/content/fitting-model-life-tables-pair-">http://demographicestimation.iussp.org/content/fitting-model-life-tables-pair-</a>
- estimates-child-and-adult-mortality>, accessed 10 December 2016).
- 21 Todd, T. W. 1921. Age changes in the pubic bone. American Journal of Physical
- 22 *Anthropology* 4:1–70.
- Ursu, A., A. Overenco, I. Marcov, and S. Curcubăt. 2014. "Chernozem: Soil of the steppe",
- in *Soil as World Heritage*. Edited by D. Dent, pp. 3–8. Springer: Dordrecht.

- 1 Walker, P. L. 1989. Cranial injuries as evidence of violence in prehistoric southern
- 2 California. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 80:313–23.
- 3 Watson, J. P. 1967. A Termite Mound in an Iron Age Burial Ground in Rhodesia. *Journal of*
- 4 *Ecology* 55:663–9.
- 5 Ward R. H., and K. M. Weiss. 1976. The demographic evolution of human populations.
- 6 *Journal of Human Evolution* 5:1–23.
- 7 Weiss, K. M. 1973. Demographic Models for Anthropology. Memoirs of the Society for
- 8 American Archeology 27. Washington DC: Society for American Archeology.
- 9 Wendelken, R. W. 2000. "Horses and gold: The Scythians of the Eurasian steppes", in *The*
- 10 Role of Migration in the History of the Eurasian Steppe. Edited by A. Bell-Fialkoff, pp.
- 11 189–206. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Wentz, R. K., and N. T. de Grummond. 2009. Life on horseback: palaeopathology of two
- Scythian skeletons from Alexandropol, Ukraine. *International Journal of*
- 14 Osteoarchaeology 19:107–15.
- White, T. D., and P. A. Folkens. 2005. *The human bone manual*. Oxford: Elsevier/Academic
- 16 Press.
- Whitley, D.S., and R. I. Dorn. 1993. New Perspectives on the Clovis vs. pre-Clovis
- 18 Controversy. *American Antiquities* 58:626–47.
- 19 Wood, J. W., G. R. Milner, H. C. Harpending, and K. M. Weiss. 1992. The osteological
- 20 paradox: problems of inferring prehistoric health from skeletal samples. *Current*
- 21 *Anthropology* 33:343–70.
- Worrall, S. 2014. Amazon Warriors Did Indeed Fight and Die Like Men. *National*
- 23 Geographic (Electronic file, <a href="http://news.nationalgeographic.com/news/2014/10/141029-">http://news.nationalgeographic.com/news/2014/10/141029-</a>
- amazons-scythians-hunger-games-herodotus-ice-princess-tattoo-cannabis/>, accessed 21
- 25 October 2016).

## Figure captions

Figure 1. Map of the Scythian core territory (grey) and area of their presumable influences (dotted line) with the location of Glinoe. Cartographic data: openstreetmap.org, © OpenStreetMap contributors, Open Database License (ODbL)/Creative Commons CC-BY-SA 2.0.

Figure 2. Scythian barrows containing individuals of different social status: a) nobles, b) commoners

Figure 3. Barrow 103 burial 1, Glinoe site, Moldova; 1a – handmade cup with iron knife and animal bones; 1b – handmade bowl with 2 spindle whorls (inside and nearby); 2a – bronze bracelet; 2b – glass beads, 3a – silver earring; 3b – bronze mirror with iron handle, 4a – glass beads; 4b – glass beads

Figure 4. Life expectancy  $e_x$  in the Scythian skeletal sample (r – value of population growth, [corr] – correction of number of children)

Figure 5. Probability of death  $(q_x)$  in the Scythian skeletal sample (r – value of population growth, [corr] – correction of number of children)

Figure 6. Distribution of the deceased  $(d_x)$  in the Scythian skeletal sample (r – value of population growth, [corr] – correction of number of children)

Figure 7. Survival probability in age categories

Figure 8. Survival probability by social status

Figures 9a and 9b. Life expectancy estimates obtained by using Bayesian models under different assumptions a priori: Mean values (solid lines) and 95-per cent intervals (dashed)

Table 1. Population size by the number and percentage of the deceased in age categories

Age category	N	%
Subadults		
Infans I (0–7 years)	26	11.8
Infans II (7–15 years)	13	5.9
Juvenis (15–20 years)	8	3.6
unknown (under 20 years)	1	0.5
Adults		
Young adult (20–35 years)	84	38.1
Middle adult (35–50 years)	54	24.5
Old adult (50+ years)	12	5.5
unknown (over 20 years)	22	10.0
Total	220	100.0

Table 2. Life-table biometric functions for Scythian skeletal remains from Glinoe (without correction of number of children)

Age	Stationary population model				Stable	population	model (r =	=0.002)	Stable population model ( $r = 0.013$ )			
	$d_x$	$l_x$	$q_x$	$e_x$	$d_{x}$	$l_x$	$q_x$	$e_x$	$d_{x}$	$l_x$	$q_x$	$e_{\scriptscriptstyle X}$
0–7	13.2	100.0	0.1	28.9	12.5	100.0	0.1	29.4	9.3	100.0	0.1.	31.8
7–15	6.6	86.8	0.1	25.8	6.4	87.5	0.1	26.1	5.1	90.7	0.1	27.7
15–20	4.1	80.2	0.1	19.6	4.0	81.1	0.0	19.8	3.4	85.6	0.1	21.1
20–35	42.6	76.1	0.6	15.5	42.5	77.1	0.6	15.7	41.1	82.1	0.5	16.9
35–50	27.4	33.5	0.8	10.7	28.2	34.6	0.8	10.8	32.1	41.1	0.8	11.3
50-ω	6.1	6.1	1.0	10.0	6.5	6.5	1.0	10.0	9.0	9.0	1.0	10.0

*r* - the natural growth rate

Table 3. Life-table biometric functions for Scythian skeletal remains from Glinoe (with correction of number of children)

Age	Age Stationary population model				Stable	population	model (r =	0.002)	Stable population model ( $r = 0.013$ )			
-	$d_x$	$l_x$	$q_x$	$e_x$	$d_{x}$	$l_x$	$q_x$	$e_x$	$d_x$	$l_x$	$q_x$	$e_x$
0–7	35.4	100.0	0.4	19.4	34.3	100.0	0.3	19.9	28.1	100.0	0.3	23.1
7–15	17.7	64.6	0.3	21.1	17.4	65.7	0.3	21.5	15.5	71.9	0.2	23.7
15–20	2.4	46.9	0.1	19.6	2.4	48.3	0.0	19.8	2.3	56.4	0.1	21.1
20–35	24.9	44.5	0.6	15.5	25.3	46.0	0.6	15.7	27.2	54.1	0.5	16.9
35–50	16.0	19.6	0.8	10.7	16.8	20.6	0.8	10.8	21.2	27.1	0.8	11.3
50-ω	3.6	3.6	1.0	10.0	3.9	3.9	1.0	10.0	5.9	5.9	1.0	10.0

*r* - the natural growth rate

Table 4. Measures of opportunity for natural selection through differential mortality

Population model	$I_m$	$R_{pot}$	$I_{bs}$
Stationary; $r = 0.000$	0.25	0.71	0.51
Stable; $r = 0.002$	0.21	0.71	0.52
Stable; $r = 0.013$	0.17	0.72	0.57

 $I_m$  - Crow index,  $R_{pot}$  - Potential Reproductive Rate,  $I_{bs}$  - Biological State Index

Table 5. Fertility figures for the Scythian population from Glinoe

Population model	f	A (months)	М	TFR
Stationary; $r = 0.000$	0.15	82.56	2.49	3.49
Stable; $r = 0.002$	0.15	81.62	2.53	3.54
Stable; $r = 0.013$	0.16	76.55	2.73	3.81

f - average age-specific fertility rate, A - mean birth interval, M - mean family size, TFR - total fertility rate

Table 6. Life expectancies at birth,  $e_0$ , and in early adulthood,  $e_{20}$  (in years) from Early Iron Age populations (stationary population model, without correction of the number of children)

Site and dating	$e_0$	$e_{20}$	Data source
Glinoe, Moldova (4th-2nd c. BC)	28.9	15.5	Authors' calculations
Pontecagnano, Compania, Italy (7th-6th	15.3	_	Lombardi Pardini et al. 1984
c. BC)			
Classic period (Athens & Corinth), Italy	24.7	_	Angel 1969
(6th-3rd c. BC)			
Pantanello, Greek colony (7th-2nd c. BC)	21.2	20.6	Henneberg and Henneberg 2000
Mamai-gora, Ukraine (3rd-2nd c. BC)	26.9	15.8	Litvinova 2004
S'Illot des Porros, Spain (4th c. BC-2nd c.	28.5	17.5	Alesan et al. 1999
AD)			

Table 7. Measures of opportunity for natural selection in skeletal samples from Early Iron Age (stationary population model)

Site	N	$d_{0-15}$	$R_{pot}$	$I_{bs}$	Data source
Glinoe (Moldova)	197	0.19	0.71	0.51	Authors' calculation
Sultana (Romania)	118	0.30	0.75	0.44	Piontek 1979
Trzebule (Poland)	56	0.36	0.67	0.40	Piontek 1979
Zamęczno (Poland)	36	0.20	0.70	0.42	Piontek 1979
Przeczyce (Poland)	606	0.36	0.63	0.38	Piontek 1979
Częstochowa-Raków (Poland)	56	0.22	0.64	0.39	Piontek 1979
Kozia Góra (Poland)	75	0.33	0.72	0.43	Piontek 1979
Baczyna (Poland)	66	0.18	0.71	0.43	Piontek 1979
Ziemięcice (Poland)	40	0.20	0.69	0.41	Piontek 1979
Czech Republic/Slovakia	227	0.17	0.67	0.50	Piontek 1979