

University of Southampton

Animals, art and society

Rock art and material culture in ancient Central Asia

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UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

ABSTRACT

FACULTY OF ARTS

ARCHAEOLOGY

Doctor of Philosophy

ANIMALS, ART AND SOCIETY

ROCK ART AND MATERIAL CULTURE IN ANCIENT CENTRAL ASIA

Kenneth John Lymer

The animal style has become an ubiquitous term in Scytho-Siberian studies, however, its overall acceptance has not led to any significant critical re-examination of the ideas which revolve around it. First I discuss the historical development and uses of the 'animal style' in Scytho-Scythian archaeology and rock art studies. The 'animal style' was part of the traditional art historical approach which involved the evolution of stylistic schools and Western value judgements of the perceived visual qualities of the art found in archaeological objects, while in rock art studies it was employed as a standard classificatory nomenclature by which the petroglyphs of the Iron Age were classified and dated. Furthermore, its meanings were explained through out-of-date notions of sympathetic magic, totemism, solarism, goddesses and shamanism, which are rooted in traditional Western intellectual concepts of 'primitive' religion.

To move Scytho-Siberian studies forward we need, crucially, to recognise that the art is socially situated and to utilise approaches that can bring more nuanced understandings to the rock art and material culture of Central Asia. Through the additional assistance of ethnographic analogy, I advance more considered approaches which explore the multiple roles and experiences of zoomorphic imagery. These are demonstrated through two case studies. The first involves data from petroglyph sites in the Republic of Kazakhstan, as I explore the way the animals in the rock art imagery were embedded in people's lives. Through the examination of the themes of animal, visions and power I demonstrate that it is possible to learn more about the petroglyphs and their places and spaces in the landscape. The second case study explores new facets of animals, art and society in the Pazyryk archaeological culture of the Gorno-Altai and East Kazakhstan. Previous approaches have considered the ornamentation of artefacts with animals as simple decorations or archetypal symbols which only treated them as passive reflections of society. Instead it is recognised here that the zoomorphic decorations in the material culture of the Pazyryk plays an active role in negotiating peoples identities in everyday life and were intimately connected to how individuals create and assert their own identities through their choices of decorative imagery on and off their bodies as well as upon the body of their horses.

СОУТГЕМПТОНСКИЙ УНИВЕРСИТЕТ
АННОТАЦИЯ
ОТДЕЛЕНИЕ ГУМАНИТАРНЫХ НАУК
АРХЕОЛОГИЧЕСКИЙ ФАКУЛЬТЕТ
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ДРЕВНЕЙ ЦЕНТРАЛЬНОЙ АЗИИ»
Кеннет Джон ЛАЙМЕР

Хотя «звериный стиль» стал расхожим термином в скифо-сибирских исследованиях, его широкое использование еще не привело к сколь-либо значимой переоценке идей, в эпицентре которых он находится. Я начинаю с обсуждения истории развития и использования термина «звериный стиль» в скифо-сибирской археологии и в исследованиях наскальных рисунков. Понятие «звериный стиль» было частью традиционного подхода к истории искусств в различных стадиях эволюции стилистических школ и западной системы оценок визуальных характеристик художественных элементов, обнаруженных на археологических объектах, в то время как и исследовании наскальных рисунков термин «звериный стиль» использовался в стандартной классификационной номенклатуре и при датировании петроглифов Железного века. Более того, семантика «звериного стиля» объяснялась с использованием устаревших сходных понятий, которые применялись для описания магии, тотемизма, соляризма, языческих божеств и шаманизма именно так, как они укоренились в традиционных западных концепциях примитивных религий.

Для того, чтобы продвинуться дальше в развитии скифо-сибирских исследований, совершенно необходимо признать социальность искусства и использовать такие подходы, которые могли бы привести более детальное понимание наскальных рисунков и материальной культуры Центральной Азии. Прибегая к помощи этнографических аналогий, я разработал более глубокий подход к исследованию многозначности зооморфических образов. Это демонстрируется на двух примерах. В первом случае, с использованием петроглифов из Республики Казахстан, я исследую, какую роль играли в человеческой жизни животные, которых мы находим в наскальных изображениях. Через изучение тем зверей, воззрений и власти я демонстрирую возможность лучшего понимания петроглифов и их местоположения в ландшафте. Во втором случае я изучаю новые грани искусства и общества Пазырыкской археологической культуры Горного Алтая и Восточного Казахстана. Предыдущие исследования изучали орнаментализацию объектов с использованием образов зверей как простую декоративную меру или архетипический символ, что рассматривало эти орнаменты как способ пассивного отражения общества. Однако в своей работе я утверждаю, что зооморфические росписи в Пазырыкской материальной культуре играли активную роль в повседневной жизни, способствуя идентификации отдельных членов общества, и были, в конечном итоге, связаны с тем, как отдельные личности создают и выражают свое «Я» через выбор декоративных образов на своем теле и вне его, а также на крупах лошадей.

Animals, art and society

Rock art and material culture in ancient Central Asia

Посвящается хозяйкам гор
— Келіншек и Боен

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Preface

The image of the stag has been an enduring source of scholarly fascination in the field of Scytho-Siberian studies. The Scytho-Siberians were nomadic peoples who roamed the vast steppes between China and the Danube during the second part of the 1st millennium BC. The art of these peoples is considered by scholars to contribute a unique set of decorative images, the animal style, which involves the depiction of antlered deer, horned caprids, feline predators and birds of prey. Their forms, rendered in striking poses of reclining beasts and scenes of predation, were common motifs and symbols found throughout the Scytho-Siberian world. Here we find the image of the recumbent deer with its fore and hind legs tucked under its belly and long antlers, shaped in gold and wood and utilised as part of the personal decoration of the deceased in burials ranging from the southern Altai through Kazakhstan to the Black Sea.

Before my postgraduate studies commenced, in the mid 1990s reports emerged in the press about an 'Ice Princess' unearthed in Siberia. The television documentaries and the *National Geographic* (Polos'mak 1994b) provided film footage and colour photographs of the archaeological excavation of a wealthy woman whose body was frozen in ice. She was found in the Altai mountains and her funerary inventory as well as personal decoration established that she belonged to the Pazyryk archaeological culture from the middle of the first millennium BC. Even more exciting was the discovery that the processes of freezing had preserved animal tattoos which decorated her left arm. In particular, on her left shoulder was a deer figure in a twisting pose with a bird beak for a snout and antlers with tines terminating in bird heads (figure 1). Furthermore, the excavator explained that this creature was in an art style similar to the Scythians of Black Sea (Polos'mak 1994b: 84).

In an attempt to learn more about the cervid tattoo I have slowly delved into the great corpus of Scytho-Siberian scholarship. I discovered that the image of the stag and its derivatives were also found amongst the deerstone stelae¹ and outdoor rock carvings of southern Siberia and Central Asia. One important place was the petroglyph site of Arpauzen, on the eastern side of the Karatau mountains in southern Kazakhstan (Kadyrbaev & Mar'yashev 1977). Numerous petroglyphs of various ages were discovered covering many of the exposed rock faces in the Arpauzen foothills but it was the two large scenes of deer that have become significant in Sako-Scythian comparative studies (Kadyrbaev & Mar'yashev 1977: fig. 68, 73).

In the spring of 1998 I participated in the joint Polish-Kazakh reinvestigation of the petroglyphs of Arpauzen (Lymer 1998). We reconfirmed the published scenes of deer and found that one of them had not been properly recorded. Furthermore, the discovery of a new scene of an animal style deer (figure 2) with a honeycomb grid-like shape on its back raised questions about the notion of an 'animal style' in the petroglyphs. The employment of the animal style in rock art studies is predominately concerned with the culture-historic stages of development of the zoomorphic imagery throughout the ages and there has not been any further consideration of the other processes involved in the animal images which included the association of a 'geometric' image on the back of a petroglyph figure in southern Kazakhstan.

My fieldwork continued in 1999 and 2000 with surveys of more petroglyph sites in southeastern and central Kazakhstan. This culminated in a visit to the recently excavated Pazyryk tomb of Berel 11 in eastern Kazakhstan (Francfort 1999; Samashev, Bazarbaeva, Zhumabekova & Sungatai 2000). The Altai mountains extend from Mongolia and China into the Gorno-Altai (Russian Federation) and eastern Kazakhstan and the area of Berel is located a scenic valley surrounded by the Altai of Kazakhstan. Freezing processes had preserved a wide range of perishable materials in Berel 11 as well as thirteen horses richly decorated with animal style images of deer and other animals.

¹ The phenomenon of the 'deerstones' concentrates in the TransBaikal, Mongolia, Tuva, Gorno-Altai with some stray occurrences in Kazakhstan and East Turkestan. Commonly they are thin upright stones, 'stelae', which had been carved with images of deer, boar, earrings, knives, axes and/or other designs. They tend to be part of surface burial structures in Tuva, Mongolia and Gorno-Altai, while a disused one was incorporated in the stone mound of the great kurgan of Arzhan, Tuva (Gryaznov 1980: fig. 29.2). The deerstones of South Siberia are dated to the later Bronze Age to Early Iron Age period, c. 10th-8th centuries BC (Jettmar 1967: 168; Askarov, Volkov & Ser-Odjav 1992: 468; Jacobson 1993: 234; Kubarev & Jacobson 1996: vii).



Figure 1. The tattoo image of a deer with a bird beak snout from the left arm of the 'Ice Princess' of Ak-Alakha 3 kurgan 1, the Autonomous Republic of the Gorno-Altai, Russian Federation (after Polos'mak 1994: 84).

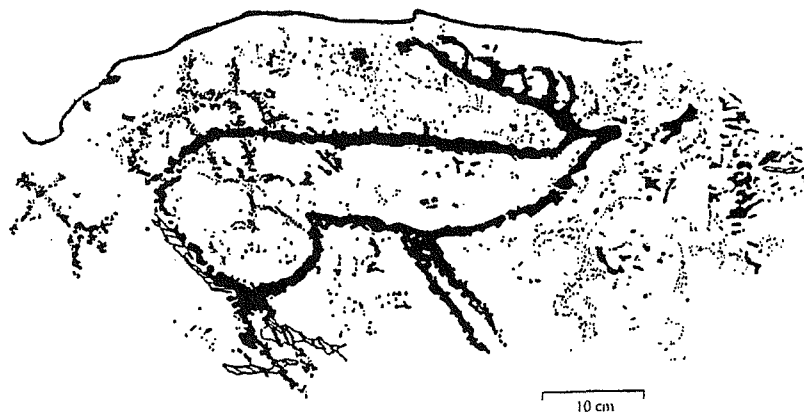


Figure 2. The newly discovered scene of a deer from Arpauzen, South Kazakhstan (reproduced with the kind permission by Dr. A. Rozwadowski).

I found the diversity of contexts of the cervid and other zoomorphic imagery in the petroglyphs of Kazakhstan and the burials of the Pazyryk were not adequately addressed by culture-historic approaches dominant in the literature as they sought to generalise the explanation of the images. This led to my questioning of the integrity the concept of the Scytho-Siberian 'animal style' and its associated assumptions. The following is then a reconsideration of the role of zoomorphic representations in society and it attempts to examine in new light the contextual complexity of the imagery with regard to their relationships to rock art, material culture, landscape and the people who utilised them.

Note on transliteration

In this thesis I have consulted materials written in Russian and Kazakh. The Russian language is written in the Cyrillic alphabet, which was based on Greek characters, as opposed to the English alphabet which is based on Latin. Since 1918 Russian has 33 characters and I have followed the guidelines of the British Standard Institution (BS 2979: 1958) for transcription – without diacritics – into English. Kazakh is a part of the Turkic family of languages and since 1940 it has been rendered into Cyrillic characters. Most characters follow their Russian equivalents in Cyrillic with a few additions. Kazakh can be transliterated in Turkish characters, because of its lingual family affiliation, but I have adopted the route based on the Russian transliteration model due to the font restrictions of my computer operating system. Some well known scholars may be found in the English literature by other transliteration permutations (i.e., Radloff, Rostovtzeff) and these have been retained as they have been in common usage for so many years.

RUSSIAN

а	<i>a</i>	к	<i>k</i>	ц	<i>ts</i>
б	<i>b</i>	л	<i>l</i>	ч	<i>ch</i>
в	<i>v</i>	м	<i>m</i>	ш	<i>sh</i>
г	<i>g</i>	н	<i>n</i>	щ	<i>shch</i>
д	<i>d</i>	о	<i>o</i>	ъ	<i>”</i>
е	<i>e</i>	п	<i>p</i>	ы	<i>y</i>
ё	<i>yo</i>	р	<i>r</i>	ь	<i>’</i>
ж	<i>zh</i>	с	<i>s</i>	ѣ*	<i>e</i>
з	<i>z</i>	т	<i>t</i>	э	<i>e</i>
и	<i>i</i>	у	<i>u</i>	ю	<i>yu</i>
і*	<i>i</i>	ф	<i>f</i>	я	<i>ya</i>
й	<i>i</i>	х	<i>kh</i>	ѐ*	<i>f</i>

* Pre-1918 alphabet

KAZAKH

а	<i>a</i>	қ	<i>q</i>	ф	<i>f</i>
ә	<i>a</i>	л	<i>l</i>	х	<i>kh</i>
б	<i>b</i>	м	<i>m</i>	һ	<i>h</i>
в	<i>v</i>	н	<i>n</i>	ц	<i>ts</i>
г	<i>g</i>	ң	<i>ng</i>	ч	<i>ch</i>
ғ	<i>gh</i>	о	<i>o</i>	ш	<i>sh</i>
д	<i>d</i>	ө	<i>o</i>	щ	<i>shch</i>
е	<i>e</i>	п	<i>p</i>	ъ	<i>”</i>
ё	<i>yo</i>	р	<i>r</i>	ы	<i>y</i>
ж	<i>zh</i>	с	<i>s</i>	і	<i>i</i>
з	<i>z</i>	т	<i>t</i>	ь	<i>’</i>
и	<i>i</i>	у	<i>u</i>	э	<i>e</i>
й	<i>i</i>	ұ	<i>u</i>	ю	<i>yu</i>
к	<i>k</i>	ү	<i>u</i>	я	<i>ya</i>

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Introduction

During the first millennium BC, across the vast steppe and mountainous regions between China and South Siberia, in the east, and the Black Sea and the Ukraine, in the west, lived the nomadic peoples collectively called by scholars the Scytho-Siberians (figure 3). These groups were believed to be some of the earliest cultures fully based on mobile pastoralism and horse riding, hence they are also known as the Early Nomads. They were identifiable by a recurring 'triad' of artefacts – weapons, horse equipment and animal style art – which were ubiquitous in the material culture of their regional archaeological cultures (Grakov & Melyukova 1954: 93; Jettmar 1970: 256; Bashilov & Yablonsky 1995: xii). By regional comparisons of the weapons and horse equipment, some scholars argued for the existence a unified culture, with similar social and political development, that extended from China, in the east, to Hungary, in the west. These antiquities were labelled under the broad 'Scythian' banner which was modified to fit regional variations, like the 'Scytho-Siberians' of southern Siberia or the 'Sako-Scythians' of Central Asia.

Visually, the most striking part of the 'triad' was the distinctive zoomorphic artistic tradition – the so-called 'animal style'. This was executed in various media within the Scytho-Siberian world as the images of animals were cast into metal, carved into wood, applied onto felt and even tattooed onto the human body. Furthermore, the animal style was also believed to occur in the rock art of Central Asia and southern Siberia (e.g., Sher 1980, 1988). The animal art of each Scytho-Siberian culture was thought to be fundamentally alike, but at the same time demonstrating characteristics of its geographical location (Talbot Rice 1957: 21). This unity of design and execution was seen as the natural expression of the people who had adopted the style (Minns 1913: 268-269). Others have sought an environmental determinist explanation: it was thought that societies in the same latitudes and in similar biotopes, with types of production of the same order, would use visual modes of expression that carve out reality in a similar manner (Charrière 1979: 144).

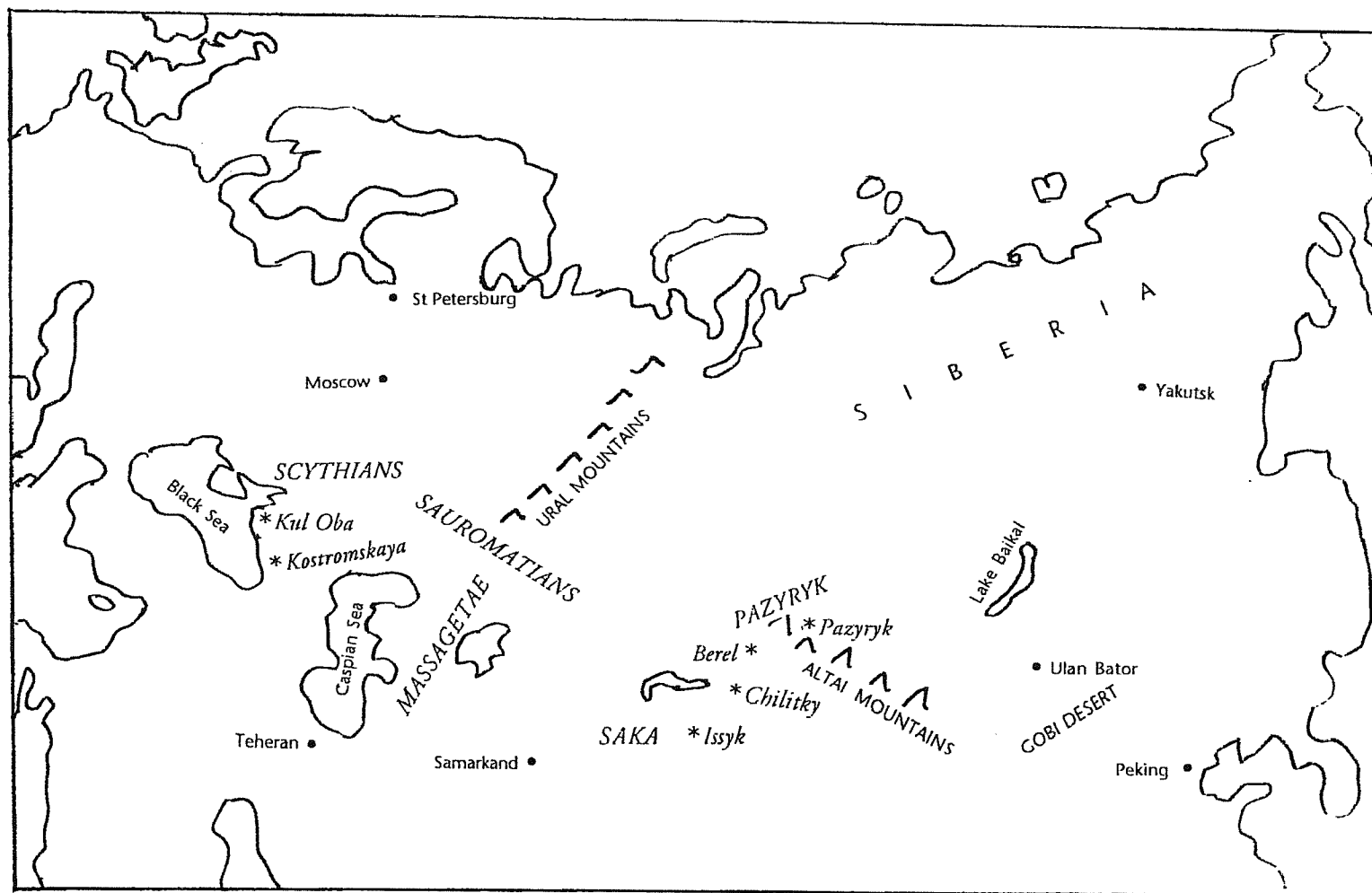


Figure 3. A map of Eurasia with important Scytho-Siberian sites identified (*italicised*).

The animal style has become an ubiquitous term in Scytho-Siberian studies, however, its use is problematic and its overall acceptance has not led to any significant detailed re-examination of the ideas which revolve around it. The animal style, for example, has been treated as a universal constant found across numerous cultures yet without the understanding of how this autonomous existence outside of society dislocates the images from their uses in day to day life. To move Scytho-Siberian studies forward we need, crucially, to recognise that art is socially situated. The aim of this thesis, therefore, is threefold: the re-examination of traditional conceptions of the animal style, the discussion of recent approaches that can bring more nuanced understandings, and then their demonstration through case studies dealing with rock art and material culture in Central Asia. Essentially, I have developed a new approach to zoomorphic images, by deconstructing the animal style and drawing upon understandings from contemporary research in rock art studies, anthropology and religious studies.

In Chapter 1, I discuss the historical development and uses of the 'animal style' in Scythian archaeology and rock art studies. The animal style was part of the traditional art historical approach involving the evolution of stylistic schools and Western value judgements of the perceived visual qualities of the art found on archaeological objects. In rock art studies the animal style is employed as a standard classificatory nomenclature by which the petroglyphs of the Iron Age were classified and dated. However, the animal style became a broad generalisation that was not only applied to objects or cliff faces with animal images amongst the Scytho-Siberians but used to classify the zoomorphic imagery from a diversity of other cultures in time and space around the world. This concept of style is problematic and different perspectives are needed in order to bring other understandings to the role of animal imagery.

The meaning of the animal style was considered to have underlying connections related to ideas of cultic activities, but they, in turn, are rooted in traditional Western intellectual concepts of religion. Chapter 2 re-examines the role of the animal style in the history of religion as it is incorporated into older notions of sympathetic magic, totemism, solarism, goddesses and shamanism. Fundamentally, these ideas relied on unquestioned Western ideas of how primitives were supposed to behave. Throughout these discussions, I raise several points that outline more nuanced approaches useful in the understanding of the practices and experiences of ancient peoples which we might locate in the religious dimensions of society.

In discussions of the animal style, the actual role of the petroglyphs in society is taken for granted. In Chapter 3, I use the data from the petroglyph sites which I visited in

Kazakhstan, and explore the way the zoomorphic imagery of rock art was embedded in people's lives. Through the themes of animals, visions and power I demonstrate that it is possible to learn more about the petroglyph images than previous culture-historic approaches have revealed especially when examining the relational possibilities between people and the landscape. Through the assistance of ethnographic analogy, I advance more considered approaches which explore the multiple roles and experiences of the petroglyphs.

The identification of a the so-called 'Scytho-Siberian triad' of characteristics – weapons, horse equipment and animal style art – emphasises a pan-cultural unity common to the material culture of a wide range of archaeological cultures, but then homogenises the great number of ancient peoples living within Eurasia. More attention to heterogeneous aspects is required and to address this chapter 4 explores new facets of animals, art and society in the Pazyryk archaeological culture of the Gorno-Altai and East Kazakhstan. Previous approaches have treated the ornamentation of artefacts with animals merely as decoration (e.g., Carter 1957: 4; Talbot Rice 1957: 148; Artamonov 1969, 1979: 11-13), or archetypal symbols of the so-called 'tree of life' or the Goddess (e.g., Jacobson 1993). These notions treated the objects as passive reflections of society, however, I contend that the zoomorphic decoration in the material culture of the Pazyryk played a more active part in people's lives. I develop a different approach to the zoomorphic decorations in the material culture of the Pazyryk which recognises the active role they play in negotiating peoples identities in everyday life.

Geo-political setting

Before discussions can begin, a brief explanation of the geographical setting is required. 'Central Asia' is a geographical term referring to, as the name implies, the middle regions of Asia (figure 4). What actually lies within this territory has been a matter of shifting definition. During Soviet times, within the field of geography, Central Asia was considered to include East Turkestan¹ (northwestern China), Tuva, the region around Lake Baikal, and Inner and Outer Mongolia (Sher 1980: 14). Amongst English speakers, the same area has been considered to be the south-central part of Inner Asia which covers most of the Asian region of the former Soviet Union as well as China (Christian 1998: xv). A more recent interpretation of Central Asia has been negotiated in international fora sponsored by UNESCO in 1978, which defined the region as covering the territories of Afghanistan,

¹ The region of the Uighur people which has been incorporated into China and is called the Xinjiang province by Chinese authorities. Xinjiang means 'New Territories' (Chen & Hiebert 1995: 243).

Pakistan, western China, northern India, northeastern Iran, Mongolia, and the former Central Asian republics of the USSR (Miroshnikov 1992: 480).

The former Soviet Central Asian republics are comprised of Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan. In Russian they are referred to as *Srednyaya Aziya*, however, the situation is more complicated for the term 'Central Asia' has a second form – *Tsentrāl'naya Aziya*. The literal translation of *Srednyaya Aziya* is 'Middle Asia' and refers to the territories within Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan while *Tsentrāl'naya Aziya*, 'Central Asia', covers the area of Kazakhstan, Mongolia and South Siberia. The Republic of Kazakhstan straddles these two terms and sometimes its southern part is considered belonging to *Srednyaya Aziya*, while some of its northern part lies in *Tsentrāl'naya Aziya*. This echoes the 19th century political geography of the region as northeastern Kazakhstan was once part of the Russian Empire, while the Russian controlled territory of the Turkestan General Governorship was established in the south along with the Russian protectorates of Bokhara, Khiva and Kokand in a region which is now present day Uzbekistan and southern Kazakhstan (Channon & Hudson 1995: 74-75). Because my fieldwork was based in Kazakhstan, the use of 'Central Asia' in this volume then embraces both areas covered by *Srednyaya Aziya* and *Tsentrāl'naya Aziya*.

The term South Siberia refers to an area comprising of the Gorno-Altai, Tuva, Khakassia, the Minusinsk Basin, the Prebaikal (a region west of Lake Baikal) and the Transbaikal (a region east and southeast of Lake Baikal). The Gorno-Altai, like Tuva and Khakassia, is now an autonomous republic within the Russian Federation and is commonly referred to as the Altai. The 'Altai' also refers to the mountain range that starts in eastern Kazakhstan, crosses the Gorno-Altai and ends in western Mongolia. The term North Central Asia has been used as an alternative to South Siberia (e.g., Jacobson 1993: ix, 1998), while it is also worth noting that the region of East Turkestan has been recently called East Central Asia (Mair 1998).

On a final note, names from the political geography of the 19th century are still in common use. In particular, within the literature there are references to Semirech'e, the 19th century Russian province which was once part of the Turkestan General Governorship established by Imperial Russia in Central Asia. The region of Semirech'e is situated south of Lake Balkhash and extends east to the Zhungarian Alatau mountains and south to the Tien Shan mountains. Semirech'e is a Russian word² which means the 'seven rivers' and refers to the Chu, Ili, Koksū, Karatal, Aksu, Lepsy and Tentek which flow into Lake Balkhash in southeastern Kazakhstan.

² Rendered into Kazakh as *Zhetisu*, 'Seven Rivers'.



Figure 4. A map of Central Asia and current geo-political regions (after Francfort 1998).

BC	Iran	Black Sea	Volga & Ural Steppes	Middle Asia	Semirech'e	High Altai	China
1000			Bronze Age (Andronovo)		Bronze Age (Andronovo)	Bronze Age (Andronovo/ Karasuk)	Chou dynasty
900	Assyrian						
800	Median				<i>Early Saka</i>	<i>Maiemer</i>	
700		<i>Scythian</i>		<i>Saka</i>			Spring & Autumn period
600			<i>Sauromatian</i>				
500	Achaemenid				<i>Late Saka</i>	<i>Pazyryk</i>	
400			<i>Sarmatian</i>				Warring States Period
300	Alexander the Great			Alexander the Great			
	Seleucid	<i>Sarmatian</i>		Seleucid	<i>Saka/ Wusun (Hun)</i>	<i>Shibe</i>	
200	Parthian			Graeco-Bactrian			Han dynasty
100					Wusun (Hun)	Hun	
0				Kushan			

Figure 5. A general overview of the first millennium BC and Scytho-Siberian archaeological cultures across Eurasia as well as the neighbouring civilisations of Iran and China. The Scytho-Siberians are highlighted in *italic*. (Based on Jettmar 1967; Gryaznov 1969; Jettmar 1981; Lawton 1982: 9; Pishchulina 1993.)

KAZAKHSTAN					GORNO-ALTAI
BC	North & West	Central	South & Semirech'e	Kaz. Altai	High Altai
1000	<i>Sauromatian</i>	ANDRONOVO (Bronze Age)			Andronovo/ Karasuk
900		Begazy-Dandybai			
800		<i>Tasmola 1st Stage</i>	<i>Early Saka</i>	<i>Maiemer</i>	<i>Maiemer</i>
700	<i>Sarmatian</i>				
600					
500		<i>Tasmola 2nd Stage</i>	<i>Late Saka</i>	<i>Berel (Pazyryk)</i>	<i>Pazyryk</i>
400				<i>Kulazhurga</i>	
300		<i>Tasmola 3rd Stage</i>	<i>Saka/ Wusun (Hun)</i>		<i>Shibe</i>
200					
100			<i>Wusun (Hun)</i>		<i>Hun</i>
0					

Figure 6. Overview of the Iron Age archaeological cultures (*italicised*) in Kazakhstan and southern Gorno-Altai in the first millennium BC (based on Gryaznov 1969; Baipakov 1993; Pishchulina 1993; Samashev 1993).

Central Asian chronology

Now that we have established the geographical setting, a brief introduction to Central Asian archaeological epochs is required. The Scytho-Siberian animal style belongs to the Iron Age of the steppe cultures of Eurasia and a broad view of these cultures and neighbouring civilisations is presented in figure 5. The Central Asian Iron Age in the 1st millennium is also referred to as the Age of Early Nomads because it is believed that the adoption of a nomadic/semi-nomadic pastoralism by 8th century BC brought on many similar cultural traits across the steppes, which “created the impression that all nomads shared a similar culture” (Askarov, Volkov & Ser-Odjav 1992: 459). Within the scope of this thesis such chronological frameworks are broadly acceptable though they are not without their problems. Issues related to the Iron Age and petroglyphs are further discussed in chapter 3, while the idea of the Early Nomads is discussed in chapter 4.

There are numerous regional archaeological cultures across Eurasia belonging to the Early Nomads³, and for brevity's sake they can not all be identified in figure 5. The focus of the later half of this volume is on case studies of materials derived from Kazakhstan and the Gorno-Altai, and outline of these periods is listed in figure 6. However, it is important to note, the definition of these and other Scytho-Siberian archaeological cultures traditionally fall in line with Childe's view of an ‘archaeological culture’ whereby diagnostic artefact types are associated with others in a repeated manner which when plotted on the map produce a particular spatial distribution (Childe 1929: v-vi; 1956: 123).

However, material things are only a part of what makes up a living society. For example, to early 20th century observers (e.g., Jochelson 1928), based on physical appearances they easily concluded that contemporary Kazakh and Kyrgyz peoples of Central Asia were the same. They generally have the same appearance, dress in similar clothes, have similar modes of economy (semi-nomadic/nomadic pastoralism), live in the same felt tents (yurts), eat the same food, etc. Yet, what Jochelson did not examine was the fact that they are different peoples amongst themselves because of differences in their languages and cultures. In particular, they have different lines of ancestry; the Kazakhs trace themselves to historic clan ancestors from the Great, Middle and Lesser *zhuz* (hordes⁴) of the Kazakh empire, c. 15th-18th centuries AD, while the Kyrgyz trace their clan structure to the *kyrk kyz*, the ‘forty maidens’ who were the legendary Kyrgyz clan mothers (Valikhanov 1865: 92). This illustrates that we need to be mindful of what at the surface appears to be similar material

³ For recent comprehensive overviews see, for example, Moshkova (ed.) 1992 or Davis-Kimball, Bashilov & Yablonsky (eds) 1995.

⁴ The historically known three hordes of the Kazakhs were large military units comprising of alliances of smaller kin-based units (Chang & Tourtellotte 1998: 269).

cultures in the archaeological record does not address the socio-political complexity of societies and issues such as inter-personal relationships, group affiliation and social identification.

Furthermore, we need to be mindful of the fact that an 'archaeological culture' is not a living 'culture': it is the product of social constructions embedded in Western ideals. An archaeological culture is a distribution of a corpus of materials which has been turned into an human grouping, be it 'tribe', 'society', 'ethnicity', 'linguistic family' or 'culture'. The process of characterising a group of people into distinct cultures and ethnicities is subject to many factors among the people themselves as well as their relationships with external groups. What Westerns think of as 'culture' is specific to Western social constructions and has resulted in ignoring how other peoples conceived these things amongst themselves. The Dene of Northern Canada, for example, could not talk about the "Dene Way" without discussing the territory in which they lived and interacted (Guédon 1994: 47). Their territory, through its natural resources, landmarks and Dene activities within it, was the active medium of carrying traditions and the manner by which Dene Ways were created and transmitted (Guédon 1994: 47). This is in opposition to the Western typing of Dene culture as merely 'northern hunter-gatherers' based on the criteria of their economic activities and material culture, or 'North American Indians' which refers to their status as one of numerous indigenous peoples of the Americas who were changed through colonisation by Europeans. It is also important to point out that the Dene do not believe dreams are not part of culture, but a medium of experience and communication in which Dene interact with their world and themselves (Guédon 1994: 52-58). Hence, this should alert us to the implicit rational materialism which is part of the definition of archaeological culture, as we need to be mindful of the fact that our constructions of culture are historically negotiated within our society and may not be applicable to past (and present) societies. Therefore, culture and/or ethnicity relies on who and what is being defined and is contingent on complex interrelations as a group's identity is a dynamic, but, at the same time, a slippery concept dependant on the context of the defining factors.

By recognising the problems outlined above, we can move forward this debate by being aware of and attentive to clues of the complex socio-political aspects of ancient societies. The emphasis on the overlap of Scytho-Siberian/Sako-Siberian material culture found in Central Asian archaeological assemblages has addressed some issues of regional divergences, but has not fully appreciated the socio-cultural complexity of singular group identities. Perhaps by considering Mann's argument that individual societies do not really exist and thinking about what he considers are overlapping social networks of varying scales

of social power, 'ideology', economy, politics, military, etc.⁵ (Mann 1986) we can be more attuned to the complexity of structures, processes and interactions involved in human group dynamics.

Analogy, ethnography & historical sources

Moving on from the chronological background, the next issue is the methodology employed throughout this thesis by the use of ethnographic analogy and historical writings in the construction of arguments and interpretative model building. The animal art was made by prehistoric and pre-literate societies, which have been occasionally referred to in the texts of neighbouring literate civilisations, however, there is no living ethnography associated with them to aid interpretation. We are left to reframe the evidence in an attempt to find meanings and I first discuss how this is conducted through ethnographic analogy and second by comparison to historical texts.

First of all, analogy involves explanation of what is identified as an unknown phenomenon by a comparison made with another known occurrence which the researcher believes is relevant to the argument. This connection is assessed on similarity, degree of relevance and the explanation of relevance (Wylie 1988b: 135). Mistrust of ethnographic analogical interpretations has come from its misuse over the years in reinforcing primitive stereotypes and uncritical one-to-one applications which simply describe one unknown thing with another thing believed to have interpretative value. In the field of Franco-Cantabrian cave art, for example, Annette Laming and André Leroi-Gourhan famously made similar criticisms of previous rock art interpretations and found such analogies indiscriminate in quoting ethnographic facts (e.g., Laming 1959: 167, Leroi-Gourhan 1968: 34).

Furthermore, Leroi-Gourhan had rejected all ethnographic comparisons as faulty inferences. As Lewis-Williams (1991b: 149) points out, the dilemma of this position is that by denying ethnographic comparison the analogy must come from rigorous empirical research or another kind of analogy. The basic problem with empiricism is that the data are presented as 'objective' and could speak for themselves. Lewis-Williams (1983, 1990, 1991b: 149) explains that the collection and analysis of the data are essentially carried out to implicit or explicit preconceived hypotheses or conceptual positions, therefore they could never be completely 'objective'. The empirical belief in recording pure, objective data is still a form of analysis and interpretation; the information is still chosen by the researcher's criteria of what should be considered data and discussed as such.

⁵ However, we should also consider them not as bounded, autonomous systems, but as overlapping processes.

Other kinds of non-ethnographic analogies include avenues which seek the reification of Western intellectual ideals. In the case of Leroi-Gourhan, he felt that explanation could not come from the study of peoples from the ethnographic present (1968: 179) and called for a more systematic analysis of the cave art. In his avoidance of ethnography his analysis focused upon the evolution of artistic style and the 'grammar' of the relationships of placement of the images in the caves (e.g., Leroi-Gourhan 1968). In the interpretation of the relationships between images he substituted ethnographic analogy with a postulated metaphysical system based on the binary split of females/males; the animals painted on the walls reflected symbolic oppositions of feminine or masculine principles (e.g., the images of bison were assumed to be female, while horse were male). The tenuousness of these categories in the art and their empirical validity have been questioned as the placement of imagery in the caves is greatly varied (e.g., Lewis-Williams 1991a: 422, 424; Lorblanchet 1994), while the problems of traditional bipolar sexual differences will be highlighted in my own examinations relating to the animal style and the complexity of gendered identities in chapter 4. However, I would like to point out by ignoring ethnographic analogy Leroi-Gourhan produced his own idiosyncratic interpretation of Palaeolithic cave art that was bounded by his ideals of binary sexual dualism and had lead him into the impasse which he tried to avoid; uncritical comparisons of data with meta-narratives believed to hold interpretative value.

Conversely, I contend that ethnographic comparison is a valid resource for asking questions of the evidence and discussing its possibilities. A considered employment of ethnographic analogy suggests other relevant possibilities from cultural perspectives different from our own which can also assist in furthering other avenues of research. In this considered employment we need to be conscious of the ethnography itself. The rise of reflexivity in anthropology has pointed out the accounts of the anthropologist's fieldwork "are still heavily edited and crafted" (Hoskins 1998: 5). The ethnographer plays an active part in creating 'stories' for our consumption and employs the theories and methods of their milieu in the presentation of their data. If one is aware of the nature of ethnographies as value-based accounts which take observations made by the researcher and reinterpret them into constructs of their socio-political milieu, we can then take a critical approach to the uses and abuses of ethnographic comparison.

With regard to addressing problems relating to the animal style, different perspectives can be gained by ethnographic analogies which can demonstrate a range of possibilities not previously contemplated before. As Wylie points out, the "reliance on analogical inference should not automatically give way to 'ethnographic despair' when no single, complete

analogue for the subject is available” (1988a: 231). Ethnographic analogy, through relations of relevance, can be productive in thinking about facets of a context beyond our grasp. The implications of Wylie’s arguments is that ethnographic analogy can bring new perspectives to unknown contexts and assist in further understanding facets of an unknown ancient society. Although we are dealing with prehistoric societies, it is still possible to draw upon appropriate ethnographic examples without converting the peoples of the past into pale imitations of the ethnographic group in question. The information is available for us to explore new and stimulating ways which can provide theoretical and methodological insights while extending our understandings about the role of zoomorphic imagery in society.

The use of historical texts in interpreting archaeology faces similar issues to that of ethnography. In Scytho-Siberian studies there have been various levels of correlations made between archaeological discoveries and known historical sources. The ancient Greek writer, Herodotus, for example, wrote about a special group of warriors known amongst Scythian related peoples as the Amazons (*Histories* IV, 110-117). According to legend these female warriors escaped Greek captivity and settled in an area of free Scythians. The Amazons and Scythians wed and became the forebearers of the Sauromatian people. Therefore, the Sauromatians have a marriage law which forbids a girl to marry until she kills someone in battle. The finds of female burials with weapons amongst Scytho-Siberian archaeological cultures such as the Sauro-Sarmatians⁶ in the southern Ural steppe and the Pazyryk⁷ of the Gorno-Altai are believed to confirm the existence of this warrior class. Ideas about women warriors will be further explored in chapter 4, however, I would like to point out that we must be cautious with textual sources for they are not objective facts but products of personal bias of the author as they themselves are embedded in socio-political processes of their time.

In particular, as the above example highlights, one of the more important sources of information on the Scytho-Siberians comes from the ‘father of history’, Herodotus. His *Histories* has provided descriptions and discussions of a wide variety of regions, peoples and customs around the Greek world. Herodotus came from East Greece and his ideas, methods and intellectual background were part of 5th century BC Greek culture (e.g., M. Lang 1984; Lateiner 1989; R. Thomas 2000). The *Histories* did not mean ‘history’ in our sense of the word for Herodotus’ use of the word *historiê* had actually meant ‘investigation’ or ‘enquiry’ (Immerwahr 1966: 28; R. Thomas 2000: 9). His writings were used to express

⁶ See, for example, the excavations at Pokorvka, close to the northern border of Kazakhstan in the southern Ural steppes (Davis-Kimball 1997, 1997/98, 1998a).

⁷ For example, the female with weapons in kurgan 1 of the Ak-Alakha-1 cemetery, southern Gorno-Altai (Polos’mak 1991b; Polos’mak & Molodin 2000: 66-71, 83-84).

the enquiry of a Greek natural philosopher, like himself, into the nature of the world (R. Thomas 2000: 166). The *Histories* had encompassed many subjects of enquiry: far lands, nature, geography, political events, ethnic groups, medicine, and descriptions of marvels and curiosities. These were a collection of observations intermixed with histories, folk-tales and travellers' tales that were in circulation around Herodotus' time (O. Murray 1987). Therefore, Herodotus commented and observed through Greek eyes the Greek views of the barbarian peoples and Greek philosophical concepts. By acknowledging these biases and by understanding their limitations, these historical texts, like ethnography, can be carefully used in assisting our further understandings of ancient peoples.

* * *

In summary, what originally started as an inquiry into the meaning of the symbol of the deer in the rock art and material culture of ancient Central Asia, has developed into a re-examination of the conceptual basis of the animal style. Not only does this involve critiques of its problems, but the images of animals need to be looked at again from new perspectives. Important to this is the moving away from generalised notions of the universal principal of an 'animal style' to placing the zoomorphic imagery into their social contexts. This is achieved here through the two case studies of examining the petroglyphs of Kazakhstan and the material culture from the Pazyryk burials of the Altai. Through them further understandings of the role animal images play in society are gained and other relationships explored such the construction of people's identities and a society's connections to the landscape.

The animal style, zoomorphic imagery & society

Introduction

The Scytho-Siberian animal style has become an important part of the art history of the Early Nomads in first millennium BC Eurasia. As the name implies, the animal style refers to a particular set of formal characteristics utilised in the execution of zoomorphic images which adorned objects of material culture amongst the nomadic Scytho-Siberian peoples. The way these forms are conceived is embedded in Western ideals and attitudes about art history, which the following chapter re-examines.

In the late 18th century the origins of 'art history' was established by Johann Winckelmann's *History of the Art of Antiquity* (1764) which discussed known forms of Greco-Roman art as well as their origins, efflorescence and decline. This line of inquiry is the basis of the discipline of art history in what is known as the 'traditional approach'. It has developed since the 18th century into a culture-historic approach that examines the formal characteristics of an artwork, technique, sources, artistic genius, patrons, artistic schools, influences and survivals, as well as making judgements about artistic qualities (e.g., Roskill 1976: 14-15; Pointon 1994). Winckelmann's analysis of Greco-Roman antiquities also demonstrates the relatedness of the disciplines of art history and archaeology as both overlap in their pursuits of description, dating, chronological order and style towards the same objectives of identifying and classifying ancient objects.

The word 'style' originates from *stylus*, a Roman writing implement (*Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd edition, 1989). It initially referred to modes of writing and speech, however by the 18th century it pertained to the distinction of formal variations in art (e.g., Piles 1744). In archaeology the general concept of style also relates to similarity and variability in artefact morphology as well as the artefact's relationship to cultural identity.

This culture-historical approach to style emerged in the later 19th century and is best represented by the scholarship of Oscar Montelius (1903) who famously formulated artefactual seriation sequences for the European Bronze Age by drawing upon bronze tool and weapon morphologies. He developed the idea of seriation based on the evolution of physical forms which identified object styles relating to specific peoples in archaeological assemblages. Subsequently, Childe's (1956: 123) definition of 'archaeological culture' is based on this recognition of a repetition and similarity of physical forms, which is in essence the 'style' of an ancient culture. The isolation or identification of an artefactual style identifies archaeological assemblages with specific human groups within particular geographical areas and the presence of their contacts or influences with external groups. This is exemplified by the controversial scholarship of Kossinna (1911) who argued that artefactual styles represented the presence of bounded socio-political groupings of people – tribes, 'ethnic' groups – within European regions, i.e., Germans, Slavs and Celts.

After the 1960s, with the emergence of the new/processual archaeology, the concept of style was further seen as part of processes which created variation in the archaeological record (Jones 1997: 110-112). The formal stylistic variations of material culture reflects a way in which people do things that are influenced by factors such as adhering to culturally prescribed norms, adapting to environmentally determined factors (Binford 1965: 206-209) or facilitating the need for information exchange (Wobst 1977: 321). A few years later, British post-processualists reiterated style as a way of doing things, but within the confines of social structures that are historically situated (Shanks & Tilley 1987: 155; Hodder 1990). Shanks ([1993] 1996: 389), for example, argues that the style of material culture may be understood by theorising the social conditions of its production, the ideological contents of the object and its political associations as part of a researcher's dialectical engagement with the artefact.

Another significant development of the concept of style in archaeology comes from ethnographic analyses of stylistic variations and their connections to the expression of social identities. This can be highlighted by Wiessner's research (1983, 1984, 1985, 1989) on the San of the Kalahari. She argues that style is one of many ways through which personal identity can be expressed and affected by social interactions with other people. Style not only is used in creating social relationships and identities, but also contributed to their alteration and disruption (Wiessner 1984: 194; 1985: 161). This concept of style points out the active role that particular formal characteristics of material culture play in the mediation of relationships amongst different persons in society.

Despite these later developments in the concept of style in archaeology, the foundation of the animal style at the beginning of the 20th century was based in the traditional art historical/culture-historic approach. The purpose of the employment of the concept of the 'animal style' was to provide a history of art for archaeological objects with zoomorphic decoration from the Iron Age cultures of the Eurasian steppes. This idea of the animal style, however, has been held for so long that Scytho-Siberian studies have become inflexible in its application. As we shall see below, it is common from the literature to attribute objects and rock art images to the animal style without any explicit definition, yet its presence provides the identification of a pan-Scytho-Siberian culture across the steppes. Therefore, a review is first required of the key scholarship which has contributed to the construction of the idea of the animal style in Scytho-Siberian studies, and, second, its use in Central Asian rock studies. In doing so it is possible to deliberate upon the wider implications of the role of the animal style plays in the 'history of art' of the Early Nomads and propose fresh approaches to move these studies forward.

The Scytho-Siberian animal style

Objects ornamented with animals are connected to the beginnings of antiquarian and archaeological inquiry in Russia. The foundation of these disciplines is attributed to Peter the Great who was interested in the ancient cultures of Russia and recognised the scholarly and artistic merits of the gold metal objects which were being removed from Siberia (Zavitukhina 1978b: 13). By the 18th century, grave robbing of the ancient kurgans (barrows) of Siberia was a wide-scale practice: vast amounts of gold items were systematically opened by organised groups of *burovshchiki*, 'mound-diggers' (Minns 1913: 253). In 1716 the Governor of Siberia, M.P. Gagarin, presented ten gold objects to the Tsar, Peter the Great. Peter issued commands that the concealment and melting down of these antiquities were prohibited and they should be collected and brought to St Petersburg (Zavitukhina 1978b: 13). Around 200 metal objects of unknown provenance were acquired by Governor Gagarin in Tobolsk, the former capital of the Province of Siberia, which consisted of gold buckles and plaques ornamented with precious stones, enamels and the images of animals. They were first placed into the Tsar's treasury, then in 1727 moved to the first Russian public museum, the *Kunstammer*, in the city of St Petersburg (Zavitukhina 1978b: 13), and finally installed in the Hermitage Museum in 1859 (Jettmar 1967: 180). With the increase of archaeological finds attributed to the animal style in the 20th century, many pieces from Peter the Great's Siberian collection

were, in retrospect, incorporated into the style¹ and used as type examples in its definition (as discussed below).

Objects ornamented with animals continued to be removed from Asia during the 18th and 19th centuries. By the beginning of the 19th century, Imperial Russia controlled the territory directly north of the Black Sea. The coast of the Black Sea with its ancient Greek cities drew scholarly attention to the treasures which lay buried underneath the soil (Minns 1942a: 46). The golden finds of Greek and non-Greek antiquities were removed in a haphazard manner by landowners and amateur archaeologists, who were often followed by grave robbers (Jacobson 1995: 20). The systematic study of Scythian antiquities around the Black Sea began in 1830 with the excavation of Kul Oba kurgan (Crimea) and intensified after the establishment in 1859 of the Imperial Archaeological Commission, based in the Hermitage, St Petersburg (Piotrovsky 1987: 5). Archaeological societies formed in St Petersburg, Moscow and Odessa as their members searched southern Russia for treasures to be placed in museums and collections. The discovery of these antiquities brought new light to the descriptions of the Scythians and the land of Scythia by Classical authors, such as Herodotus and Strabo, and from the middle of the 19th century onwards efforts focused upon an archaeology of the Scythians (Jettmar 1967: 31).

The concept of the 'animal style' art arose in the beginning of the twentieth century as scholars classified the phenomenon of zoomorphic decorated artefacts turning up at archaeological sites across Europe and Asia. In European archaeology, for example, Bernhard Salin (1904) traced the evolution of animal ornamentation in his seminal study of the fibulae and clasps of Germany, *c.* 4-6th century AD. Moreover, important to Scythology was the publication in 1913 of Ellis Minns' weighty survey of the history and archaeology of the Scythians and the Greeks around the Black Sea. It provided a detailed guide and thoroughly annotated bibliography of 19th century antiquarian investigations of Scythian burials from the region between the Danube and the Caucasus (figure 7). In his chapter on the manifestations of Scythic art, Minns stated that there is "a unity in the design and execution" of the Scythian beast style (1913: 268), but he did not produce a formal definition of its characteristics; he only provided a brief guide to selected examples of the beast style from Scythian Art and the Siberian goldwork from Peter the Great's collection in the Hermitage. Minns did assert that the chief animal used in the beast style was the reindeer² in a crouching position: the Scytho-Siberians utilised in their art many

¹ Peter the Great's Siberian collection is a group of objects derived from diverse unknown locations and archaeological cultures. Debates about their original whereabouts and dating place some objects in the region of southern Siberia, Mongolia and the Ordos steppe (northern China) at about 6th-3rd centuries BC (e.g., Rudenko 1962; Jettmar 1967: 188-192).

² This description is not used any longer as scholars refer to them as deer.

other different beasts like birds of prey, felines, ibex, serpents, eagles, horses, oxen, boars and even humans (1913: 268).

Minns' small selection of beast-style Scythian antiquities were scrutinised for possible influences on the forms deriving from Greece, Assyria or Iran. He was particularly interested in the design similarities of some Scythian and Siberian objects to early Medieval Celtic and Teutonic animal ornamentations, which he referred to as the 'northern European beast-style' (1913: 187, 267) and speculated that the Scytho-Siberian beast style transmitted through the barbarians of Roman times and spread during the Great Migration period of Europe into the art of the Anglo-Saxons, Early Irish, Vikings and Teutons (1913: 282). Therefore, Minns was the first to employ the theme which would be repeated time and time again: the description of objects belonging to the Scythic 'beast style', comparison with similar objects from southern Siberia and their transmission into the art of non-Scytho-Siberian cultures, especially northern Europe.

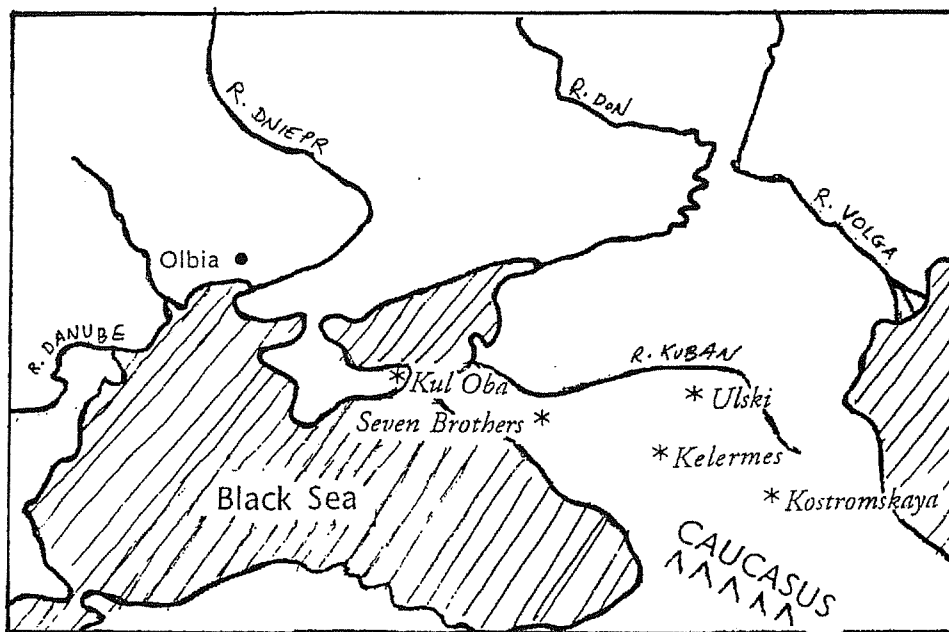


Figure 7. Map of the Black Sea region with sites of important Scythian tombs marked with asterisks (after Talbot Rice 1957: fig. 20).

The artefacts which Minns fleetingly described became the classic examples of the basic forms of the Scytho-Siberian animal style (figures 8-11): a recumbent animal, a single figure of an animal with smaller images of animals placed on its body, creatures with 'incongruous' extremities (sphinxes, griffins, and other fantastic beasts), and musculature depicted as a volute or S-shape (Minns 1913: 266-267). In particular, Minns (1913: 266) briefly cites the famous stags from the Scythian burials at Kostromskaya Stanitsa (Kuban river region, Caucasus, 7-6th centuries BC) and Kul Oba (Crimea, 5th century BC). The ornament from Kostromskaya Stanitsa (figure 8) came to typify the most famous 'classical'

style of Scythian art (e.g., Borovka 1928: 31; Phillips 1965: 63; Artamonov 1970: 53): the side profile of an ungulate with its legs tucked under their torso. The Kul Oba stag (figure 9) was similar to the Kostromskaya Stanitsa deer, but it also had the images of a griffin, hare and lion on its body, while the last antler tine terminated in a ram's head, hence representing the multiple zoomorphic characteristic of the animal style. With regard to fantastic beasts Minns, for example, pointed out that the Scythians used griffins which were common symbols in western Asian cultures. Examples of animals with volutes (figure 11) come from the unprovenanced Siberian examples of the Frolov collection³, which were carved in wood and bone. The inclusion of wooden and bone objects is significant as it demonstrated that the 'beast style' occurred in a wider range of mediums than the gold and metal objects, which predominated in Black Sea archaeological finds.

Minns' designation of the 'beast style'⁴ was then over-shadowed by the use of the term 'animal style' which is generally credited to Mikhail Rostovtzeff. Five years later, Rostovtzeff mentioned briefly, in Russian, the *zverinyi stil'*, 'animal style'⁵, of the Scythian artefacts associated with the Hellenistic and Iranian populations from around the Black Sea (1918: 44-45, 46, table V). Rostovtzeff left Russia in 1918 after the Bolshevik revolution and eventually immigrated to the United States of America (Beyer 1994: 273). In an article published in 1921, Rostovtzeff outlined briefly the scope of his forthcoming book, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia*, in which he was the first to use the famous English construction of the 'animal style' in relation to the art of the Scythians. In 1922 *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia* was published in English and it became an important scholarly contribution to the field of Scythology, as Minns (1913) had been beforehand, but subsequent scholars still credit Rostovtzeff as the coiner of term the 'animal style'.

Rostovtzeff's first mention of the *zverinyi stil'*, 'animal style', is quite brief and is found in a small booklet outlining archaeological discoveries of 'Hellenism and Iranians in South Russia', *Ellinstvo i Iranstvo na yuge Rossii* (1918). Scythian objects and horse harnesses found in burials from southern Russia featured the "completely distinctive so-called animal style, wherein figures and parts of figures of animals gradually transform into ornaments" (Rostovtzeff 1918: 44). He states that these figures fill a specific surface with animals in a conventional pose, a 'heraldic scheme' or they are placed one on top another.

³ The collection was assembled by the Russian engineer Frolov, who was in charge of mining projects in the Altai during 1793-1830 (Jettmar 1967: 83). The collection has subsequently been dispersed between several museums including the Hermitage. The objects were undated in Minns' time but are now considered to belong to the Scytho-Siberian culture of the Pazyryk, Gorno-Altai, c. 5th century BC (Barkova 1978).

⁴ In the publication of his lecture to the British Academy on the art of the 'Northern Nomads' (1942b), Minns still maintains the use of his term 'beast style'.

⁵ In Russian *zver* refers to wild animals so 'beast' or 'animal' would be appropriate. Russian speakers still use *zverinyi stil'* actively today.

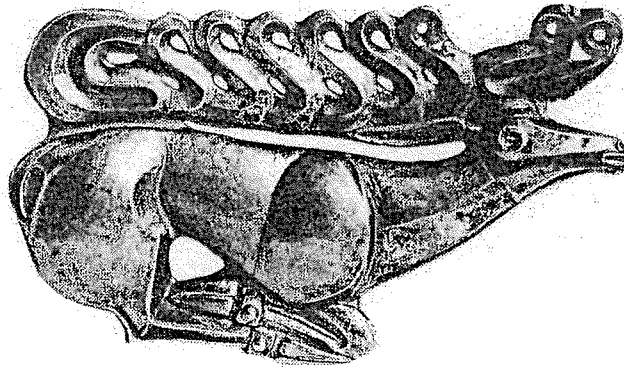


Figure 8. The classic Scytho-Siberian animal style form: the recumbent stag of Kostromskaya Stanitsa kurgan 1, Kuban river region, Caucasus (after Talbot Rice 1957: pl. 23). Gold shield plaque ornament. Size: 19x31 cm.

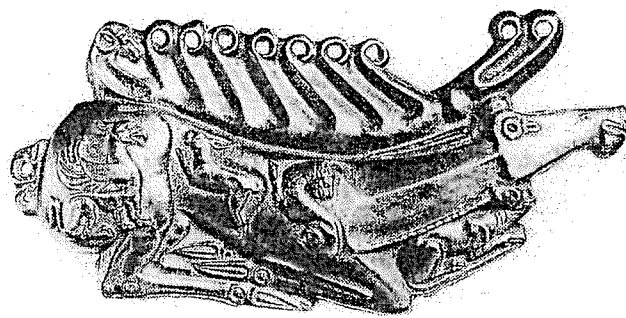


Figure 9. The stag of Kul Oba kurgan, Crimea (after Talbot Rice 1957: pl. 24). Gold shield plaque ornament. Size: 16x31.5 cm.

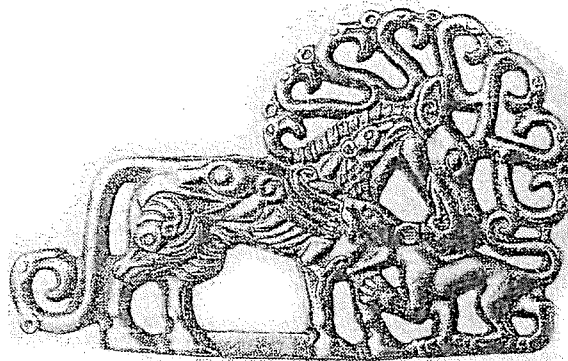


Figure 10. An example of a creature with 'incongruous' extremities from Verkhne-udinsk (after Borovka 1928: pl. 28a). Gold plaque ornament. Six: approx. 6.5x10.5 cm.

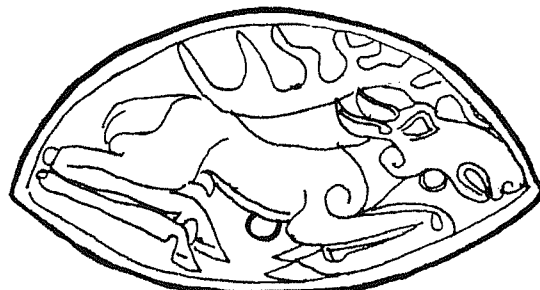


Figure 11. An example of volute musculature on a wooden plaque from Katanda kurgan 2 (after Borovka 1928: pl. 59). Size: approx. 10x18.7 cm.

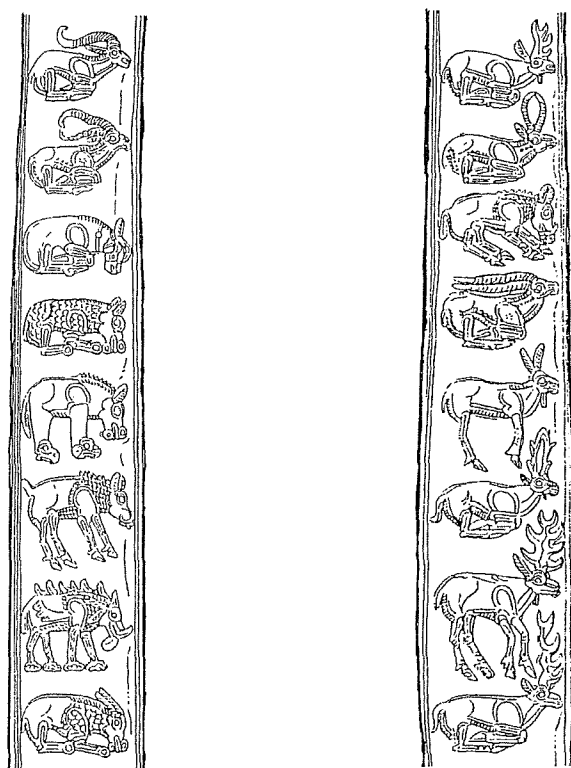


Figure 12. Details of the front and back of an axe handle from Kelermes kurgan 1, Kuban region (after Jettmar 1967: fig. 12). Gold plating covers a shaft which is 72 cm in length.

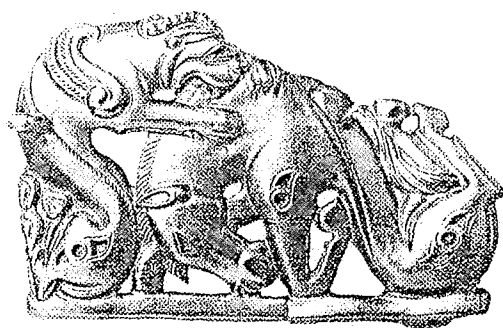


Figure 13. An example of a twisting beast (horse) and also a scene of combating animals cast into the form of a gold belt buckle from Peter the Great's Siberian collection, Hermitage (after Talbot Rice 1957: pl. 2). Size: approx. 7x11.5 cm.

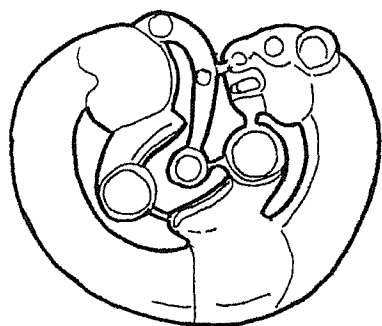


Figure 14. An example of a gold plaque in the form of a curling feline from Peter the Great's Siberian collection (after Talbot Rice 1957: pl. 20). Size: 9.3x10.9 cm.

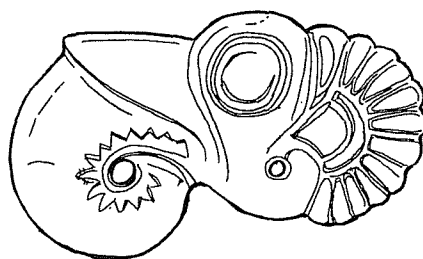


Figure 15. An example of a bronze horse bridle plaque in the form of a bird's head from Seven Brothers kurgan 2, Kuban region (after Borovka 1928: pl. 8a). Size: 5.8x9 cm.

Unfortunately, there are no definitions of what is a 'conventional pose' or a 'heraldic scheme', but they relate, perhaps, to the only example Rostovtzeff cites which is an axe handle from the Scythian tomb of Kelermes (1918: tab. V.4), Kuban river region of the Black Sea, c. 7-6th centuries BC. The axe handle (figure 12) is trimmed with gold and adorned with felines, ungulates and wild boars placed one above the other (i.e., Rostovtzeff's third criterion) and they are in the typical pose of the recumbent beast. Significantly, though, Rostovtzeff does not indicate where he derived the term, *zverinyi stil'*, and why he referred to it as 'so-called', as there were no other citations in the text.

In his major English publication, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia* (1922), Rostovtzeff devotes part of a chapter to the animal style. He tells us that "it would be an embarrassing task to catalogue all the feature of this and to classify all its variants" (1922: 194) as the corpus of material at the time was unpublished or published in obscure or unprocurable sources (*ibid.*, 196-197). Therefore, no formal definition was given of the Scythian animal style and there is an unarticulated assumption of the existence of an animal style present in many cultures from the Scythians, Sarmatians and Ionians around the Black Sea to the Chinese and the Germanic tribes of Europe. He does explain, though, that the animal objects were purely ornamental as they were decorated with various design conventions, and he provides a brief outline of some of its features; a figure's hindquarters turned opposite to its forepart (figure 13), felines curling in a circle (figure 14), animal and bird heads (figure 15), the extremities of a beast from other animals, and animal images combined with floral motifs (*ibid.*, 195-196). The bulk of his discussions then turn to the question of the origins of the Scythian animal style and its spread into Early European Medieval art. Rostovtzeff hints at the animal style being found in a wide range of archaeological cultures, but it is not until 1929 that he fully developed his origins thesis.

The next important early work devoted to the study of the animal style is G. Borovka's survey of *Scythian Art* (1928), translated into English by Gordon Childe. Prior to this book Minns (1913) and Rostovtzeff (1922) had published large volumes on the archaeology of the Scythians and the Greeks with small sections on Scytho-Siberian art. Borovka's book, though titled *Scythian Art*, was the earliest book focusing only on Scytho-Siberian art and saw its publication one year before Rostovtzeff's two volumes devoted to the animal style (1929a, 1929b).

Borovka tells us that we could distinguish local variations in the art from Scythia and Siberia, but together they constitute a unitary stylistic group, the animal style (1928: 30). He, however, does not provide a formal definition of the Scytho-Siberian animal style and only mentions general qualities such as motifs combined together in a 'most fantastic

manner' or conventional portrayals that are not 'naturalistic', yet express artistic observations which reproduce essential forms (*ibid.*, 31-33). Borovka follows Minns and Rostovtzeff in focusing on his exemplary examples of typical forms; cervid antlers with branches turning into animal or bird heads (e.g., the Kul Oba deer), the sitting stag (e.g., the Kostromskaya Stanitsa deer) and other animals with their limbs folded beneath their torso, complete animal forms with animal motifs on their body parts, the bird head motif, the feline motif, animals in combat or preying on one another (figure 13), fantastic monsters, etc. After providing examples of this repertoire of Scythian art, Borovka then proceeds to the issues of their origins and an evolutionary scheme is proposed which reiterated Rostovtzeff's 1922 thesis of the connections between the Black Sea through Central Asia to Siberia and China. Borovka concludes his book stating that he has provided for us an examination of "the growth and decline, the blossoming and forced expansion, the suffocation ... and the slow, tragic lonely decay" of the enigmatic art of the Scytho-Siberian world (1928: 88-89).

The year 1929 saw the publication of two of Rostovtzeff's works. A Russian text written around the time of *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia* (1922) was not published until 1929 in Prague (Rostovtzeff 1929a) but was superseded by a more recent work in English that was based on his lectures at Princeton University, USA (1929b). They both followed on from the *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia* as Rostovtzeff was captivated by the question of the origins of the animal style. However, the Princeton monograph (*The animal style in South Russia and China*, 1929b) represents Rostovtzeff's clearest statement of what he thought the Scythian animal style entailed. Having now examined a wider range of materials he maintained his previous identified features, with few new additions, and divided the art into early (7-6th centuries BC) and late periods (5-4th centuries BC):

Early Scythian animal style. 1) The tendency to shape objects as animals; 2) the adornment of objects with animals or their parts; 3) arrangement of animals in rows; 4) tendency to fill up space on the figures; 5) naturalistic rendering of figures; 6) tendency to transform body parts into ornaments; or 7) to render the extremities as animals or their parts; 8) reduction of the animal to their typical parts, e.g., wing; 9) real animals (fantastic ones the exception); 10) choice of wild animals; 11) lack of human figures; and 12) no floral motifs (Rostovtzeff 1929b: 28-29).

Later Scythian animal style. 1) Many objects imported from Persia, Ionian Greece and the Attic period; 2) Scythian articles made by Ionian or Ionian trained artists (Rostovtzeff 1929b: 29).

A formalist stance would find the outline of Rostovtzeff's characteristics too general in application for making a definition of a visually distinct art form. In particular, the criteria

of a 'tendency to shape objects as animals' or 'adorn objects with animals' is applicable to any society in time and space which utilised zoomorphic images. The term 'naturalistic' is also problematic as it is reliant on the personal value judgements of the scholar; others have disagreed and found them less than 'naturalistic' in execution (e.g., Borovka 1928: 31-33). These outlined qualities, therefore, are so general that they are meaningless and do not even begin to address the function or meaning of zoomorphic decoration in different societies. Furthermore, aspects of the criteria are equally applicable to the art forms from other neighbouring contemporaneous cultures such as the Greeks and Achaemenids of Iran who also utilised, for example, wild animals in their art. In his writing Rostovtzeff was not clear at times about which objects came distinctly from a Scythian archaeological context and the reader is embroiled in the descriptions which place the emphasis on discussing the source of the motifs from other cultures rather than locating the archaeological context of the object or even its social context. The remainder of the book is then devoted to the origins, transmission and survival of the animal style in the Black Sea through Central Asia to Siberia and China. However, it is important to point out that Rostovtzeff was the first to define an internal stylistic development of the Scythian animal style and his idea of an Early and Late phase is still used in Scythian studies and it has also been adapted to other Scytho-Siberian cultures (e.g., Artamonov 1973: 276, 278).

Minns, Rostovtzeff and Borovka had established the foundations of the study of the Scytho-Siberian animal style as they had assembled a group of examples which are the basis of recognised traits which aid its identification in archaeological cultures. Upon closer inspection the definition of the style was based on an presumption of the ubiquitous existence of an animal style, which implied there has always been such a universal principle. Minns and Borokova did not explicitly state the criteria for the identification of animal style, while Rostovtzeff had provided a clear statement. With regards to Rostovtzeff's proposals, but equally applicable to the others, it has been pointed out that his criteria did not sufficiently express a completeness of the style which would be useful in further analysis (Sher 1988: 51). There was a significant lack of formal typological definition of the Scythian animal style in the Black Sea artefacts and the characteristics outlined could easily be applied to images from other archaeological cultures. The criterion of the use of fantastic animals, for example, included griffins and sphinxes which are common to many other cultures such as the Greeks, Assyrians, Achaemenids, etc. Therefore, in essence these researcher's model of the animal style was more based on the iconography of the animals, as exemplified by the image of the recumbent deer, rather than a detailed formal analysis. The selected features of the animal style then can demonstrate a similarity between various 'arts' without discussing what the similarities or dissimilarities may mean other than artistic style. These studies did not focus solely upon the animal style art derived from Scythian

contexts and their discussions involved a toggling back and forth from Scythian iconography to Siberian and other objects from the archaeological cultures of Asia Minor. This was in part based on an implicit assumption of a unity amongst the art of ancient Eurasian nomadic cultures and also partly related to the state of current knowledge about these archaeological cultures in their day. In particular, the Siberian artefactual sequences at the beginning of the 20th century were yet to be explored and had not been fleshed out until the middle of the century after a programme of systematic excavations by Soviet archaeologists.

Therefore, the next important synthesis in Scytho-Siberian studies and on the animal style was Karl Jettmar's *Art of the Steppes: The Eurasian animal style* (English edition 1967). The importance of Jettmar's work is that it was not only an up-to-date guide to the Early Nomadic archaeology of its time but it also provided valuable insights into the history of Imperial Russian and Soviet archaeology as well as the socio-political circumstances of the archaeologists. Jettmar embraced unconditionally the assumption of a widespread animal style in the Early Nomadic cultures of the Eurasian steppe. He does not re-examine the formal attributes of the animal style as the purpose of his book was the synthesis of research to date including new discoveries and their regional chronological sequences. At one point Jettmar even criticises Soviet archaeologists for not developing further the art history of animal style aesthetics, but at the same time praises them for the refinement of archaeological chronologies (1967: 63). The largest chapter is devoted to summarising the discoveries of the frozen tombs of the 'Scythians of the Altai', the Pazyryk. Interestingly, Jettmar (*ibid.*, 133) mentions the proposed classification⁶ of the animal style for the Pazyryk, but no such summary was given for the other regional Scytho-Siberian cultures including the Scythians of the Black Sea. However, the discoveries from the frozen tomb made a significant impact on archaeology in general, as well as Scytho-Siberian animal style studies because of the wide range of perishable objects preserved by freezing which were made skilfully and decorated richly. In short, Jettmar's main concern in his book was the reiteration of the preoccupation of providing an art history for the forms of Scytho-Siberian art, especially with regards to their origin, efflorescence and diffusion. Towards the end he does hint at the possibility of the zoomorphic images being symbols of power or having magio-religious significance. However, after examining all the archaeological cultures from the Black Sea to China, Jettmar concludes there was undoubtedly a universal repertoire of animal motifs known as the animal style (Jettmar 1967: 207).

⁶ S.I. Rudenko's proposal for the Pazyryk does not differ too much from Rostovtzeff's outline (1922, 1929b) for the Black Sea Scythians: schematic renderings of animal parts, realistic animal scenes, fantastic creatures, heraldic scenes, and animal combat scenes (S.I. Rudenko cited in Jettmar 1967: 133-134).

In comparison with Jettmar, what is also significant about the earlier studies (Minns, Rostovtzeff and Borovka) is that their approach to Scytho-Siberian art considered it served a decorative function which precluded an examination for what art historians refer to as 'content' – the possible significances of the motifs or their symbolic meanings. Their discussions have been primarily about the assumed form and its transmission and evolution. In effect their descriptions of the formal aspects of the appearance of decorated objects lead to inquiries which only searched for sources and dissemination in the art of other cultures and ignored the complexity of relationships which the objects performed in daily life. Later studies did raise questions about the function and meaning of the animal objects. D. Carter (1957), for example, considered the animal style images as symbols which signified ideas about magic and religion, while Jettmar (1967) briefly contemplated the Pazyryk animal art as symbols of the socio-political power of chiefs or possessed some sort of magio-religious content.

So far I have only examined the scholarship of four of the most prominent contributors to the notion of the Scytho-Siberian animal style. The idea of the animal style, based on the works of Minns, Rostovtzeff and Borovka, was embraced by their contemporaries and subsequent scholars in the examination of other Early Nomadic archaeological cultures across the Eurasian steppes (e.g., Alföldi 1931a-b; Carter 1957; Talbot Rice 1957; Vyaz'mitina 1963; Chernikov 1965; Phillips 1965; Jettmar 1967; Artamonov 1968; Artamonov 1973; Melyukova & Moshkova 1976; etc.).

A significant development in the expansion of knowledge about Scytho-Siberian art came from the excavations of the frozen tombs from the Gorno-Altai. Since metalworks tend to frequently survive the ravages of time, their predominance in Scythian art has led to the assumption that the most unifying aspect of the art was its use of gold and other metals (e.g., Jacobson 1995: 1). Initially, the Scytho-Siberian animal style, as discussed by Minns, Rostovtzeff and Borovka, was based predominately on gold and metal objects recovered from burials, but there was also an acknowledgement of other mediums like the Siberian objects made of bone and wood from the Frolov collection (e.g., Rostovtzeff 1929a: plate IX.43) and artefacts from the excavations of Katanda (e.g., Borovka 1928: 63) (figure 11). The latter was a tomb in the Altai, excavated in the middle of the 19th century, where freezing had preserved perishable organic remains like wood and clothing and led to later discoveries of more frozen tombs within the region which were full of extraordinary items.

The first Altai frozen tombs were excavated in 1865 by the Turkologist, W. Radloff. A local's collection of animal ornamented objects derived from plundered burials led

Radloff to excavate ancient cemeteries in the areas of Katanda and Berel⁷ (Radloff 1884). Radloff found a large kurgan at each site which had been robbed in the past, but both tombs revealed several bodies of horses and the remains of humans in log chambers. The ground was frozen and Radloff lit fires to melt the ice in order to reach each tomb's inner depths. During the process of thawing garments, gold leaf and wooden ornaments were revealed to have animal decorations. These discoveries of zoomorphic ornaments were not hailed as the 'animal style' by the excavator, but the few surviving museum specimens of Radloff's Katanda excavations were identified as such several decades later by Borovka (1928: 63-64) during his survey of known Scytho-Siberian art.

Radloff's Altai discoveries were followed up in the beginning of the 20th century. New explorations in the South Siberian region were conducted in the late 1920s by M.P. Gryaznov and S.I. Rudenko. In 1924 the cemetery of Pazyryk was discovered and the first kurgan was excavated in 1929 (Gryaznov & Golomshtok 1933). This burial consisted of ten horses with elaborate harnesses and saddles decorated with various motifs including numerous animal images. A few years later Pazyryk kurgans 2-4 were excavated between 1947-48 and kurgans 5-8 were excavated in 1949 (Rudenko 1953, 1970) which revealed even more spectacular finds, notably the remains of a male body tattooed with 'fantastic' animals. All the Pazyryk graves had been broken into previously and the robbers scattered the burial furnishings and displaced the human bodies in their search for gold. Despite this, the excavators found large amounts of preserved organic remains including wood, fur, leather, felt, textiles and clothing adorned with animals. The preservation of objects allowed for the detailed study of craft production of wood, felt, leather and carpets. Furthermore, some of imagery found at Pazyryk was related to objects from Peter the Great's Siberian Collection (e.g., Rudenko 1962) as well as motifs related to the ancient art from Iran, China and the Classical world (e.g., Azarpay 1959; Rudenko 1970). The zoomorphic imagery found in the Pazyryk tombs was regarded as belonging to the animal style (e.g., Jettmar 1951; Carter 1957; Gavrilova 1957: 266; Jettmar 1967; Rudenko 1970: 272) and these discoveries were hailed as a unique window into "the early nomads' vivid and original animal-style" (Barkova 1978: 25).

Along with the Pazyryk there have been many objects from regional archaeological cultures (Scytho-Siberian and others) across Eurasia that were identified as possessing the animal style (e.g., Carter 1957; Vyaz'mitina 1963; Ghirshman 1964; Chernikov 1965; Phillips 1965; Jettmar 1967; Artamonov 1968; Bunker *et al.* 1970; Artamonov 1973; Khlobystina 1974; Melyukova & Moshkova 1976; Denwood 1977; Aidarkulov 1980; Oborin 1987;

⁷ Katanda now resides in the Autonomous Republic of Gorno-Altai, Russian Federation, while Berel is in the oblast of East Kazakhstan, the Republic of Kazakhstan.

Debaine-Francfort 1990; Chlenova 1996; Raevskii 1996; Parzinger 1997; Brentjes 1998; etc.). The animal style was even attested to have survived in the art of peoples from the ethnographic present such as the Tungus of the Amur and the Goldi of Siberia (e.g., Lopatin 1961; Korenyako 1985), as well as the nomadic tribes of northern Tibet (Roerich 1930). However, the animal style was believed to have spread outside of Eurasia through the Arctic into the Americas (e.g., Rainey 1971; Coe 1976; Mundkur 1984). In effect it has become a universal description of the presence of animal ornamentation in any place and any time across the world. Essentially, scholars were generalising their employment of the term 'animal style' and then particularising it to an individual culture or society. However, these constructions of the animal style are embedded, problematically, in Western conceptions of art, and these now need to be scrutinised more closely.

Western art, Western values

The definition of art on which the animal style is based derives from the 19th century emergence of the division of 'high arts' from 'lesser' or 'decorative arts' as well as the idea of the artist as a genius (e.g., Wolff 1981). Craft was deemed to be manufactured items, while the higher arts were a superior form of activity which involved creativity and production by selected individuals. This was connected to the shift from the traditional patrons (Church, Academy, nobility) to dealer-critic system and its middle-class buyers (White & White 1965; Wolff 1981). Art was further relocated and isolated by the values of an elite involving 'aesthetics' (Mueller 1938), subjective judgements of beauty and taste, and seeking the essence of art as philosophical truth. This binary split of art still regulates significantly how design and visual forms are perceived and consumed in Western society.

Minns argued that the 'beast-style' originated in the Scytho-Siberian finds of the east and the style was adopted by the 'higher arts' of the civilisations of Assyria and Persia (Minns 1913: 282). The art flourished across the Eurasian steppes and found its way into the La Tène period of Europe and progressed into the Teutonic art of the Great Migration period (Minns 1913: 259). As it spread to the west, Minns argued there was a 'degradation' of the forms and techniques, eventually producing the "stiff rectilinear designs" found in the art of Anglo-Saxon burials (Minns 1913: 282). Meanwhile, Rostovtzeff described the Scythian objects from the Black Sea as 'highly developed' (1922: 193) as opposed to the Bronze Age antiquities of South Siberia which were a 'stationary' art with 'poorer' decorations that were 'clumsy' and 'rude' (Rostovtzeff 1922: 197). Rostovtzeff added, however, that the South Siberian style was not 'primitive' but a 'decadent' and 'derivative' style.

These other subjective descriptions of the art's qualities were then used for the traditional art historical preoccupation of the classification of stylistic schools. Minns forwarded the idea of an 'animal style rococo' as a possible school of Scythian art (Minns 1942b: 22), while G. Borovka described the Scythian animal style of the Black Sea as 'primitive impressionism' (Borovka 1928: 33, 37). Furthermore, the direct contact between the Greeks and the Scythians since the 5th century BC gave rise to a new variant of the art which other scholars have called the 'baroque period' of the Scythian animal style (Il'inskaia 1982: 77).

Words like 'decadent', 'derivative', 'mature' and 'archaic' have also been used. Such ideas lead to the supposition of 'art for art's sake' whereby the animal subjects of Scythian art are treated in a style of ornamentation that is determined by the decorative function and visual pleasure of the art. For some scholars, this style was believed to be applied continuously in Scythian art as it expressed a certain way of thinking and contributed to the satisfaction of aesthetic needs (e.g., Artamonov 1979: 13). In this way art is treated as a non-essential, non-functional part of society, leading to the conclusion that the decorations were generated for solely for the contemplation of beauty.

However, Talbot Rice believed that the animal art was in a "state of development"; the Scytho-Siberians did not produce ornamented objects solely for delight, because such a "detached concept" was beyond the scope of 'primitive' people, who could not produce fine works of art for pure aesthetics (Talbot Rice 1957: 147-148). The Early Nomads had an instinct for beauty and surrounded themselves with animal forms but they had to stay at this level of decoration because "the nomad does not like an art which is liable to stimulate his imagination" (*ibid.*, 148). Such fanciful statements are part of misplaced Western notions about 'primitive' and 'barbaric' peoples; the art was seen by scholars to illustrate nothing more than the cultural achievements (or lack of them) of the Scytho-Siberians.

In Western society, aesthetics has been dominated by the ideals of an elite who conceived art as the product of the creativity of the privileged few (Mueller 1938: 222). Aesthetics was related to an autonomous experience separate from society which sought a universal, timeless truth in the conception of beauty. It has been pointed out that aesthetics became yet another form of Western imperialism whereby it presupposed "a transcendent vantage point from which styles or tastes could be judged relative to each other" (Lock 1994: 409).

These attitudes are connected to the display of objects in art galleries and museums. Many of the early Scythian art objects were removed from their burials for museum collections. The institution of the museum was founded on the appropriation of the art and artefacts of

other cultures for Western preoccupations of preservation, comparison and aesthetic reflection (Lock 1994). This acquisition and display of objects from other cultures generates the expectation of an autonomy of art that is a universal expression of all humankind. Portable pieces of art displayed in museums and galleries are assumed to have retrievable aesthetic values independent of the place where the items are displayed (Heyd 2000: 21-22). Consequently, art museums and galleries tend to be places that neutralise the ancient antiquities and divorce them from their original living (or funerary) context.

Additionally, Jacobson has also pointed out that museum displays emphasise the grand splendour of Scytho-Siberian gold and its roots in 'barbarism' because of their location on the borders of Greek and Chinese civilisations (Jacobson 1993: 23). This is part of the exoticness which the art embodies in Western eyes: an art produced by ancient steppe nomads evokes the aura of mystery and romance. The display of the objects in a museum involves appropriation into a Western context which obscures the original social context and emphasises the exoticness and otherness of another society. Non-western art and ancient artefacts are not, however, supposed to be looked at like butterflies in a glass case for they were once active, social component of people's lives.

The idea that 'art' is solely nonutilitarian, ornamented objects is an older Western notion which comes from attitudes of 'fine art': paintings hanging in art galleries in order to be appreciated as objects of beauty. The value judgements of a Western viewer do not represent the actual meaning of the image regardless of it being a simple schematic etching in natural rock or a skilfully executed gold figurine. These and other descriptions only describe the manner of execution and indicate the social values of a Western elite. Such descriptions are problematic for they do not deal with the meanings, functions and experiences of the images within ancient societies. The animal ornaments were not originally Western art objects, as they are now, for they played an active part in the lives of people within ancient societies.

Grand art historical narratives

The animal style is an art tradition which describes zoomorphic decoration in an individual society, but it is perceived to also operate in numerous other societies across time and space. Rostovtzeff was one of the first scholars to place the animal style into the widest context of the arts of all humanity. In *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia* (1922), Rostovtzeff was captivated by the question of the origins of the animal style. He discussed the possibilities of its genesis, on the one hand, in Asia Minor from the neolithic and copper ages and

transmitted to the Sumerians, Assyrians and Greeks, and on the other hand, in the Bronze Age of Siberia and diffused westward to Asia Minor. However, Rostovtzeff favoured the idea of Scythian art arising in Central Asia (the area of the former General Governorship of Turkestan) and the Altai, from where it was brought to South Russia by the Saka while also moving east into Chinese art. However, he was not satisfied with the Central Asian beginnings of the animal style and he wanted to find its ultimate origin (Rostovtzeff 1922: 191). A few years later Rostovtzeff expanded the hypothetical origins of the animal style into the Upper Palaeolithic, and he hailed the animal style as “the oldest style in the decorative art of mankind” (Rostovtzeff 1929b: 4).

Herbert Kühn followed upon these expectations as he linked the petroglyph images of deer in the Karelian region of Russia with Scythian antiquities. He stated:

“Scythian art is, indeed, the last and remote flowering of Ice Age art, right out in the East, in the regions of vast forests and huge lakes, where the chase remained of vital importance for Man’s subsistence and where Man’s ways of life had, indeed, hardly changed from Ice Age times” (Kühn 1966: 209).

Kühn believed this ‘semi-naturalist’ school had deep connections with the French Upper Palaeolithic painted caves and the ‘uncivilised’ ancient peoples who continued to practise this form of ‘primitive’ art. The Palaeolithic, thus, gave rise to the first great animal style which carried on into countless Eurasian cultures. This culture-historic view of art being separate from society and part of wider global art historical trends resulted in grand comparisons between societies of distant spatial/temporal contexts, i.e., Upper Palaeolithic and the Black Sea Scythians. This diffusionist-based belief assumed a universal process of culture evolution where all art forms are discussed in terms of adaptation, disintegration and degradation of the ‘original’ pattern.

A different twist in the grand narrative of the Scytho-Siberian animal style has been argued by Esther Jacobson. Through a series of papers which eventually resulted in a book, Jacobson explored the possible Goddess connections of deer imagery in prehistoric Siberia (Jacobson 1983, 1984, 1993). Even though she rejected the use of the ‘animal style’ designation, Jacobson still drew on the imagery which scholars argue to be within its parameters. Central to her speculations was the evocative image of the deer. She contends the Scythian stag was most likely derived from the so-called ‘Neolithic cults of the elk’ found in the petroglyphs of Scandinavia, Karelia (northwest Russia) and along the Tom, Angara and Lena rivers of Siberia. In the petroglyph record, apparently, by the 1st millennium BC, the image of the elk was replaced by the image of hunted reindeer and

maral deer⁸ (Jacobson 1983: 68). According to Jacobson, the deer stones of Mongolia document the final transition from the ancient fertility cult of the elk to the appearance of the Scythian stag with its elaborate antlers (Jacobson 1983: 68). Jacobson's underlying belief was that the image of deer demonstrated how the Goddess had become obscured in Scythian art since her inception during Neolithic times (Jacobson's Goddess theory is re-examined in chapter 2). Jacobson saw the image of a deer, thus, as a 'text' which was elaborated and modified through the emergence, florescence and decline of a once powerful symbolic system (Jacobson 1993: 47).

Such ideas of the evolution of style are based upon assumptions related to traditional art historical ideas of expansion and contraction. The images were treated as phenomena separate from their societies in an attempt to define a preconceived stylistic sequence. What is crucial to these schemes is that the art passed through stages of development. The animal style was in a state of eternal development which was beset by development and degeneration (Borovka 1928: 68) as it was transmitted through other cultures throughout the ages. The idea that particular conventions or themes belong to a specific stage of archaeological culture needs to be carefully reconsidered, for such schemes sprout, blossom and wither autonomously according to the complex social processes in which they were embedded.

Central Asian rock art & the animal style

So far, I have examined the historical context of the perceived 'artistic nature' of the animal style put forward by its founders (Minns, Rostovtzeff and Borovka), who treated the animal style not as a strict taxonomic unit, but as an expression of the artistic-aesthetic sensibilities of the Scytho-Siberians: yet at the same time it was autonomous to their societies and transmitted itself into other societies. A second position, which is dominant in Central Asian rock art studies, considers the animal style as a taxonomic unit distinct from other complexes (e.g. 'Bronze Age') and represents a stage of historical development which is synchronic across Scytho-Siberian cultures. These two positions are quite similar in their approach as they consider that the animal style embodies a unifying art which reflects groups of peoples collectively known as the Scytho-Siberians.

Scholars were influenced by the precedent of the animal style in Scytho-Scythian studies and found correlations in the rock art images of Central Asia. The application of absolute

⁸ The maral deer is a Siberian and Central Asian name for *Cervus elephas*. In Europe it is known as the Red Deer and in North America the Wapiti.

techniques have so far been unsuitable or have met with little success for dating images carved into the exposed cliffs and rocky hillsides, therefore relative dating is the prevalent means of age determination (Sher & Garyaeva 1996: 120). As the Scytho-Siberians have been classified by archaeologists as belonging to the Iron Age, the animal style is an important chronological indicator in Central Asian rock art studies. From southern Siberia and Mongolia through Kazakhstan to Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan the animal style is the basis by which particular zoomorphic petroglyphs are classified and dated.

One of the earliest scholars to identify the Scytho-Siberian animal style in the petroglyphs of Central Asia was J.C. Andersson (1932: 308-310). His observations were based on the recordings collected by Finnish explorers during their late 19th century travels to the Altai region (Aspelin *et al.* 1931). Andersson concluded that the bulk of the images published in the Finnish monograph was probably contemporaneous with the great Eurasian Animal Style by comparison to Central Asian cauldrons⁹ (Andersson 1932: 309); the cauldron handles were shaped into animals and hence considered by Andersson to be part of the animal style. According to Anderson (1932: 310), the Altai rock carvings expanded upon the arts of the Eurasian nomads and depicted the rudimentary characteristics of hunting magic.

In the publication of his lecture to the British Academy, Minns (1942b) identified a link between rock art and the 'beast style'. Minns tells us how some deer, found in the rock carvings of Siberia and the Far East had curving antlers like the famous Kostromskaya Stanitsa deer (Minns 1942b: 20). From a huge corpus of artefact illustrations Minns used only one image of a cervid from a rock engraving found on the Tola river in Mongolia (Minns 1942b: plate XVIIIg). This illustration was placed in a table of gold plaques with battling animals from Derestuy, which was in the same district as the Tola rock engravings (Minns 1942b: 30). Unfortunately, Minns made a comparison of the Tola image to an Ordos bronze object from China dated to 1004-1226 AD (Minns 1942b: 32) which, quite clearly, undermines his Scythian age date.

In 1947, S.S. Chernikov discussed several scenes which he dated to the Scythian period in his study of the rock art sites around the Upper Irtysh river, in East Kazakhstan. In particular, there was one petroglyph of a deer from Tamurashi II which had tucked-in legs characteristic of the Scythian animal style (Chernikov 1947: 278-279). Chernikov argued another deer petroglyph also had significant analogues to bronze and gold objects from Siberia and the Black Sea, especially that of the recumbent stag of Kostromskaya Stanitsa.

⁹ The dating of cauldrons is still a matter of debate. Bokovenko (1981), for example, suggests many belong to the Iron Age ranging 8th-3rd centuries BC. More recently, Erdy (1999) puts forward an argument that the cauldrons relate to the Xiongnu/Hun period 3rd century BC to 2nd century AD.

Subsequently, the animal style has been identified at numerous petroglyph sites from Mongolia (e.g., Nowgorodowa 1980), Tuva (e.g., Grach 1957; Devlet 1977), Gorno-Altai (e.g., Cheremisin 1995; Bourgeois, Bourgeois, Cammaert *et al.* 1999), Kazakhstan (e.g., Kadyrbaev & Mar'yashev 1977; Samashev 1993), Kyrgyzstan (e.g., Gaponenko 1963; Panfilov 1987; Sher *et al.* 1987), and Uzbekistan (e.g., Khuzhanazarov 1998a). In recent years, the Scytho-Siberian animal style has been sought by German and French researchers in Tibet and Pakistan. Karl Jettmar has worked extensively in the Upper Indus Valley and produced numerous reports on his petroglyph findings which included the identification of the animal style (Jettmar 1982, 1985a, 1985b, 1991). French researchers have re-examined Jettmar's sites and re-iterated the presence of petroglyphs whose likenesses were part of the Scytho-Siberian animal style (Francfort *et al.* 1990, 1992; Francfort 1992).

The common theme throughout these later studies has been, first, the confirmation of images from the Scytho-Siberian animal style and, second, placing their location in the wider perspective of the pan-Scytho-Siberian world. Whereas in Scytho-Siberian studies, which I have examined above, there has been an emphasis on the artistic appreciation of the animal style objects as well as their origins and dissemination, Central Asian rock art studies have focused on the images as a peg upon which to hang culture-historic frameworks at petroglyph sites. This is accomplished by establishing one to one correspondences between petroglyph and Scytho-Siberian artefact rendered in the animal style. With this achieved the image is interpreted with the ideas and conceptions relating to Early Nomads and Scytho-Siberians.

An excellent example of this interpretative process is the case study involving the eagles petroglyphs at the site of Eshkiol'mes, on the Koxsu river in southeast Kazakhstan. Tucked away from the main concentration of petroglyphs at Eshkiol'mes, and near the top of a steep crag, there are figures of eagles (figure 16), which correspond to stylised images of eagles of the early Iron Age in Kazakhstan (Mar'yashev 1994: 57). The eagles are similar to the golden decorations of eagles (figure 17) from the Chilikty burial site which date around 7-6th centuries BC (Chernikov 1965; *cf.* Mar'yashev 1994: 68). The images are usually published and sometimes placed by an illustration of the corresponding artefact, however, Mar'yashev did not do this and only described them in his text.

The next step is that the petroglyph image is then placed into a diagram of typological seriation. As opposed to the Scytho-Siberian studies outlined above, there has been the publication of typological seriations which compare the forms of animal style petroglyphs with Scytho-Siberian animal style artefacts. (e.g., Samashev 1993: fig. 175; M. Devlet

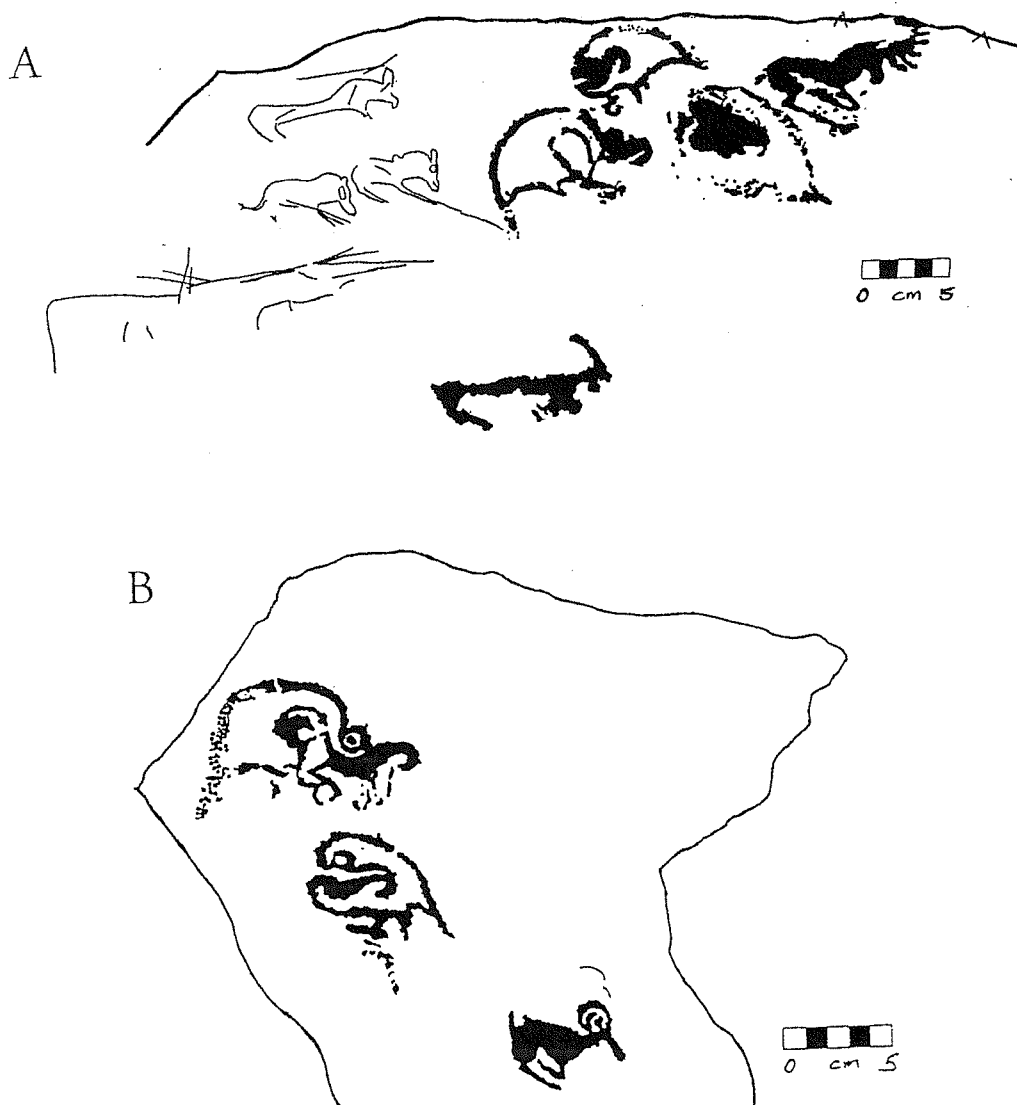
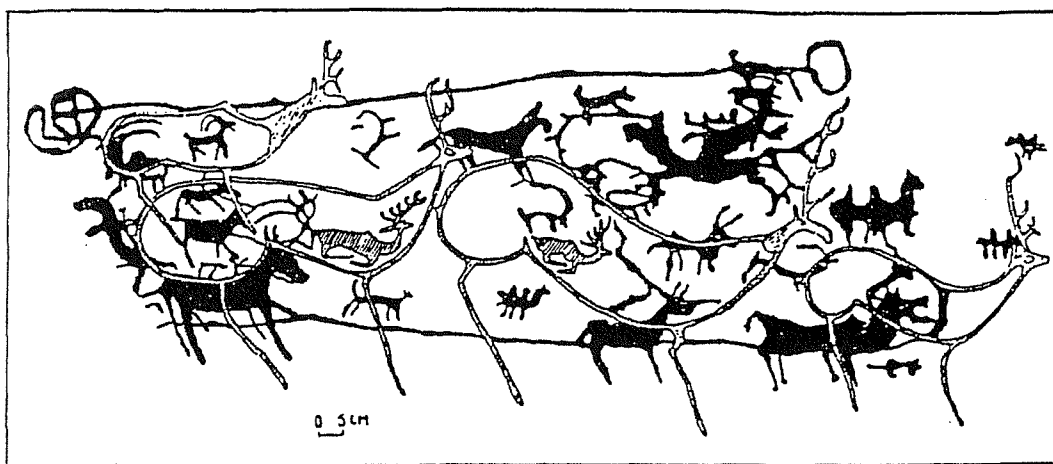


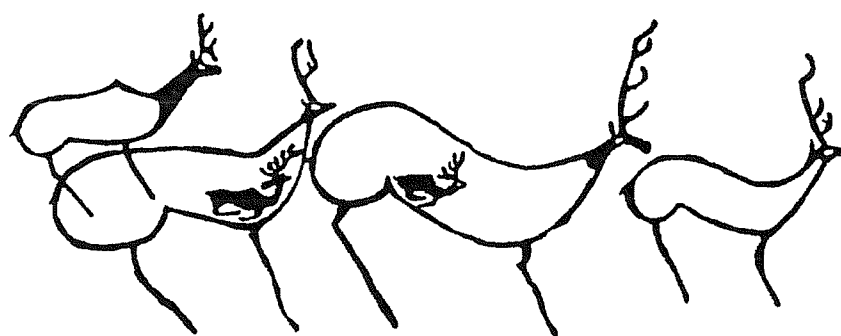
Figure 16. Details of two scenes (a & b) with eagles from the petroglyph site of Eshkiol'mes, southeastern Kazakhstan (tracings by author).



Figure 17. The golden eagle ornaments from Chilikty kurgan 5, eastern Kazakhstan (after Chernikov 1965: tab. XIV). Individual sizes: approx. 11.2x1.6 cm.



A



B

Figure 18. a) Arpauzen V surface 69 (after Kadyrbaev & Mar'yashev 1977: fig. 73).
b) The Sako-Scythian layer of deer.

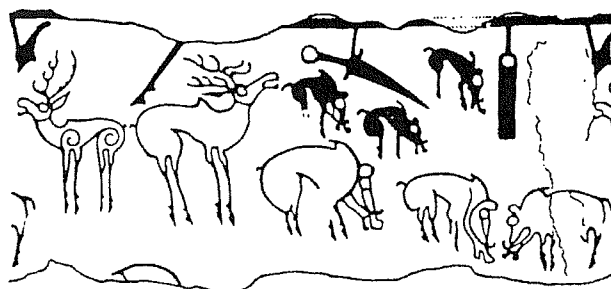


Figure 19. The 'deerstone' found in the kurgan mound of Arzhan, Tuva
(after Gryaznov 1980: fig. 29.2).

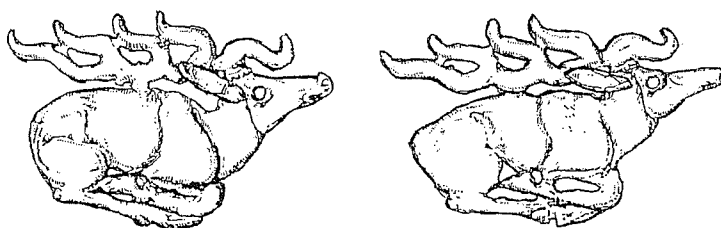


Figure 20. Examples of small gold plaques in the form of deer from Chilikty kurgan 5
(after Chernikov 1965: table XII). Individual sizes: approx. 7x4 cm.

1998: fig. 15). However such seriations are not usually accompanied by a written explanation that make explicit the criteria of selection or how such comparisons were inferred. A notable exception has been analysis of the animal style by Yakov Sher, who has produced several essays upon the subject (1980: 239-251; 1988; 1992; 1998). Sher is noted for publishing the ground-breaking volume on advancing theoretical and methodological approaches in the study of the 'Petroglyphs of Middle and Central Asia', *Petroglify Srednei i Tsentral'noi Azii* (1980). Amongst other things Sher advocated a more rigorous approach to stylistic analysis of singular images. He took a formalist position and followed explicitly the principles of Montelius' typological seriation in order to find links between animal style forms (Sher 1988: 52) and then he used the seriation sequence to argue for the origin and evolution of the animal style through artefacts and petroglyphs in southern Siberia. Sher had incorporated the Eshkiol'mes and Chilikty eagles into his seriation scheme (Sher 1988: fig. 6). However, the eagles by this stage have become completely dislocated from their original archaeological contexts, as the emphasis has been placed on the essence of their forms in order to explain their evolution, and no attempt made to discuss their meanings or original social contexts.

The identification of animal style petroglyphs also leads to their placement in culture-historic frameworks which interprets their stages of socio-economic development (stages of religious development are also extrapolated and these ideas are re-examined in chapter 2). In the case of the analysis of deer petroglyphs of Arpauzen, in the Karatau mountains, South Kazakhstan oblast, the animal style was crucial to the proposed chronological scheme (Kadyrbaev and Mar'yashev 1977: 158). Stylistic comparisons were argued by similarity to petroglyphs at other sites. The comparison of these stylistic attributes of the petroglyphs were made in order to find descent from archaeological cultures. Therefore, in the case of the large scene at Arpauzen V surface 69 (figure 18), there are four large deer with thin legs which are argued to have correspondence with the deer carved on the deer stone from the Arzhan kurgan¹⁰, Tuva, which are also standing on their tiptoes (figure 19). The two tiny deer inset in the large Aprauzen deer were compared with the gold objects recovered from the Chilikty kurgan, eastern Kazakhstan (figure 20), and an engraving of a deer on a mirror from Zhilandy, Central Kazakhstan. The result of these comparisons, therefore, identified an Iron Age stratum in the petroglyph scene.

¹⁰ In 1971 near the village of Uyuk, Tuva, there was discovered the large multi-chambered kurgan of Arzhan (Gryaznov 1980). The horse bits and arrow heads found at the site suggested a tentative date of 8th-7th century BC while radiocarbon dates on the kurgan's wooden burial chambers produced dates ranging between 11th-10th century BC. The 'deerstone' was part of the construction of the stone mound and indicates it was carved at an earlier date (Sher 1988: 54). The site of Arzhan also defines the earliest stage of Gryaznov's proposal for the Iron Age archaeological sequence in Tuva (Gryaznov 1983).

The animal style in the petroglyphs of Aprauzen was used by Kadyrbaev and Mar'yashev to prove lineage from archaeologically defined artefacts according to the recognition of similarities. These similarities are important for they lead to description and explanation, but in practice these groups are classified into technological and chronological sequences which are subjective descriptions that artificially partition the phenomena. The concepts of geologic imposition were used to discern 'figurative stratigraphy' at the large scene at Arpauzen V surface 69. The deer were lifted out of greater scene (figure 18b) because they were argued to be carved in the typical Scythian 'canonical' pose. Archaeo-stratigraphic principles identified a fossil-type – the Scythian deer – and a multiple layering of geologic strata – the superimposition of different petroglyph styles – to provide a chronological sequence. The petroglyphs were treated, thus, in a culture-historic approach whereby the animal style specified pre-determined notions of ancient societies. Unfortunately, this kind of systematisation of the petroglyphs simplifies the 'history' of the animal style by using the stages of socio-economic development as explanation and yet does not seek further understanding of the social processes in which the petroglyphs were embedded. Furthermore, this archaeo-stratigraphic approach to stylistic dating of petroglyphs is problematic for the elements believed to date to particular periods are picked out of the composition and the greater scene is not seen in its entirety. There is also no reason why the Scythian animal style could not include other images in the scene and we need to consider the possibility that there could be more variation in depiction in society than is generally believed. The idea of the animal style presupposes the presence of particular forms which were executed by Scytho-Siberian artists, yet its application results in the exclusion of other possible forms of depiction at the same time. Let us examine this further through the case of human figures and Iron Age rock art.

Animal style, human figures & rock art

The term 'animal style' was derived from the observation that "animals everywhere serve as the main motif of decoration" in Scytho-Siberian material culture (Jettmar 1967: 34-35). However, the presence of other elements such as human figures have been also noted, in particular by Minns (1913: 268), in the Scythic art from the Black Sea. In Kelermes kurgan 1, for example, the aforementioned axe handle (figure 12) was accompanied by a gold scabbard decorated with recumbent deer, fantastic beasts and Persian style human figures with wings (Piotrovsky, Galania & Grach 1987: pl. 32-35). Human imagery can also be observed in materials from the Pazyryk tombs of the Altai. In Pazyryk kurgan 1 there were human faces used in a set of wooden decorations for a horse harness and saddle (Rudenko 1970: pl. 92), while human figures were depicted on carpets or wall-hangings from Pazyryk

kurgan 5 (Rudenko 1970: pls 147, 174). Therefore, the depiction of human figures must be analysed systematically, case by case, contextualised throughout the archaeological cultures that make up the Scytho-Siberians.

As we have seen above in Central Asian rock art studies there has been an emphasis on the identification of the animal style as the indicator of Iron Age petroglyphs. This leads to the position supported by some researchers that the petroglyph makers in the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age had moved away from anthropomorphic representation to only the depiction of animals (Davis-Kimball & Martynov 1993: 216). However, others have argued human representation was present in the Iron Age of Central Asia's rock art (e.g., Jacobson 1988: 228).

Human figures in Central Asian rock art have been identified as predominately Scythian warriors providing they carry a bow of a special type (see for example Akhmetzhanov 1996: fig. 12). The basis of this idea relates to an early study by A.M. Khazanov (1966), who examined in detail the depiction of bows found in Assyrian, Median and Greco-Scythian art. There is a type of bow with curled ends which occurs with the depiction of Scytho-Siberian warriors, as exemplified by the vase from Kul-Oba that features a bearded Scythian warrior stringing a bow which curled at its ends (Artamonov 1969: pl. 232) as well as a Scythian warrior examining another's teeth who both have *gorytoi* hanging from their waists (Artamonov 1969: p. 233). The identification of these and other bows found on archaeological artefacts are sought at petroglyph sites by researchers in the field. At Eshkiol'mes, southeastern Kazakhstan, for example, there were scenes of hunting where the archers wielded bows that have slightly bent ends which were considered to be related to the Scythian type (Mar'yashev 1994: 61). Meanwhile, a scene at Kujus, in the Altai, has also been identified as figures wielding bows and arrows directly connected to Scythian animal style images (Chudjakov & Tabaldiev 1996: 311-312).

The depiction of Scytho-Siberian bow and arrow cases, *gorytoi*, is also considered to date human figures to the 1st millennium BC. The *gorytos* usually hung from the waist and has been identified in Altai petroglyph scenes with archers (Jacobson 1999: 64). In the neighbouring regions of East Kazakhstan *gorytoi* have been found in scene from the petroglyph site of Sagyr where two 'warriors' battle each other with a *gorytos* and bow slung from their waists (Samashev 1981: 74, cf. Yablonsky 1995b: fig. 44).

The identification of Iron Age anthropomorphs in Central Asian petroglyphs is based predominately on the correlation of weapons to archaeological types. This then leads to the next question: how do we identify human figures without weapons from Scytho-Siberian

times? An interesting reply relates to a new scene found at Arpauzen, southern Kazakhstan, of a deer with a honeycomb on its back (figure 2). Near the honeycomb is a tiny human figure located directly near the deer's backside. It has been remarked that the human was clearly Bronze Age while the deer was a classic Scytho-Siberian animal style image (R. Salapars. comm. 1999). Thus, the culture-historic approach does not only predetermine the dating of deer, as in the case of Arpauzen above, but also human figures. On the other hand, the animal style may, perhaps, indicate a certain execution of animals in a particular manner but narrowly focusing upon it has led to the conclusion that Scytho-Siberian peoples only depicted animals, therefore closing off further enquiry into the possibility of a larger repertoire of Iron Age images at a petroglyph site.

As we have seen, the outlined formal parameters of the animal style were inadequate from its inception and the idea of an 'animal style' was more based on art historical expectations specific to Western scholarship. Stylistic analyses in the rock art studies of Central Asia used these parameters to establish diagnostic markers and postulate general evolutionary trends that were more often determined by preconceived expectations of archaeological cultures. Therefore, the concept of the animal style as a chronological indicator in petroglyph studies is simplistic and we need to explore the complex web of social factors and conditions that would have produced animal images in rock art, as well as art, and given them meaning.

Relocating zoomorphic imagery in Society

Esther Jacobson argues that the term, the 'animal style', has outlived its usefulness for it was coined during a time when archaeological knowledge depended on chance finds and unreliable excavations (Jacobson 1988: 228). Jacobson makes an interesting point, however this does not strike at what I consider is the root of the animal style problem: the assumption of a universal principle which was applied equally to objects from unknown contexts, unreliable excavations as well as reliable ones, and also applied to an incredibly broad spectrum of material cultures. The classification of the animal style did not stop at the Scythians and there have been many suggestions put forward with regards to the last vestiges of the animal style as it survived into the art of early Medieval Ireland, Scandinavia and Russia (e.g., Minns 1913) and even crossed the Bering Strait into North America (e.g., Coe 1976; Mundkur 1984). The animal style has become a label applied to any animal image as a universal law of depiction autonomous to the societies in which it is embedded. The description of style does not explain itself, for the values and beliefs that are part of a style need to be considered as well as their significance to a living society.

Emma C. Bunker has also come to a similar conclusion: the “animal style has been used to explain the transmission of certain zoomorphic motifs to most remote places, as if the style were a disease, leaving zoomorphic designs in the art of other cultures” (Bunker 1997: 8). She further states that “this has obscured the real art-historical picture” as the animal style was seen as the only way of execution governing the art of all steppe peoples when in fact recent archaeological work has provided evidence of numerous regional cultures (*ibid.*, 8). I concur with her that the identification of the animal style in such a great diversity of societies in time and space has not brought us any closer to the understanding of this immense corpus of objects. Animals are indeed important to people, so it is not surprising that they would be depicted in the art of so many cultures. The previous emphasis on the similarity of the animal forms ignored artistic and conceptual diversity. I am unsure what Bunker really means by the ‘actual art history’ of zoomorphic ornaments, as she was not explicit about her theoretical and methodological standpoint, but we do need to reconsider the context of these images and think about their connections within the complexity of socio-cultural relationships. Newer perspectives, for example, can be gained by exploring what parts of the society gave rise to the images and how these parts of society are linked to other aspects of the world around them. I contend the ‘animal style’ can be abandoned and it is unnecessary to create a replacement term, as the way forward is to adopt more nuanced approaches which discuss the relationships of the zoomorphic imagery as part of local social processes.

Significantly, the overall impact of the previous art historical/culture-historic approach was to treat the art and rock art as passive objects, decorations which emerged, flourished and dissipated into societies, and possibly performing some additional symbolic/religious function (which is examined in chapter 2). This passiveness dislocated the objects from their society of production and in effect isolated them from the contexts of daily life in which the objects participated. This resulted in the images leading an existence separate from society which stood apart from any substantial interaction with the people who created and used it. New directions can be achieved by considering other perspectives which acknowledge the contextual complexity of the art and petroglyphs as well as incorporating them into the lives of the people who made and used them.

In sociology and Marxist-based thought there has been a recognition of the context of art with regard to ideology, class and society (e.g., Lalo 1921; Mueller 1938; Tomars 1940; Hauser 1951), and in recent years there has been a consideration of art which has stressed art’s relationship to society in the fields of art history and anthropology. In art history the movement called the ‘new art history’ broadly embraces a variety of new and different

approaches which distinguishes itself from the traditional art historical preoccupations of connoisseurship, style, genius, and the impartiality of the historian but recognises art as a historically located social product (e.g., Rees & Borzello 1986: 17-18; Kaufmann 1992; Pointon 1994: 31). Meanwhile, the anthropology of art has argued for the study of its social context (Forge 1973: xx) and “social relations in the vicinity of objects mediating social agency” (Gell 1998: 7). Asserting that art and rock art are forms of material culture which constitutes social relations is one thing, but the actual setting out a theoretical and methodological framework which attempts to explain how specified objects and images were utilised by individuals or groups is another. Therefore, let us turn to specific approaches from the above mentioned disciplines which address the complexity of the contexts of art in society with the aim of moving towards greater understandings of the role(s) that the zoomorphic imagery could of played.

First of all, it is hard to avoid the use of the term ‘art’ in discussing decorated objects from other cultures, therefore it is used here to refer to the skilfully made products of material culture, but with the critical acknowledgement of its 18th-19th century legacy. As material culture the zoomorphic decorations have not been conceived beyond the confines of passive motifs adorning objects. Furthermore, as ancient objects the art and rock art of past societies are treated as a dead and alien unknowable ‘others’ because there is no ethnography or historical records to tell us about how these peoples used them. Both these views are part of the western tradition of ‘art as object’ whereby they are artefacts which passively reflect other societies. In order to move beyond this we need to look at the active role the zoomorphics played in daily life.

Ethnographical and anthropological studies suggest many societies view art as a process; the activities of making ‘art’, its uses and its consumers which can have more significance than just solely the object itself (e.g., Hawthorn 1979; Mowaljarlai, Vinnicombe, Ward & Chippindale 1988; Geertz 1993). Geertz found other societies do not talk about art, design and meaning in ways that the Westerner would like (1993: 97). Instead, he points out that art is related to the anthropologist in terms of how it is used, its ownership, what it may be exchanged for, when it is performed, etc. Kolam designs, for example, are twice daily drawn with rice flour on the ground at household thresholds by Tamil women of south India (Dohmen 2001). When Dohmen inquired why they performed this act, women would either respond being unsure of the actions or replied that a house without a kolam is an unhappy one. Kolams are a highly visible form of art in the Tamil Nadu region and are seen in front of most Hindu homes and shops. Importantly, the quality and skill of the execution of the complex designs are not recognised by the Tamil in the traditional Western concept of art, but are seen as good house keeping practices which are conducted

by diligent housewives (Dohmen 2001: 13). As this illustrates, the material forms are an important part of peoples daily lives as they are used in the construction and negotiation of identities (Miller 1994: 417). Though the daily kolam designs do not have meanings appreciable to a Westerner immediately, their meaning and significance are important to the construction of a Tamil women's identity. In addition, the kolam's have multiple roles which are dependant on their socio-religious context. In addition to the every day context, when they are created on the festival day of Krishna, designs are used which invite Krishna into the house to bring his blessing. Therefore, objects of material culture can have a multiplicity of meanings, identities and relationships which are implicit, complex and/or ambiguous. This demonstrates how the act and related actions are contextually situated, as the kolam's importance is related to processes embedded in the lives of women and their families. They do not only reflect an aspect of a society but they also take part in creating, maintaining and renegotiating the world in which people live. Therefore, we should not view art as a passive entity even though it does not have a straight-forward meaning, as its importance also lies in the role it plays in actions and experiences of daily life.

The context of art also operates on many socio-political levels which are historically situated. In contrast to this opinion, Aldous Huxley in his novel *After Many a Summer* stated:

'That's the charm of art,' Mr. Propter went on. 'It represents only the most amiable aspects of the most talented human beings. That's why I've never been able to believe that the art of any period threw much light on the life of that period. Take a Martian: show him a representative collection of Botticellis, Peruginos, and Raphaels. Could he infer from them the conditions described by Machiavelli?'

'No, he couldn't,' Jeremy agreed.
(Huxley 1950: 283-284).

Unfortunately, I have never met a Martian and would not know how they would experience the world, but my reply to Huxley's question would be disagreement with his position. First of all, Huxley, through his characters articulates, the 19th century point of view that art is engaged with only by privileged creative geniuses. These geniuses, the 'Botticellis, Peruginos and Raphaels', were embedded in the historically specific socio-political processes of their time. Their art was not only examples of skilled paintings that illustrate Christian holy personages, Christian theology, Classical mythology and other subjects, but they were also commissioned by the elite to demonstrate their political power and authority in society. Raphael's large mural *Disputa*, for example, was commissioned by Pope Julius II for visible display in the Vatican Palace, and depicts noted theologians

discussing the tenets of Catholic faith under a heaven populated by Christ, the Virgin Mary, saints and angels (Ettlinger & Ettlinger 1987: fig. 80). Among the theologians was the pope's deceased uncle, Sixtus IV, who wrote a treatise on the miracle of the transubstantiation of the Eucharistic Bread becoming the body of Christ (Ettlinger & Ettlinger 1987: 87). Though these paintings were not photographic snapshots or journalistic essays, they were still embedded in the negotiation of power relations in Machiavelli's time. Art is a productive activity influenced by many kinds of relations, such as socio-political power, while at the same time affecting society (Alperson 1992: 231). However, considering these paintings as recordings simply of social conditions and values is simplistic and the paintings not only depict but are embedded in social conditions and historically situated beliefs. Therefore, we need to consider that artists are situated within their socio-political milieu and the art they produce is an important medium which can be utilised in various ways in peoples lives.

The other implication of Huxley's statement is that the audience of the art is often forgotten in the inquiry into chronological changes in style. The images may be imbued with meaning, but the meaning(s) were also part of the actions and experiences of the audience. Therefore, the power of a group can be negotiated by participant members in particular ways which persons external to this lack of knowledge and power because they cannot participate in the meaning(s) (Hyder & Caloss 2001: 3-4). Individuals outside the group can react to the symbols and images in their own ways even when they cannot understand the original meanings. Hyder and Caloss (2001: 4) cite the case of graffiti, which conveys its messages across social classes and language barriers through its visual impact. However, I would like to take this further and argue the graffiti plays a part in socio-political struggles, and this highlights the fact that art can also be a site of struggle between various members inside and outside the community.

However, we have to be beware of treating art as solely the residual products of socio-political ideology. Scholars who draw upon Marxist thought often take the rigid stance that art history's role is to reveal a work of art as ideology (e.g., Hadjinicolaou 1978; Wolff 1981: 49-50). In particular, recent European rock art research on sites in Sweden has advocated that the petroglyph images are an ideological superstructure through which 'human actors' are constituted and the veil which masks social inequality (Tilley 1991; Nash 1996). The petroglyphs of Namforsen, Sweden, for example, are argued to be a classificatory system drawing on things from the natural world, such as animals, and objects from the 'cultural world', such as boats, in order to create and maintain divisions amongst social groups (Tilley 1991: 98). Tilley contends the rock art images are a manner of thinking characterised by these groups or social institutions, as art, in general, from pre-

capitalist societies is the product of economy and ideology (Tilley 1991: 151). However, this idealisation of art renders it passive, as “such a point of view of course makes of art a derivative or secondary culture deducible from the original and primary elements (i.e., political, economic factors)” (Mueller 1938: 227). Hence, art must reflect something which for Tilley, was ideology. Furthermore, the ideology – art – takes place on an empty stage and lacks ‘human actors’ as the class struggle carries on with no real attachment to living persons (Crook *et al.* 1998: 2). The implications are that this kind of idealisation of rock art and art, in effect, makes them operate in a sphere autonomous from people’s day to day lives.

People’s knowledge, actions, engagements and experiences with the world around them are immediate to them, localised, and gaining understandings of these local processes reconnects the people back to the art which idealisation seeks to displace. Rock art and art are not fossilised ‘texts’ of ideology, but, as Crook argues, based on the writings of the Danish artist Asger Jorn, ‘art’ is not a ‘mirror of reality’ for ‘art’ is a ‘material reality’ that exerts a real influence in social life (Crook 1999b: 162). In the case of decoration of weapons and canoes among the Trobriand Islanders, the art was a constitutive part of the object as the elaborate designs were explicitly used in psychological warfare (Gell 1992). The canoe was decorated with a board which was a psychological weapon as well as an object imbued with the magic prowess of the canoe owner. The canoe board also held power derived from the carver whose artistic prowess was the result of access to superior carving magic (Gell 1992: 46). The canoe board is then a decorated physical object produced by magical means and it is this coming into the world of the object which brings its power to mediate social life. The implications of this example for zoomorphic imagery are that decorated objects do not solely operate in the visual range. Rather than focusing myopically on the ornamentation and other visual aspects, we exclude the multi-sensory experiences of the producers and consumers. Hence, the examination of function(s) and meaning(s) of art objects should not neglect the active role they played in society as well as the power of the objects themselves.

So far, I have discussed the complexity of social contexts and the active roles that art, and by extension zoomorphic imagery, plays in Scytho-Siberian peoples’ lives. With regard to their meaning, the significance of the so-called ‘animal style’ images have been referred to as having symbolic content (e.g., Carter 1957; Jettmar 1967). However, a negative definition of the term ‘symbolism’ was put forward by Ferdinand Herrmann who discussed briefly the role of symbols among what he called ‘primitive cultures’, which includes the ‘animal style’ art of Early Nomads of Eurasia. He stated:

“It is characteristic of the symbolism of the so-called primitive peoples that little or no distinction is made between image and reality: what happens in dreams is considered as real, and the acts in which a wish is prefigured and expressed are expected to bring it to realisation. Ignorant of scientific methods and knowledge, primitive man assumes the existence of relationships, on the basis of similarities of form or other correspondences, where none exist. Here, then, the symbol assumes a dynamic quality: it is not only a sign standing for something else but also brings that something else into being.” (Herrmann 1967: 835).

For Herrmann symbols are irrational wild imaginings of unintelligent ‘savages’. I reject his definition and its explicit intention to degrade non-European societies as inferior to Western science, as next explained.

The word ‘symbol’ comes from the Greek word *symbolon* which means mark or token. Taylor defines symbol as something that “stands for, or suggests, by reason of relationship, association, convention or accident, but *not* by reason of intentional resemblance; the true symbol is not a straight ‘translation’, there being no one-to-one relation of meaning” (1987: 118). The implication is that images have the potential to convey complex meanings and values which can be contrary the subject of the image.

This has been taken further by Victor Turner in his work on the role of symbols amongst the Ndembu of Zambia (1967). Turner found the Ndembu symbols were polysemic: different aspects of symbols were drawn on and experienced in different social contexts which created multiple meanings (*ibid.*, 52, 57). Turner argued the basic property of a ritual symbol is a condensation of many things and actions that represented in a single unit (*ibid.*, 28). For example, the Ndembu forked pole shrine, *chishing’a*, was “not an object of cognition, a mere set of referents to known phenomena” but conflated the powers from activities, objects, relationships and ideas it represented (*ibid.*, 298). Turner’s idea of polysemy pointed out that the symbol played a more complex role in society as it resonated different aspects in different contexts. This approach to the meaning of symbols complements the prior discussions of the contextual complexity of material objects and together their consideration moves forward the way in which we conceive the form and content of zoomorphic imagery.

C o n c l u s i o n

The saliency of animal images in the art of the Scytho-Siberians is in no doubt, it is how we approach them that is the issue. In this chapter I have discussed the key constitutive aspects of the so-called 'animal style'. The examination of the physicality of images did not provide meanings to the animal images, it but only described them and set them in Western hierarchies of design, execution and chronology. Previous Central Asian scholarship has not delved deeper than the surface of the local processes behind the art, therefore my set of approaches to this problem represents a significant new direction in Scytho-Siberian studies. I contend we need to highlight the art as a social phenomenon which is embedded in a society and has its own ways, experiences and power relations that are connected complexly to other aspects of society in many ways. This approach presents the art and rock art as situated within society and introduces more nuanced theoretical frameworks and methodologies which can build upon previous research and address the context of zoomorphic imagery in society. So far I have looked at the so-called 'animal style' as an object-based art history, however it has also played an important role in the history of religion, which is the focus of inquiry in the next chapter.

*The 'animal style', zoomorphic imagery
& encountering religious phenomena*

Introduction

In Chapter 1, I discussed the problems of the theories and methods used for the argument of the existence of the so-called 'animal style' as a formal set of physical characteristics which represented ancient nomadic peoples known as the Scytho-Siberians. Though the founders (Minns, Rostovtzeff, Borovka) had only conceived it in terms of artistic ornamentation and aesthetic judgements, some of their contemporaries had elaborated upon this and argued additionally that the 'animal style' represented physical evidence for religious structures of totemism and Frazerian-based ideas of magic (Alföldi 1931b; Andersson 1932). By doing so, the 'animal style' had not only become important to the history of art, but also to the history of religion. The religious significance of the zoomorphic imagery since then has been a topic of discussion by many scholars, and these ideas are found throughout this chapter.

The word 'religion' is derived from the Latin root *religio* but its original meaning is a matter of debate. Some scholars attribute it to Cicero, who argued that it was derived from *relegere*, meaning 'passed along chains of tradition', while other scholars consider that it comes from the Latin term *religare*, 'to bind fast', implying that which binds individuals to the gods (Hinnells 1995; Ramsey & Ledbetter 2001: 2). The Romans did not conceive the phenomenon of 'religion' as a distinct bounded entity, but as the term *religare* implies, it was more about people's engagements and performed obligations to the gods, *genii loci*, etc. The basis of religion as a bounded entity derives from Enlightenment and early Protestant thought whereby it became a system embodying a complete set of ideas, beliefs and practices (Cassirer 1951; W.C. Smith 1978: 38; Tambiah 1990: 5; J.Z. Smith 1998). By the 19th century, Western scholars had labelled the world's religions as 'isms' (e.g.,

Buddhism, Hinduism, Zoroastrianism, Mohammedanism, etc.), but the cultures to which these terms were applied did not have their own words for such labels (Ramsey & Ledbetter 2001: 2). This was due in part to the need of scholars to create comparative categories based on the normative paradigm of the Western Judaeo-Christian heritage, because the reference point for them by the 19th century was considered to be a single homogenous belief system based on canonical texts, uniform doctrine and a common deity (Sweetman 2001: 209).

However, in practice there are as many ideas about 'religion' as there are approaches to its study, as any introductory reader would tell you (e.g., Smart 1989; Hinnells 1995; Markham & Ruparell 2001), and it is applied to a wide variety of phenomena such as zoolatry, idolatry, the veneration of ancestors, demonology, ghosts and spirits, sorcery and witchcraft, worship in temples, shrine pilgrimage, etc. Therefore, a universally acceptable definition of 'religion' is like the quest for the Holy Grail because the generalisations have to encompass a vast range of diverse beliefs and cultures (Park 1994: 32). The route to the universal definition of 'religion' leads to uniformity and the homogenisation of a diversity of phenomena and things. The Marxist maxim, 'the opium of the people'¹, is not helpful either as it is a simplistic view of religion which does not address the complexity of its social contexts. The contemporary discipline of religious studies is quite aware that religion is not a distinct category or a label for bizarre and irrational activities (Harvey 2000: 2). Harvey argues that religious people do not isolate 'religion' from catering or politics, yet no individual experiences culture as a complete whole (2000: 10). It is part of what he describes as the "the messy diversity of real life": terms like 'religion' and 'culture' are part of our terminology, but "they are often imprecise, messy, everyday generalizations rather than sharp precision tools" (Harvey 2000: 10).

Since the 'animal style' objects were perceived by scholars to have come from 'barbaric' and ancient societies, the approach to their religious significance relied heavily upon theories of 'primitive religions', such as totemism and solarism, founded around the later 19th century and the early 20th century. In general, the study of world religions, like Buddhism and Zoroastrianism, focused upon them as complete religious systems with many facets, while the study of 'primitive' religions discusses them in piecemeal parts (Morris 1987: 3). The 'primitive' religions are discussed through categories of taboo, magic, fetishism, totemism, myth, etc., that have a tendency to treat these phenomena as autonomous and separate elements from the non-western societies in which they operated. The explanatory power of

¹ In the introduction to his article on the 'Contribution to the critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right' (1844), Karl Marx stated religion mystified the world and prevented the working classes from protesting about their poor lives. It was "the sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of the heartless world, just as it is the spirit of a spiritless situation. It is the opium of the people" (Marx & Engels 1957: 38).

these approaches were also limited by their implicit and explicit assumptions of how 'primitive' and prehistoric peoples behaved. Therefore, in Central Asian studies a re-examination of the problems of these approaches is essential in order to develop a more rigorous methodology and critical approach to the images of animals and their significance to society. In particular, the Scytho-Siberian 'animal style' has been characterised as representing concepts of hunting magic, totemism, solarism, Goddess theology and shamanism; however, before discussing them one by one, it is first necessary to present what we know about the 'animal style' that is connected to Scytho-Siberian beliefs.

Scythian religion

As discussed in chapter 1, archaeological excavations had revealed that 'animal style' objects were part of the inventory of grave goods within Scytho-Siberian burials. Their very funerary context indicated that the zoomorphic decorations were related to eschatology (e.g., Phillips 1965: 56; Sorokin 1969) and therefore unavoidable evidence of some kind of religious belief(s). Numerous tombs from the Black Sea² to the Altai³ with their rich burial inventories and sacrificed horses had demonstrated the Scytho-Siberians held beliefs in some kind of afterlife, as elite members of these societies had well provisioned themselves in the grave. Therefore, scholars usually refer to Herodotus' writings of the time and cite his description of a king's burial amongst the Scythians of the Black Sea (*Histories* IV, 71-72): the king's body was prepared and buried in a pit along with killed members of his entourage, concubines and horses, then covered over with a mound. Herodotus does mention that the king was buried with gold and other treasures but he does not provide precise details of artefacts or their decorations, especially those of a zoomorphic nature.

Herodotus also mentions that the Scythians had no custom of making statues, building altars or erecting temples (*Histories* IV, 60). They did, though, create peculiar 'temples', constructed out of brushwood with a platform. On top of the platform lies an iron scimitar which represents Ares and prisoners of war were sacrificed to this deity (IV, 62). Herodotus describes all the Black Sea Scythian deities with Greek names, such as Hestia, Zeus and Aphrodite, but he also gives their forms in Scythian language (IV, 59) as *Tabiti*, *Papaeus* and *Argimpasa* respectively. This highlights the problem of the context to which Herodotus' accounts are biased by his implicit and explicit concerns, for he presents a Greek model of religion based on temple structures, like the ones found in urban centres,

² For example, the Scythian kurgans in the Kuban region like Kostromoskaya Stanitsa (Minns 1913) and Ul'ski (Talbot Rice 1957).

³ Most notably kurgans 1-5 from the site of Pazyryk (Rudenko 1970). More examples can be found in appendix 2 of this thesis.

and indigenous deities or spirits described in terms of Greek equivalents (Hartog 1988). We must be critical of the information he chooses to give us and the motives for its selection as what is left to us was determined by his personal views and social expectations of the barbarian tribes who lived on the edges of the Greek world.

Furthermore, Herodotus mentions that the Scythians had religious specialists, the *enarees*⁴, male priests who wore women's clothes. Herodotus described the *enarees* as woman-like men who were taught divination techniques by Aphrodite which involved the manipulation of sticks (*Histories* IV, 67). The legend goes, there were Scythians who plundered the temple of Aphrodite and they were subsequently punished by Aphrodite with the curse of 'female sickness'. Their descendants were cursed with this disease and those men who suffer from it become known as the *enarees* (*Histories* I, 105). At the beginning of the 19th century, Count Jan Potocki, in his discussion of the 'primitive' peoples of Russia during Herodotian times, made the comment that these Scythian fortune-tellers were recognisably similar to Siberian shamans (Potocki 1802). A century later, W.R. Halliday (1910-1911) proposed that the *enarees* were similar to accounts of Siberian shamans who had ritually transformed into women. This was taken further by the Swiss philologist Karl Meuli (1935) who also pointed out that Siberian and North American shamans were known to change gender (1935: 129ff); however he was struck by Herodotus' reporting of the Scythian ritual of inhaling vapours in a tent from which they howled (*Histories* IV, 73-75). This Scythian custom took place after a funeral, but the description of the ensuing actions reflect, in all probability, a variation of a shamanic rite. Meuli suggests the intoxicating effect of hemp seeds could bring upon such a state and the howls could be also connected with utterances made during the shamanic rite of ecstasy famously documented by Radloff (1884, ii: 19ff) in the Siberian Altai. Thus the steam tent of the Pontiac Scythians was perhaps also an apparatus for creating ecstasy for a professional class of Scythian shamans, the *enarees* (Meuli 1935: 131). A few years later, in 1948, there was the discovery of a tattooed body of an elder man in Pazyryk kurgan 2 (Rudenko 1953: 136-141) which provided support for the existence of Pazyrykian (Scytho-Siberian) shamanic practitioners. Hanchar (1952, 1956) points out that the articles of clothing with their 'animal style' decorations and the musical instruments (drums and 'Scythian harp') are indicative of the tattooed man's high status as a shaman. Additionally, the find of the tent with a burner containing hemp seeds in this tomb further strengthens Meuli's discussions (Hanchar 1956: 189; *c.f.* Bongard-Levin & Grantovskii 1974: 90-91). All in all, the issue of the similarity of features between the *enarees* and Siberian shamans has been found to be of scholarly significance (e.g., Baumgartner 1959; Eliade 1964: 394-396; Margreth 1993) and discussions have focused upon how the Scythians practiced a unique variation of shamanism that was undoubtedly

⁴ Variation *anareis*, *enareis*, *enareës*.

specific to their cultural context (this is further discussed in the shamanism section below). The case of the *enarees* then leads to the greater question of how do we go about understanding and interpreting Scytho-Siberian religious beliefs?

Interpreting Scytho-Siberian religion

As far as I am aware there is a lack of textual evidence from the middle of the 1st millennium BC concerning the function and meaning of the 'animal style', hence, scholars have adopted interpretations based on Western intellectual constructions of religion in order to explain the meanings of the zoomorphic imagery. In his review of the problems in Scythian art studies, D.S. Raevskii stated that the canons of execution utilised in the Scytho-Siberian 'animal style', identified these objects as the relics of religious art (Raevskii 1982: 6-7). This summarises succinctly how religion is approached with regards to the 'animal style': the deeper meanings of the art objects reflected the vestiges of ritualistic activities and cultic beliefs that were part of a bounded religious system. Thus, it is inferred, the 'animal style' was the surviving fossilisation of the spiritual culture of the Scytho-Siberians.

The implications of the 'fossil approach' is that these residual presences can provide a stratigraphy of the various spiritual cultures of ancient peoples. This can be seen in the study of 'animal style' petroglyphs, as the idea of archaeo-stratigraphic chronolisation is linked to the evolutionary development of its and other artistic styles in relation to stages of religious development. I return to the large scene at Arpauzen V surface 69 (figure 18) once again, for it is argued that it reflects a dualistic syncretism of artistic-aesthetic and socio-religious features which were believed by the researchers to be the "characteristic of all primitive art" (Kadyrbaev & Mar'yashev 1977: 220). In the previous chapter I presented the art historical strand of this model and now it is time to discuss how this strand intertwines with ideas of religion. In their scheme, the artistic-aesthetic features of the petroglyphs of Sako-Scythian 'animal style' of Arpauzen V surface 69 are believed to increase in conventionality of decorative form as well as narrative content over their Bronze Age counterparts. The petroglyphs developed twisting forms found in the Sako-Scythian applied arts and the images of deer assumed canonical poses in a laconic execution of the Sako-Scythian style. By inference these artistic features are considered to complement the socio-religious evolutionary trends in the petroglyphs. Thus, the earlier Bronze Age petroglyphs began with the first evolutionary step of 'totemic-magical' ideas and progressed to the next stage into a more elevated form of mythological consciousness in the form of Sako-Scythian art. The Bronze Age petroglyphs are also considered by the

researchers to reflect themes of 'solar cults', magic and fertility which gradually disappear in Sako-Scythian petroglyphs as they lose their 'totemo-magical' meanings (Kadyrbaev & Mar'yashev 1977: 220). This impoverishment of the socio-religious was believed to be linked syncretically to the perceived increase of petroglyph schematisation which emphasised the essential details of the animal images (i.e., the Sako-Scythian deer, see figure 18b). Thus, the culture-historic approach did not only determine the art historical stages of the petroglyphs but also stages in the process of religious evolution.

In a similar scheme proposed by A. Martynov (1988) the Siberian animal style is considered to hold complex meanings over the simple symbols of the earlier animal petroglyphs of the Neolithic. He argued that during the Eneolithic more progressive beliefs developed alongside economic developments which resulted in the evolution of complex symbols in the artistic expression of the Scythian period. What is crucial to this scheme, as well as the previous one above, is that the art and religion passed through synchronic stages of development. This approach is based on the idea that religion is a sub-system of culture (Crook 1999b). Such a view partitions elements within society (i.e., religion, science, economy, art, etc.) and makes them separate self-contained entities. This results in dislocating the various forms of religious phenomena as separate entities to society. In both schemes there is the inevitable rise and fall of religious belief which is autonomous to the different societies, but never a part of them. These and similar evolutionary approaches only see the religious phenomena as labels to be applied to an art form and do not look at the images intimately connected to local knowledge and experiences. Hence, we need to consider the location of the animal images in society and the role they play as special forms of material culture.

A similar generalisation is achieved through an approach developed in the field of religious studies referred to as the 'ecology of religion'. Its application to the 'animal style' is hinted at in E. Jacobson's book on the *Deer Goddess of Ancient Siberia*, which is subtitled "a study in the ecology of belief". Despite her excellent overview of Siberian and Central Asian ancient art and rock art, including objects considered to be of the 'animal style', there is a distinct lack of theoretical discussion of what is her approach to 'the ecology of belief'; she only simply states that the image of the deer was the key sign in symbolic systems of the ecology of belief (Jacobson 1993: 27). Cryptically, she concludes in her book's very last sentence that in "the art of the Early Nomads, the deer's image represents the final statement of an 'ecology of belief'" (Jacobson 1993: 246).

The term the 'ecology of religion' was coined by Åke Hultrantz who has for years discussed it within the field of religious studies (e.g., 1966, 1979, 1985, 1987) with an

occasional foray into the discipline of archaeology (1975, 1991). He formulated a methodology which sought to discuss the typology of patterns and structures of peoples who live in specific ecological zones, and the continuity and/or sequence of various religious forms (1985: 87-88). Hultkrantz argues that a type of religion is in its essence timeless and should occur wherever there are ecological and technological conditions of a similar level (Hultkrantz 1966: 147-148). Hence, the arctic environment creates 'hunting religions', while deserts make 'nomadic religions' (1979: 231). Jacobson makes no explicit links to Hultkrantz's tenets as she was not concerned with making socio-religious typologies in different ecological zones; she is only concerned with the continuity (and discontinuities) of expressions of archetypal femininity in Central Asia and Siberia since the Neolithic (as discussed below in the Goddess section). Though Hultkrantz acknowledges that the environment plays an important role in affecting society, his approach is problematic: specific 'primitive' religions are the result of ecological adaptations (1979: 224). The environment, therefore, is a passive backdrop to his typology of societies and they in turn are based on types of modes of economic production (i.e., hunter, nomad). This achieves the same result as the petroglyph chrono-stratification outlined above: the typing of societies which seeks universal patterns based on functional economic levels of development and correlates them with types of religions. The types of religion, therefore, are framed in a culture-historic framework which homogenises societies and obscures diversity and their idiosyncratic variations.

In the above discussion Hultkrantz argues for types of religion that are believed to be in essence 'timeless'. In Scytho-Siberian animal style studies I would submit the following types fit this criterion, as their employment has been used time and time again in the same autonomous manner: Frazerian magic, totemism, solarism, Goddess thealogy and shamanism. Therefore let us now turn to a closer examination of these systems of religious phenomena.

Hunting magic & the Frazerian stage of magic

Some of the images of wild animals (deer, elk, argali⁵, boars) in the art and rock art of the steppe nomads have been seen, according to some authors, as magical motifs utilised in hunting charms or part of depictions of hunting scenes of similar magical intent (e.g., Tákats 1961: 722). This was deduced from the fact that the nomads were known to hunt wild beasts, hence the 'animal style' may have been associated with hunting magic rites

⁵ The argali is a species of large Asiatic wild sheep, *Ovis ammon* L. (Pal'gov & Yarmukhamedov 1970: 391). Argali is the common European name based on a Mongol word (*Oxford English Dictionary* 1989, second edition). In Russian they are referred to as *arkhar*.

(Honour & Fleming 1991: 133). Furthermore, some scholars argued that good luck in hunting was the fundamental basis of animal symbolism, as the frequent depiction of creatures, like the deer, in 'animal style' art was perhaps derived from the need to procure food (Carter 1957: 10).

The most cited article on 'animal style' hunting magic was published in 1932 by J.G. Andersson. He was not only one of the earliest scholars to point out the Scythian 'animal style' in the petroglyphs of Central Asia, but he also was one of the first Scythologists to draw upon the notion of hunting magic. Andersson believed the spiritual meaning and pragmatic function of Scythian art was connected with hunting magic and totemism, while hunting magic was the fundamental basis of all Eurasian nomadic artistry. He stated that "the Animal Style developed to a very large extent under the stimulus of an active hunting magic, along much the same lines as that which according to Salomon Reinach and others, gave rise to the other grand Animal Style in the history of mankind – that of the late Palaeolithic time" (Andersson 1932: 225). In particular, the animal style petroglyph scenes from the Altai were believed, by Anderson, to display three essential components of hunting magic: scenes of hunting, scenes of animal families, and the depiction of men wearing animal masks (Andersson 1932: 310).

Andersson drew upon the ideas of Salomon Reinach, who is generally credited with having introduced the idea of hunting magic into European Palaeolithic rock art studies. Reinach, in turn, drew on the notion of the efficacy of magic argued by Hirn and Frazer. At the turn of the 20th century, Yrjö Hirn, a lecturer on aesthetics, published his study on the psychological and sociological aspects of the origins of art (1900). In his search for universal causal mechanisms of art, Hirn devoted his last chapter to its superstitious aspects, based on 19th century recordings of ethnology and folklore. Pictorial representations produced by 'savages' were argued by Hirn to be a form of sympathetic magic discussed by James Frazer in the first edition of *The Golden Bough* (1890). Hirn concluded that acts of sympathetic magic were "essentially non-aesthetic in their intention", but were of great "importance for the historical evolution of art" (1900: 283).

In 1903 Salomon Reinach published an article discussing these ideas in relation to the cave art of France. Reinach was also influenced by B. Spencer and F. Gillen's recently published book on the Arunta of Australia (1899). The Arunta had painted the image of the witchetty grub, their important food resource, onto rocks and performed rituals to insure the multiplication of this insect. Reinach argued that the representation of edible animals in French caves painted by the Palaeolithic 'troglodytes' [*sic*] were analogous to the Arunta practices; thus, the 'troglodytes' utilised cave art to manipulate game animals for a

successful hunt (Reinach 1903: 263). Reinach reasoned that the placement of the paintings on the cave wall was to cast a magical spell on the prey to entice them into the cave for capture. Through the efforts of Reinach and other scholars, hunting magic was disseminated in a variety of articles and books (e.g., Reinach 1904: 6; Parkyn 1915: 118; Brown 1928: 137-168; Bégouën 1929). The impact of the field of the Franco-Cantabrian Palaeolithic on the West was immense as cave paintings and *art mobilier* became the quintessential primordial forms by which the art of all subsequent ages were judged⁶.

In essence, hunting magic is understood as a form of sympathetic magic. The notion of sympathetic magic was based on early ethnological fragments derived from accounts of travellers, missionaries and stationed officials (Parkes, Laungani & Young 1997: 11). These accounts were biased by Western observations which focused on the exoticness of the 'superstitious' practices and did not consider their socio-political context. Western scholars, as exemplified by Frazer's *The Golden Bough*, ordered these accounts into grand narratives. Frazer's account became the most famous explanation of sympathetic magic and it was based on the elementary principle of 'like produces like'. This singular causal relationship became a universal form of technology that occurred everywhere, but yet was never part of the socio-cultural interactions in which magic was embedded. It reduced the manifestations of magic into a universal category which was not heedful of cultural and historical diversity and created a universal principle that only validated Western preconceptions of the 'primitive mentality' of other cultures. This definition of magic is a derogatory term used to point out that 'primitives' were illogical and prone to use magic in their simple lives.

Frazer in the *Golden Bough* followed E.B. Tylor (1871) in considering magic as a flawed science, but he extended the idea and considered that magic was the earliest stage in human cognitive evolution (Frazer 1911, I: 233-243). The impact of *The Golden Bough* was immense and the Frazerian scheme of magic was broadly accepted. With regards to Scytho-Siberian studies, Jettmar, for example, characterises the Scythians as a people "gradually emerging from a world governed by a magical outlook on life" (Jettmar 1967: 37) as their so-called 'animal style' motifs were derived from more advanced civilisations. The 'spiritual roots' of the zoomorphic imagery then carried traces of the residual 'primitiveness' of this 'magical' past. In the Frazerian scheme magic was the lowest cognitive stage, followed by religion and then finally culminating in the summit of science.

⁶ A reappraisal of the privileged status of Upper Palaeolithic art is beyond the scope of this thesis. T.A. Dowson, for example, has discussed some of the issues involved in upholding Franco-Cantabrian cave art as the first 'true' art and its relation to the privileging of Western history as the history of humanity (Dowson 1998; Dowson 1999b; Dowson & Porr 2001: 166).

Thus, magic was a primeval stage in the development of humankind from which Westerners had evolved in their distant past.

Another rationalistic definition of magic saw it as a constitutional fallacy, an erroneous state of the human mind (Hirn 1900: 282). Thus, in the eyes of rationalists the 'primitive' magician was unable to see this self deceit and foolishly believed they had power over other things. Such ideas fall within the tradition of Post-Enlightenment scholarship which rejects 'magic' as a valid subject of study and considers it a topic of derision (Tambiah 1990). However, the contemporary meaning of 'magic' is also problematic for now it elicits connotations of Western occultism. The term 'magic' has been used to categorise a broad range of phenomena across many societies and instead of attempting to isolate them theoretically into a singular unifying principle it would be more productive to adopt an approach which takes into account how individuals use various means to interact with the world around them. In her criticism of Frazer, Mary Douglas (1966: 59) has pointed out that we should not narrowly focus upon the rigid demarcations of the boundaries between magic and religion. Therefore, when examining for actions which we would call 'magic' in other cultures, we need to situate them in the complexity of relationships that constitute them and consider how they are embedded in the actions and beliefs of a society.

T o t e m i s m

The identification of hunting magic was usually linked with the other quintessential preoccupation of 'primitives' – totemism, or so it is argued by scholars influenced by 19th century intellectual traditions. The effect of this idea on zoomorphic imagery in archaeological studies on the whole has been immense as the appearance of animals cast in metal or painted and carved into natural rock surfaces, time and time again, elicited calls of totemism (e.g., Reinach 1903; Ravdonikas 1937; Tilley 1991; Layton 2000, etc.). So it is not surprising that the bestiaries within Scytho-Siberian art have been claimed by many scholars to be emblems, totems, totemic ancestors and clan patrons (e.g., Hanchar 1952: 191; El'nitskii 1960: 54; Tákats 1961; Chlenova 1962, 1963; Ghirshman 1964: 304; Chernikov 1965: 56; Chatwin 1970: 183; Young 1970: 395; Yatsenko 1971: 131-32; Artamonov 1973: 278; Honour & Fleming 1991: 133; K.A. Akishev 1992: 4; Moshkova 1994: 234; Raevskii 1996; Pang 1998: 15-16; etc.).

Totemism arose in the 19th century to provide an 'ism' to primitive beliefs which complemented the 'isms' of world religions (e.g., Zoroastrianism). It was based on the word 'totem' which derives from travellers accounts of the Ojibway people encountered in

eastern Canada. According to scholars (e.g., Tylor 1899: 140; Ingold 2000: 112) it was the comments of J. Long in his *Voyages and travels of an Indian Interpreter and Trader* (1791) which provided the foundation of totemism. Long reports upon a “religious superstition of the Savages, consists in each of them having his totam, or favourite spirit, which he believes watches over him” (1791: 86). Long tells us this *totam* assumes the shape of some beast and is never killed or eaten (*ibid.*, 86) and he even suggests that this ‘totamism’ may not even be confined to the ‘savages’ (*ibid.*, 87). Long’s descriptions of Ojibway *totams* laid the foundation for the first Western definition of totemism which sought a system of images, rituals and beliefs that connect natural species, usually animals, with clan or tribal identities.

This was then developed into a general theory by the Victorian scholar J.F. McLennan, who published an article in the *Fortnightly Review* on ‘The worship of animals and plants’ (1869-70). He drew upon Comte’s ‘fetishism’ and E.B. Tylor’s ‘animism’ and argued that totemism was a primordial stage of religion which was based on plant and animal worship, and was linked to tribal social structure. For McLennan totemism was the appropriation of a ‘fetish’ to the tribe, its hereditary transmission through maternal descent (McLennan 1869-70: 422). Animals were worshipped by the ancients who named themselves after them, and anthropomorphic gods with animal titles indicated that these gods were preceded by animal totem-gods (McLennan 1870: 214, 216). Therefore, totemism was a stage of development of ancient nations and it was the foundation of their myths (McLennan 1870: 214, 216).

McLennan’s ideas were subsequently supported and elaborated by many other scholars of his time, including the young James Frazer. In his most famous work, *The Golden Bough*, the main theme was the idea of the dying god and the god’s self-sacrifice for its believers. The foundations of his theorisation of sacrifice can be seen in his earlier article on *Totemism* (1887). Here Frazer stated that only the “rudest totem tribes” killed animals for food and such slayings were accompanied by apologies (*ibid.*, 49). In his search for the ultimate origins of sacrifice, Frazer contemplated totemism as its causation. These actions were conducted by primitive tribes who were on the first rung of Frazer’s evolutionary scheme. The next stage involved these practices becoming recognisable acts of sacrifice which were represented by the level of civilisation found in the Zuni and the Ancient Egyptians. Totemism was then responsible for the beginning of the advancement towards the formation of deity (*ibid.*, 89-90). Following McLennan’s idea of zoolatry, this process began with the worship of beast gods and was succeeded by the next stage where anthropomorphic gods took on animal attributes. Thus, the unstated implication was that the origin of theology was founded in totemism, whereby zoolatry preceded the formation of the gods. Frazer had reconstructed the Christian resurrection story by casting it into the

scientific beliefs of the time which involved rationalism, evolutionism and primitivism. Frazer's totemic argument was an attempt at devaluing the role of Christianity in Western Society as yet another set of primitive superstitions.

The entire *Totemism* article, like most of Frazer's works, is a systematised collection of decontextualised fragments of customs and behaviours culled from travellers' accounts. In a later critique of totemic theories, G. Wagner pointed out that such "theories centre around an arbitrary concept of totemism which has been arrived at by first shuffling the so-called totemic data, divorced from their respective cultural backgrounds, and then searching for their common denominator" (1934: 91). Like many scholars of his time, Frazer did not look at how the 'totem' was related to the nexus of social relationships, instead he was primarily concerned with the imposition of an order to travellers' tales and mythological texts which uncovered an underlying universal theme. As Ugo Bianchi has correctly and succinctly stated "the generalisation about it becomes so general as to be valueless" (1979: 311).

In his later work *Totemism and Exogamy*, Frazer came to the conclusion that totemism was only "an institution peculiar to the dark-complexioned and least civilised races of mankind ... no yellow and no white race is totemic" (Frazer 1910, vol. 4: 14). Frazer, like many Western scholars of the time, cast the Australian Aboriginal peoples as one of the most primitive peoples in the world. Totemism became a key element in the Western construction of the 'primitive'. 'Primitive' hunters were always surrounded by animals and could not rise above the level of beasts, but were able to create animal related ideas that were the basis of totemistic beliefs (Tokarev 1966: 185). Totemism was a practical way of meeting 'primitive' needs without vague mysticism but also provided a complete 'barbarous philosophy' (Frazer 1910, vol. 1: 117-118). Totemism was also the proof of the existence of the 'savage mental condition' in which there was confusion between men and natural things in the world (A. Lang 1887: 48). Andrew Lang also supported the ideology of the time which considered 'the lower tribes of men' were mad to imagine such totemic relationships with beasts. The Soviet scholar, S.A. Tokarev, added to this point that totemism was nothing more than what Engels would have considered to be a 'fantastic reflection in the human mind' of certain human relations (Tokarev 1966: 187). Such attitudes were a part of a milieu when peoples who differed from Western rationalist norms were deemed mentally ill. Scholars dismissed the beliefs and practices of tribal peoples as erroneous delusions based on wild imaginings. These views presupposed the superiority of rationalist thought as the ultimate judge of other ways of thinking outside the West (and within it). Non-Western peoples were looked down upon and totemism was used to point out the differences between them and the West. These attitudes ultimately resulted in mis-

interpreting and obscuring the complexity of relationships between these peoples and their so-called 'totems'.

These 19th century ideas of totemism has been used in Scytho-Siberian studies, as totemism is a common label employed in categorising the way peoples interacted with animals found in 'animal style' art. In particular, the occurrences of stags in Scythian art have long been considered to reflect totemism. In an early article A. Alföldi believed Scythian deer were probably representations of totems (1931b: 279). In a later famous article, N.L. Chlenova (1962, in French 1963) traced the image of the deer across the Scytho-Siberian world. She argued that the origins of the deer image came from the Near East and the Scytho-Siberian peoples subsequently appropriated it as they adapted it to their totemic beliefs. In a later analysis of the Iron Age Tagar culture of Tuva, Chlenova suggested the animal style portrayed zoomorphic deities; the animal style's origin went back to a time of totemism but it had subsequently degenerated into the images of tribal deities (Chlenova 1967: 129).

Chlenova's totemic deer derived from the supposition put forward by V.I. Abaev, who considered the image of the deer in Sako-Scythian art as a totemic animal. Abaev postulated that the translation of the term 'Saka' meant 'deer' and this was enough 'proof' to demonstrate that the tribe belonged to a deer totem (Abaev 1949: 179). The etymology of the word 'Saka' has not been by any means settled and Abaev's translation has been contested by others (e.g., Brandenstein & Mayrhofer 1964: 142; Khazanov & Shkurko 1982: 109; Kuz'mina 1983a: 11).

Totemism was also found in 'animal style' petroglyphs. For example, in the east of Kazakhstan, S.S. Chernikov (1947) believed that the Scythian petroglyphs were the surviving remains of totemic and cosmic ideas, while Kadyrbaev & Mar'yashev (1977) found the Sako-Scythian deer of Arpauzen (Kazakhstan) to be of totemo-magical significance. Totemism was not exclusive to 'animal style' petroglyphs but it was still drawn on as a universal explanation of Central Asian rock art images by many scholars (e.g., Bernshtam 1948: 156; Formozov 1950; Shatskii 1961; Agafonova 1962; Khlobystina 1971; Pomaskina 1975: 11-13; Mar'yashev 1980: 228-229)

The Lévi-Straussian formulation of totemism has also been considered in Scytho-Siberian studies (Charrière 1979; Raevskii 1981). Instead of totemism being a part of religion, Lévi-Strauss secularised it and presented it as a cognitive structure reflecting the binary oppositions of social and natural classifications (Lévi-Strauss 1966). Lévi-Strauss' rendering of totemism was a part of his structuralist ideology; it was a universal classification

employed by humans that utilised the differentiations found in nature to create distinctions between groups of people. Totemism was a binary system of naming and classifying codes that pass to and fro between the systems of culture and nature (Lévi-Strauss 1966: 75, 96-97, 115). Lévi-Strauss believed the totems expressed codes that followed his idiosyncratic views based on linguistic laws: totemic objects were not just objects, but were messages. Such ideas are problematic because they universalised perceived structures of human behaviour ('totemism') and relationships of binary opposition (nature-culture) that only resulted in imposing an inflexible set of reifications onto other societies.

Despite Lévi-Strauss' criticisms of minor aspects of previous totemic theories (1962, in English 1964) he still embraced the general corpus of attributes of totemism and the vast number of previous studies which it had spawned, as he reframed it into structuralism (1966). Furthermore, like the previously mentioned rationalists above, he still made Western judgements of what was irrational: he dismissed religious thought as an impoverished mentality (Lévi-Strauss 1966: 95) and considered the possibility that mythical reality can be false (*ibid.*, 243). As he states: "For make no mistake: the totemic myths which solemnly relate futile incidents and sentimentalise over particular places are comparable only to minor, lesser history" (1966: 243). Such value laden statements are problematic and question some of his approaches and unarticulated assumptions in his search for 'savage' intellectuality.

It has been pointed out that Lévi-Strauss' laws of primitive thought lead to the conclusion that the 'savage' mentality was spontaneous, while the 'civilised' mentality was marked by some kind of training (Clarke 1981: 191). In his search for the intellectual foundations of the laws of thought Lévi-Strauss came to a conclusion, which he had tried to avoid, "different cultures are characterized by different mentalities", and only further facilitated the identification of the 'primitive' with 'infantile' mentalities (Clarke 1981: 192). Lévi-Strauss, therefore, through structuralism had reaffirmed Frazer's contention that totemism was "simple, natural and conformable to modes of thought of savages" (Frazer 1910, vol., 1: 117).

It has been argued by Kuper that once the notion totemism was published, it was embraced and became a pervasive and enduring anthropological myth of how Europeans conceived 'primitive' societies (1988: 121). Furthermore, totemism received such a wide acceptance because it accommodated the notion of scientific progress. Totemism reduced tribal peoples into a category of Western social construction which became a part of the 'primitive' stereotype. It presumed how 'primitives' behaved and projected these misconceptions into the past. Prehistoric societies were classified and aligned into a

seriation of morphological fossil forms based on the principles of the natural selection of species. Totemism, combined with evolution, cast societies around the world into a single hierarchy through which the 'ruder' ones would eventually progress as they reached the summit of Western civilisation.

I concur with Kuper and other commentators over the past century (e.g., Tylor 1899; Abrahams 1908; Wagner 1934; Bianchi 1979) that 'totemism' is a highly problematic concept when applied to a great diversity of cultures. In the case of Aboriginal Australia, however, the concept totemism has significantly moved on since Fraser and addresses the socio-cultural context of Aboriginal connections with their land and ancestral beings (e.g., Ingold 2000: 111ff). Ingold further suggests that totemism is suitable for discussions in the Australian context, but may be of limited value to other cultures (*ibid.*, p. 425). This has been echoed by other anthropologists (Hamayon 2002: 406) and I argue this is also the case with regards to Central Asian studies of animal art where the Frazerian idea of zoolatry is still pre-eminent⁷. I contend more nuanced approaches are required in Central Asian studies which examine the complexity of roles and contexts of animal imagery in people's daily lives. I have already identified some with regards to the concept of art in chapter 1 and more are discussed in the last section of this chapter.

Solarism

The next 19th century based idea of 'primitive' religion, following totemism, in Central Asian studies was solarism. It is the conviction that in all artistic outputs of humankind there are symbols or qualities which acknowledges the sun and its veneration ('heliolatry'). Unlike totemism, the Victorian foundations of 'solarism' have now long been forgotten. An important strand is traceable to the philologist Max Müller who is also acknowledged as the founder of the discipline of History of Religions⁸. In the mid-19th century Müller was responsible for the translation of numerous ancient religious texts from India and Persia. His first mention of solar mythology was in 1856 when he published an essay on 'Comparative Mythology' that discussed Aryan mythic tradition through comparisons with philological evidence and the Indian Vedic texts (cited in Dorson 1965: 59). Based on his work on the Vedic texts, Müller was convinced of the universal role of the sun in the history of humankind. In a later article he explains:

⁷ For example, the golden images of animals found in the newly discovered kurgan of Arzhan-2 in Tuva are described as being the creatures which the Scythians most likely worshipped (Edwards 2003: 117).

⁸ Müller (1873) called for the development of a 'Science of Religion' based on the scientific comparison of the world's religions. Trained as a philologist, Müller took the comparative methods he used in the study of Indo-European languages and applied them to the study of religion.

“Was not the Sunrise to him the first wonder, the first beginning of all reflection, all thought, all philosophy? Was it not to him the first revelation, the first beginning of all trust, of all religion?” (Müller 1881: 599-600).

Müller subsequently developed his thesis in other writings and he inspired others to build upon it. Through comparisons of ethnology and mythology, Müller and his supporters found aspects of the sun in the words, myths, legends and customs of all humanity.

In relation to the ‘animal style’ an early example of solarism comes from Chernikov’s study (1947) of the petroglyphs of East Kazakhstan. Chernikov considered the images of goats and ‘animal style’ deer were not only totemic but also connected with solar cults, and these primitive religio-magical ideas were apparently spread widely across the steppe (Chernikov 1947: 275). How he inferred the existence of solarism is unclear as he does not demonstrate which petroglyphs he considers as ‘solar symbols’; Chernikov was instead more concerned with the idea of petroglyphs as relics of ‘primitive’ religion featuring ‘totemic’ animals and the ‘totem’ cult of the deer (*ibid.*).

Later studies developed the link of the Scytho-Siberian deer with solar symbols. The explicit connection of the image of deer with the sun was initially proposed by A.P. Okladnikov (1964) and continued by his student A.I. Martynov (Okladnikov & Martynov 1972; Martynov & Bobrov 1974; Martynov 1988). They threaded together several Siberian ethnographic accounts to present the idea of a ‘cosmic deer’ which was then linked to particular suppositions about the depiction of deer in artefacts and petroglyphs. In particular, it was believed that details on golden ornaments of deer from the Iron Age Tagar culture of Tuva were wings. So, if these deer had wings then they must have referred to the ability of flight, and, hence, this revealed symbolic connections to the heavens where the sun resides. Thus, this leads to the inescapable conclusion that the deer was, undoubtedly, a ‘cosmic animal’ with solar powers.

Further studies of these solar connections to other zoomorphic objects and petroglyphs has been explored by Martynov (1984, 1988, 1991; Davis-Kimball & Martynov 1993). He argued that the steppe nomads created their own ideology based on heliolatry and this was reflected in the animal style (Martynov 1991: 191). Animal solar symbols were expressed in the media of metal, wood, bone and leather, and also in petroglyphs. There was variation from region to region as the solar gods took the form of rams, goats or deer (Davis-Kimball & Martynov 1993: 216). Specifically, the deer was a solar animal related to Indo-Iranian Zoroastrian religion where the gods of light fought the gods of night (Davis-Kimball & Martynov 1993: 218). This follows on from Okladnikov who stated that the steppe nomads created a spiritual world where religion was dualistic and their art took the

form of the dynamic 'animal style' (Okladnikov 1990: 95). He also contends that the ancient steppe religion was composed of heavenly gods of light and evil underground gods based on Zoroastrian dualistic beliefs.

These latter interpretations relate to a common theme that uncritically applies a conflated notion of Zoroastrianism across a wide spectrum of cultures in Inner Asia. This version of Zoroastrianism does not take into account the wide range of practices, beliefs and religious sects since its inception to the present day, which is a feature of all world religions. The problem stems from a shallow reading of Zoroastrianism that does not address its long history; every period of Zoroastrianism, especially with regards to the early archaeologically known ones, had their own views on religious issues. In particular, it has been pointed out by Foltz (1999: 28) that to characterise the ancient Iranians and their neighbours as simply Zoroastrian is "a sweeping generalisation supported by little or no evidence". Foltz, in particular, draws us to the evidence of an inscription from Behistun, column 5⁹, where the Achaemenid ruler Darius speaks about the Saka as faithless and that the supreme god Ahura Mazda was not worshipped by them (King & Thompson 1907; cf. Frye 1996: 83). If Darius considered the Saka were non-Zoroastrian, how many other Sako-Scythian and Scytho-Siberian peoples were also 'faithless'?

The view that the Scythians, and by extension Scytho-Siberians, were Zoroastrian is based, in part, on readings of Herodotus' various reportings of Zoroastrian practices (*Histories* I, 101, 107, 132, 140). In one often cited passage Herodotus states that the Massagetae¹⁰ worshipped the sun by sacrificing horses, for the sun is the fastest god and swift things are given to this god (*Histories* I, 216). However, as mentioned in my introductory chapter, Herodotus' writings were a collection of observations intermixed with histories, second-hand observations, folk-tales and travellers' tales that were in circulation around his time (O. Murray 1987; R. Thomas 2000). Herodotus observed and commented through Greek eyes including Greek views of Achaemenid (Persian) and barbarian peoples, so the veracity of some of his accounts are a matter of debate. Herodotus, for example, states that the Persians worshipped fire (*Histories* I, 131) but as Clark (1998: 93) points out this a common misconception promulgated early Greek writers, such as Herodotus and Strabo, which is still maintained today. Zoroastrian ritual fire is not a god, but honoured and revered

⁹ An important Achaemenid relief sculpture with cuneiform inscriptions was found near Behistun village at the foot of the Zagros Mountains in the Kermanshah region of Iran. The inscriptions were a royal proclamation carved by Darius I which celebrates his victories during his assumption to power as well as the consolidation of the Achaemenid empire (King & Thompson 1907).

¹⁰ The Massagetae are considered to be related to the Scythians as indicated in Herodotus' writings. Some archaeologists argue the *Massagetae* inhabited the region between the Caspian and Aral seas (e.g., Yablonsky 1990), which resides in the Central Asian republics of Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan. It is also believed the *Massagetae* were perhaps the people mentioned in Achaemenid inscriptions called the *Saka Tigrakhauda* (Yablonsky 1990: 288).

like Christian icons or saints' relics, and even addressed in some liturgical proceedings as the attribute of Ahura Mazda relating importantly to righteousness and truth.

The historical origins of Zoroastrianism are shrouded in the mists of time and the debate still continues about the date of the actual appearance of the prophet Zarathushtra Spitama (*Zôroastrês*, Greek). Ancient Classical scholars had claimed Zarathushtra lived before 6000 BC, while early Arabic writers placed him around 600 BC (Nigosian 1993: 15). In more recent times linguistic, literary, historical and theological analyses have argued for dates bracketed between 1500-1000 BC or 700-500 BC (e.g., Dhalla 1938: xxxi; Boyce 1982: 3; Nigosian 1993: 16).

The Avesta it is an important component of Zoroastrianism and, like the Bible, is a compilation of various texts from differing periods gathered into a unified corpus. Its oldest texts, the Gâthâs (hymns), are attributed to Zarathushtra himself; these are not his writings but recordings of his life and teachings. Though their original dates are unknown the language used in the Gâthâs is more archaic than the rest of the Avestan texts. They were incorporated into the chief section of Zoroastrian liturgy known as the Yasna which, along with other Avestan writings, became the canonical texts of Zoroastrianism during the time of the Sasanid empire (224-651 AD). The Gâthâs describe Zarathushtra's passionate concern for the supreme god Ahura Mazda. His name can be translated as 'Wise Lord' for Zarathushtra sometimes addresses him as *Ahura*, lord, and *Mazda*, wisdom. He is the creator, provider of all good, giver of life (*Yasna* XXXI 43.4, 44.7, 48.3), and the flame bringing guidance to true believers (*Yasna* XXXIV.4). Ahura Mazda is also associated with truth, sovereignty, light and the sun. Good and evil was discussed in the Gâthâ texts but the concept of evil is conducted through wrong choices and not brought about by another other-than-human being. The cosmic fight between good (Ahura Mazda) and evil (Ahriman) was not made explicit until the writings of the Bundahishn book. Bundahishn was written in Pahlavi which dates to the Sasanian period (224-651 AD) (Nigosian 1993: 61); therefore this text represents Zoroastrian beliefs canonised during the Sasanid empire in Persia. The implication is that the idea of dualism mentioned in the Gâthâs, and hinted in known Achaemenid texts (550-330 BC), varied from the views expressed in Sasanian times. This makes it difficult to sustain Marytov's and Okladnikov's blanket statement of dualism amongst the Scytho-Siberian peoples of Central Asia during the first millennium BC, as well as taking into account Darius' Behistun comment that they were not Zoroastrian in the first place.

With regards to sun gods, as any Zoroastrian will tell you, they are not solarists. If one takes a closer look Zoroastrianism it can be found that it is a contradiction of monotheistic

and pantheistic beliefs. For monotheists their god is Ahura Mazda whom among many things is the lord of wisdom of which the sun is but one lesser aspect. The pantheistic side of Zoroastrianism features many deities embodying various natural phenomena (e.g., water, rain, celestial bodies) and/or are personifications of virtues such as justice and piety. Ardivi Sûra Anâhita, for example, is a fertility goddess associated with water. She celebrated in her Avestan hymn (*Khordâd Yasht*) as the heavenly spring whose waters gave life and fertility to humans, animals and plants. Bahrâm is the spirit of victory (*Bahrâm Yasht*), while Râma Hvâstra embodies the 21st of the month and provides good abodes as well as good pastures (*Râm Yasht*). Tistrya (Tîr) is the god of the star Sirius and he is a producer of rain (*Tîr Yasht*). There is one deity, Khorshêd, who is truly a god of the sun (*Sîrôzah* I,11), but this only one figure out of a large collection of known deities.

The Zoroastrian deity well attested for his solar connections is Mithra. Mithra was the protector of those who uphold contracts (covenants) and the enemy to those who broke them. He was the god of social order, justice, fate, war and victory. In his Yasht Mithra is called the lord of pastures, the giver of life and he who makes the rain fall and plants grow (*Mihir Yasht* I, IV.13, XVIII.67,118). However his Yasht refers to his connections to the sun not in terms of its solar essence, but rather metaphorically with regards to its majestic procession through the heavens (*Mihir Yasht* XVII.67,118). The historical circumstances of Mithra's incorporation into Roman religion is still highly debated (Hinnells 1975; Clark 1998: 157), but it was during Roman times that solar symbolism became an important feature of the new god 'Mithras'. Roman Mithras was venerated in mystery cults participated mainly by persons from the military or a political elite. Mithras was known as *Deus sol inictus*, invincible sun-god, and initiates acted out the cosmic cycle of his birth, sacrifice and salvation (Prendergast 1999: 179). Zoroastrian scholars are also keen to point out that Roman Mithraism was an exclusive, esoteric cult offering degrees of initiation which was more closer to freemasonry than Zoroastrianism (Clark 1998: 159). This is in opposition to the accessibility of Zarathushtra's teachings and the rituals conducted by priests on behalf of the community.

In Scytho-Siberian studies, therefore, the aforementioned solarist interpretations do not embrace the depth and complexity of Zoroastrian beliefs and only present a highly reductive summary that misleadingly focuses upon solar worship. The sun was not the only natural phenomenon recognised by Scytho-Siberian peoples, as the depictions of beasts in rock art and material culture which make up the so-called 'animal style' attest. In the overriding concern of searching for solar symbols there has been a lack of examination of other relationships, especially how the animal art and rock art was used in people's daily life (which will be discussed in the last section of this chapter). A similar situation had also

occurred in the search for universal symbols of the Goddess, so let us turn to their examination next.

G o d d e s s e s

The other prominent representation sought in Scytho-Siberian studies is the figure of the 'great Goddess'. In general, the discoveries of female images found in archaeological contexts have a tendency to be labelled as goddesses (e.g., Gimbutas 1974) and Scytho-Siberian art is no exception. The felt hanging found in Pazyryk kurgan 5, for example, has become a celebrated scene of a goddess (figure 21). It features a seated figure holding a twisting 'vine' being approached by a moustached horse rider. The seated figure is regarded by scholars to be based on similar figures of the great Goddess common in Near Eastern art¹¹ (e.g., Philips 1965: 85). The twisting vine is commonly interpreted as the 'tree of life' which makes her a life giving mother or a goddess of abundant harvest (Surazakov cited in Kato 1992: 10).

Herodotus records the names of some goddesses (*Histories* IV, 59) amongst Black Sea Scythians (*Tabiti, Api, Argimpasa*) which are also cited in support of the contention of the existence of Goddesses amongst Scytho-Siberian peoples. Vyaz'mitina (1963) suggests these goddesses were part of a great Goddess cult which was reflected in Scythian images of the elk, deer and birds as wells as so-called 'solar' signs. Meanwhile, Abaev (1962) argues that Scythian society was patriarchal, while the existence of goddesses in Scythian religion, as mentioned by Herodotus, indicates a survival of archaic ways referring back to an earlier matriarchal stage of social evolution. Raevskii (1970) believes this can be correlated with a particular myth recorded by Herodotus where the Black Sea Scythians originated from Herakles, who fathered three sons by a woman with the lower body of a snake who lived in a cave. His youngest son, Scythes, then becomes the forefather of all Scythians (*Histories* IV, 8-10). In order to explain the distinct lack of snake-bodied females in Black Sea Scythian art, Raevskii argues that this tale is allegorical and reflects the conflict between the older matriarchal Scythian tradition and its current patriarchal system. The idea of matriarchy, however, is another 19th century idea based on the contention that the primal structure of family was matriarchal which was superseded in social evolution by patriarchy. This theory was supported by the influential scholars of the time, like J. Bachofen, J.F. McLennan, L.H. Morgan and F. Engels, who used matriarchy to mark which societies were

¹¹ Conversely, this scene has also been interpreted as an enthroned priest with a sacred tree in his hand (Bokovenko 1995b: 291).

the most primitive, while 'patriarchy' represented cultures of a higher level of social development (Kuper 1988: 72, 76).



Figure 21. The scene with a seated figure and a horserider from fragments of a felt hanging found in Pazyryk kurgan 5 (after Talbot Rice 1957: pl. 30).

An elaboration of Vyaz'mitina's idea above has been put forward by Esther Jacobson (1993). She provides a fascinating twist in the concept of the great Goddess: since prehistory, the image of the deer in Central Asia and Siberia represented the Goddess as she slowly became obscured through the ages. Jacobson argued that the Neolithic petroglyphs of Siberia contained images of a female cervid which were the representations of the 'cosmic elk' and primordial 'animal mother'. Jacobson tells us:

"In unwrapping the layers that obscure the image of the deer of the Early Nomads, one finds that it was rooted in a symbolic system revolving around the Animal Mother: the deer-mother as Tree of Life and as source of life and death. Essentially female, it was gradually arrogated to the male as a sign of this power; with time however that function also disappeared. By the end of the first millennium BC, the deer had lost its visual and mythic energy; it had degenerated into meaningless ornamental scrolls, it had been translated into the image of a woman..." (Jacobson 1993: 47).

As the image of the Siberian deer goddess entered into the Scythian age her image became a recumbent stag and no longer stood on its legs as she did in Neolithic petroglyphs. By the end of Scytho-Siberian times, the deer goddess assumed the form of a woman seated before a male "but as woman she is finally eclipsed, her invisible presence only referred to

by a male figure” (Jacobson 1993: 214). The deer Goddess was destined for obscurity as the image moved from the early Neolithic petroglyph depictions to be “smothered” by human imagery and ‘realism’ in Scytho-Siberian art.

The problems with Jacobson’s narrative are related to the themes which she takes on from contemporary Goddess theology. One key aspect is that it focuses on the idea that the harmonious matriarchal societies of the Neolithic were replaced by oppressive patriarchal societies. The influences and connections of Western conceptions relating to female deities are complex¹², and I would like to focus upon the body of scholarship in recent years which has revolved around the works of Marija Gimbutas (e.g., 1974, 1989, 1991) that Jacobson draws upon and places into the context of Central Asia and Siberia. Gimbutas and others have sought empirical validation for the existence of a great Goddess by drawing upon the fields of anthropology, archaeology and comparative mythology, while diverse excerpts from folklore and ethnography are invoked to demonstrate the existence of a universal feminine deity (Wood 1996). It is believed that in the past there was a harmonious order of ritual and belief focusing on a female divinity. All of European prehistory was one single homogenous unit based on the wide spread occurrence of female figures and other symbols in the archaeological record. These societies were matriarchal and they were displaced by patriarchal ones. The theme of the replacement of peaceful female societies by male invaders is not new; it was postulated at the beginning of the 20th century by Jane Ellen Harrison (1903), and later taken up by Jacquetta Hawkes (1945) and Robert Graves (*The White Goddess*, 1946). Gimbutas’ version of this theme involved a pan-Neolithic sedentary culture which was then suppressed by mounted pastoralists of the steppe, known as the ‘Kurgan invaders’ (Gimbutas 1991).

The feminist theologian, M.A. Hewitt (1995: 188), has even pointed out Gimbutas’ chauvinism whereby in one article she contends that the Goddess worshipping cultures possessed high aesthetics while the ‘Kurgan’ invaders made primitive pottery devoid of aesthetics which was adorned with ‘solar’ designs (Gimbutas 1980: 291). As Hewitt explains:

“Gimbutas advances a restricted picture of women in ancient cultures that leads her to form singular conclusions that exclude alternative interpretations without consideration. Her argument that the cultures of Old Europe were egalitarian, peaceful and even ‘socialistic’ assumes that a startling degree of cultural and religious uniformity existed throughout the societies of Neolithic Europe and was sustained over a long period” (Hewitt 1995: 195).

¹² See, for example, Hutton (1997, 1998) for a good overview of its development in Western literature since the 18th century.

There are also archaeological criticisms of Gimbutas' 'totalisation' of Old World archaeology (e.g., Bailey 1994; Meskell 1995; Tringham & Conkey 1998) but their details do not need to be rehearsed for the neglected aspect of the impact that the supporters have had on the discipline of archaeology needs to be briefly considered.

This universal account of the past has passed into the wider public and the Goddess has become an important part of new religious movements in the West (e.g., Griffin 1995; Hardman & Harvey 1996; Pearson, Roberts & Samuel 1998). Therefore the criticisms made by archaeologists (e.g., Ucko 1968) on interpreting objects as goddesses have been met with counter-claims that the establishment only seeks to maintain its authority in upholding its limited range of interpretations (e.g., Dames 1999). Some archaeologists, historians and scholars consider themselves as the custodians of the past, but as the Goddess movement, Pagans, Druids, etc. and other alternative groups have pointed out they are not the only interested parties: in a diverse society many others may also have claims to the past and the establishment custodians are not the only persons with ideas about the past (Wallis 2002a: 46). Supporters of the Goddess have also provided a challenge to establishment archaeology: Ian Hodder is a noted example of an archaeologist who chose to 'self-reflexively' acknowledge the voices of Goddess worshippers who visit Çatalhöyük in his post-modern ideological stance of the plurality of narratives (Hodder 1998; cf. Meskell 1998: 137-140).

This contemporary political struggle should not detract us from being mindful about the identification of female images; the idea that every female image, as well as a variety of other images and symbols, is a goddess is a too much of a sweeping generalisation. In the identification of female representations the pressing issue is more about how these constructions of 'gender' and 'sexuality' may be actually inferred. The representation of females and the cultural realities of femininity are more complex than archetypal statements of the 'life giving mother'. I would like to point out, for example, in the case of the Virgin Mary, her defined attributes do not represent the complexity and diversity of aspects, processes and contradictions that is part of the lives of women who are within the Catholic faith. Additionally, as Hewitt (1995: 199) points out, the glorification and divinisation of female attributes has a negative effect which creates rigid conceptions that foreclose diversity and difference.

In order to move Central Asian art studies forward, we need to be critically aware that our notions of gender may not exist in other cultures and past societies. A productive line of enquiry would then seek to contextualise the objects, be it female figures, the images of animals or abstract designs, as material objects which play an active role in the construction

of gender, as well as other roles related to age and status, in society. As I have discussed in chapter 1 with the case study of the Tamil kolam designs, their practice was a part of the construction of the identity of Tamil women. This indicates that the material forms are an important part of peoples daily lives as they are used in the construction and negotiation of identities (Miller 1994: 417). In Central Asian studies, especially with regard to the 'animal style' objects, archaeological excavations of the frozen tombs and other related Pazyryk culture burials have revealed zoomorphic objects which decorate female and male corpses, and this very association with the human body strongly suggests that the zoomorphics have contributed to the negotiation their identity (e.g., age, gender, social status) in everyday life. This will be further explored in chapter 4, so now let us turn to the examination of the last perceived category of religion in this chapter, shamanism.

Shamanism & shamanic practices

As briefly mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, for over two centuries it has been discussed by scholars the possibility of the presence of shaman-like practitioners in Scytho-Siberian society (Potocki 1802; Halliday 1910-1911; Zakharov 1925: 50-51, Meuli 1935; Hanchar 1952, 1956; Baumgartner 1959; Eliade 1964: 394-396; Sorokin 1969; Bongard-Levin & Grantovskii 1974: 90-91; Margreth 1993, etc.). As early as 1802 Count Potocki argued, based on what was known about Siberia at the time, that the *enarees* priests mentioned by Herodotus have similarities to shamanic practitioners. The Swiss philologist Karl Meuli (1935) was struck by Herodotus' reporting of the Scythian funerary ritual of inhaling vapours in a tent (*Histories* IV, 73-75) and argued this description strongly suggests it was derived from a shamanic rite which involved the intoxicating effect of burning hemp seeds. It was Meuli's conjecture that the steam tent of the Pontiac Scythians was also utilised as an ecstatic creating device by a professional class of Scythian shamans, the *enarees* (Meuli 1935: 131).

A few years later excavations of Pazyryk kurgan 2 (1948) revealed the robbed tomb of a tattooed man in the Altai (Rudenko 1953: 136-141). He was striped bare but the surviving fragments of clothing were decorated with animals. It had already been suggested by Zakharov (1925: 50-51) that the costumes with animal decorations from the Pazyrykian tomb of Katanda held a similarity to Siberian *kam*'s (shaman) attire and may have been part of a costume of a shaman of ancient times. Following on from this, the articles of clothing from Pazyryk kurgan 2 with their 'animal style' decorations, as well as the presence of musical instruments (drums and 'Scythian harp') strongly suggested that the tattooed man was a high status shaman of the Scytho-Siberians (Hanchar 1952, 1956). His

zoomorphic tattoos were also most likely representations of spirit assistants of the shaman (Sorokin 1978: 184). Furthermore, amongst the tomb's inventory was found a folded up tent and an incense burner full of charred hemp seeds, which subsequent researchers point out as confirmation of Meuli's 1935 hypothesis (e.g., Hanchar 1956: 189; Bongard-Levin & Grantovskii 1974: 90)

With regards to the connection of shamanism and 'animal style' petroglyphs, the idea was first suggested by Chernikov in 1947. He considered that the Scytho-Siberian deer in the petroglyphs of eastern Kazakhstan were not only solar symbols but 'totemic' animals of shamans (1947: 273). This is based on Chernikov's reading of an early article by Potapov (1935) which draws on the theory of Frazerian totemism, which was in vogue at the time. Potapov argued that traces of totemism have survived in shamanism of the Altaic peoples during the turn of the 20th century.

Moreover, there is a general theme in rock art studies of Central and Inner Asia relating to the quest for ancient shamanic figures. The main tenant of this thesis is that the image of the shaman has been an enduring motif which extends deeper than Scytho-Siberian times. In the Gorno-Altai before the appearance of the Scytho-Siberians, for example, were depictions of 'masked and costumed figures' of shamans in the Bronze Age images of the large site of Kalbak-Tash (Kubarev 2002: 101-103). Notably, near the village of Karakol, Gorno-Altai, was found an important Early Bronze Age cemetery which contained burials with coffin-like box containers constructed of stone plates (Kubarev 1988). The inner surfaces were painted with images of half-human/half-animal hybrids which the excavator speculates could have been masked shamans in costumes with animal parts that have analogues to Altaic and Tuvan shamanic apparel (Kubarev 2002: 104, 106, 110). In Kazakhstan similar anthropomorphic figures are found in rock art of the Bronze Age (third to second millennia BC) (Samashev 1998). In particular, petroglyph figures with lines coming out of their heads have a similarity to feathered headdresses worn by Altaic and Tuvan shamans (Samashev 1998; cf E. Devlet 2001). Overall, these and similar studies are based in the contention that rock art provides the earliest evidence of the antiquity of shamanism in Central Asia and southern Siberia.

In his reassessment of the above model H.P. Francfort (1998) notes that the theoretical situation for shamanism the Central Asian Bronze Age is still speculative. Generally speaking, the background to the Bronze Age broadly relates to complex movements of Indo-Iranian speaking tribes spreading across Central Asia. The interconnections between the ancient Indian Vedas and older Iranian parts of the Avesta not only have preserved some of the ancient Indo-Iranian myth cycles, but also provide rich resources for the

interpretation of petroglyphs as illustrations of ancient myths (Francfort 1998: 305). The shamanic figures above, for example, could also have represented ancient forms of solar gods like Mithra (1998: 307). With regards to the rock art from the Scytho-Siberian period, Francfort then finds deer petroglyphs can be markers of 'Iranism' [*sic*] as well as solar symbols because of their connections to the Saka and Scythians, who spoke Indo-Iranian derived languages (1998: 306).

Francfort also recognises that some proponents of the Indo-Iranian theory do accept a general idea of shamanism and composite mixtures of theories of Indo-Iranian culture and shamanism are possible (Francfort 1989: 313). Bongard-Levin & Grantovskii, for example, on the basis of comparative analyses of Indo-Iranian texts, point out it is possible to view particular cultural elements as having shamanistic connotations (1974: 84-98). In particular, some experiences from the consumption of the ritually important hallucinogenic drink *soma* (*haoma*, Avestan) mentioned in the Vedic and Avestan texts are ecstatic¹³ (Bongard-Levin & Grantovskii 1974: ; cf. Flattery & Schwartz 1989). *Soma* is often identified with birds, such as the eagle who brings *soma* to the god Indra (*Rig Veda* IV, 18) or Indra riding an eagle to fetch *soma* from heaven (*Rig Veda* IV, 26-27); these are creatures which are often spirit helpers of Siberian shamans and assistants in shamanic soul flights. Bongard-Levin & Grantovskii speculate that as the early Indo-Iranians spread across Central Asia they most likely encountered and, perhaps, absorbed non-Indo-Iranian peoples with shamanistic traditions (1974: 93). As we know today, contemporary Tajik people, for example, speak an Iranian based language and have shamanic practitioners like their Turkic speaking neighbours, Kazakhs, Kyrgyz and Uzbeks, which are similar to Siberian shamans yet have different cultural attributes significant to Central Asians (Basilov 1992a). This then leads to a comment by Jacobson (1993: 46) who points out the presence of shamanism among the Scytho-Siberians might not be similar to Siberian shamanism as we know it. Therefore, the crux of the issue revolves around what constitutes 'shamanism', which now requires closer scrutiny.

Defining shamanism

There are multiple and competing definitions of 'shamanism' offered by scholars and I focus on those that have a direct bearing upon Central Asian studies. In order to place these definitions in perspective a brief history of Siberian shamanic studies is first required. The first traceable appearance of the word 'shaman' was found in the 1672 memoirs of the exiled Russian churchman Avvakum. During his exile he observed healing rites of the

¹³ Also see Rozwadowski (2002: 51-60) for a detailed analysis of Vedic textual examples of ecstatic experiences.

Evenki conducted by *sama:n*¹⁴ (Pentikainen 1998: 30). This word then reached Western Europe in 1692 through the writings of a Dutch diplomat at the Tsar's court, Nicolas Witsen (Hutton 2001: vii). Witsen also provided the famous illustration (figure 22) of a Tungus shaman with antlers and banging a drum whom he dubbed as the 'Priest of the Devil' (cited in Hutton 2001: 32). Witsen and other 18th century travellers and explorers encountered various Manchu-Tungus speaking tribes in Siberia whose practitioners names were rendered *šhaman* or *sama:n*. Witsen's illustration was part of the theme of Christian condemnation of these indigenous practitioners who were deemed by Westerners as performers and charlatans (e.g., Flaherty 1992; Hutton 2001: 32-33). By the end of 18th century the term was known generically in its German form *Schaman* (Flaherty 1992) and from then on the term 'shaman' became part of a history of appropriation, re-negotiation, essentialisation and universalisation in the West.

In the 19th century and the beginning of the early 20th century there were many Russian (e.g., Shashkov 1864; Radloff 1884; Mikhailovski 1895; Bogoras 1904-1910; Shirokogoroff 1935) and European (e.g., Donner 1922; Harva 1938) field workers who were making records of shamans from the various Siberian tribes during a background of the Russification and Christianisation of these very peoples. With the rise to power of Stalin in the 1930s numerous peoples of Central and Inner Asia were forced to adopt new modes of economic production and social reforms which included the atheistic purge of religions. During the Stalin period the dissemination of information was closed to the West which included the work of Soviet ethnographers (Hutton 2001: 38). From then on Soviet research into shamanism fell within social evolutionary frameworks of Soviet-Marxist based interpretations (Vitebsky 1995: 136). However, at the same time the Communist Party sent out its own ethnographers who sought out shamans with the intent to document them, and inform on them to the authorities in order to be punished (Hutton 2001: 43). Siberian shamans were banned, imprisoned, shot or killed (Vitebsky 1995: 137; Balzer 1997: xiii; Hultkrantz 1998: 65). Therefore, another theme arose in the Soviet ethnographic literature which referred to the 'shamanistic survivals of religion' amongst Siberians and Central Asians, as if they were already extinct.

As Privratsky (2001: 124) notes, amongst the scholarship of Central Asian peoples who were Islamic (Kazakhs, Tajiks, Turkmen, Uzbeks) or Buddhist (Mongols, Buryats) the term shamanism was also employed by Soviet researchers as a generic label for beliefs outside the tenets of these religions. In particular, folk practices that were not of the Shariah and the Five Pillars of Islam were a 'pre-Islamic' lower stratum of shamanism amongst the Kazakhs (*ibid.*). So, these practices and features of culture are considered to be survivals of

¹⁴ This is the phonetic transliteration of the word.

pre-conversion times with the unavoidable implication that these were the primordial, primitive strata of ancient stages of their societies. Styuart (1998: 105) speaks about how shamanism as a 'primitive phase' has blinded researchers into missing the complexity of Kazakh spirituality, because Kazakh practices such as reverence to ancestors as well as the Kazakh shamanic practitioners, *baksy*, functioned simultaneously in their society.



Figure. 22 'Priest of the Devil'. Witsen's famous illustration of a Tungus shaman from *Noord en Oost Tartarye*, 1705 (after Siikala & Hoppál 1992: pl. 1).

Outside the Soviet Union some of the 19th and early 20th century materials on Siberian shamans were available in publications in English (e.g., Mikhailovski 1895; Shirokogoroff 1935) and German (e.g., Radloff 1884; Harva 1938). John Lubbock, in particular, considered that shamanism was the fourth stage of mankind's religious evolution (1870:10). However, it was Mircea Eliade's synthetic work *Shamanism: Archaic techniques of ecstasy* (French 1951, English 1964) that made a considerable impact on the idea of shamanism, especially among English speaking audiences. First, it provided a survey of Russian research up to his time that was readily accessible to Western audiences during the period of information restrictions from behind the 'iron curtain'. Based on the model of Siberian shamanism Eliade's synthesis arranged diverse accounts from Asia, America and Oceania into his grand narrative for the search for the archaic origins religion. Wallis (1999: 28) points out Eliade was seeking a primal religion based on Christian themes of ascension and paradise as shamanism was an Edenic reclamation of paradise lost (e.g., Eliade 1964: 99). Therefore, the shaman for Eliade was essentially an exotic romanticised 'other' which contrasted with Western rationalism. During the course of this broad survey he formulated a set of characteristics that enabled him to define shamanism as an 'ism': a repertoire of practices and beliefs which were considered to be a bounded system of religious phenomena. Importantly, the shaman was a 'psychopomp' and a 'technician of ecstasy' who communicated with the celestial realms. The main criticism of Eliade, though, has been

that he constructed an idealisation culled from diverse studies of shamanism, turning to them into generalisations, avoiding particular forms of shamanic practice and ignoring socio-political contexts (Humphrey 1980: 244; Thomas & Humphrey 1994: 1; Vitebsky 1995: 116).

Eliade exemplifies one approach to shamanism which considers it as a religious archetype rooted in humanity's primordial stages of spirituality. Echoes of this resonate in Chatwin's suggestion that shamanism was the fundamental inspiration of the so-called 'animal style' (B. Chatwin cited in Young 1970: 395) Chatwin did not provide reasons to explain how he arrived at such a conclusion; however, in a familiar culture-historic paradigm he contends that the expansion and transmission of the animal style across the world was the result of the global spread of shamanism (B. Chatwin cited in Young 1970: 397). Shamanism, therefore, was the inspiration for the entire style ever since its inception in the Upper Palaeolithic. Furthermore, the hypothesis of the expansion of the 'animal style' into the Americas could be accounted for by the spread of shamanism from its Siberian epi-centre. As we have seen in the culture-historic approaches above, this was based on the diffusionist stance that shamanism was an autonomous unit that spread across the world based on a singular causation which created a monolithic explanation for a wide diversity of cultures in time and space. In such an approach shamanism is seen as a primitive Ur-religion in an unchanging archetypal form which diffuses across cultures spreading animal images as it moves along.

This view of shamanism as an autonomous sphere to society then leads to piecemeal interpretations of the possible religious dimensions of ancient societies. I have already pointed out above in this section that this has occurred in the study of local religion amongst the Kazakhs: let us see how this is applied in an archaeological context. A relevant example comes from Layton's proposal of religious behaviours in the Upper Palaeolithic cave art of France (1999, 2000). Layton argues that the Upper Palaeolithic art of the Franco-Cantabria polarised through time between the binary oppositions of shamanism versus 'totemism'. According to his model there could only be one type of religion at a single time in the Upper Palaeolithic; this detracts from the consideration that both could have existed in the same society at the same time, if we accept the actuality of the highly problematic category of 'totemism'. However, Layton applied two reifications, shamanism and 'totemism', as binary opposites which did not bring any further explanation to Upper Palaeolithic art but denied the diversity of the spectrum of religious phenomena which he was trying to explain. Such ideas are problematic because they universalised perceived structures of human behaviour ('shamanism', 'totemism') and relationships of dualism that only resulted in imposing an inflexible set of reifications onto these societies. Layton

explicitly subscribed to the idea that shamanism was a singular cultic system, based on Eliade, which concatenates a diversity of what Piers Vitebsky calls 'thousands of local religions' (pers. comm. 1998). This idea of 'shamanism' implies a singular unified religion made of a 'conglomeration of shamanic practices' (Humphrey 1996: 3) lumped into an all encompassing monolithic category.

A second approach to shamanism has resonations with the 'ecology of religion' paradigm (p. 52-53) which connects it to specific environments and economic modes of production. An example of this comes from Central Asian rock art studies where shamanism is viewed as practices which are specific to hunting societies of the taiga¹⁵ (e.g., Francfort 1998). In his review of the petroglyphs of Central Asia, H-P. Francfort insisted a book published by A.I. Martynov in 1991 that it was essentially shamanic (Francfort 1998: 305). Yet, when one reads the cited passage (Martynov 1991: 14-43) the word shaman was never used and instead Martynov talks about the hunting of animals. Francfort may have used the wrong reference, for in an earlier work Martynov does discuss shamans (Okladnikov & Martynov 1972: 188), but, later in the same article, Francfort stated that hunting was central to the theory of shamanism (Francfort 1998: 312). The implication of this statement is that if shamanism equals hunting economies, and if hunters create rock art, it is, thus, shamanic. However, shamanic practitioners are also found amongst a medley of pastoral¹⁶, agricultural and urban¹⁷ societies. The Buryats of Siberia, for example, not only engage in hunting but their economy also involves combinations of pastoralism, nomadism and agriculture (Krader 1978; Hamayon 1994: 82). The Buryat shamans do conduct hunting related rites but their roles in society are more complex than simple hunters for they also played an important part in political and military processes (Krader 1978: 232). Furthermore, since Soviet times the Buryats like many other peoples have been urbanised and their shamans also work in the city (Humphrey 1999). Hunting activities, like shamanic practices, are part of the complexity of activities in a society which are enmeshed in elaborate socio-political relationships.

A third approach to shamanism is that it relates only to its 'Siberian cradle' of ethno-historical accounts. Jacobson (1993: 46) argues pure 'canonical' shamanism did not exist in the archaeological record during Bronze Age and Scytho-Siberian times because she contends there is no evidence of Siberian gowns¹⁸ and drumsticks. Therefore, analogical

¹⁵ Taiga is a Russian word for the swampy coniferous forest regions of Siberia.

¹⁶ For example, the Kazakh *baksy* (e.g., Castagné 1930).

¹⁷ For example, the Korean *mudang* (e.g., Yu & Guiso 1988). In China, the Manchu Qing dynasty before the downfall of their empire in 1911 maintained a court shaman (Humphrey 1994).

¹⁸ Jacobson was probably not aware of scholars who had argued for analogues to be drawn from comparisons of clothing with zoomorphic decorations from the frozen tombs of Karanda and Bolshoi Berel with accounts from Siberian ethnography (Zakharov 1925; Sorokin 1969). These comparisons are further discussed in chapter 4.

arguments between Siberian ethnographic materials from the last few centuries and their interpretative possibilities is discounted by Jacobson as there is a lack of one to one evidence to the archaeology (*ibid.*). However, this position is more strongly rooted to her idea that shamanism did not appear until the 1st millennium AD which was based on L.P. Potapov's contention that it arose during the time of the spread of the Turkic speaking tribes who are the distant historical ancestors of many present day Siberian and Central Asian peoples (Potapov 1978). She states that the Neolithic period with its petroglyphs of elk was a time when anybody could access the deer cults. This is in contrast to the Early Turkic period (c. 6th-8th centuries AD) when shamanism developed as the cult of the psychopomp who controlled access to the realm of the spirits. As Åke Hultkrantz has pointed out, Jacobson's scheme implicitly drew upon old Soviet-Marxist theories that pre-shamanic religion was egalitarian and granted everyone access to supernatural power, while shamanism was monopolised by chosen individuals in a class society (Hultkrantz 1996: 284). Such views probably derive from Soviet scholars like Zelenin (1937) and Anisimov (1963), who argue for a Marxist based model of shamanism: a condition which arose from changes in production and the establishment of patriarchal clans and private property (Anisimov 1963: 84).

For Jacobson shamanism is a later expression of a tradition which formed in the beginning of the 1st millennium AD where "the antlered deer became the mother and cloak of the shaman" (Jacobson 1993: 224). Thus, she reinterprets and incorporates Siberian shamans into her thesis of the struggle and decline of the 'great Goddess of Siberia' as she accepts the Early Turkic origins of 'classical' Siberian shamanism. Jacobson is adamant that there is a cut-off date for shamanism as it did not exist prior to the Early Turkic period, c. 6th-7th centuries AD. Conversely, when looking at her Goddess thesis (1993) it could also be argued there is no archaeological evidence of the worship of an all encompassing Goddess in the petroglyphs and archaeology of Siberia and Central Asia from the Neolithic to Iron Ages. Furthermore, she follows the same methodology which she considers ineffectual in the shamanic model in order to present a model of ancient Goddess worship: simple analogies of artefacts and using ethnographic excerpts which emphasise the presence of 'cults of female spirits' amongst Siberian peoples (1993: 214-246). She deliberately delimited the idea of shamanic activities to have occurred after the 1st millennium AD, but exerted no restraint to where or when in time and space the symbolism of female divinity can be found. Even though she had admitted that the presence of shamanism in the Scytho-Siberians might not be similar to Siberian shamanism (1993: 46), Jacobson was still defining what shamanism is and what it is not. Jacobson held the conviction that shamanism was confined in an unchanging way temporally and spatially to historically attestable Siberian peoples and their Turkic predecessors. However, her narrative for Siberia

from Neolithic times to the Turkic period was still a linear evolutionary model based on the idea that religion changes with the traditional stages of society based on technological and economic achievements (e.g., the Neolithic being egalitarian hunters, etc.).

So far I have examined the arguments for a bounded set of beliefs and practices which produces a category called 'shamanism'. As a standardised phenomenon it was then applied as a universal principle to many cultures but resulted in obscuring the diversity of phenomena which it attempted to categorise. The first approach viewed shamanism as a primitive Ur-religion in an unchanging archetypal form which diffuses across cultures, while the second and third approach only saw it as an immutable pattern specific to hunting societies of the northern forests or its 'Siberian cradle' since the 1st millennium AD. These approaches ignored the dynamic and changing socio-political situations in which shamanistic practices are situated and marginalises the history of these complex negotiations and adaptations into a monolithic term. However, one last approach needs to be discussed which relates to Eliade's definition of shamanism as a technique of ecstasy and its relationship to rock art studies.

Eliade not the only scholar who subscribed to the idea that Siberian shamanism was connected with ecstasy. Radloff's study of the peoples of the Altai in *Aus Sibirien* provides a detailed account of a shamanic practitioner's performance (1884, ii: 19ff.) which culminates into what he calls an ecstatic state (*ibid.*, 50). M.A. Czaplicka (1914) in her noted systematic study of the peoples of Siberia devotes a section to a review of shamanic practices. She suggested that "the essential characteristic of a shaman is a liability to nervous ecstasy and trance" (*ibid.*, 198). Nora Chadwick in her discussion of the various shamanic practitioners among Central Asian and Siberian peoples also pointed out shamanic acts of divination are often done in a state of ecstasy (1936: 79). However, due to the popularity of his book Eliade is generally credited to be the progenitor of this theme.

The idea that shamanism is linked to trance has come to the fore in the theorisation of shamans in several branches of rock art studies across the globe. The explicit link between particular non-figurative forms found in rock art and visions has been noted by researchers in the Americas (e.g., Reichel-Dolmatoff 1967; Blackburn 1977; Wellmann 1978, 1981), but the most rigorous argument was put forth under the rubric of the 'Neuropsychological Model' developed by the South African rock art researchers J.D. Lewis-Williams and T.A. Dowson (1988). The authors state that they present a model which addresses the stalemate of the 'ethnographic despair' amongst previous researchers (e.g., Leroi-Gourhan 1968) in Upper Palaeolithic art research because of the disapproval of previous uses of simplistic ethnographic analogy (*ibid.*, 201). Therefore they present an analogical argument that

exploits a range of sources by establishing a 'determining structure' that demonstrates these sources do not arise by chance (Wylie 1988a: 231). The determining structure was based in neuropsychological phenomena received from altered states of consciousness and Lewis-Williams and Dowson focused on what they call 'entoptics'¹⁹, visual sensations derived from the neuro-optic system including distinct hallucinatory form constants as well as various dynamic processes involved in hallucinatory experiences. Basically, they argue that there are particular visual forms and somatic experiences derived from altered states of consciousness which can be recognised in art. This is founded on the comparison of clinical research with ethnographic field observations. First they applied it to two case studies of shamanic rock art from the San of southern Africa and the Shoshone Coso of the Californian Great Basin, and found they had a concurrence of 'entoptic' imagery. Second, they compared this with Upper Palaeolithic art which strongly suggests a similar phenomena had also existed in Upper Palaeolithic contexts. They argue that San and Upper Palaeolithic religions were not identical but the parallels allow them to make an association with altered states of consciousness and features known to shamanism, and "suggest that shamanism in some form existed in the Upper Palaeolithic" (*ibid.*, 213). Thereafter, the remainder of the article attempts to locate the 'entoptic phenomena' in Upper Palaeolithic art by the interpretation of the visions through comparisons to ethnographic analogy that emphasised the experiences of the individual who made the art.

Subsequently the neuropsychological model has been discussed and refined by its original authors through several other works (e.g., Lewis-Williams 1988; Lewis-Williams 1991a, 1991b; Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1994; Lewis-Williams 1995; Lewis-Williams & Clottes 1995; Dowson 1999a; Dowson & Porr 2001) and has been taken up by other researchers in other rock art traditions (e.g., Whitley 1994; Patterson 1998) and other archaeological cultures (e.g., Bradley 1989; Dronfield 1993, 1996a; Creighton 2000) as well as Indo-Iranian populations of the Bronze Age of Central Asia (Rozwadowski 1998, 1999)

Subsequently, two key issues have arisen from the application of the model which need to be discussed. The first issue has been a narrow focus upon Lewis-Williams and Dowson's table of six visual form constants²⁰ which have become (in)famously known as the 'entoptics' (1988: fig. 1). The widely dispersed replication of these six forms in other people's works of scholarship has been acknowledged by Lewis-Williams and Dowson as problematic; it has led to a homogenisation of rock art traditions that created the

¹⁹ In later research, J. Dronfield (1993: 180-181) suggests the term 'subject visual phenomena' is a more suitable category which embraces all entoptic, entophthalmic, phosphene and hallucinatory experiences.

²⁰ Even though this table has been critically discussed and refined by Dronfield (1993, 1996a, 1996b) his research has been either ignored or forgotten as the table of 'six entoptics' has become the overriding site of contestation of Lewis-Williams and Dowson's neuropsychological model (see for example Bahn 1998a, 1998b: 240-242, 2001; Diaz-Andreu 2001)

impression their model was monolithic (Dowson cited in Crook 1999a: 24-25). They also point out that some authors employed the six forms and ignored the many other factors which they discussed that involved other visual and somatic sensations during trance states (Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1994). However, in order to move on from this methodological impasse Dowson has called for an engagement that considers the diversity of shamanic expressions and for researchers to work more closely with the ethnography of the area of the rock art in question (cited in Crook 1999a: 25). In the original article Lewis-Williams & Dowson (1988: 213) clearly state: "entoptic phenomena doubtless had different meanings and associations in different times and places and even for different artists within a single society". These visual forms and experiences are not random delusions but socially situated visions which are culturally meaningful. The implication is that we must explore these socio-cultural facets and locate these visions within the context of the community who produced and utilised them. I argue that we can use neuropsychological phenomena as part of our inquiries, but with the critical acknowledgement that considers them as one line of evidence which combines with other strands in order to create a model that will assist us in bringing further understandings to the role of the imagery in society.

The second key issue has been the contested link between altered states of consciousness and shamanism. This debate is quite old in shamanic studies as the shaman's mental state has been viewed with scepticism and dismissed as either fantasy (e.g., Mikhailovskii 1895: 78) or as mental illness (e.g., Czarlicka 1914: 169). Detractors of the neuropsychological model disagree with the association of 'entoptic' imagery with shamanism and contend that trance does not equal shamanism (e.g., Bahn 2001: 59), as some types of shamans do not employ ecstatic states (e.g., Hamayon 2001). Bahn replaces the neuropsychological model with his own variation based on an explicit psychopathological model. He prefers to consider ghosts and goblins from fairy tales as hallucinations perhaps induced by the Charles Bonnet syndrome, as "this helps explain why characters in supernatural tales from across time and around the world look so similar" (Bahn 2001: 53-54). This sweeping generalisation is based in the reductive medicalisation approach common in Western scholarship since the 19th century as J.E.D. Esquirol (1838: 349) had stated hallucinations were pathological phenomena and visionaries and ecstasies were obvious sufferers of these conditions. In more recent times it has been recognised by psychologists that this reductive model provides a social authority to pathologise these persons and leads to condemning the individual as irrational and mad with no consideration of listening to what they were experiencing and the location of these experiences in their socio-cultural background (e.g., Sarbin & Juhasz 1978; Littlewood & Lipsedge 1989; Lemma 1996).

Trance, visions and dreams are a resource potentially available to all individuals which is negotiated and domained in particular ways by different societies. For example, sometimes the images for *malangan* sculptures made by the people of northern New Ireland, Papua New Guinea, were received through dreaming (Küchler 1992: 108). Some tipis of the Great Plains peoples of North America were painted with images from vision quests (Nabokov & Easton 1989: 41). In particular, a tipi of an Assiniboin medicine man from Montana had images of birds and spirits which he had seen in his dreams (*ibid.*). The distinction between dreams, dream-like states and visions is not always clear cut, but visions procured in altered states of consciousness as well as dreams and related phenomena provide a potent resource for potential socio-cultural utilisations (e.g., Bourguignon 1974: 234). 'Altered states of consciousness' and 'trance' are terms which are contestable in themselves and here I approach them along with dreams in a broader sense as part of individual engagements with the world which is socially defined in their community's own unique way. Hence I prefer the term 'visionary' which embraces active engagements with the world around us as opposed to 'hallucination', a derogatory, clinical definition which intends to reduce the experience to biological determinism. Such reductionism is part of a Western medical process which transforms a person into the social stigma of being mentally-ill (e.g., Szasz 1973; Littlewood & Lipsedge 1989). Though the root words of 'visions' and 'visionary' myopically focuses on visualisations, the experiences are not solely visual and can involve multi-sensorial experiences (which is also discussed in detail in Lewis-Williams & Dowson's original paper, 1988). This more apt idea of visions then requires to be coupled with a more nuanced conception of shamanism, which is now the next point of discussion.

Relocating shamans

An important contribution to the shamanic debate comes from comments made by the anthropologists N. Thomas and C. Humphrey (1994). They pointed out that the huge literature on shamanism tended to be biased towards general symbols, healing and ecstatic techniques which emphasised the shaman as a lone figure isolated from society. There is a lack of studies of the activities of shamans as "political actors or mediators of historically constituted social contradictions and resistances" (Thomas & Humphrey 1994: 1). They point out that there have been examinations of the role of the shaman, but these tend to become comparative exercises which examine universal religious roles and ignore their complex political dimensions. Despite the many criticisms of shamanism for Thomas and Humphrey the 'shaman' is still a useful analytical tool. They were not concerned with the search for a primordial form of shamanism but instead aimed to recover and analyse the diversity of shamanic practice which the essentialistic accounts obscure and to

recontextualise shamanism into its political contexts (Thomas & Humphrey 1994: 2). The understanding of shamanic activities can come about by exploring their particular manifestations as result of historical processes (*cf.* Humphrey 1980). The often neglected social dimensions are of crucial importance in discerning the significance of shamanic practice in a culture. This more nuanced approach can be related back to Dowson's call for an engagement that considers the diversity of shamanic expressions (cited in Crook 1999a: 25) in order to address the methodological impasse of monolithic shamanism not only in rock art studies but in Scytho-Siberian studies as well.

These flexible ideas about shamanism provide a valuable research tool which can bring fresher perspectives to Scytho-Siberian studies. This nuanced approach to shamanism effectively builds upon the large corpus scholarship about the Scytho-Siberians. Furthermore, the study of shamanic diversity is useful in focusing upon the religio-political roles of individuals in society, as well as their activities involving this world and the spirit world, which can allow us to discern cultural differences as well as similarity (Blain & Wallis 2000: 398). As Caroline Humphrey points out this allows researchers to see shamanism as socially situated cultural practices, "and to anticipate, rather than be puzzled by, its multiplicity, contradictions, and changes of content, in different historical situations" (1994: 192-193). In adopting such a approach researchers are not searching for the same thing everywhere, but examining the specificity of these activities in their socio-historic context which includes past societies. This specificity needs to be coupled with taking into account how we encounter religious phenomena in ancient cultures, which is now the last topic in this chapter that we must turn to.

Encountering religion

So far I have surveyed the three main 19th century concepts of 'primitive' religions (Frazerian magic, totemism and solarism) utilised in 'animal style' studies, as well as the concept of the great Goddess and shamanism. The explanation of the 'animal style' relied on initial surface readings of the images based on scientific categories of religion and magic. Hunting magic, totemism, solar symbolism, goddess worship and monolithic shamanism have been used by scholars as convenient 'hold-alls' for anything that appeared strange and without function. They were linked to traditional Western ideas of how primitives and ancient societies were considered to have thought and behaved. These were swept into grand narratives and applied across a wide range of cultures. All these factors only down played local diversity and reduced the phenomena into simple causations of 'primitive superstition'. Fresh approaches are needed to move away from simplistic

statements of typology and to examine the interactions, activities, experiences and practices of daily life.

The monolithic approaches to these types of religions involved culture-historical frameworks which generalised the 'animal style' objects and into items that were relics of religious art. The result is that the 'animal style' as art objects were treated in a passive manner which only considered them as reflections of these types of religions, in effect, making them operate in spheres autonomous to people's day to day lives. As I have discussed in chapter 1, the zoomorphic images may be imbued with meaning, but the meaning(s) were also part of the actions and experiences of the people of the society. Art is a productive activity influenced by many kinds of relationships, such as social and political power, but we also need to consider their relationships to religious phenomena.

First of all, the Western split of religion versus secularism is problematic and the recent discussion about 'ritual' in European archaeology by Joanna Brück (1999) is highly relevant here. Brück pointed out that many other societies do not distinguish between ritual and secular activities. In particular, secular activities such as subsistence strategies are assumed by many archaeologists to be governed by functionalist logic. In anthropology one of the strands of the ritual-secular dichotomy is traceable to Durkheim's opus on *Elementary forms of Religious life* (1926). Many societies do not have such a split or the distinctions may not be spatially or temporally distinguished from one or the other (Brück 1999: 319). Archaeologists are in danger of ignoring the practical nature of what they would consider as ritual action because Western culture prioritises a mechanical relationship between means and end. Some 'rituals' aim to achieve change, while others provide people with a means of understanding how to get on in their world (Brück 1999: 320).

The distinction of ritual as a separate social phenomenon is part of post-Enlightenment rationalism and simplifies human action into presupposed categories (Brück 1999: 326, 328). The functionalist paradigm leads to directions in research which search for the 'sacred', 'liminal', 'numinous' and the 'out of the ordinary' in a sphere separate from people's daily practices. The Enlightenment division of different spheres (e.g., religion, politics, art, science) create separately existing domains which results in ordinary life becoming further devalued and disconnected. In religious studies there has been an acknowledgement that the distinctions between religious and non-religious are not as rigid as the sacred versus secular argument presents it and in fact it is not a working concern of many scholars (Fitzgerald 1997). Most people do not partition their lives into components of 'religion' or 'politics', for people live lives in which these are inter-connected, entwined and inseparable (Harvey 2000: 2).

Words like 'ritual' and 'mysticism' have also been used to devalue a study of religion as irrelevant lines of inquiry. A notable recent example comes from British archaeology where Tilley, Hamilton and Bender (2000) have rejected 'mystical' interpretations of people's engagements with a locality as an irrational exercise. Instead they advocated an 'artistic' engagement with the rocks of an archaeological site of Leskernick Hill, Cornwall, through the lens of contemporary aesthetics and an idiosyncratic reading of the conceptual art of Christo. This was based on contemporary Western values that the artist has superior insights in the perception of reality because of their gift of creativity. In defining what is acceptable (contemporary aesthetics) and what is irrational (mysticism) they closed off other avenues of inquiry and denied the realities of other interactions with the place. Furthermore, their treatment of the stones and landscape was inherently passive: the environment was a blank canvas to map out their ideas and thoughts. Therefore, their approach was based in traditional art historical approaches as their art was inspired by 'artistic genius' (Christo), while the objects they created (white plastic wrapped over bedrock) were outside society and beyond the means of daily life, let alone being environmentally unfriendly. Their misplaced concern against a vague idea of 'mysticism' only reinforced the idea of Western aesthetics and denies the consideration of other engagements by people at a site.

This passivity and inertness of the landscape is part of the idea that people are only agents of sentience and agency. As Sköckl has pointed out: "Humans are not only 'beings-in-the-world' who 'dwell' in their environment and shape it to their needs; there is also a 'world-out-there' with its own power relations, which shape and inflict themselves upon human beings" (Sköckl 1998: 165). For example, for the ancient Romans there were *numina* or spirits around them, present in brooks, streams, copses, mountains and houses (Smart 1989: 13). In the case of the Mongols, they experience the landscape as constituted by active entities (Humphrey 1995: 141). A Mongolian landscape is steeped with entities from loose energies to precisely named spirits in natural features, like mountains and springs, as well as lone trees, animals and planets. Therefore, Mongols engage with these agencies as they move through the landscape

This leads us to the idea that religion could also be looked upon as "an extension of people's social relationships beyond the confines of purely human society" (Horton 1960: 211). It is generally acknowledged that religions do not only involve humans but also interactions with deities, ancestors, spirits, animals and many other things; however these are also part of other aspects of human life, like politics and catering (Harvey 2000: 2). Harvey argues that beliefs and practices to deities should not be the sole definition of

religion as some societies have particular exalted beings, while others do not. He suggests religion, then, is not simply about specific activities towards higher beings as it can be concerned with reciprocal relationships between humans and encounters with other-than-humans. These relationships can occur regularly during the course of daily life and potentially involve animals, plants, streams, stones, clouds, stars, etc. Amongst Inner Asian peoples, such as the Mongols and Tuvans, there are beings in nature, inanimate as well as animate, that have their own qualities or powers (Humphrey, Mongush & Telengid 1993: 53). These may appear to Westerners as somehow 'supernatural' but within the terms of Inner Asian culture they are specifically 'natural' as they derive from the indigenous concept of nature.

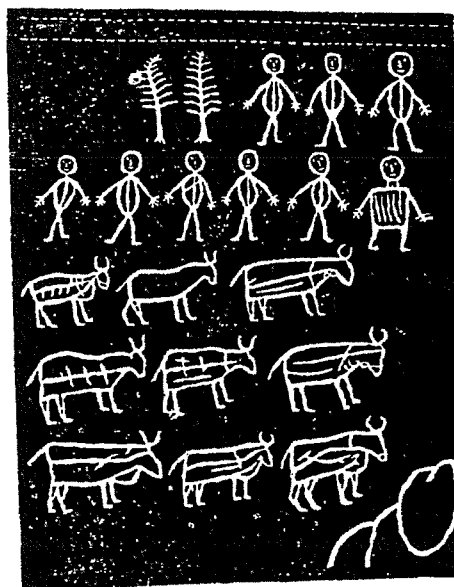


Figure 23. A Buryat bull-ongon (after Ivanov 1957: fig. 13).

The difference between categories of 'natural' and 'supernatural' is often difficult to distinguish and we should not define this too narrowly for it has many complex facets. This includes relationships between peoples and animals, birds, nature and the land and their web of relationships. Furthermore, the boundaries between humans and objects may also be less rigid than conventionally thought. Morrison (2000: 35) notes amongst some native North American societies so-called 'sacred' objects are intentional beings and can be persons. Walens (1981), for example, documents the complex way in which Kwakiutl feast dishes have distinctive lives of their own, and link "the household of the chief who owns them and that of the spirit who gave them" (1981: 57). The implication for Scytho-Siberian studies is that the material culture adorned with animal imagery, the so-called 'animal style', could play a more active role in society and possess other qualities other than just being outstandingly beautiful objects. Material culture is not solely a medium of

human agency and it could also be the manifestations of other entities, be it dead ancestors, ghosts, spirits, divinities or other-than-human-beings. In the case of Mongol *ongons* (Humphrey 1971, 1974) they are a spirit or the material form in which a spirit is incarnated (figure 23). The *ongon* image of a bull is an aspect and incarnation of one of their most important deities, Buxa-Noyon the bull-ancestor, who resides in the western sky (Humphrey 1974: 18). Humphrey found in her ethnographic research that these *ongon* drawings were not simple realistic or literal representations of bulls, but images of power which are a material reality that influence social life. Taking this and the other points raised in this section into consideration, we then can move away from the notion of art and rock art being passive residues from an ancient society and consider the active part they could have played amongst people which affected social practices and social realities.

C o n c l u s i o n

In this chapter I have discussed the key constitutive elements in connecting the so-called 'animal style' to religious phenomena. Previous approaches involved the animal images being set in Western hierarchies of types of religion and their chronology without thinking critically about how they are the products of intellectual constructions. Rather than conceiving art as the handmaiden of religion, it is more productive to think about art and religion not as two isolated domains but as inter-related complex facets of people's lives. This involves switching our attentions away from religion as a separate sphere from the social and recognising that many kinds of practices and experiences make up social realities. Therefore the fresh approaches I set to this problem represent an important new direction in Scytho-Siberian studies. It is a move from a mechanistic view of religion to the recognition that people's lives are constituted by interactions with the world around them, as I seek to locate the active role of animal imagery in the context of personal and group practice and experiences, and their social and material relations that involves relationships with non-human agencies (be it plants, animals, rocks, mountains, spirits, ancestors, etc.). This approach also presents art as situated not only within human society but as an active agent within it. This may allow for more nuanced theoretical frameworks and methodologies which can take on foundations of previous researches and address the roles and contexts of zoomorphic imagery in other stimulating ways. As these considerations now draw to a close, let us proceed to the first detailed re-examination of the zoomorphic imagery which is found in the rock art of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

Animals, visions & power in the petroglyphs & landscapes of Kazakhstan

Introduction

The so-called ‘animal style’ defines the rock art of the Iron Age or Early Nomadic period in Kazakhstan¹ (e.g., Chernikov 1947: 279; Mar’yashev 1971: 68; Kurylev 1974; Kadyrbaev & Mar’yashev 1977; Samashev 1981: 72; Mar’yashev & Rogozhinskii 1987; Mar’yashev & Goryachev 1998: 37, etc.). As I have discussed in chapter 1, the ‘animal style’ is a problematic intellectual construction which focuses on simplistic explanations of zoomorphic art and in order to move forward we need to think about different directions which consider the animal imagery as complex phenomena embedded in human societies. During the course of my fieldwork, I have visited several petroglyph sites (figure 24) which are considered to be important sources of ‘animal style’ art (e.g., Kadyrbaev & Mar’yashev 1977; Mar’yashev & Goryachev 1998; Mar’yashev, Gorjachev & Potapov 1998), and they are listed in appendix 1. The re-examination of zoomorphic and related images at these sites first requires a discussion into the nature of enquiry in rock art studies. The study of petroglyphs is a specialised field with specific issues that impinge upon how the evidence of the images can be used in the interpretation of ancient societies. Thereafter, I re-examine the contexts of production of the petroglyphs and their placement in the rock outcrops. From this basis I can delve deeper into the contextual complexity of animal images and their connections to rock art, landscape and society. I discuss fresh approaches that address the web of relationships of the zoomorphics and associated imagery as I consider the dynamics of the animal images in society which emphasises the active roles they played in peoples’ lives.

¹ See figure 6 for an overview of the Iron Age archaeological cultures in Kazakhstan.



Figure 24. The location of the petroglyph sites in Kazakhstan which are the basis of my re-analysis:
 1) Arpauzen, 2) Bayan Zhurek, 3) Eshkiol'mes, 4) Karakungei 1, 2, 3, 5) Maiemer, 6) Novoberezovka,
 7) Tamgaly, 8) Terekty Aulie. Descriptions of the sites are listed in appendix 1.

Historical background of petroglyph research in Central Asia

Westerners have known about the rock art of Central and Inner Asia for several centuries. Perhaps one of the earliest accounts was made by the ambassador of Tsar Alexei Romanov, Nikolia Milesku Spafarii, who on route to China in 1675 noted carved images along the banks of the Yenisei river in Siberia (Sher 1980: 16; Sher & Garyaeva 1996: 105). By the 18th-19th centuries Siberia became of great interest to Russian and European scientists as they sought to map it out and describe its inhabitants (Sher 1980: 17-18). During this time, rock art was part of this 'age of exploration' and it was sporadically noted by various explorers as curios of far flung lands.

The geo-political territory of Kazakhstan is a recent construction based on the territory which had been in control by the Kazakh khanates since the 15th century. By the 18th century Kazakh political control was weakened from skirmishes with the Oirats and later by the encroaching Russian Empire (Wheeler 1966: 27-30; Bodger 1991). Early information about the rock images came from accounts of Western explorers and travellers in the 18th century from their journeys in the northern and eastern areas of Kazakhstan (Kadyrbaev & Mar'yashev 1977: 15; Samashev 1992: 5, 1993: 5). Discoveries of rock art in southern Kazakhstan began in the 19th century (Kadyrbaev & Mar'yashev 1977: 15) during the time of the incorporation of Central Asia into the Russian empire. The steppes, once controlled by the Kazakhs, were divided into the Russian provinces of Turgai, Akmolinsk and Semipalatinsk in northern Kazakhstan, while the south became part of the General-governorship of Turkestan. The political and economic expansion of Russia brought travellers, scientists and officials who investigated these regions (Mar'yashev 1994: 6). After the formation of Turkestan, interest developed amongst Russians and Europeans to explore its territory (Kadyrbaev & Mar'yashev 1977: 15; Sher 1980: 17), such as members of the famous Turkestan Circle of Amateurs who searched for archaeological monuments and petroglyphs (Sher 1980: 20).

The geopolitical regions and centres of Central Asia were in a period of reorganisation at the beginning of the 20th century during the early years of Communism which finally resulted in the creation of the Soviet Socialist Republic of Kazakhstan in 1936. During the period around 1920-1940 most archaeological enquiry in the newly formed Soviet republics of Central Asia was conducted by Russians and gradually students from these regions were trained in the universities of Moscow and Leningrad (Dolukhanov 1995: 336). From this time onward Institutes of Archaeology were set up as branches of Academies of Sciences in all the Central Asian republics and local archaeologists began to conduct their own investigations into the ancient history of their respective countries.

The foundations for the study of petroglyphs in Kazakhstan and Central Asia were based in Imperial Russian and Soviet traditions in archaeology. Since the 18th century the search for rock art in Central Asia was a recognised but minor pursuit of explorers. By the later part of the 20th century petroglyph research had become more systematic and a standard component of archaeological research in the Soviet Union, as its pursuit continues into the post-Soviet times. These activities have generated a large corpus of petroglyph research from Kazakhstan and other Central Asian countries, which have yet to be fully disseminated in the West. The next section discusses issues in the field of Kazakhstan rock art research which are similarly faced by rock art researchers worldwide with regards to the collection of data and chronology. The following seeks to illustrate how they have been addressed by scholars inside the field as well as supplementing them with eruditions by rock art researchers from around the world. This dialogue is an important part of the process of opening up this field to the larger international research community as well as bringing attention to research which has been largely unknown to the West due to language barriers and former iron curtain restrictions of the dissemination of information.

Empirical issues

First of all it is important to understand the basis of how rock art data are collected, described and presented. To begin with the images on stone have been divided into the categories of *pisanitsy* and petroglyphs in Central and Inner Asian studies. *Pisanitsy* is a Russian term referring to images painted on natural rock with ochre (Samashev 1992: 3, 1993: 3), while petroglyphs are images and motifs carved into outdoor rock surfaces. Within the geo-political boundaries of the Republic of Kazakhstan petroglyphs are the predominant form, as there is an absence of *pisanitsy* discoveries; so far there has been one reported incident of ochre paintings in the east at Akbaur grotto in the Upper Irtysh region (Samashev 1993: 62-63, fig. 4-6).

The field survey of petroglyphs in Kazakhstan can be seen through the various degrees of two approaches. On one hand, some reports of petroglyphs are fortuitous observations made during archaeological, geological or geographical surveys of areas, or discoveries made during archaeological excavations². On the other hand, petroglyphs are the basis of organised fieldwork with varying degrees of reporting and publication³.

² For example, Margulan 1948a; Maksimova 1958; Marikovskii 1961; Medoev 1961; Amanzholov 1966; Shaposhnikov 1974.

³ For example, Kadyrbaev & Mar'yashev 1977; Maksimova, Ermolaeva & Mar'yashev 1985; Samashev 1992, 1993; Francfort, Soleilnavoup, *et al.* 1995.

Reporting generally involves the standard formulaic outline of a brief discussion of discovery, presentation of some petroglyph recordings, the discussion of stylistic affinities, their archaeochronological location in Central Asia, and/or the interpretation of motif meaning(s). Moreover, the corpus of published tracings and photographs of petroglyphs is not comprehensive. There are no published monographs featuring the *complete* inventory of images at larger sites reproduced as tracings and/or photographs. Publications tend to give lists of word descriptions and present a selection of key images⁴. Many rock art images found in Soviet publications, unfortunately, have been printed on poor quality paper by poor quality printing methods resulting in numerous indistinct photographs and hazy black and white tracings. There has been many petroglyph recordings generated in the field by Kazakhstani and international researchers but the rate of dissemination is variable and much work has yet to be published. In fact, when compared to other Central Asian countries the amount of published monographs on petroglyphs is greater than Uzbekistan and Tajikstan, but still not as plentiful as we would wish. Thus the published corpus of petroglyph imagery is far from being complete and we as researchers must work within the available documented resources that we are given.

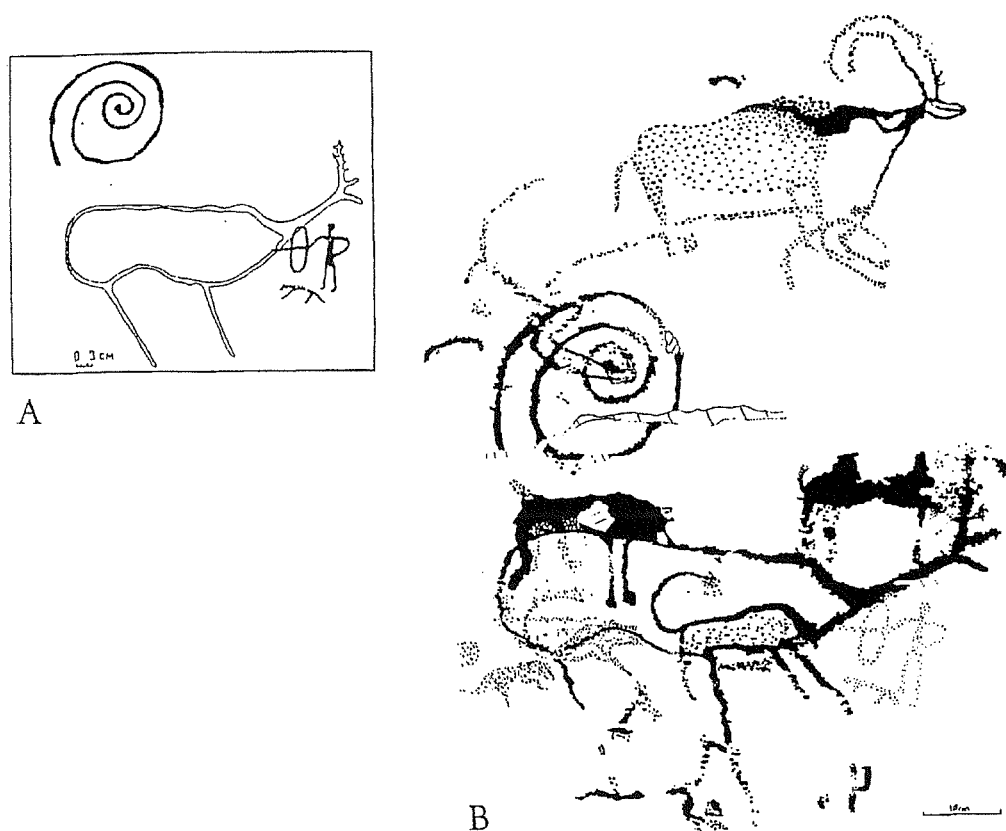


Figure 25. Arpauzen V surface 37: a) the published image (after Kadyrbaev & Mar'yashev 1977: fig. 68); b) a recent retracing of it (used with kind permission from Dr. A. Rozwadowski).

⁴ *Op. cit.*

The standards of published rock art tracings are variable. The tracings of petroglyphs found in earlier accounts are rough approximations which later tracing techniques superseded in detail, though tracings of a less careful nature still persist. This discrepancy is significant as it reduces down the amount of petroglyph image data from published sources which can be reliably used for the purpose of inter-image comparison and analysis. During the course of my fieldwork I have visited three important sites published in monographs (Arpauzen, Eshkiol'mes and Tamgaly – see appendix 1 for their publication lists) and found that we need to be mindful of the printed image. My first visit to Kazakhstan in 1998, for example, was to the site of Arpauzen, in the Karatau mountains⁵. Here we found discrepancies between some of the published images and what is actually out in the field. This was exemplified by Arpauzen V surface 37 (figure 25a) which featured a spiral and an archer hunting a gigantic deer. The actual scene was more complex than the original published tracing (figure 25b) and it was quite difficult to trace because many of the images were weathered. This highlights the difficulties in recording petroglyphs by tracing as the petroglyphs are in variable states of visibility because their surfaces are heavily weathered by various natural processes. However, this does not account for the original published scene (figure 25a) as its intention was to emphasise the archer and stag figures, which were probably selected upon pre-assumed expectations of the hunting of wild animals.

Recording the presence of elements identifiable to the aims of the researcher is a common feature of empirical studies in rock art research around the world. It is recognised that during the process of recording, decisions have to be made on what has to be recorded (Lewis-Williams 1990: 127). However the over adherence to a narrowly focused research agenda can lead to recording for the sake of recording. This form of empiricism, as argued by its supporters (e.g., Bahn 1998a), is based on the belief that documentation is an 'objective' and scientific process, while explanations and interpretations of the rock art images are 'unscientific'. This stance considers data collection and interpretation as distinctly separate processes: collection must be conducted first and explanations can be made afterwards. As previously pointed out in my introductory chapter, the collection and analysis of the data are carried out to implicit or explicit preconceived hypotheses or ideas, therefore they could never be completely 'objective' (Lewis-Williams 1983, 1990, 1991b: 149). Judgements have to be made in order to decide what observations were considered to be data, for it is impossible to document everything and certain details will only become apparent through preconceived expectations or the confirmation of a hypothesis (Lewis-Williams 1990: 128).

There is nothing wrong with the pursuit of making the most accurate recordings possible; however, we need to recognise that the sole emphasis upon the collection of data (i.e.,

⁵ This was co-directed by the Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznan and the Margulan Institute of Archaeology, Almaty, Republic of Kazakhstan.

recordings) only results in the treatment of the petroglyph images as leftover residues to be marvelled upon but not to be touched. They become like butterflies collected by a natural scientist; once captured – recorded – they are catalogued and mounted on pins for display in glass boxes. The images, like the butterflies, are isolated from their original setting and transformed into passive objects devoid of meaning other than as curios. This also results in the breaking of the connections of the petroglyphs with their local settings and a researcher needs to be aware of the processes of recontextualisation of the images. When these recordings become reproduced in publications it results in the detachment from the original surfaces in which they were carved. Furthermore, during the recording process, as well as during publication, the compositions can be broken up and divided into groupings or solitary images which fragment the original scene. The ‘objective’ recordings, therefore, have only selectively privileged the evidence of the image over its local physical and spatial context amongst the natural rock and it is necessary for subsequent researchers to revisit the images in the field to understand what was actually recorded. These are the problems that all researchers have to face in documenting and presenting petroglyph images and by being more explicit about them we can move towards more rigorous theoretical and methodological approaches in the study of rock art.

Empirical procedures also rely on descriptive analysis based on the idea that there is a basic one-to-one correspondence between the images and what they depict. This results in images and scenes being reduced down to minimal word descriptions, e.g., Aprauzen V surface 37 (figure 25a) is of a scene of an archer with a dog and a deer with a ‘solar symbol’ above its hindquarters (Kadyrbaev & Mar’yashev 1977: 120). On the one hand these descriptions provide a shorthand form of recording, useful in the documentation of images present at a rock art site, while on the other hand these words are subjective and rely on the recorder’s understanding and interpretation of the images in question. In his studies of the rock art of Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, Rozwadowski (2001: 15) points out, it is necessary to re-examine the image in the field, for published descriptions describe general elements and miss details like composition relationships, abstract motifs, etc. We also need to be mindful of the terminology, for the problem with petroglyphs – as well as art from prehistoric societies – is that we are dealing with images where there is little or no knowledge of their significance to their peoples. The employment of descriptive terms will most likely be different from the original meanings and probably do not even begin to acknowledge their social complexity (Crook *et al.* 1998: 5). The petroglyphs on initial inspection may appear to us to have a limited range of ‘motifs’ or elements which can be described as ‘deer and solar symbols’ but the same images may change meaning and function from group to group due to factors such as artistic idiosyncrasy and socio-cultural frameworks.

From my experience in the field I also found that non-figurative marks (e.g., dots, grids) tended not to be recorded; especially when they are by themselves and not connected to figures of animals and humans. So once again the issue of re-confirming petroglyphs scenes in the field is an important one. The plausible reason why abstract images are not systematically recorded is that they are perceived to have little value in research goals. This is perhaps related to the traditional approach in Western art which emphasises the representation of figurative form in portraits and sculptures. Iconic images are perceived to be easier to understand than abstract art, however, this distinction, made between figurative and 'abstract' image elements, can be misleading. The Mountain Tajiks of Shugnan (Pamir mountains of Tajikistan), for example, paint representations of square outlines filled with dots whereas the dots represented sheep (Andreev 1928: 9). Furthermore, in their special breads baked for the New Year festival of Nauryz, hollows were inserted to represent sheep and goats (Andreev 1958: 130). Looking further afield, it has also been noted amongst the art of Australian Aborigines that geometric images have multivalent meanings. The circle for the Walbiri of west-central Australia, for example, has several meanings relating to its context including: a camp, a waterhole, a hole, a coiled snake, eggs or pearl shells (Munn 1973). However, it is also important to point out that multivalency is not solely an exclusive feature of geometric images and the figurative images of animals and humans have the same potential of multiple meanings which are also dependent on their socio-cultural context.

Chronological issues

After the above outlined empirical issues the next problem in rock art research relates to dating, as the connections of petroglyphs to archaeological contexts is a nettlesome affair. As I have mentioned before, the application of absolute techniques in Central Asia have been unsuccessful and relative dating methods are the standard means of dating (Sher & Garyaeva 1996: 120). The determination of the relative age of Central Asian rock art is controversial and arguments towards the establishment of a tentative chronology consider usually:

- associations with artefacts from archaeological sites,
- colour of patinisation,
- similarities to other petroglyph images,
- the superimposition of image stratigraphy,
- and an evolution of artistic style and/or culture-historic stages.

The latter problems of art historical, and culture-historic evolutionary schemes relating to the 'animal style' have been discussed in detail in chapters 1 and 2, so the following focuses on the other chronological issues pertinent to the rock art of Kazakhstan.

The occurrence of petroglyphs in Iron Age archaeological contexts in Kazakhstan is rare⁶ and mainly comes from brief mentions in archaeological excavation reports discussing funerary structures. There have been accounts of the discovery of stones with engraved images used as building materials in the construction of Iron Age kurgans. In the stone mound of kurgan K16 from cemetery 3 at Tamgaly there was a plate with an animal figure (Mar'yashev & Ermolaeva 1981: 138, fig. 1) (figure 26). The kurgan is similar to others in the cemetery which date to the Early Nomadic period. There are also kurgans with petroglyph stones in the Karatau mountains of south Kazakhstan (Kadyrbaev & Mar'yashev 1977). In the Zhetymshty area there is a chain of five large kurgans, extending in a north-south direction (Kadyrbaev & Mar'yashev 1977: 194). In Zhetymshty kurgan 1 there was a large rock with engravings of two goats and four camels (Kadyrbaev & Mar'yashev 1977: 154, 195, fig. 94) (figure 27). A necklace in the burial relatively dates the kurgan around the final part of the 1st millennium BC (Kadyrbaev & Mar'yashev 1977: 154, 195). From the cemetery of Karakuy, located near to the petroglyph complex of Koibagar 1, there was another stone with figures of goats in a kurgan dating to the final part of the 1st millennium BC (Kadyrbaev & Mar'yashev 1977: 154). Kadyrbaev and Mar'yashev admit there are difficulties in the periodisation of these petroglyphs for these images of goats and camels are equally characteristic of petroglyphs from the Bronze Age and early Iron Age (Kadyrbaev & Mar'yashev 1977: 154). Unfortunately the publication of details of these stones are not detailed enough to argue whether or not they were deliberately incorporated into the burial structure or used merely as building materials, although the case for the latter seems to be the most likely explanation for the moment. The context of these stones in the kurgans provide a *terminus ante quem* of when the images were laid to rest but also provide tantalising hints at the possibility of a larger repertoire of 'Iron Age' animal imagery than traditionally conceived in the canons of the so-called 'animal style'⁷.

⁶ The occurrence of petroglyphs in archaeological contexts from other periods is also rare. Currently, as far as the author is aware, the evidence comes mainly from three Bronze Age cist graves close to Tamgaly (Mar'yashev & Ermolaeva 1981; Rogozhinskii 1999, 2001). The Andronovo cemetery (later Bronze Age) of Karakuduk is located 1.5 km southeast of the front entrance of the Tamgaly canyon and it was rediscovered that one of the cist stone-plates had a goat (Mar'yashev & Ermolaeva 1981: 138-139). The goat was 40cm tall and its form was arguably similar to other Tamgaly petroglyphs (Mar'yashev & Ermolaeva 1981: 139, figure 2-3). More recent archaeological excavations in the Tamgaly area has discovered small images carved onto chamber stones of Bronze Age cist burials (Rogozhinskii 1999). In cist 9, Tamgaly cemetery 2a, the north stone has an engraving of a circle with a line (Rogozhinskii 1999: 21, fig. 10). In the same cemetery, cist 11 has the images of a goat and 2 quadruped animals (Rogozhinskii 1999: 24, fig. 12). Absolute dating of these graves give Bronze Age dates but they can only be used in a broad sense; the images are minor and do not represent the great diversity of images and scenes in the Tamgaly petroglyphs, nor do they have images of the famous Tamgaly 'solar-headed' gods.

⁷ This is supported by evidence from the neighbouring Iron Age of the Gorno-Altai (Russian Federation). A potsherd with a 'schematic' drawing of a deer was found in the burial chamber of the Bashadar kurgan 2, central Gorno-Altai (Rudenko 1960: 65, fig. 42). Bashadar 2 belongs to the Pazyryk archaeological culture of the Altai c. 5th century BC. The Pazyryk was an important 'animal style' using culture and I re-examine this in my next chapter. However, the drawing of a deer confirms the presence of other forms of artistic expression other than 'animal style' motifs.



Figure 26. A zoomorphic petroglyph on a rock from the stone mound of kurgan K16 in cemetery 3 at Tamgaly (after Mar'yashev & Ermolaeva 1981: fig. 1).



Figure 27. A large rock with engravings from the structure of Zhetymshoky kurgan 1, Karatau mountains (after Kadyrbaev & Mar'yashev 1977: fig. 94).

At Besshatyr near the Ili river of Kazakhstan there is a Saka burial complex with kurgans of various sizes associated menhir fencings (K.A. Akishev & Kushaev 1963). On some of the menhirs there are petroglyphs and it could be concluded that they were part of the burial monuments. It is not clear from the excavation report how many actually have petroglyphs, but based on the published drawings the total is six menhirs (K.A. Akishev & Kushaev 1963: 75, fig. 66). Apparently, there are also unpublished images identifiable as the symbol-signs, *tamgas*, of Kazakh clans with one *tamga* belonging to the clan of Argyn (Browder 1998: 75). Therefore, this leads to the question: do all the menhir petroglyphs actually belong to the Saka period? The menhirs are believed to date to the time of the Saka tombs in the Besshatyr complex (6-4th centuries BC). The published petroglyphs are of caprids, a canid and a wild boar (K.A. Akishev & Kushaev 1963: 75, fig. 66) and the goats have a similarity to the goat on a block from the mound of kurgan 1 at the cemetery of Zhetymshoky in the Karatau which dates to the end of 1st millennium BC (figure 27). However, the images could be possibly older or younger than the Besshatyr Saka cemetery; the presence of the *tamgas* indicate that Kazakh peoples living in the area were well aware of the Besshatyr burial complex and marked their clan symbols upon the menhir surfaces. This leads to contemplating the possibility that the other petroglyphs images may also have been inscribed by peoples from other times than the Iron Age.

The next method of dating has been by the relative degree of patinisation. The basic premise that darker images are older than lighter ones is on the surface a likely deduction, but there are, of course, problems for colour does not necessarily indicate age and the process of patinisation is highly dependant on the local micro-environments of the rock surfaces. Upon my visit to Arpauzen, I had found that Cyrillic graffiti from the 1930s had the dark patinisation colour of older petroglyphs believed to belong to the Bronze Age in the same area (pers. ob.). Kadyrbaev and Mar'yashev were also aware of the problems of patinisation and provided a fascinating discovery of their own: they found that stones recovered from previous archaeological excavations in the Karatau region had turned from black to dark brown after being kept in dark storage for several years (1977: 154). So there is a strong argument for the possibility that the colour of stones fluctuating through time. Mar'yashev (1994: 13) in a later publication has admitted dating by patinisation "proved to be imperfect".

Another problem I found relates to some ancient images being light in colour. At Tamgaly, a Bronze Age scene of two so-called 'solar-headed' gods (figure 28) provides a fascinating example. The figure on the left has become dark due to patinisation while the figure on the right, from left to right, fades into white due to poorly understood weathering factors. Therefore, this image which belongs supposedly to the Bronze Age is both dark and light at the same time. Other cases of light coloured petroglyphs come from Eshkiol'mes and Maiemer and both involve scenes with images of Scytho-Siberian deer (figure 29a,b). If these images were old then they hypothetically should be dark, but they are not. We should not ignore the possibility that the lightness in some cases could also have been the result of the re-cutting of images in recent times from such actions as deliberate vandalism or the retouching of the images in order to enhance them for photography.

The issue of patinisation is minor in chronological debates as image periodisations are more reliant on their perceived ideas of style and subject matter. In particular, similarities in stylistic attributes of petroglyph images are sought in order to find descent from archaeological cultures. Exact one-to-one correlations between petroglyphs and artefacts do exist, but they are rare. The best examples are the petroglyphs of eagles which are only found the sites of Eshkiol'mes (figure 16) and Novoberezovka (figure 31) – they are almost identical to the golden ornaments (figure 17) found in kurgans 5 and 7 at Chilikty, eastern Kazakhstan, dating to 7th-6th centuries BC (Chernikov 1965: 31-32). However, the identification of the 'animal style' petroglyphs is more based on more general comparisons of shared traits. For example, there are several published images of boars from rock art sites across Kazakhstan (figure 32) which are similar to the seven gold boar ornaments from Chilikty kurgan 5 (figure 33).

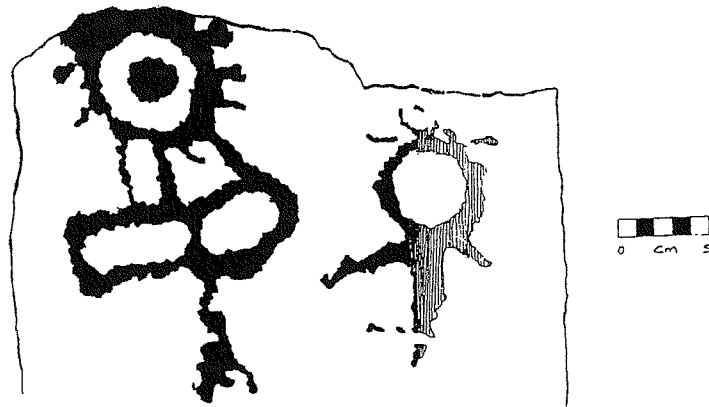
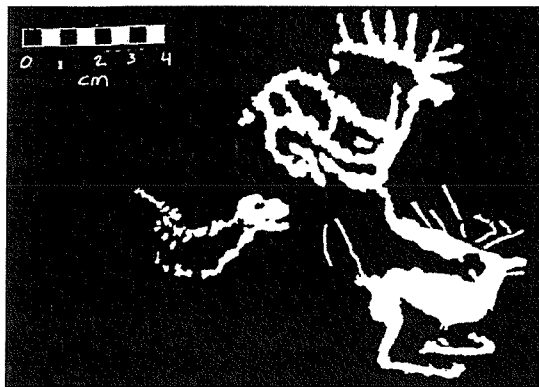
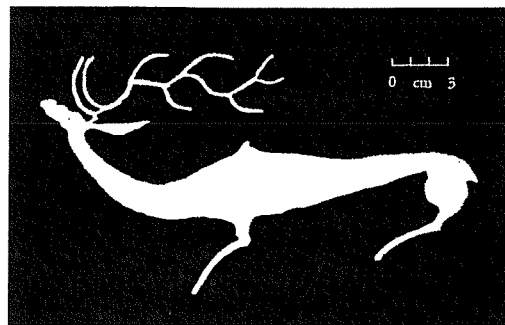


Figure 28. A scene of two so-called 'solar-headed' gods with variable patinisation (tracing by the author).

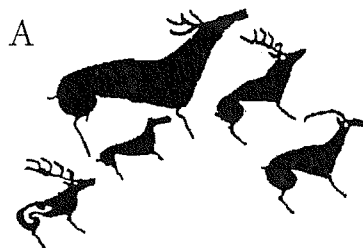


A



B

Figure 29. a) Scytho-Siberian deer from Eshkiol'mes (tracing by the author). b) Tracing of a scene of Scytho-Siberian deer from Maiemer (tracing by the author – the complete scene is found in appendix 1).



A



B



C

Figure 30. Deer petroglyphs with swirling antlers in Kazakhstan. a) Eshkiol'mes, southeastern Kazakhstan (after Mar'yashev 1994: fig. 204). b) Gory Chlaktai, southeastern Kazakhstan (after Mar'yashev 1980: 307). c) Tulkune, East Kazakhstan (after Samashev 1993: fig. 96).

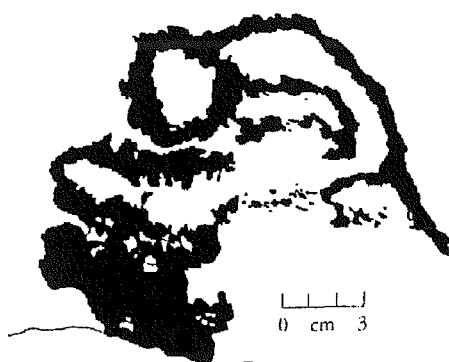


Figure 31. Petroglyph of an eagle from Novoberezovka, East Kazakhstan (used with kind permission from the Margulan Institute of Archaeology, Almaty). The complete scene is found in appendix 1.

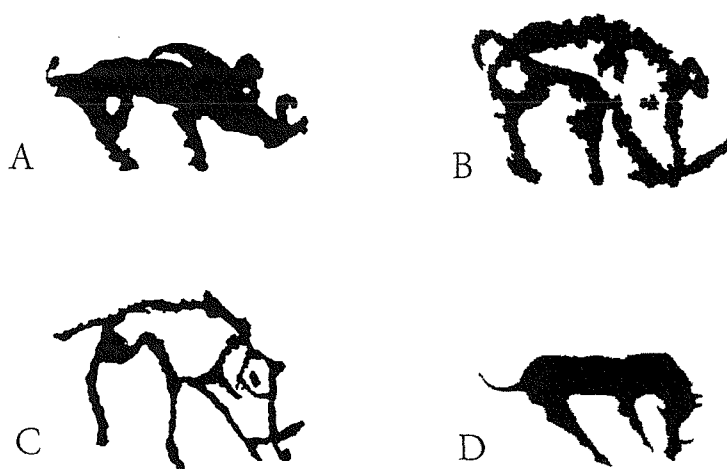


Figure 32. Petroglyphs of boars from petroglyph sites in Kazakhstan. a) Zevakino, East Kazakhstan (after Samashev 1993: fig. 173.1). b) Malyi Koitas, southeastern Kazakhstan (after Mar'yashev, Goryachev & Potapov 1998: fig. 174). c) Bayan Zhurek, southeastern Kazakhstan (tracing by the author – the complete scene is found in appendix 1). d) Aprauzen III, Karatau mountains (after Kadyrbaev & Mar'yashev 1977: fig. 107).

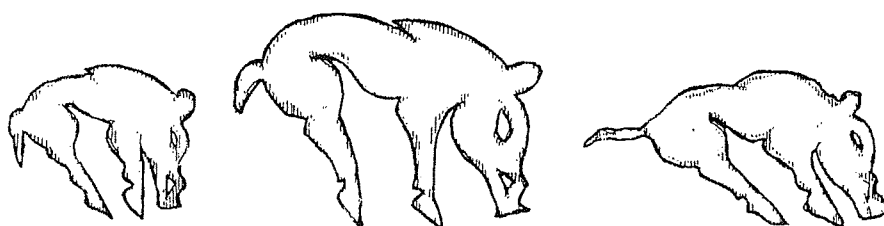


Figure 33. Small figures of boars in gold foil from Chilikty kurgan 5 (after Chernikov 1965: tab. XVIII).

As discussed in chapter 1, the image of the recumbent stag has been a popular comparative form in Scytho-Siberian studies and it is an important icon in rock art studies. In Kazakhstan, Saka ornaments of recumbent stags (figure 20) were found in a heap of clothing ornaments in Chilikty kurgan 5 (Chernikov 1965: 28-31). Similar crouching deer are found across Kazakhstan (figures 18, 29) as well as deer with swirling antlers (figures 2, 30). Furthermore, deer images in general tend to be assumed usually to belong to the Scytho-Siberian period, while animals supposedly unknown in Scytho-Siberian imagery, like the bull⁸, are labelled as the product of other ages. However, the above evidence of petroglyphs on stones in Iron Age kurgan structures hint at the possibility of a wider range of formal image characteristics and animals forms than the canons of the Scytho-Siberian 'animal style'. I suggest it is possible for a society to have more than one style and an understanding of these styles could come from a closer examination of their contexts, which is discussed further below.

The corpus of information about Saka-Scythian archaeology in Kazakhstan requires further development and its current level is insufficient for a detailed examination of the animal motifs found in their material culture. Archaeologists have made important contributions to Saka archaeology, such as the excavations of the large kurgans of Issyk and Chilikty with their many rich objects. Issyk was surprisingly intact and has provided valuable information on an elite member of society (K.A. Akishev 1978), but many kurgan burials were not so lucky such as Chilikty which was partially robbed (Chernikov 1965), while the tomb of Besshatyr was left bare (K.A Akishev & Kushaev 1963). Excavations of smaller Saka burials have being conducted (e.g., K.A Akishev & Kushaev 1963) but more systematic fieldwork is still required in order to examine the wider spectrum of burials other than larger kurgans and to explore the possibility of animal ornaments located in non-funerary contexts, as hinted by chance finds of portable 'altars' on pedestals with winged felines (Bernshtam 1952a: fig. 18.4,5). Unlike the Pazyryk of the Gorno-Altai where freezing conditions have preserved many perishable objects in some tombs (as I shall discuss in detail in the next chapter), the general conditions for preservation in Iron Age burials in Kazakhstan is poor. Preservation factors skew the survival rate of material culture in favour of more durable materials, especially that of ceramic and metal. Archaeological methods of recovering these objects are conducted at a basic level and a fuller repertoire of more sensitive techniques (e.g., fine sieving) have yet to become standard practice.

However, in the dating of petroglyphs by correlation to artefacts the researcher must be mindful of how the archaeological artefacts themselves were dated. Chilikty kurgans 5 and 7

⁸ For example, in the analysis of the petroglyphs of Arpauzen images of the bull was considered to be exclusive only to the Bronze Age (Kadyrbaev & Mar'yashev 1977: 170-173). Though rare, the image of the bull has been used on objects found in Iron age burials of the Pazyryk culture of the Altai; examples come from Ak-Alakha-1 kurgan 2 (Polos'mak 1994c: fig. 81) and Ulandryk I kurgan 1 (Kubarev 1987).

are considered to belong to the early Saka period based on the presence of arrow types which are placed typologically around 7th-6th centuries BC (Chernikov 1965: 46). Therefore the perceived 'solidness' of archaeological dates may be also based on relative dating methods. Moreover, the petroglyph to artefact comparisons are based on the idea of the 'animal style' as a broad shared repertoire of particular zoomorphic motifs around the middle of the 1st millennium BC across Eurasia, as I have discussed in chapter 1. Arguably these links suggest a shared 'vocabulary' amongst peoples of Central Asia and provide general chronological framework relating to the Early Nomadic period. Within the scope of the Iron Age petroglyphs of Kazakhstan such a framework is broadly employable but we need to be heedful of its problems.

The implication of the inter-image comparisons, though, is that they mark out petroglyph stratigraphy. The observable layering of petroglyph images invites stratigraphical analysis and notions of palimpsests, but their explanations are more reliant on contestable identifications of chronological epochs. I shall revisit the scene at Arpauzen V surface 69 (figure 18) one last time in order to point out that this large multi-elemented scene was partitioned into epochs due to inter-image comparisons (Kadyrbaev & Mar'yashev 1977). The images were treated in a culture-historic approach whereby the style of the depictions were described in terms of preconceived notions of socio-religious evolution (as discussed in chapters 1 & 2). This partitioning and stratifying of the petroglyph elements resulted in the greater scene not being viewed in its entirety. The stratification of the images was reliant on the classification of technical (schematic) and chronological orders (Bronze Age, Iron Age) which categorise the petroglyphs, but it did not explain the local social processes in which they were embedded. As I have suggested above, the possible repertoire of Iron Age imagery maybe greater than the canons of the so-called 'animal style', so perhaps the Sako-Scythian 'layer' of Arpauzen V surface 69 may embrace more elements in the scene than conventionally perceived. The inter-image comparisons have been made without any consideration to the context of the motifs: they only focus on the search for the occurrence of images in other places and times in order to anchor petroglyph images to an established chronology. This leads to the simple conclusion that the 'animal style' images in the rock art of Kazakhstan have appeared due to the style diffusing through migrations of peoples (Mar'yashev & Rogozhinskii 1987: 123-124). One way forward from this passive treatment of the images can be achieved by focusing on their local social contexts and considering what parts of society made and used the zoomorphic petroglyphs.

Furthermore, we could also consider why it was important to engrave the images time after time onto the same rock surface. Where evidence exists of image superimposition, the layering of images could have occurred within smaller time scales of minutes, hours and days to longer periods of months and years depending on the nature of the act of production. The

very act of superimposition suggests it was conducted with meaningful intentions. The evidence of palimpsests suggests strongly that the petroglyphs and their rock surfaces were not finished products like a portrait framed and hung on the wall, but the petroglyph sites were engaged and re-engaged by the original artists, subsequent artists and other people who have experienced the rock art in its landscape setting. We may need to consider that older images have been renewed for other reasons such as reinstating their importance to a society⁹, contesting the subject of the imagery¹⁰ or even transforming and reincorporating them into other meanings¹¹.

The final problem in Central Asian petroglyph chronology is the actual designation of the 'Iron Age' itself. The Early Iron Age (8th century BC) supposedly denotes the start of a 'new age' even though "the sites of this period in the steppes of Kazakhstan and ancient Khorezm contain no iron artefacts for use in day-to-day life or production" (Askarov, Volkov & Ser-Odjav 1992: 463). In the 7th-6th centuries BC the Saka of Central Asia were still using bronze implements, while the Scythians of the Black Sea were using iron from the 7th century BC onwards (Gryaznov 1969: 136). In the Altai the manufacture of iron tools began about 5th century BC (Gryaznov 1969: 153) and in southern Siberia iron was not widely used in tools and weapons until around 5-3rd centuries BC (Koryakova 2000a: 155).

Moreover, the partition of time into epochs of Neolithic, Bronze and Iron Ages is a Western intellectual construction based on the idea of linear evolutionary progress. In British rock art studies it has been recognised that "the temporal compartmentalisation of prehistory that archaeologists operate within contributes to an impression of serial discontinuity as various specialists attempt to identify the 'defining characteristics' of the Mesolithic or the Neolithic and so forth" (Crook *et al.* 1998: 9). The problem of chronological epochs is the general blanket statements of large scale spatial and temporal units. The petroglyphs are presented as being created *en mass* across wide geographical areas and in a specific time period which can misleadingly give the impression of conformity and staticness. In particular, the Iron Age becomes a characterisation of a particular way of life which creates a temporal unit peopled with homogenous societies. Looking at petroglyphs from this perspective only confirms the existence of an 'Iron Age' and ignores the local processes involved in their production and consumption. A different perspective to this problem is to consider them a conglomeration of thousands of small scale events, as they are in essence daily practices and experiences which take place in given localities.

⁹ For example, Australian Aboriginal peoples repaint their rock art sites to renew and stimulate the ancestral energies as part of their engagement with the dreamtime landscape (e.g., Mowaljarlai *et al.* 1988).

¹⁰ For example, currently in Pakistan Taliban influences amongst some Muslims has resulted in the defacement of Buddhist petroglyphs (Kenoyer 2002: 19-20). In one case the 6th century AD Buddhist petroglyph of a stupa near Chilas was covered in political slogans in Arabic script.

¹¹ *Op. cit.*

The overriding concern for chronology renders the role that petroglyphs play in prehistory as passive; they are only chronological markers which exist autonomously to the societies that created them. The lack of solid dates does not necessarily mean it is an end to all enquiries, but the narrow focus upon the chronolisation of the rock art has generated little other information about the people who created and utilised it. Of course, it is easier to analyse the socio-political context of the 19th century Pre-Raphaelites as opposed to prehistoric societies, due to the availability of historical sources of information, but this should not stop us from making inquiries into the lives of the peoples of the past using the data available to us. Because of the diversity of petroglyphs there is no one solution and I shall approach them through case studies based on themes which focus upon key aspects of the petroglyph data. First I reinvestigate the context of production of the animal petroglyphs by re-examining their placement in the rock outcrops, their execution and their relationships to the powers of the rock and the realm of visions. From this basis I am able to, secondly, delve deeper into the contextual complexity of animal images and consider their contexts of consumption through different perceptions of landscape and the permeable boundaries of space at a site.

C o n t e x t o f p r o d u c t i o n

Previous approaches to the context of production have framed the petroglyphs in vague notions of art, economy and 'cultic sanctuaries'. Since its discovery in the 1950s the famous petroglyph site of Tamgaly was hailed as an art gallery of images that represented the traces of ancient peoples (Maksimova 1958: 108). This is based on the idea that the natural rock provides the walls on which the petroglyph pictures 'hang' on and leads to the characterisation of petroglyphs as outdoor galleries. As T. Dowson points out, in such a view the setting of the rock art is not usually considered in the interpretation of images (1998: 70). Dowson argues that the characteristics of the cliffs, hillsides and local landscape have the potential to be important informing factors towards the understanding of context and social relationships. Therefore, I advocate that a fresh way forward in Kazakhstan studies would be to consider that the petroglyphs and their settings are a part of the experiences and practices through which social realities are generated and constituted as well as considering the active role in which they play in people's lives.

Some studies of the ancient epochs of Kazakhstan focus upon economic behaviours of ancient societies as the context of the petroglyphs. Frachetti (2000), for example, suggests that the rock art and burials found along the Koksu river near Taldykorgan were markers in the landscape related to mountainous trade corridors. He states:

“The inhabiting groups who controlled these conduits may have marked the landscape with these types of monuments [rock art, burials], to communicate their role in monitoring the movement of resources through these valleys” (Frachetti 2000: 91).

Meanwhile Sala (1999) discusses the various economic modes of production found along the Silk Route in Kazakhstan in the past and their environmental triggers. In his narrative, Sala draws on petroglyphs as points on the map which plot the stages of agricultural and nomadic economies in the Bronze and Iron Ages as the result of regional environmental factors.

Furthermore, it has been stated that the relationship of the Iron Age engravings in Kazakhstan to the landscape involves them being located in areas of mountains and foothills that were richly populated by the Early Nomadic peoples and this differs from the Bronze Age where the rock art is located in the plains of the steppe (Mar’yashev & Goryachev 1998: 36). This is an inaccurate statement as the majority of Kazakhstan falls within desert and desert steppe zones (Pal’gov & Yarmukhamedov 1970; Karibaeva 1998) that includes the topographical features of hills and mountains containing petroglyph sites. Moreover, petroglyph sites situated in high mountain ranges have been identified as containing images belonging to the Bronze Age. In particular, the major concentration of petroglyphs at Saimaly Tash in high altitudes of the Fergana mountains, southern Kyrgyzstan, (3000m above sea level) contains numerous petroglyphs of the Bronze Age and Iron Age as well as later periods (Bernshtam 1952b). In the sites which I visited during the course of fieldwork in Kazakhstan (appendix 1), the Iron Age petroglyphs are also found in low hill outcrops in steppe areas. For example, the petroglyphs of Tamgaly are in hilly stone outcrops surrounded by flat desert-steppe. Tamgaly is rich in Bronze Age imagery but there is also the presence of Sako-Scythian imagery (Maksimova 1958; Maksimova, Ermolaeva & Mar’yashev 1985). However, the situation is more complex, as the Bronze Age and Iron Age petroglyphs were carved alongside each other in the foothills of Arpauzen at the edge of the steppe, while both periods at Eshkiol’mes are found inter-mixed in the upper part of the steep hills.

Unfortunately, the above generalisation has ignored the diversity of locations within a rock art site of the so-called epochs. The location of Iron Age petroglyphs is based on the underlying assumption that the Sako-Scythians were solely mobile pastoralists like the present day Central Asian nomads and, therefore, only dwell in mountains and hills for pasturage. This ignores the fact that peoples such as the Kazakhs, Turkmens, and Karakalpaks dwell in arid environments of flat steppe deserts and deserts. In particular, present day Kazakhs utilise higher pastures in mountainous areas as well as letting their cattle graze across many vegetation zones including flat steppe areas (Chang n.d.). Conversely, if the petroglyphs in mountainous locations do feature images belonging to the ‘Bronze Age’ then these could be

taken as evidence of 'Bronze Age' usage of the mountains and indicate that their activities were not confined solely to lower regions in the landscape.

Goryachev and Mar'yashev also have stated that the petroglyph 'sanctuaries' of the Saka period were apparently smaller in size than the Bronze Age ones (Goryachev & Mar'yashev n.d.: 8). The absolute zonation of petroglyph sites into specific time periods is far from being precise due to the problem that it is based on dating by relative means and culture-historic assumptions (see the chronology section above). This statement is essentially based on the evidence of Tamgaly as the numerous images of bulls, anthropomorphs, 'solar gods', etc. throughout the valley have been considered belonging primarily to the Bronze Age (Maksimova, Ermolaeva & Mar'yashev 1985; Mar'yashev 1994). The Bronze Age cist cemeteries at both valley entrances have narrowed Tamgaly to the middle-to-late Andronovo period, 14th-9th centuries BC, based on artefact and burial typologies as well as radiocarbon dating (Rogozhinskii 1999). In this circumstance one could begin discussions of the landscape of the Tamgaly petroglyphs linked to the Andronovo, but this is beyond the mandate of this thesis.

Though there are Iron Age kurgans amongst one of the Tamgaly cist cemeteries (Mar'yashev & Ermolaeva 1981), a fuller investigation of the Iron Age archaeology of the area has yet to be fully realised, but this is also a reflection of the state of Sako-Scythian archaeology in Kazakhstan on the whole. In general there has been an emphasis on the investigation of larger burials (e.g., K.A. Akishev & Kushaev 1963; Chernikov 1965; K.A. Akishev 1978) and questions of detailed investigation the multiple occupations and activities by Bronze Age and Iron Age archaeological cultures have a scope for great potential as we have yet to understand ancient patterns of land use and settlements. As Chang and Tourtellotte point out, we still know little about the real economy of the Early Nomads as "the romantic stereotype of the horse nomads penetrating the vast steppe and conquering farming villages along the steppe rivers and alluvial terraces is easily promoted when most of the archaeological research on Saka culture comes from burial kurgans (mounds) and cemeteries." (Chang & Tourtellotte 1998: 270). Archaeology during Soviet times was noted for its large excavation projects but tended to overlook the importance of undertaking focused archaeological surveys within a fixed area (Chang & Tourtellotte 2000: 83). There are preliminary indications of Saka settlements and mixed farming and herding practices as work currently in progress (e.g., Chang, Tourtellotte, Baipakov & Grigoriev 1999; Chang & Tourtellotte 2000) represents future developments in the systematic investigation of occupations with regards to a 'transition' from the later Bronze Age into the Iron Age.

However, one cannot just talk about an Iron Age landscape, isolate it and distil it for the Iron Age peoples connected with monuments and places used by other peoples before them, as

indicated at Tamgaly by the presence of their burials amongst the Bronze Age cemeteries and the Iron Age petroglyphs amongst the other petroglyphs of Tamgaly. Furthermore, the relationships of petroglyphs to their local topography is not as simple as dividing them into self-contained units according to arbitrary chronological periods. Petroglyph placement varied according to physical properties of the rock surface, size of surface area, and their elevation of placement within a hill. The sites in my dataset (appendix 1) demonstrate a diversity of locations (table 3.1) and positions of the petroglyphs images. Some sites are high up steep hills (Bayan Zhurek, Karakungei 1-3, Eshkiol'mes) while others are found in low hills that are more easily accessible (Tamgaly, Terekty Aulie). Overall, there is a tendency for the concentrations of many images in particular areas of the slopes and adjoining hills. The concentrations range from being very dense (e.g. Arpauzen, Eshkiol'mes, Tamgaly) to smaller clusters (e.g., Karakungei 2, 3, Maiemer) and even singular isolated images. Entire hillsides and adjacent valleys have numerous suitable surfaces for the potential production of petroglyphs, but there seems to be a nucleation of petroglyphs as over time they become concentrated in areas which they were originally carved.

Thus, there is a considerable variation in the placement and execution of images, and there is no archetypal formula for the placement and distribution of petroglyphs according to presumed periodisations. The artist's individual skill and knowledge would have also played an important part in petroglyph idiosyncrasy and also needs to be duly acknowledged. The problem is that the effect of distilling the archaeological landscape out of the landscape in general only maps out monuments into hierarchies of rigid chrono-stratigraphic layers and results in projecting the culture-historical approach into physical space whereby the landscape is partitioned into generalised categories of land use by epoch. Areas vary from place to place in the preservation of archaeological evidence and this creates a mosaic of various past activities but does not provide a complete fossilised guide to the movements of individuals and groups throughout the landscape. We need to appreciate that a given topographic area is continually embedded in complex processes in which human interaction plays its part and that some of these activities do not leave traces.

The disadvantage of the above economic approaches is that they view the petroglyphs as a product or outcome of societies which reflects economic structures rather than as an active medium of social processes. In a way this view is Marxist in scope as the art serves the cause of the 'means of production'. These economic-functionalist approaches do not explain the rock art because the petroglyphs are treated like simple signposts to the prevailing 'modes of production'; the petroglyphs are merely residual evidence of these activities and this has the effect of reducing their role in society to minor afterthoughts which treats them passively if not ambiguously. In particular, Sala (1999) and Frachetti (2000) used petroglyphs as generalised archaeological evidence which decentres them to illustrate models of economic

subsistence and resource management that only anchors modes of production in environmental backdrops and ignores the very persons who performed these practices. As decentred archaeological evidence the petroglyphs then easily illustrate chronological stages like the 'Early nomads', an approach which narrowly focuses upon economic strategies of the Sako-Scythian peoples of Kazakhstan and does not explore other relational possibilities between people and the landscape. There is a need to look at the wider range of activities in the landscape that explore facets other than landscapes of production and evolutionary stages (Crook 1998: 31-32).

In a small way this last point has been addressed through an approach to the context of petroglyphs which relates them to sites of 'primitive' cult practices and outdoor 'sanctuaries'. This is influenced by the extraordinary petroglyph sites of Saimaly-Tash (Kyrgyzstan) and Tamgaly (Kazakhstan). Amongst the numerous petroglyphs at Saimaly-Tash there are the images of the so-called 'solar gods of the Bronze Age'¹² which have evoked calls of Saimaly-Tash being the highest 'open air temple' in the world (Bernshtam 1952b; Pomaskina 1975; Martynov, Mariachev & Abetekov 1992). The site of Tamgaly also has figures of 'solar-headed gods' amongst its great concentrations of petroglyphs (figure 28) and the site is considered as one of the most important monuments of rock art in Kazakhstan (Mar'yashev & Goryachev 1998: 16). The Tamgaly petroglyphs are found in a valley where Bronze Age cists burial complexes have been placed in the front and back entrances, which have been interpreted as providing a bounded cult zone to a prehistoric 'sanctuary' (Rogozhinskii 1999: 9).

Comparisons of petroglyph sites in Kazakhstan with the Tamgaly cultic model are inevitable as other sites like Eshkiol'mes (Goryachev & Mar'yashev n.d.: 3) and Arpauzen (Mar'yashev 1994: 52-3) are also believed to be major 'sanctuaries'. Thus, the criteria for the assertion of the existence of 'sanctuaries' is primarily based on the evidence of places with large concentration of ancient petroglyph images (Goryachev & Mar'yashev n.d.: 7). Other factors also include a close proximity of burials, cemeteries or occupations near the petroglyph site and the presence of particular images.

Another key factor is the fact that petroglyphs are located in mountainous locations. Goryachev and Mar'yashev argue "it is well known that early mankind used cliffs, groves and mountains as temples, before they started to build sanctuaries" (n.d.: 7). These 'open air temples' are believed to be found along caravan routes like at Saimaly-Tash, Kyrgyzstan, or in

¹² The 'solar gods' designation is part of the solarist paradigm which is prevalent in Central Asian archaeological research. The issue of the 'solar gods' is beyond the scope of this thesis, however alternative shamanistic interpretations of the images have been put forward by Samashev (1998, 1999) and Rozwadowski (1999, 2001).

high pastures like at Malý Koitas, Kazakhstan (Goryachev & Mar'yashev n.d.: 7). In the case of Arpauzen, Mar'yashev argues, its cultic significance is defined by its topographic location in the foothills between the mountains and steppe desert. He concedes, though, the centre of the 'sanctuary' is more difficult to isolate than the famous site of Tamgaly (Mar'yashev 1994: 53); the area of Arpauzen is not a closed valley with 'solar gods' and cist cemeteries but a large cluster of petroglyphs from various periods along the exposed edges of foothills. Moreover, the term 'sanctuary' implies temple worship and formally constructed zones of liminal space. Unfortunately this notion of 'sanctuary' is informed by ideas of how 'primitives' behave. As they state: "In the primitive mind art was closely associated with religious ideas" (Goryachev & Mar'yashev n.d.: 6), so in some vague and 'superstitious' way the petroglyphs have to be essential components of local cult sites. The problem is that there are no architectural structures; these are 'unaltered' places with petroglyphs engraved in some of the rock surfaces that suggest they are special spots for special experiences. However, the lack of temples does not mean that these places could have been considered sacred in some way by the people who engaged with them. Despite the inherent primitivism, the essence of their argument is compelling enough to warrant more nuanced approaches which examine the specialness of these places.

Overall, when reflecting upon these previous approaches there has been a lack of consideration of the petroglyphs and their spaces as embedded in local processes. I suggest that the petroglyphs of Kazakhstan could be seen as expressions of the understandings of the individual artists, embedded in place, time and culture, therefore, the rock art is then intimately situated in local knowledges. However, "if rock art is to be considered in its localised forms reflecting the different understandings of those who created it, then it has to be envisaged in the context of localised understandings of the passage of time and its location in space, as well as through our own conceptual lens(es)" (Crook *et al.* 1998:9).

Therefore, in order to bring fresh approaches to the study of the context of production of the petroglyphs we need to think about the two fundamental questions posited by R. Bradley in his study of the rock art of Atlantic Europe (1997: 49): what were the circumstances in which the petroglyphs were first made and what can be said about the sources in which they originated? My response, with regards to the rock art of Kazakhstan, is to address them by re-examining the context of production of the rock art images and their location in the landscape. In Central Asian petroglyph studies Rozwadowski poignantly points out that the "rock-art catalogues have tended to focus attention solely on the images and have often disregarded the questions of how and where a given image was made" (2001: 15). Thereupon, it is necessary to look for significant features in the production of images and the image relationships of the images to the rock itself. Thus, I start with a careful re-analysis of the production of the images themselves.



Execution

The petroglyph artists have chosen a variety of ways of engraving. In Kazakhstan the images are usually carved out of dark patinated sandstone outcrops. The common technique utilised in the production of images involves striking the surface with another stone which produces impact indentations (peckings) and reveals 'white' unpatinated rock under the surface. With persistence the increased number of impacts can be directed to form images in the rock which can be quite detailed in appearance (e.g., figures 2, 16, 28). This technique can be conducted with a considerable degree of precision depending on the suitability of the rock surface and the ability and intention of the artist. Another less frequent by used technique perhaps, involved some kind of precision tool to carve out detailed fine images (e.g., figures 29b, 49) or to create scratches (figure 34). Some images were rendered as figurative outlines (e.g., figures 2, 16, 32) or the entire body was carved out of the rock (e.g., figures 37, 40). Sometimes it is difficult to determine what is being portrayed for animal representation can be ambiguous at times and the identification down to zoological species impossible (e.g., figures 38, 57).

It is interesting to note that the unique site of Terekty Aulie has images carved out of exposed granite bedrock, which is the geologic feature of the area. Granite is a coarse material and is not easy to carve, whereas sandstone's finer particles allow for the creation of much finer images. The particle size is large in granite and the images have to be larger in order to achieve a manageable level of detail. The contour lines of the Terekty Aulie images had a smooth finish (e.g., figures 54, 57) and researchers postulate they were polished after being pecked out of the rock surface to enhance their clarity (Samashev, Kurmankulov, Zhetybaev & Lymer 1999: 3).

There is an immense variety of petroglyphs. The individual images and scenes range from large (e.g., figure 54) to tiny (e.g., figure 29a), while artists utilised the idiosyncratic features of each site in the placement of the images and engraved them into different rock surfaces. Most images are carved on surfaces exposed to daylight, while some are placed in nooks and crannies or shallow rock shelters (e.g., figure 57). The majority of the images are carved into unmovable rock surfaces, while some are engraved onto loose and potentially transportable stone plates (e.g. figure 32). Both vertically and horizontally inclined natural rock surfaces have been used for petroglyph carving and this is directly related to local rock surface conditions.

With regards to the clearly identifiable Sako-Scythian images they can be found by themselves (e.g., figures 2, 16) or combined with images of other periods (e.g., figure 18a). There is also

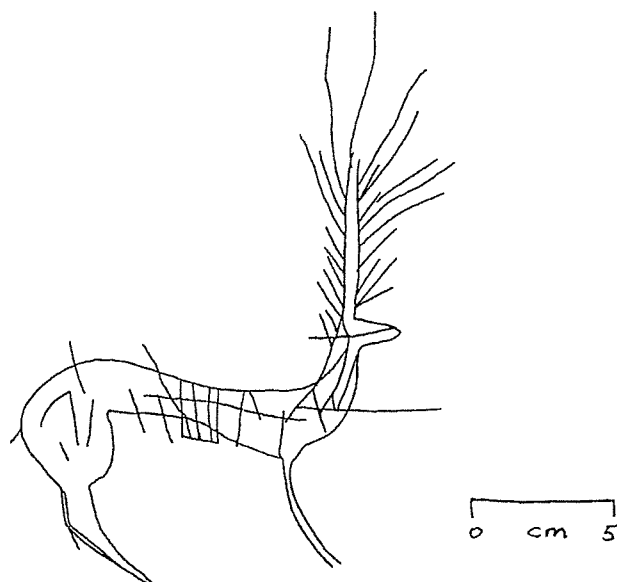


Figure 34. A deer image made by many deliberate scratchings from Karakungei 1 (tracing by author).

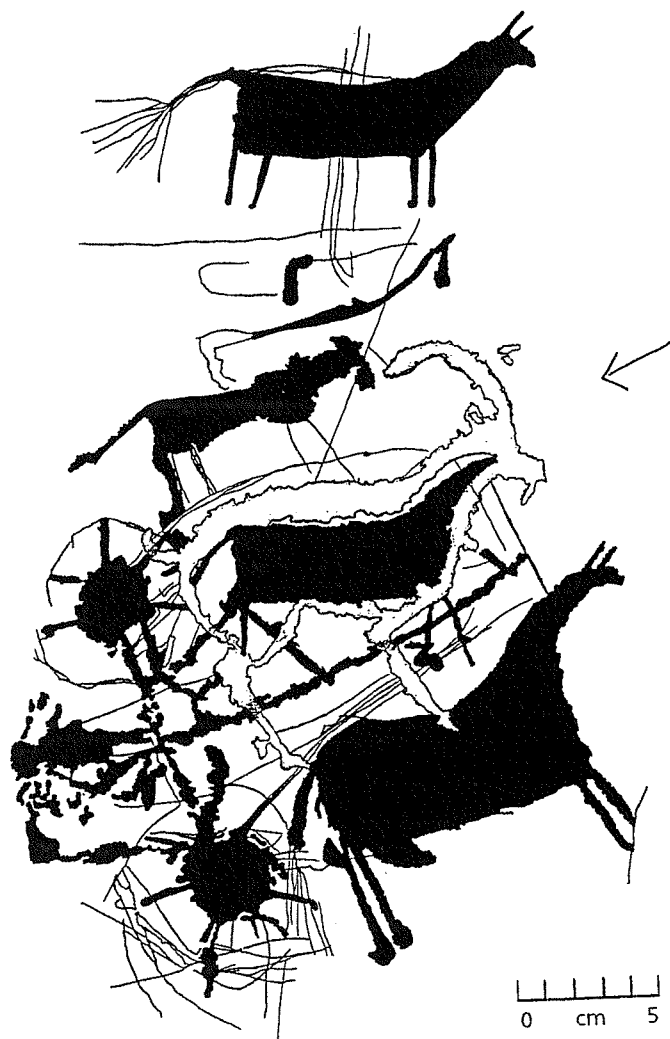


Figure 35. A Bronze Age chariot scene at Eshkiol'mes with one of its horses recarved as an Iron Age caprid (new tracing by Zh. Zhetybaev).

an interesting case whereby the Saka petroglyphs acknowledged and transformed a previous scene at the site of Eshkiol'mes: a Bronze Age chariot scene¹³ had a horse which was recut into the shape of Iron Age caprid (Mar'yashev 1994) (figure 35). In general, when viewing the execution of these and other petroglyph images some are susceptible to the traditional idea that simple 'schematic' figures are archaic while detailed images are advanced. This fallacy is in part informed by notions of primitivism as well as informed by Western expectations of artistic 'realism' (Lewis-Williams 1987: 97); portraits are drawn from real life so the petroglyphs must also conform to this ideal. The degree of technical ability of execution is no clue to the time period or the 'primitiveness' of the artist and is more dependant on the skill of the artist, their knowledge of working stone surfaces and their intention(s) for creating the imagery. I would like to discuss this further by focusing upon significant properties of the rock itself.

Shimmering stones, potent rocks

Another local experience connected with petroglyphs, commented upon by some Kazakhstani researchers, is the optical effects of the rock in changing lighting conditions. In the Askudzhabagly nature reserve in southern Kazakhstan, for example, there is a concentration of petroglyphs in a high mountainous area which have been described as 'an original picture-gallery' consisting of pictures carved on 'dark shining stones' (Ivashchenko & Knistautas 1988: 6). In general, the sandstone surfaces can be patinated from dark browns to almost a black colour by the sun and these surfaces are highly reflective of light. The freshly cut petroglyph images would have been white designs on the dark background of the rock and quite strikingly visible. Conversely, due to optic effects the reflection of the sunlight, it produces a shiny white surface where the contours of the petroglyph carvings become dark silhouettes.

The shimmering effects of light on dark patinated stones has also been noted at Bayan Zhurek by Z. Samashev (1998: 199; 1999: 86). In particular, the two anthropomorphic figures, 'dancing shamans' (figures 36, 37), were cut out of horizontal rock surfaces which are easily viewed from all angles. Throughout the day the changing sunlight would enhance the images at certain times. Samashev argues there is an 'optical code' involved in these petroglyphs of Bayan Zhurek (1998: 200; 1999: 87-88). The 'code' is linked to the 'dynamics of view point' and the 'dynamics of illusion', bringing the effect of a sense of animation to the petroglyphs carved into flat surfaces. These effects are related to the changing viewpoint of the spectator and the changes in the sun's rays hitting the rock surface.

¹³ In Central Asian rock art studies the occurrence of chariots and other wheeled vehicles is argued to belong to the Bronze Age (e.g., Kuz'mina 1986, Novozhenov 1994). This is based on the appearance of chariots in the archaeological record and their connections to the Indo-Iranians (e.g., Kuz'mina 1986). A reappraisal of the Bronze Age chariot hypothesis in Kazakhstan has been discussed more fully by Novozhenov (1994).

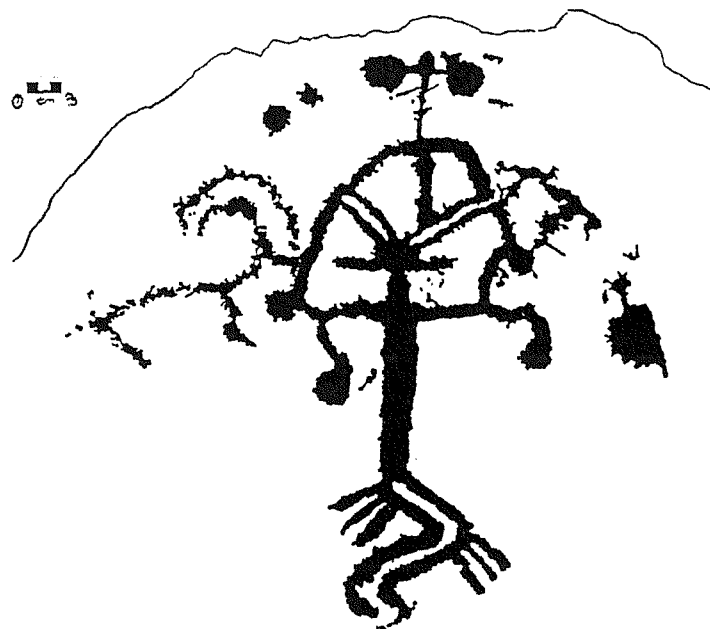


Figure 36. An anthropomorphic figure with an elaborate attire from Bayan Zhurek (tracing by the author).



Figure 37. An anthropomorphic figure found on the highest mount of the western end of the Bayan Zhurek mountains (tracing by Zh. Zhetybaev).

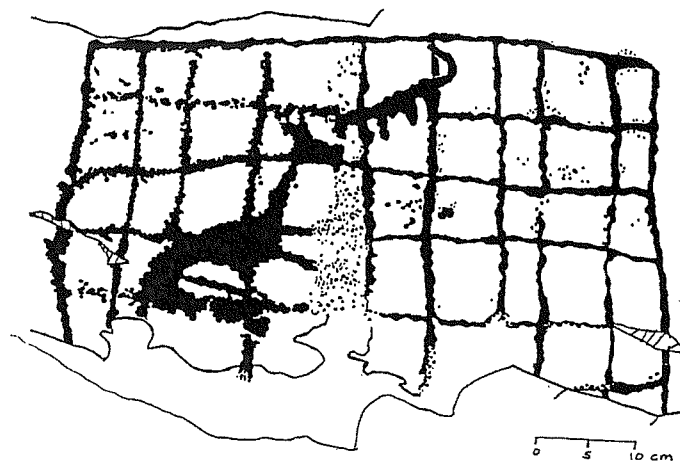


Figure 38. A new scene from Arpauzen of animals on a grid (tracing by author).

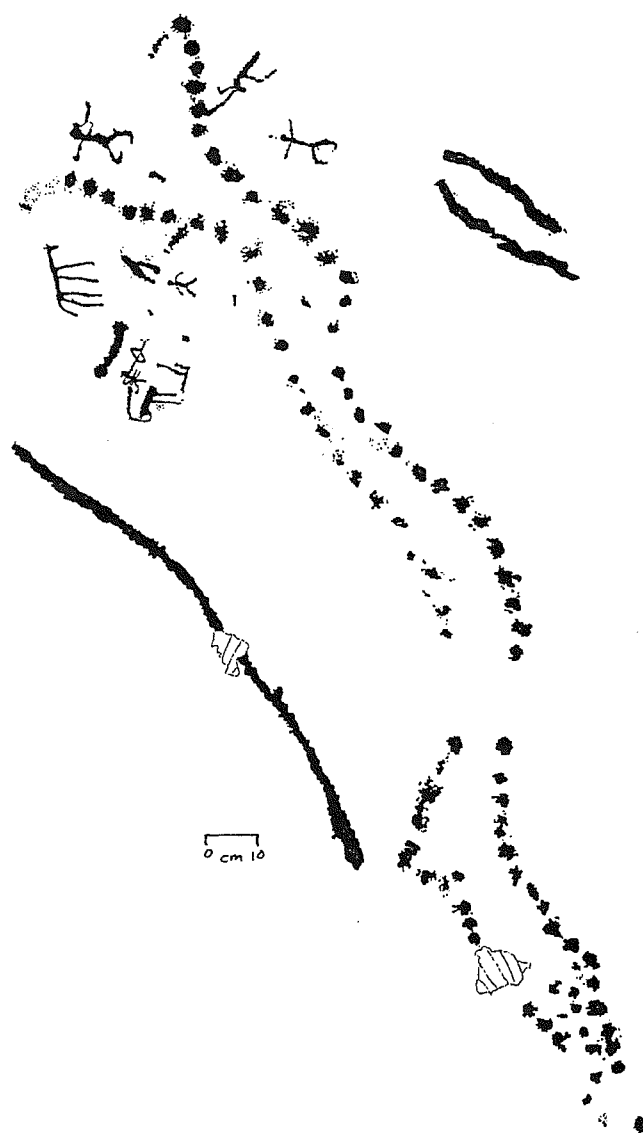


Figure 39. A new scene from Arpauzen of a row of dots with small figures (used with kind permission from Dr. A. Rozwadowski).

The quality of brilliance is an important aspect of the art of the Yolngu people of Arnhem Land, Australia (Morphy 1992). The way a painting is transformed by a Yolngu artist from what they consider a dull state to a bright state is by applying cross-hatching (*ibid.*, 188). The quality of this brilliance in Yolngu art is associated with their concepts of beauty as well as the power of the ancestors. The cross-hatched lines of a painting is to the Yolngu the sensation of light and represents the ancestral past (*ibid.*, 189). Therefore, the shimmering effect of cross-hatched paintings projects a brilliance which emanates from the ancestral beings and this very brightness provides the art with ancestral powers. In past times these paintings were exclusive to restrictive contexts as men painted them in private rituals. Before returning to the public the cross-hatching was smeared and thus transformed into a dull state (*ibid.*, 189). This resulted in the loss of brilliance and in effect the loss of ancestor powers.

The Terekty Aulie petroglyphs images (e.g., figure 54, 57), after being pecked out of the rock surface, had a smooth finish from polishing and which perhaps was an enhancement to increase their shininess. This may be connected with the shimmering effects of patinated sandstone rock which not only animated the images, but, perhaps referred to their inherent powers. During the Middle Ages, Turkish and Mongol shamans were recorded to have exercised control over rain, wind and blizzards with aid of special stones (Boyle 1972: 184-185). One incident even mentions a Turkish *kahin* ('soothsayer') who produced clouds of hail and snow to attack against anyone to whom they wished ill-will (Boyle 1972: 188). I suggest that not only the individual stones could hold power but also the actual rock surfaces themselves into which the petroglyphs were carved. It could be then argued that the images were placed to not only fill the space but to engage and interact with the very rock itself and its inherent powers. Furthermore, Samashev (1998: 200, 1999: 87) suggests that the effect of shimmering can potentially play a role in the experiences derived from heightened ecstatic-convulsive body movements of people performing around the rock art. The implications is that the visual stimulation of the shininess along with auditory stimulation (music) and repetitive bodily movements can enhance particular actions and could lead participants into altered states of consciousness or altered states of awareness¹⁴. I would like to delve into this further and consider not only that the shiny petroglyph images could induce a recognised trance state, but that the context of production of images were informed by these practices.

¹⁴ The notion of an 'altered state of awareness' recognises a culturally negotiated form of trance where the subject gives precedence to particular criteria from visual, aural, somatic and psychological cues, but is not completely disassociated from their surroundings (Walter 2001: 112).

The next aspect of the context of production of the petroglyphs that needs to be considered is their resonations with visionary experiences. The first petroglyph I encountered in the field was that of a Scytho-Siberian deer with a honeycomb-like form attached to its back at Arpauzen (figure 2). As we continued our exploration of the site of Arpauzen we found another scene with animals on a grid (figure 38) and a large scene with two rows of dots (figure 39). These and other geometric figures which I had discovered during the course of my fieldwork in Kazakhstan require more of an explanation than just describing them as 'geometrics' or even 'solar symbols'¹⁵, and new perspectives can be gained by exploring their connections to the realm of visions.

As it had been discussed in chapter 2 that within international rock art studies some researchers have argued for the identification of neuropsychological phenomena in the rock imagery. The basic premise that images in art can be informed by neuropsychological phenomena is not new. By the turn of the 20th century, knowledge of visual forms experienced during hallucinations and migraines were medically known and, for example, led Charles Singer (1917, 1928) to interpret the illuminations of the visions of Hildegard of Bingen, the 12th century German nun, as related to neuropsychological processes.

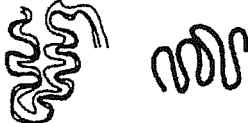
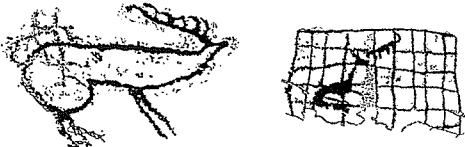
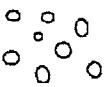
In rock art studies, the 'neuropsychological model' developed by J.D. Lewis-Williams and T.A. Dowson, with the refinements by J. Dronfield, put forward a nuanced model that argues there are particular visual forms and somatic experiences derived from altered states of consciousness which can inform or be incorporated into rock art images (e.g., Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1988; Lewis-Williams 1988; Lewis-Williams 1991a, 1991b; Dronfield 1993; Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1994; Lewis-Williams 1995; Dronfield 1996a, 1996b; Dowson 1999a; etc.). This was founded on the correlation of independent lines of evidence derived from clinical research and case studies from ethnographic field observations¹⁶. However, the ethnography also indicated that these visual forms and experiences are not random delusions but socially situated visions which are culturally meaningful and actively used in the construction of personal identities in society. Therefore, it is the duty of the researcher to explore these socio-cultural facets and locate these visions within the context of the community who produced and utilised them.

¹⁵ Kadyrbaev & Mar'yashev (1977: 203) describe the spiral in the scene of Arpauzen V surface 37 as a solar symbol (see figure 25).

¹⁶ Due to space limitations the intricate details of these correlations can not be rehearsed (see Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1988; Dronfield 1996b for further discussions).

In the field of Central Asian rock art A. Rozwadowski (1998, 1999, 2001) and myself (Lymer 1999b, 2000, 2002) have already laid out the initial groundwork for the identification of neuropsychological phenomena in petroglyphs. Rozwadowski has focused his examinations upon the Bronze Age petroglyphs of Sarmishsay (Uzbekistan) and Tamgaly (Kazakhstan), while I have tentatively approached the Sako-Scythian deer petroglyphs of Arpauzen (Kazakhstan) and some other related images at the rock art sites of Tamgaly and Terekty Aulie (Kazakhstan). Though I do not directly draw upon Rozwadowski's analysis and results, for they relate to the Central Asian Bronze Age, I bring the spirit of his research forward as I explore new directions related to issues raised in this thesis.

Table 3.1. Summary of petroglyph images and correlations to documented visual elements of neuropsychological experiences. This is based on J. Dronefield's important refinements to the identification of endogenous visual phenomena (EVP) – formerly known as 'entoptics' – in rock art (1993, 1995a, b, 1996a, b).

	EVP	Kazakhstan
Irregular meanders		
Filigrees		
Lattices		
Spirals		
Zigzags		
Dots		

The evidence is strongly suggestive that the context of some of the petroglyphs found during my fieldwork were directly related to visionary realities (table 3.2). This is based on an analysis involving a comparison of petroglyph images to documented visual elements of neuropsychological experiences. A fuller range of these subjective visual phenomena can be seen in altered states of consciousness which can be induced by various means, such as trance, intoxication, stress or sensory deprivation, or in certain medical conditions like migraines or epilepsy (e.g., Siegel & Jarvik 1975; Siegel 1977). During the various hallucinatory states a person could experience geometric forms like grids, lattices dots, zigzags, and wavy lines which change in colour, brightness and symmetrical configuration (Siegel 1977: 132). These and other distinct forms are created by the visual nervous system which are determined by the structural properties of the neural system (Horowitz 1964: 518-520; Dronfield 1996b: 374). These forms can also combine with realistic images from the person's memory and produce surreal imagery, bizarre experiences and extra-ordinary sensations. It is recognised here that the neuropsychological determination of these experiences are based in medico-physiological approach that seeks the linear relationship of cause and effect. This is one approach, one reality. Anthropologists have shown us that there are other realities, other perspectives, as there are numerous socio-cultural and religious perceptions of these phenomena amongst different societies (e.g., Furst 1972; Reichel-Dolmatoff 1978; Katz 1982). Whatever the stimulus for the subjective visual phenomena, their experiences can provide a potent resource in socio-cultural utilisations including their meaningful inclusion in the production of rock art imagery.

At the site of Arpauzen there is a deer with a honeycomb-like form embedded in its back (figure 2). There is no doubt that the honeycomb is part of the deer for its lines follows the contour of the deer's hind and it has a similarity with another petroglyph of a deer with a grid on its back found at Tamgaly (figure 40). By themselves they could be considered to be the result of individual acts of creation, but the recurrence of a deer with a grid on the back implies the artists were also expressing themselves through culturally specific symbols which were a part of the communities to which they belonged. Nearby the Tamgaly deer, there are two small grids (figure 41) and further afield at Terekty Aulie there is a gigantic grid carved into the granite hillside (figure 42). Grids, honeycombs and lattices (figure 43) have been clinically demonstrated to appear in a wide variety of hallucinatory conditions (Klüver 1942: 177; Horowitz 1975: 178-9; Siegel & Jarvik 1975: 113; Siegel 1977: 138). In particular, the honeycomb and grid are an intrinsic part of the deer from Arpauzen and Tamgaly (figures 2, 40) and perhaps these images derive from the effect of integration whereby during hallucinatory visualisation the images seamlessly mixed with one and other (Klüver 1942: 177). During the progression of a trance induced state, complex forms rapidly change, mixing form constants and real imagery, and illustrating this Siegel and Jarvik (1975: 118) provide a clinical example whereby the honeycomb form transforms into an eye then a vortex (figure



Figure 40. A deer with a grid on its back at Tamgaly (tracing by the author).

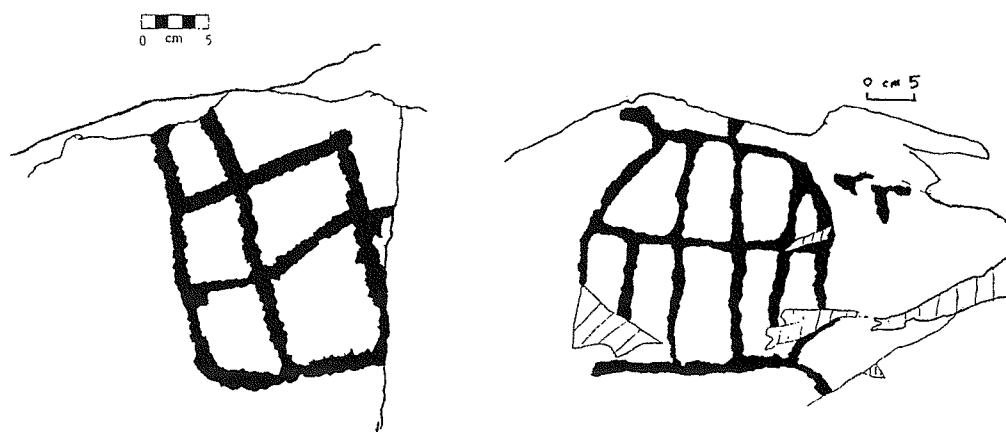


Figure 41. The two grids found near the Tamgaly deer with a grid (tracings by the author).

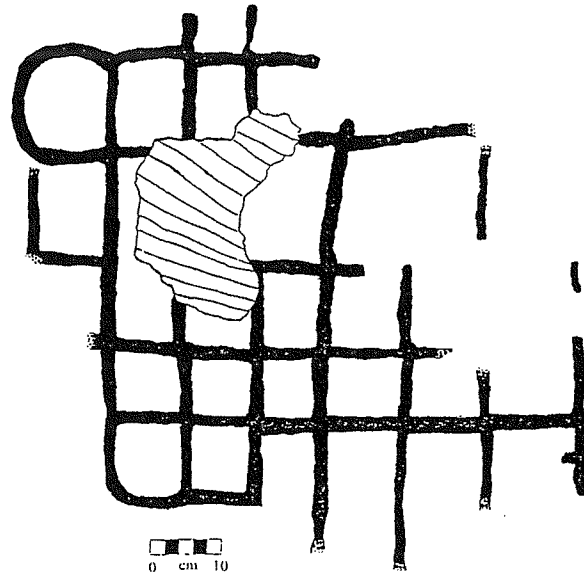


Figure 42. Image of a gigantic grid carved into a granite hillside at Terekty Aulie (tracing by the author).

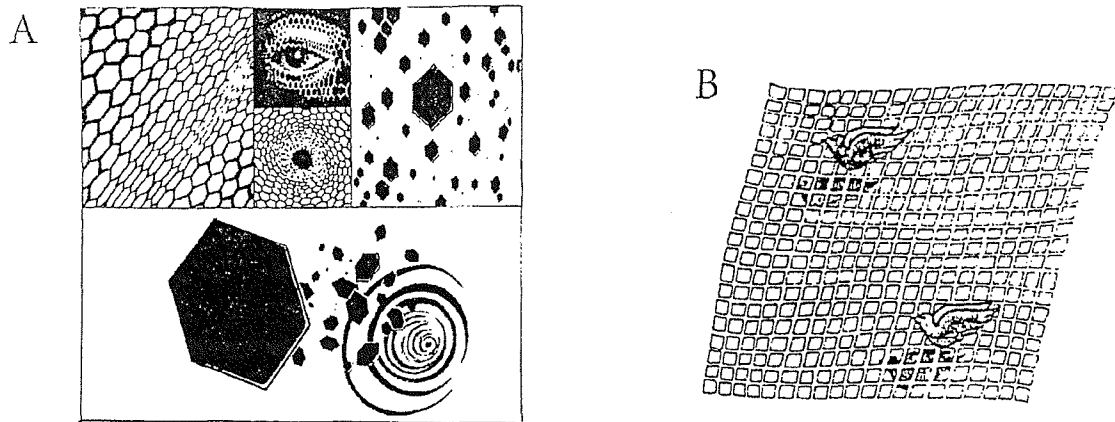


Figure 43. Clinical reportings of from grids, honeycombs and lattices: a) complex forms rapidly change mixing form constants and real imagery whereby the honeycomb form transforms into an eye then a vortex (after Siegel and Jarvik 1975: fig. 7); b) the complex overlaying of imagery involving a lattice and birds in the early stage of hallucination (after Siegel & Jarvik 1975: figure 13).



Figure 44. A new scene of dots from Bayan Zhurek (tracing by the author).

43a). In another a clinical observation (figure 43b) there was a complex overlaying of imagery involving a lattice and birds in the early stage of hallucination (Siegel & Jarvik 1975: figure 13) and may be reflected in the scene with two smaller animals on a grid at Arpauzen (figure 38).

Dots and similar forms involving pulses of light are also documented phenomena in clinical observations of hallucination (Siegel & Jarvik 1975; Siegel 1977). There are deeply carved dots in a long petroglyph scene at Karakungei 2 (figure 47), large dots engraved on the top of the stone block of the deer with a honeycomb at Arpauzen, and similar larger dots on a loose plate at Bayan Zhurek (figure 44). On a higher summit at Bayan Zhurek there is a scene with a caprid amongst many dots (figure 45) and this may correspond to a visionary scene recorded amongst the Jivaro of South America (Harner 1973: fig. V) which depicts experiences from using the hallucinogenic plant of *yagé* (*Banisteriopsis* sp.). The informant beheld a vision of flashing golden spheres (rendered as dots) which flow around the figure of a Jivaro shaman (figure 46). In another drawing of a *yagé* vision, by a member of the Turkano of South America, they witnessed '*yagé* snakes' winding upwards and luminous sensations in the form of yellow flashes which were depicted as tiny dots (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1978: pl. xxxii) (figure 48). These winding pulses of light may be the basis of a large petroglyph scene at Arpauzen with two long rows of dots. Though the dot petroglyph scenes have similarities with ones derived from South American ethnography, we should not lose sight of the fact that the visions experienced by these geographically distinct cultures are located within their own socio-cultural contexts and have their own uniquely negotiated meanings. Importantly, it is their relation of relevance with regards to the commonality of trance imagery which provide an informing context for the rock art as well as a basis to which develop new lines of research.

The final form constants to consider in this examination involve spirals and zigzags (Klüver 1942: 177). In the scene of Arpauzen V surface 37 the spiral is actually the tail of a canid-like beast (figure 25b) and there is a caprid with a spiral horn in the long scene at Karakungei 2 (figure 47). Perhaps, like the deer and grids above, these images derive from the effect of integration (Klüver 1942: 177) whereby the form constants seamlessly melded together with the animal images. Furthermore, at Eshkiol'mes there is a unique scene of a 'column', emitting zigzags which connect to a small bovid (figure 49). It is similar to a yarn painting (figure 50) made from a peyote induced vision by a Huichol artist in Mexico (Siegel 1977: 133) which depicts the figure of a person with peyote in their basket beside a depicted explosion of colour and flashes of light. Perhaps the Eshkiol'mes 'column', though cut out of the monochromic sandstone surface, depicted a similar explosion of light and the wavy lines connecting to the small bovid figure were the visual experiences of the artist involving dynamic changes in colour and brightness.

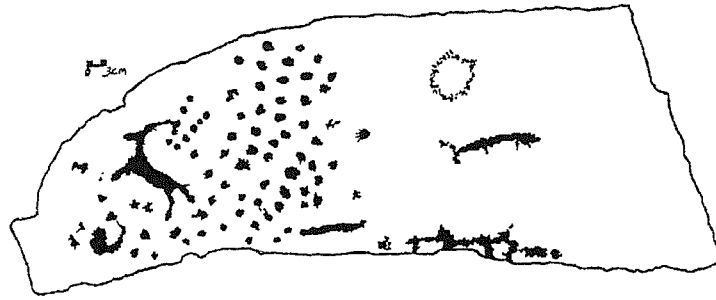


Figure 45. A new scene from Bayan Zhurek of a caprid amongst many dots (tracing by the author).

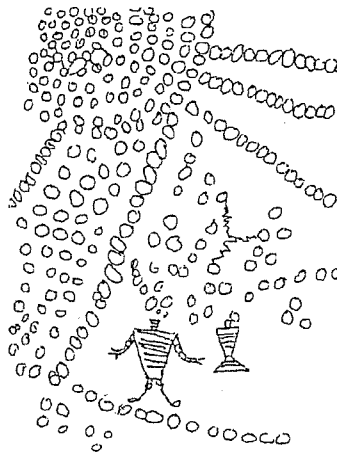


Figure 46. A visionary scene recorded amongst the Jivaro of South America (after Harner 1973: fig. V). The scene depicts a *yagé* (*Banisteriopsis* sp.) assisted trance in which golden spheres (the dots) revolve around the figure of a Jivaro shaman.

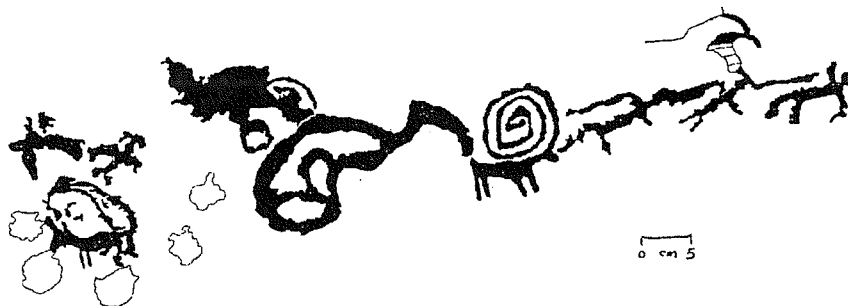


Figure 47. An excerpt from a scene at Karakungei 2 featuring dots, two birds and a caprid with a spiralling horn (tracing by author). The complete scene is found in appendix 1.

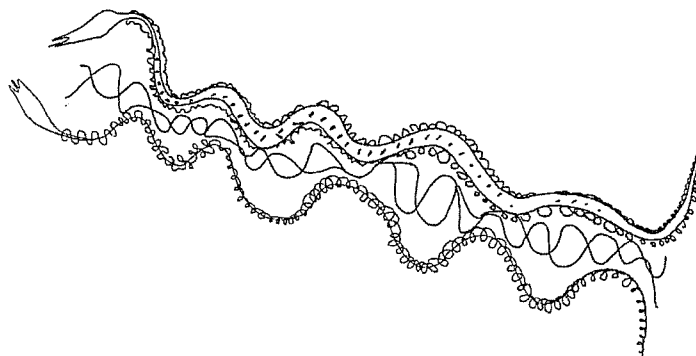


Figure 48. An excerpt from a *yagé* vision drawn by a member of the Turkano of South America (after Reichel-Dolmatoff 1978: pl. xxxii). 'Yagé snakes' wind upwards and luminous sensations in the form of yellow flashes which were depicted as tiny dots.



Figure 49. Detail of a unique scene from Eshkiol'mes of a 'column' emitting zigzags which connect to a small bovid (tracing by the author). The complete scene is found in appendix 1.

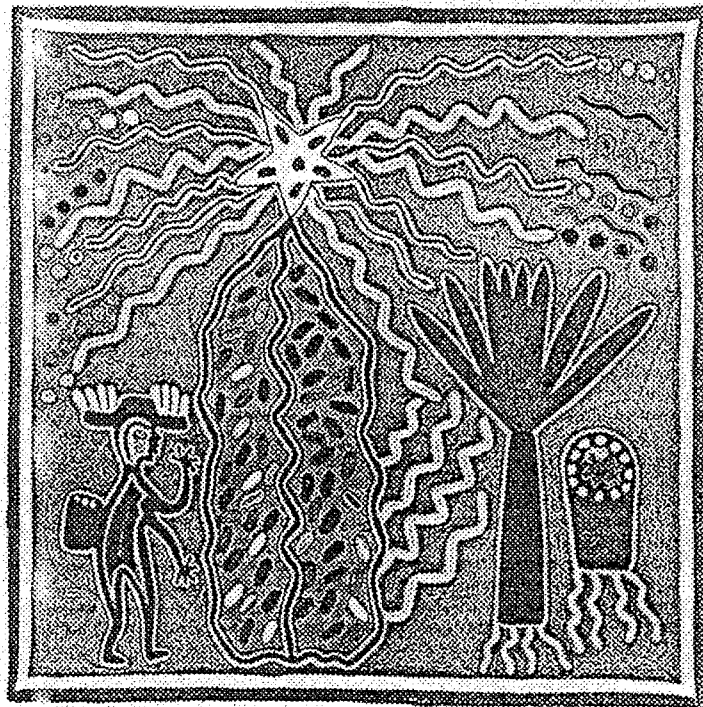


Figure 50. A Huichol yarn painting based on peyote visions (after Siegel 1977: 133).

As all these examples illustrate, the petroglyphs are graphic representations of visions which have been rendered as monochromic two-dimensional carvings. Trance experiences can be multi-sensual with the visual experiences of transformations and kaleidoscopes of colours, which can be associated with aural, acoustic and somatic sensations. During the progress of the visions there are many transformations of mental imagery including: rotation, replication, distortion, alteration, elongation, attenuation and exaggeration (Klüver 1942: 182; Horowitz 1975: 179; Dronfield 1996b: 374). The Arpauzen deer have tiny heads and thin legs which were perhaps attenuated from the hallucinatory experiences involved with the visualisation of the spiral and gird forms (figures 2, 18, 25). There is also a twisted anthropomorphic figure at the bottom of a large scene at Terekty Aulie (figure 54b). It is twisted into a circular shape with an elongated leg, perhaps relating to somatic experiences of a person in a trance state. Klüver cites cases of synaesthesia involving experiences where the subject felt their legs become spirals (1942: 181) or felt their limbs shrink or elongate (1942: 183). Furthermore in some trance states, everyday reality disappears; in one fascinating case the subject experienced a lattice which encompassed him and actually became him (Klüver 1942: 181).

The identification of these visual phenomena is one relevant strand of my argument that needs to be combined with other strands in order to bring new understandings to the evidence. It is important to make this explicit for this is not an exercise for looking solely at neuropsychological imagery for its own sake nor is it a reduction of all rock art into a singular base cause. Some people have carved identifiable visions into the rock outcrops of Kazakhstan; they are not automatons producing hallucinations but they are historically situated individuals utilising specific experiences in the construction of their identities and roles within their society (Dowson 1988; Lewis-Williams 1991b: 159). Visions and dreams are resources potentially available to all individuals and they are negotiated and domained in particular ways by different societies.

I argue that the natural rock and its surface, perhaps, were not simply blank surfaces in which the petroglyphs were engraved, as the rock itself was an active medium and possessed qualities or powers which the visions accessed. These shiny surfaces were, perhaps, known by ancient peoples for such qualities and were supplemented by the power received from the manifestations of visions which became tactile by the act of carving them into the rock. The meanings of these tangible visions are socially constituted and discussions throughout the rest of this chapter are involved in embedding them within the actions and experiences of daily life. These visionary experiences are important to our consideration of the rock art as these sensations may be part and parcel of the specialness of particular places and embedded in the way spaces in the landscape were perceived.

Places, spaces and landscapes

To contextualise the rock art, shimmering stones and tangible visions, we need to explore other aspects of the petroglyph sites involving their local spaces as well as their locations in the landscape. In the scholarship of the Sako-Scythians of Kazakhstan there has been an acknowledgement of the role of the landscape but only as a passive economic resource (e.g., Yablonsky 1990; Chang & Tourtellotte 1998). Since the Sako-Scythians were nomads their mobile pastoral practices across the landscape have been compared to traditional Kazakh herding practices of the movement between *zhailau* and *qistau*, summer and winter pastures (e.g., Pishchulina 1993: 37). In this model the landscape is merely the stage on which transhumance takes place and discussions have not taken it any further to consider the social construction of place and space. There is also a need to re-address the lack of studies concerning the experience of place with regards to the petroglyphs of Kazakhstan, as this has been previously discussed using only simplistic ideas of 'primitive cultic sanctuaries'. Fresh perspectives can be gained by considering the rock surfaces and spaces where the petroglyphs were carved and the locations of the images in the landscape as important informing contexts to their uses and meanings.

During the course of my fieldwork I have stayed with rural Kazakh families and had the assistance of knowledgeable locals in the search for petroglyphs. Fieldwork takes a researcher to locations whereby they enter into contemporary spaces and perception of local peoples. It is important to consider that these perceptions of the rural Kazakhs are equally as valid in their own ways as my academic field observations; both are informed by their socio-cultural backgrounds and both are part of their interactions with the world around them. Lahiri & Singh (1999) point out, in their study of the perceptions of villagers in the Ballabgarh area, near Delhi, India, that ancient remains are part of the experiences of those living in the vicinity of them and archaeological relics in the area were understood and transformed in "straightforward and unusual ways" through a lens of socio-religious beliefs and memories (Lahiri & Singh 1999: 176). That is to say, the people used their knowledge and experiences of their landscape in living out their lives. I contend that the perceptions of local peoples as well as that of the scholar can both mutually benefit each other in providing fresher understandings of the past that can challenge previous held orthodoxies and promote new directions in research.

Therefore a new way forward in Kazakhstan petroglyphs studies would consider these and other interactions examined through a theoretical framework relating to the concept of 'landscape'. Though the idea of landscape comes from Western art tradition it has been expanded in recent years in the fields of cultural geography, anthropology and archaeology as socially constructed spaces. The social approach is succinctly summarised by the British

anthropologist B. Bender as “landscapes are created by people – through their experience and engagement with the world around them” (Bender 1993: 1). She further explains the landscape is part of a worldview contingent upon their historical milieu, the circumstances of the participants related to gender, age and class as well as their socio-economic context (Bender 1993: 2). The construction of these human landscapes is diverse as different peoples engage in different conceptions of space and time and enact diverse activities. These socio-cultural aspects of landscape can be approached through discussing the cultural meanings of an area, and the symbols and material culture through which the meanings are expressed (Mulk & Bayliss-Smith 1999: 364). The landscape is not socially inert for people “engage with it, re-work it, appropriate and contest it” (Bender 1993: 3) as the landscape is an active part of the creation and contestation of individual, group or national identities. Therefore, we need to explore the various ways the people of the past interacted with their landscapes.

However, landscapes are not purely socially determined; their environmental settings are not passive backdrops in which only human ‘actors’ stage out their lives for ‘non-human agents’ are also part of these processes as well. The human/environment relationship is complex and dynamic and should not be polarised into exclusive dichotomies of nature versus culture prevalent in Western thinking. For example, the people of Malaita in the Solomon Islands have a relationship whereby the landscape is not easily divided from society because the ‘land owns people’ (van Dommelen 1999: 278). The ancestors created the land and this is bound in complex relationships between people and ancestors. The land is “not simply soil but rather an entity always fused with the ancestors, under whose joint authority the living are placed” (de Coppet 1985: 81). The Malaitan case highlights that landscape is involved with elements which can be expressed in the inadequate terms of the ‘physical’ and ‘non-physical’. The ‘non-physical’ not only involves social processes but also encounters with non-human agencies and other-than-human beings, such as ancestors, animals, elements of the environment, etc., which make up a complex web of relationships with human society.

This can be also contemplated through the visible and striking constructions of burial monuments and other funerary practices which are perceptible manifestations of ‘landscapes of death’ (Park 1994: 213). Though the occurrence of petroglyphs in funeral contexts is rare, as discussed at the beginning of this chapter, it is still another significant dimension of the landscape context which deserves further discussion. The conception of such a landscape considers the beliefs and practices focused on the dead and living populations who interact with them. The treatment of the dead has the potential to provide valuable indications of social, cultural and religious changes in time and space. The variety of ways in which the dead have been treated has created distinctive spatial patterns and are manifestations of particular social constructions. Initially in geographical studies the term ‘necrogeography’ dealt with the study of the landscape of the dead and cross-cultural attitudes towards death (Kniffen 1967)

but Bhardwaj (1987) takes it further to the culturally specific cognitive conceptions. This includes a consideration of the deceased's 'necral space' related to the way of internment of a departed one be it grave, tomb, or cremation field (Bhardwaj 1987: 321). Thus 'necrogeography' is the study of the geography of the death, necral spaces, the morphology of the afterworld and other aspects of sacred spaces.

However, we should be mindful of partitioning the landscape into a separate and autonomous sacred sphere. The concept of a 'sacred landscape' can lead to the uncritical conclusion of the rigid sacred/profane divide found in Western thinking. As discussed in chapter 2, the employment of these binary polarisations bring misunderstandings and end up ignoring how societies negotiate these relationships in their own idiosyncratic ways. One way forward is to embed sacred sites in their wider socio-political contexts and see them as embedded in everyday life (van Dommelen 1999: 280-284). The symbolic dimensions of landscape should not be reduced to simply descriptions of 'sacred sites' for the everyday lives of people interact within complex relationships amongst themselves and the world around them. Therefore, places in the landscape have the potential of multiple possibilities and certain points can be spots where significant relationships and connections can be realised (Blain & Wallis 2002: 20-22). In order to address these various dimensions of the landscape, I begin my inquiries into the ways the petroglyphs are encountered and this leads to later discussions of ancient peoples' interactions with the petroglyphs and their places amongst the natural rocks as well with necral spaces in the landscape.

Moving about and encountering petroglyphs

To begin with, the present day climatic conditions in Kazakhstan is arid and the vast majority of land is desert steppe or desert (Pal'gov & Yarmukhamedov 1970; Karibaeva 1998). The petroglyph sites that I have studied in Kazakhstan (appendix 1) are in treeless steppe environments ranging from grass pastures (e.g., Eshkiol'mes, Bayan Zhurek) to sparse growths of shrubby vegetation in the desert steppe (e.g., Karakungei, Tamgaly). The important feature of these environments is water, as it is an essential resource for animal and human survival. Some petroglyph sites are situated close to streams or natural springs (Arpauzen, Bayan Zhurek, Maiemer, Tamgaly, Terekty Aulie), while other sites are in hilly outcrops where there is no water at all (Novoberezovka, Karakungei 1 & 2). In the Karakungei 3 vicinity there are streams and natural springs with trees growing around them. These trees were the only shade in the greater area and during our breaks from petroglyph recording¹⁷ we would rest there in the intolerable mid-day heat. We were sometimes joined

¹⁷ Karakungei fieldwork was conducted in 2000 and directed by myself with the assistance of fieldworkers from the Margulan Institute of Archaeology, Almaty.

by the local *chabani*¹⁸ bringing their herds to water. Springs and streams play an essential part in the movements of pastoralist herders. The Turkmen nomads, for example, in the springtime would split into smaller groups which followed their cattle as they grazed around rainwater holes (Zeranska-Kominek 1997: 30). In the summer, the water holes would have dried up and the Turkmen would gather into larger groups around a well or more permanent water sources. The cattle play an important part of daily living experiences of the herders and their interactions with the landscape and world around them. Though not the primary causal factor for the placement of the petroglyph sites, the water resources are part of the experiences of places. Moreover, this highlights ways of encountering the petroglyphs through every day activities. This is also why during fieldwork it is the standard procedure of Kazakhstani archaeologists to ask the local people, especially herders, if they have encountered any images on stone as they follow their cattle amongst the rocky outcrops of the terrain. So far I have discussed movements in the landscape involved with subsistence concerns but these should not be isolated from other activities in the landscape as they are part and parcel of the many possible engagements a society can conduct, and more of these will be discussed throughout the ensuing chapter.

The previously suggested idea that petroglyph sites are ‘outdoor galleries’ implicitly draws upon the traditional Western idea that art is a framed and bounded thing set on the two-dimensions of a flat canvas. Petroglyphs, in contrast, are arguably informed by the placement of images in the landscape corresponding with dynamic multi-dimensional interactions. The framed portrait is static and unchanging as it hangs in the controlled environs of the gallery which attempts to preserve it for posterity. Conversely, petroglyphs are in dynamic conditions in which not only are other images continually added to them, but they are subject to alterations by weathering, erosion, seismic movements¹⁹, and various anthropogenic processes. The very nature of petroglyphs entails that they are situated in the ‘great outdoors’ and their viewing and accessibility is highly dependant on weather conditions like winter snows or heavy rains in the warmer months.

All the rock art sites visited during my field research (appendix 1) were carved into sandstone outcrops which were heavily patinated. Sandstone is a common geological feature of the southern half of Kazakhstan and is an excellent medium in which to carve. The exceptional site to this in my dataset is Terekty Aulie which is so far unique in Kazakhstan for being carved in granite as it is the geomorphic feature of the greater vicinity. The height of these mountains and hills in which the petroglyph sites are found are highly variable. The sites of

¹⁸ *Chaban*, singular – Russian word for herders, shepherds.

¹⁹ Central Asia is seismically active (Suslov 1961: 532-534) and major earthquakes have occurred, such as the one in 1966 which levelled Tashkent, Uzbekistan (Mayhew *et al.* 2000: 38). There is evidence of earthquake damage at the petroglyph site of Saimaly Tash, Kyrgyzstan (Bernshtam 1952b: 35; Frumkin 1970: 44-47) and the potential for this line of inquiry at sites from Kazakhstan has yet to be realised.

Eshkiol'mes, Bayan Zhurek and Karakungei are in mountains with steep slopes near the greater Zhungarian Alatau mountain range on the southeastern border of Kazakhstan opposite of East Turkestan (Xinjiang province, China). The sites of Tamgaly, Maiemer, Novoberezovka and Terekty Aulie are situated in smaller hills that have summits that are easily accessible by foot and by horseback. Tamgaly (Semirech'e) and Terekty Aulie (Central Kazakhstan) are in hilly outcrops surrounded by flat expanses of desert-steppe. Arpauzen differs from the other sites as it is carved into the foothills directly at the base of the Karatau mountains. When we surveyed the Karatau mountain slopes²⁰ there were no other petroglyphs and the only petroglyphs in the area were concentrated in the foothills on the edge of a raised plateau which ends abruptly and becomes the flat expanse of the steppe.

In general petroglyphs are encountered as large concentrations or discrete isolated images. Many exposed rocks are friable and have not been able to retain the images which make them difficult to locate and record. Goryachev and Mar'yashev have made a poignant observation that "many of the images are not easily seen as they are located in places that are difficult to reach and in unexpected places" (n.d.: 4). If one stands on the top of the mount or at its base, it is not possible to see many petroglyphs and you have to climb around the rock in order to discover images as they only can be seen by close proximity. The faint outlines of some images render them invisible and they can only be seen by the changing viewpoint of movement or during certain times of the day as the sunlight hits the angle of the rock surface and emphasises their contours. The light reflecting from the rock surface also relies on the movements of the individual viewing the rock. Thus, as one moves along the rocky hillsides the petroglyph can 'appear' and 'disappear' as one's viewpoint changes and this plays a significant part in experiencing the petroglyphs. So let us examine the socio-cultural context of these encounters through case studies which focus upon important images.

Spirits of place

In order to reach the rock ledge where reside the Sako-Scythian eagle petroglyphs of Eshkiol'mes (figure 16) one has to climb through maze-like ravines and valleys with steep cliffs. The images of eagles at Eshkiol'mes are located high in an lofty location as if it were almost an eagle's aerie. Eagles are intelligent and powerful birds with sharp eyesight and they can see eight times more acutely than people (Millard 1999: 95). Hunting with the golden eagle for roe, hare, wolf, fox and saiga was traditionally popular amongst Central Asian peoples (Browder 1998: 26) and is still actively practiced by contemporary Kazakhs in mountains of Xinjiang, China (Millard 1999). The Kazakhs traditionally used falcon or eagles

²⁰ This survey was part of the work conducted by the joint Polish-Kazak expedition to Arpauzen spring 1998.

(Kazakh, *berkut*) as hunting birds. *Berkutchi*, professional hunters, took the chicks out of their nests and trained them for hunting (Browder 1998: 26) or tamed captured wild birds (Millard 1999: 96). Apparently, once an eagle was trained it could support a whole *aul* ('village' – Kazakh) by its hunting activities. Traditionally eagles were very highly valued by the Kazakhs as they were handed down, exchanged for cattle, and even used to pay for the ransom of captive relatives (Browder 1998: 26). The bird's master, *berkutchi*, was a respected person among his village and songs and ballads were composed about the eagles and their masters. In Kazakhstan, before the Soviet period, the lineage or clan owned the locations of the nesting-places of golden eagles (Browder 1998: 26) and these spots were marked with the clan signs, *tamga*, on the local rock as the people of the *aul* were obliged to protect such places.

However, there are no Kazakh clan *tamga* amongst the Eshkiol'mes eagle petroglyphs. The eagles are executed in several different poses and their scenes are made of many more animal figures (figure 16). These factors lead to the conclusion that they cannot be simply explained as standardised *tamga* marks. The Kazakhs of Xinjiang consider the eagle as a sacred animal (Yenhu 1996: 18) and it is an important spirit assistant of Altaian, Kazakh and Uzbek shamans (Basilov 1994: 278-279). In Uzbek traditional beliefs it was considered a good sign if certain birds defecated on your head and wishing the heavenly eagle to drop on a person's head meant to bring good fortune (Basilov 1994: 279). Tuvan shamans would often hold long conversations with bird and animal spirits and when Tuvan individuals are alone in nature they perform music in order to converse with the spirits of the rocks, trees and water (van Deusen 1997: 24, 27). Van Deusen (1997: 22) also recounts how a contemporary Khakass shamanka²¹ would stop at mountain passes, burial sites, megaliths, petroglyphs and sacred caves to honour the spirits of the place. The shamanka would play music to convey her greetings, apologies, requests and thanks to local spirits. The articulation and placement of the Eshkiol'mes petroglyphs in this location strongly suggests it was a discrete location to encounter eagles, spirits and other agencies amongst the mountain rocks. Perhaps, in a similar way the people of the past would have scaled the steep cliffs of Eshkiol'mes in order to speak, sing, and recite poems to the spirits of the eagle petroglyphs. This could have been also conducted at other sites with Sako-Scythian images of eagles at Novoberezovka (figure 31) and Karakungei 2 (figure 47).

Additionally spirits, ancestors and other-than humans can be difficult things to deal with and frequently indicate their likes and dislikes to those who would listen to them. An Altaian shaman, for example, can only acquire a costume after they receive a dream in which the design of costume is described in detail by the helper spirit (Basilov & Zhukovskaya 1989:

²¹ In Russian many words referring to a person's occupation have female and male permutations. Hence, sometimes researchers use *shamanka* to indicate a female shaman.

162). The costume was then manufactured by the women of the shaman's family with assistance from the neighbours and supervised by an elder woman versed in local custom. After all this the costume owner would still have to seek the final approval of the spirit. In the same token we could consider some of the petroglyphs were explicitly made after communications with spirits. Perhaps in the case the eagle petroglyphs an artist received a communication from the bird spirit visiting their dreams, which told how to carve their representation in stone. The spirit's edicts would probably also have involved other prescribed acts and ritual observances upon which the artist and their family members would have had to act. Furthermore, the eagle images were also found in golden decorations of the Chilikty kurgans 5 and 7 (Chernikov 1965). In particular, the golden eagle decorations from the robbed kurgan of Chilikty 5 lay in the burial chamber in a heap of gold ornaments which are inferred to have once adorned clothing (ibid., 24). Perhaps these were also worn on the costume of the person when they were alive which acknowledged the existence of the eagle spirits. However I shall further expand upon this point with regards to the social status of the deceased in the next section below.

Returning to the theme of spirits of place there is another significant scene found a few valleys west from the eagles in another part of the craggy hillsides of Eshkiol'mes. This newly discovered scene (figure 49) is located in the upper half of a steep slope, in an area with a high concentration of petroglyphs from the various 'ages' (Bronze, Iron, Early Turkic) and the scene is part of a large surface covered with many other images. The scene involves a bovid with zigzag horns that connect with a 'column' emitting zigzags from its top. The zigzags hint at its visionary aspects as the scene could have been part of a vivid apparition of some kind of entity seen during trance in an explosion of colour and flashes of light.

Many Inner Asian peoples have an explicit concept of agencies in the environment known as powerful 'owners' or 'masters' of nature, i.e., *ejid*, *ezed* in Mongolian, *Cherning' eezi* in Tuvian and *Jaractkan* by the Kazakhs of Xinjiang (Humphrey, Mongush & Telengid 1993: 53; Yenhu 1996: 8). The main characteristic of these other-than-human agencies is that they are powerful beings and their actions can range from being helpful or harmful towards humans (Humphrey, Mongush & Telengid 1993: 57). It is also worth noting that the Sakha of eastern Siberia have a thunder master or lightning deity known as the 'Lord with the axe' (N. Chadwick 1936: 89). The Eshkiol'mes scene was perhaps not only a vision of a spirit master but by the very act of carving it into the surface of the rock the artist accessed the power of the cliffs in order to draw upon a powerful entity which wielded lightning and owned weather animals. Perhaps the Eshkiol'mes petroglyph scene facilitated acquisition of some sort of powers or gifts from non-human agencies. The Exirit-Bulagat Buryats ask for favours of their mountain spirits to secure successful grazing, which especially involves bringing rain, and for all kinds of protection from rival groups (Hamayon 1994: 82-82). This

suggests the Eshkiol'mes scene could of also been used for socio-political reasons for not only bringing good fortune to their community and their cattle but also to bring misfortune to persons in which the artist is embroiled in disputes or confrontations. The natural rock was not simply a blank surface in which the petroglyphs were engraved as the rock itself was a shiny, active medium and possessed qualities or powers which were deliberately sought out by the artist or other privileged members of society like lineage elders or shamans. The rock surface was a powerful force in itself, perhaps like the stones that Mongol shamans used to bring storms, and it was given even greater powers with the addition of the visionary petroglyphs.

The final case study in this section involves the anthropomorph with a headdress (figure 37) and visionary caprid scene with dots (figure 45) found among the shiny stones of Bayan Zhurek. This is comparable to other published images of several figures with headdresses and goats at the petroglyph site of Bardakul in Xinjiang province, China (figure 52a), a scene of a goat and dots at Karaqukh in Tuoli County, Xinjiang (figure 52b) and a scene of humans, goats and dots from Dolanally, East Kazakhstan (figure 52c). In order to reach the petroglyphs on the top of highest mount in the western end of Bayan Zhurek one would have encountered, amongst the rocks, many individual images and scenes of petroglyphs. If one was knowledgeable about the hillside, a journey starting at the foot of the hill could have involved the purposeful visit to special images, such as the dancing anthropomorph with an elaborate headdress (figure 36), the Saka boar (figure 32), etc., during the strenuous climb towards the highest summit. At its peak there is the rock plate with the image of another dancing anthropomorph (figure 37) with the goat-dot scene nearby on a lower rock face (figure 45). From this vantage point there is a commanding view of the plains below and to the south is the jagged peaks of Zhungarian Alatau range which separates Kazakhstan from China (figure 51).

The human figure has lines radiating from its head which could be interpreted as a feathered headdress. What is interesting that amongst the numerous zoomorphic decorations belonging to the skeleton found in the large Saka burial of Issyk there was a finger ring with a depiction of a human head with a 'feathered headdress' (A.K. Akishev 1984: tab. VIII, 33) (figure 52d). The use of feathered headdresses by Siberian shamans and the dancing position of the figure from Bayan Zhurek (figure 37) has given weight to a suggestion that the depiction may be a shaman with their helper zoomorphic spirits (Samashev 1998: 205; 1999: 92). Alternatively I would like to propose that it could have been the image of powerful spirit master of the mountain. In a scene of an Altaian shaman's voyage to the upper worlds (Harva 1938: 57-58) the powerful Altaian deity of Ulgen was depicted with a head and body covering with radiating lines (figure 55). The Buryats of eastern Lake Baikal have a mountain spirit known as the White Old Man, who is Lamaist in origin as he is represented in human form mounted



Figure 51. The view from the top of Bayan Zhurek looking towards the Zhungarian Alatau mountains (photo by the author). The stone on the right hand side has the image of a 'dancing shaman'.



Figure 53. The scene of the honeycomb deer (left) facing the Karatau mountain range (photo by the author). The highest peak is the *Kelirshak Tau*, the Maiden mountain.

on a deer or having deer at his feet but he also incorporates the traditional Buryat attributes of being a spirit-master of lands and waters (Hamayon 1994: 86). He plays a regular role in Buryat Lamaistic rituals at sacred cairns, *oboo*, constructed on the mountains by the Buryats. The very fact that the Bayan Zhurek dancing figure is located on the pinnacle of the mountain strongly suggests it could have been a mountain master.

Amongst several South Siberian peoples the mountains were embedded in a nexus of relationships between human society and other agencies. For example, the mountains in the territory of the Exirit-Bulagat Buryats on the western side of Lake Baikal are controlled by the group lineages (Hamayon 1994: 82-82). A mountain that looks down on the pasturelands of a clan descent group not only identifies the groups' territory but it is the dwelling place of their ancestors. For descent groups, the mountain constitutes their legitimacy and establishes their land rights over the lands, but at the same time it also provides a point of contact with their ancestors. The ancestors, though human, are often combined with the mountain and become one of its many other spirits. Together, with the mountain, the ancestors are asked for favours in successful grazing (especially bringing rain), and for all kinds of protection from rival groups (*ibid.*, 82). The spirits take part in the joint lineage rituals performed on the side of the mountain and they punish those Buryats who break social rules by dispatching disease, especially skin diseases which are considered by the Buryats to be a visible form of public shame. The collective ritual dedicated to the ancestors involves invocations, offerings of milk products, and sacrifices of domestic animals (*ibid.*, 83). These rituals to the ancestors are usually performed jointly by members belonging to two or more clans led by the elders while the shamans only distribute the sacrificial meat to every participant.

Since the petroglyph scenes of the dancing figure and goat with dots rock art are at the top of the highest peak of the western end of the Bayan Zhurek mountains it is possible to envisage access restrictions negotiated by members of the society. This is in contrast to the idea that rock art sites are art galleries which imply they are intended as open access for all the public. These restrictions would have been upheld by law and custom, and only certain persons would have visited or were allowed to visit particular places based on social status, such as lineage elders or other persons with special abilities like shamans.

For those who were privileged to access the summit perhaps they knew this was also a special place to communicate with other-than-human agencies. The shininess of the rock surface may have animated the anthropomorph and made it 'dance', while, in the meantime, it was perhaps part of the experiences which informed the vision of a caprid amongst dots. These factors strongly suggest that this area was a suitable place to obtain dreams and visions of the spirits. The shimmering dark surface of the rock not only animated the petroglyph images at Bayan Zhurek but could of been the manifestations of the powers of the spirits, like the *ongon*

images of the Mongols which are “both the spirit and the representation of the spirit” (Humphrey 1971: 271). The visual effect of the shimmering stones along with music and repetitive bodily movements could have also allowed a person to enter into a trance-like state in order to further facilitate communication with the spirits. These visionary experiences are important to our consideration of the rock art as these sensations were, most likely, part and parcel of the specialness of this lofty place of petroglyphs in Bayan Zhurek. However, so far I have examined case studies of petroglyphs in high mountain locations and it is now time to move down into the landscape below and explore the special links of animal imagery with different parts of society, especially those laid to rest in burials.

Living landscapes and landscapes of death

The following is a case study which involves the relationships between the living and necral landscapes around the petroglyph site of Arpauzen below the Karatau mountain range of southern Kazakhstan. As previously mentioned, in our survey of the vicinity there were no petroglyphs in the Karatau mountains and the only petroglyphs were concentrated in an area of exposed rock outcrops amongst the foothills. Here we find the famous petroglyph scenes of the Sako-Scythian deer (figures 18, 25) as well as the newly discovered scenes of the deer with a honeycomb on its hind (figure 2) and two animals on a grid (figure 38). The petroglyph scene of the honeycomb deer is located in a small stone outcrop on the upper part of a hill and the stone surface on which the image was carved faces towards the highest peak in the area (figure 53), while the other scenes are found along valleys which are in line with the Karatau.

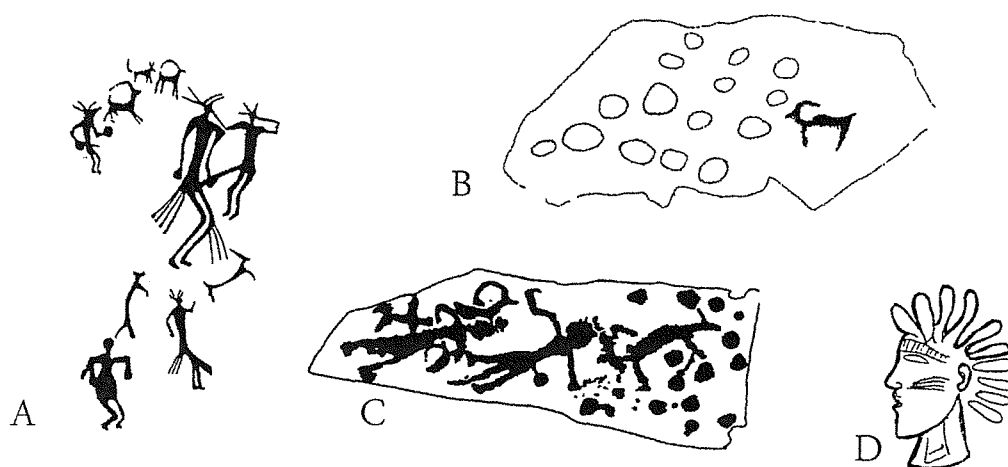


Figure 52. a) Petroglyph scene from Bardakul mountain, Yuming county, Xinjiang, China (after Zhou 1993: 87). b) Petroglyph scene from Karaqukh, Tuoli county, Xinjiang, China (after Zhou 1993: 234). c) Petroglyph scene from Dolanally, East Kazakhstan (after Samashev 1993: fig. 257). d) Image from a finger ring found in Issyk kurgan, Semirech'e (after A.K. Akishev 1984: tab. VIII, 33).

As previously mentioned, several Inner Asian peoples encounter the landscape as composed of natural features, like mountains and springs, which are living entities (e.g., Humphrey, Mongush & Telengid 1993; Humphrey 1995: 141; Yehnu 1996). Amongst the Altaians, Khakass and Buryats the spirits of the mountains may also take the form of grandmothers or girls (Humphrey 1995: 145; Kazachinova & van Deusen 2002). At Aprauzen the highest peak in the area is called *Kelinshak Tau*, the Maiden mountain, by the local Kazakhs. Local legend tells about how the mountain was named after a maiden, *kelinshak*, who after the rejection by her lover, climbed upon it and committed suicide. The fact that this particular area near the Karatau mountains was chosen for petroglyphs indicates it was a place of great significance to the Sako-Scythians as they had also constructed visible kurgans within the area.

In general a characteristic associated with the placement of Early Nomadic kurgans is their proximity to mountainous features in the landscape. In the plains at the foot of the Karakungei range there are lines of large kurgans in straight rows²² facing the Karakungei slopes (pers. ob.). At Arpauzen, not far north from the petroglyphs, there is a row of small kurgans lined up to the Karatau ridge, while in the southwest there is a flat plain at the base of the Karatau mountains with a large kurgan. These kurgans based, on available information, have not been excavated but have indentions in the centre of their mounds which indicate that they have been previously robbed at some point in the past.

The Iron Age cultures of Kazakhstan have been traditionally characterised as fully nomadic pastoralists who left little or no trace of settlements within the archaeological record. Mobile nomadic groups, in general, have been considered as 'invisible cultures' within the landscape (Cribb 1991, 65). However, in the case of the Early Nomads they practised distinctive burial practices involving kurgans which placed the dead within particular spots. These distinctive burial practices only represented a tiny proportion of the population which, in turn, further supports the contention that they were intended for particular individuals from a community. Thus, arguably, only persons with the appropriate social status may have been interred in the kurgans.

Additionally, there is a correspondence of animal images used in the petroglyphs as well as the objects found in the burials. Though the corpus of information on the archaeology of the Saka in Kazakhstan is not detailed enough to ask fuller questions specific to my thesis, an initial comparison between the zoomorphic imagery found in artefacts from the famous Saka

²² The practice of placing kurgans in rows also occurs in the Scytho-Siberian archaeological period of the Altai. For example, it has been noted in the field survey of Sebystei valley, Gorno-Altai, chains of kurgans throughout the entire valley (Bourgeois, Bourgeois, Cammaert, *et al.* 1999: 313-315, 326, 328). It is suggested that these rows reflect clan structure (*ibid.*, 313).

kurgans of Chilikty (Chernikov 1965) and Issyk (K.A. Akishev 1974, 1978) and the Iron Age petroglyphs indicates there are correlations of eagles, boars, deer and caprids in both art forms. However, in the petroglyphs there are no fish (Chilikty), winged lions or winged caprids (Issyk). As I discussed in above, the petroglyph artists were drawing upon a selection of imagery from the Sako-Scythian socio-political milieu (deer, boar, eagle, etc.); they were not utilising images like the winged caprids and lions from Issyk and this suggests these images may be exclusive to the domain of a social elite. The excavations of the kurgan 5 at Chilikty in eastern Kazakhstan revealed many gold ornaments in the shape of animals (Chernikov 1965). Meanwhile the excavations of the gigantic kurgan of Issyk (Semirech'e) revealed a single chamber with a body richly decorated in animal imagery (K.A. Akishev 1974, 1978). K.A. Akishev (1992: 5) suggests that the so-called 'animal style' objects found in these tombs were used to support some sort of social hierarchy as they provided the foundation of authority and defined the social and spiritual exclusiveness of these animals to a ruling elite. Therefore it could be argued that the animal images most likely belonged to artefacts possessed by elite individuals (e.g., khans, chiefs and/or other higher ranking members in society) and I further suggest they were used in the constructions of their identity and their socio-political power.²³

The implications are that the zoomorphic images are contextually situated and their meanings are related to the role they played in society; the petroglyphs reside in the rock surfaces which are part of living people's daily lives, while the funerary artefacts were used in the construction of the identity of elite individuals and accompanied them into the necral space of the kurgan burial. As multivalent symbols the zoomorphics had several meanings and each meaning is negotiated differently within different social contexts. Thus, these factors played a significant part in a complex web of associations and allegiances of people to their deceased kin and the landscape.

The petroglyphs and kurgans are aspects of complex social relationships and further understandings can be brought through modelling based on ethnography. In Mongolian society both the chiefs and the shamans engage with the landscape on behalf of their communities (Humphrey 1995). Humphrey found the Mongolian chiefly relationship to the landscape was different from the shamanic one. The Mongolian chiefs were absolute manifestations of power and militancy in their society. They also performed the customary tasks of sacrificing to those ancestral spirits who resided in the land. The chiefs utilised prayer and sacrifices to ask the spirits to accept their authority in society. The chiefs conducted large scale rituals, while the shamans interacted with members of the local community on a smaller scale. As opposed to chiefly position, Mongol shamans roles were chosen by the spirits and

²³ This point is more fully explored using a more complete set of burial data from the Pazyryk culture of the Gorno-Altai in the next chapter.

communicated with the spirits through trance. However this situation is more complex and the boundaries between these roles is not bipolar. In some areas of Mongolia groups can be ruled by chiefs while in other areas they were led by shamans. When a chief's political power collapsed, the people would turn to the shamans for guidance. The shamanic and chiefly perceptions of the landscape then would be different from group to group and region to region. Thus, Humphrey argues that throughout Mongolian history the local communities were in an ever changing flux from these socio-political dynamics and not static, constant societies.

The Early Nomadic kurgans of Arpauzen were visible reminders of the authority of the chiefs and other high status people in the landscape. Landscape is an active medium used by people through socio-political relationships including religious and economic activities. Elaborate open air processions and rituals were most likely conducted for the interment of a dead chief and future chiefs could have conducted other rites in order to placate the deceased and legitimate their political claims to leadership. Traditionally, among the Kazakhs, the funeral procession to the grave includes the deceased's widow, herded livestock (horses and other livestock), and armed riders (Shnirelman, Olsen & Rice 1996: 149-150). The Sako-Scythian deer played an important part of these rites as it was worn on clothes by living and dead persons as symbols of their chiefly authority (as suggested by ornaments found in the kurgans of Chilikty) and its spirit was perhaps called upon by the living chiefs for prayers and sacrifice during the funerary rites of the dead chiefs.

The presence of the image of the deer in the petroglyphs of Arpauzen indicates they were related to different aspects in the landscape. In particular, the visions of the honeycomb deer and other stag scenes at Arpauzen are not hallucinatory deliriums but complex images made of animals and geometrics combined in a meaningful manner. The Arpauzen petroglyph of the deer with a honeycomb is not unique as there is also a deer with a grid on its back at Tamgaly (figure 40). Furthermore, there are several scenes with the images of grids at both sites (figures 38, 41). The neuropsychological aspects of the honeycombs and grids indicate the nature of these unusual images as derived from the imagery of trance and the importance of the imagery was influenced by their relevance to the expectations and negotiations of meaning within the society. The grid and honeycombs attached to the deer of Arpauzen and Tamgaly suggests that the lattice was associated with the power of the animal spirits. These petroglyphs were, perhaps, powerful visions of the world of the spirits and they were also the visible manifestations of the power in the landscape in which they were carved.

In these depictions of the deer we may have evidence for a particular, historically situated locus of socio-political power. Visions can be experienced by anyone within a society but the society will decide how these experiences are culturally situated. The very act of engraving the

visions into stone indicates that they held special links within society. Visions are important for they can be used to determine the roles which particular persons perform in society and play a part in the construction of a person's identity. In Central and Inner Asian societies there are individuals who have been chosen to become shamanic practitioners by the spirits from contacts in dreams or visions. For example, shamans of the Gol'd, a southern Tungus tribe, had visions of a female spirit who assisted the individual in becoming a shaman (Shternberg 1974). The activities of these individuals can involve interventions in the natural world, healing, mediation with the invisible realms, and interventions in socio-political arenas, and these are embedded in complex interactions between personal, social and cultural realisations.

The actions and duties of the shamanic practitioner could be negotiated differently from society to society and divergence can even occur within sub-groups within a given society. The Buryat shamans on the eastern side of Lake Baikal were specifically involved with healing of individuals and did not make public connections to the mountain spirits and the environment like the ones on the western side of Lake Baikal (Hamayon 1994: 86). Furthermore, the Buryats have 'black shamans' who went into trance and dealt with disease causing spirits and 'white shamans' who invoked blessings on the behalf of people and livestock from the spirits (Vitebsky 1995: 35). However, the eastern Buryats were subjugated to different political pressures than the western Buryats as their communities were converted to Lamaism (yellow hat Tibetan Buddhism). Under Lamaist authority shamanism became a low valued social role for men as they found that becoming a Buddhist lama entailed prestige, wealth, and social position and the shamans became predominated by female practitioners (Hamayon 1994: 86). This also highlights the fact that the shamanic practitioners were not autonomous to society as they perform specific roles negotiated within their communities which is also subject to various competing moral codes, customs and laws. Furthermore, one must bear in mind Inner Asian shamans also performed other day-to-day activities, such as farming, tending cattle, tanning and other productive forms of labour (Diakonova 1994: 246; Humphrey & Onon 1996: 5).

It is common amongst many Inner Asian societies that shamanic practitioners acquire the assistance of animals in the form of spirit helpers (e.g., Basilov 1984; Waida 1983; Vitebsky 1995, etc.). These spirits, usually in the form of animals, would teach the individual the skills necessary to become a shaman (Basilov & Zhukovskaya 1989: 162). During the initiation experience of a Nganasan shaman, of northwest Siberia, he encountered two 'Mistresses of the Reindeer' who taught him knowledge (Vitebsky 1995: 109). The Sakha shamans were assisted by an 'animal mother' in the form of elk or reindeer who cared for them and educated them (Ksenofontov cited in Lommel 1967: 62). Ksenofontov also remarks upon a fascinating account of a Tungus animal mother which appeared as a mountain deer with

eight legs and backward turned hoofs (*ibid.*). The bizarreness of this deer could perhaps be related to the lattice-backed deer of Arpauzen (figure 2) and suggests this petroglyph scene was also the personal vision of a spirit which has taken on a visually striking but unusual form.

The individuals who made the Arpauzen deer petroglyphs drew upon visions as a resource to connect with other-than-human agencies and also to negotiate their socio-political role in their community. The deer spirit would have been called on upon to assist the shamanic practitioner in their interactions with other people of the society with regards to such concerns as hunting animals, cattle well-being or healing sick persons. Perhaps, as the Sako-Scythian chiefs wore the image of the deer on their clothing to legitimise their authority so too the shamans adorned their clothes and personal belongings to directly access the power of the spirits. The stag petroglyphs were not just visions but also a part of the repertoire of practices conducted by Sako-Scythian shamans as they negotiated with the landscape spirits and their communities.

Furthermore, the deer petroglyphs were placed amongst other older petroglyphs of the Bronze Age (Kadyrbaev & Mar'yashev 1977), such as the scene of Arpauzen V surface 69 (figure 18). Perhaps, the newer images were carved upon or beside the Bronze Age petroglyphs in order to renew the powers of the Arpauzen landscape. The newer images reincorporated the older ones into the Sako-Scythian landscape as the image of the deer renegotiated the meanings of older images into the Sako-Scythian shamanistic worldview. Hence, some individuals wanted their worldview to become a visible part of the Arpauzen landscape but in a new way, and this meant that new visions of the spirits had to be fashioned out of the existing petroglyphs. The specialness of the Arpauzen area was given greater potency by the addition of the deer and other visionary petroglyphs, while the powers of the place were amplified by the presence of the images. Therefore, I argue that the petroglyphs were not simply fused together with the landscape as passive pieces of western art but performed an active reciprocal relationship with the people and the environment they lived in.

However, the shamans and chiefs were not the only persons in Sako-Scythian society as all members of a society will conduct multiple and varied activities that take place in different parts of their surroundings. At Arpauzen during the course of daily activities, perhaps like tending to cattle or fetching water from local sources, the movements of various members of society would have probably taken them through petroglyph covered rocks and fields of kurgans and may even had encounters with other-than-human agencies. For example, it is not unusual for Khakass people of South Siberia to hear the spirits singing in nature (van Deusen 1997: 24). One Khakass informant also related a personal incident whereby even though she had not seen the mountain spirit girls, she would frequently hear their beautiful voices

singing. People and their environmental setting are in a continuous process of ongoing interactions as the local Sako-Scythian community members interacted with the landscape through their daily activities, stories and personal encounters with animals and other non-human entities. The shamanic and chiefly landscapes of Arpauzen were part and parcel of these complex relationships as the petroglyphs and kurgans are tangible manifestations of the knowledge of the individuals, families and lineages which connect them to particular places and were deeply connected to the way Sako-Scythian society conceived the landscape.

Journeying to invisible worlds

So far my examinations have looked at movements in the physical environment and interactions with petroglyph places and necral landscapes. In the final section of this chapter I turn my intentions to movements through the physical world into invisible ones and examine how the boundaries between them are permeable.

In the spirits of place section, I suggest petroglyph images could behave in a similar fashion to Mongol *ongons* whereby the image can become an incarnation of an other-than-human agency. In the case of the Buryat-Mongol *ongons* which depict the image of a bull, the spirit of the great deity Buxa-Noyon is called down from his heavenly abode and inhabits the bovine image (Humphrey 1974). This movement of spirits from their space into our space also occurs during healing ceremonies conducted by shamanic practitioners. The Kazakh *baksy*, for example, plays their stringed instrument (a *kobyz* or *dombra*) to entice their helper spirits while they call out or recite summoning invocations (Kosko 1999: 70-73). The spirits are co-erced to come to the shaman as they have to travel from wherever they reside and come into a designated physical space of the *baksy*'s tent. Upon their arrival they are asked to advise the shaman on the correct procedure for removing the disease or they are requested to evict the illness causing entity themselves.

Conversely it may be necessary for an individual to communicate with the with ancestors, spirits and other-than-human beings by entering into their realms. Healing rituals amongst the Altaians, for example, involve first the consultation of the helper spirits of the *kam* to determine the nature of the illness (Alekseev 1994: 61-63). Once the shaman discovers which spirit is bringing harm to the patient they attempt to conciliate the spirit by journeying to its abode in the lower or upper otherworlds. An animal is sacrificed and the *kam* calls upon several powerful protective spirits to assist them in dealing with obstacles in their voyage to the troublesome spirit in order to present the sacrificed animal to them. During the performance the Altaic shaman bangs their drum which takes them to the spirit world and carries an axe on their belt for the eventuality of when they encounter an ice barrier lining the vault of heaven in which they have to break (Potapov 1991: 141).

At the petroglyph site of Arpauzen there is large scene along the side of a valley which involves two rows of dots with tiny human figure and one has a bow (figure 39). These tiny figures are similar to the figure associated with the Arpauzen 'honeycomb' deer (figure 2). Furthermore, there is also the scene from Dolanaly, East Kazakhstan which features dots and human figures (figure 52c). This and the Aprauzen scene have visionary qualities as the dots may be flashing lights and luminous sensations experienced in states of altered states of consciousness. An Amazonian Turkano informant, for example, witnessed winding snakes with pulsating flashes of light (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1978: pl. xxxii) (figure 48). Perhaps the long rows of dots in the Aprauzen were winding their ways through the invisible worlds in which the shaman has to travel in order to meet powerful spirits. The tiny human figures at the top could have been a representation of the shaman with their helper spirits like the Altaian *kam* who required these special helpers in order to navigate through the difficulties of the otherworld. The Arpauzen figures have bows and arrows and may be similar to auxiliary spirits of the Turkmen shaman called *jyn* or *jyn-arbah*, which were considered to be the shaman's 'spirit army' and took the form of armed riders (Zeranska-Kominek 1997: 34). Turkmen shamans used these *jyn* in healing rituals and perhaps the Aprauzen scene with its 'little armed helpers' was part of an ancient shaman's actions with regards to exorcising or healing someone with illness in their society. Furthermore, the little figure beside the Arpauzen 'honeycomb' deer could have been a vision of a shamanic spirit helper like the deer.

Another fascinating and unique scene is found at Terekty Aulie (Central Kazakhstan) where there are two long lines extending from a circle with a camel inside (figure 54). The image of a twisting anthropomorph is found below the camel and there are small animals (including a caprid) along one of the upper lines. These elements are suggestive of being another dynamic 'map' of visionary experiences. The scene is similarity to a drawing (figure 55) made by a Altaian shaman recorded around the turn of the 20th century (Harva 1938: 57-58). There is a long thin line in the drawing which was explained by Harva as the path of the shaman journeying to the upper heavens of the Altaian cosmology. At the end of the path in the highest tier of heaven dwells the great spirit Ulgen who is depicted with radiating lines around his body. The shamanic journey begins at the lower part of the path where there is a pole with the hide of a sacrificed horse. After the horse was sacrificed, the Altaian shaman moved from his encampment into the otherworld. As the line goes upward the drawing documents how the shaman passed through various trials and encounters with other spirits (in human form) in the journey to the upper heavenly tiers, perhaps having to break the ice of the vault of heaven in order to gain an audience with Ulgen. The lines extending from the central circle of the Terekty Aulie petroglyph scene (figure 54a) also suggests multiple paths or journeys of the shaman.

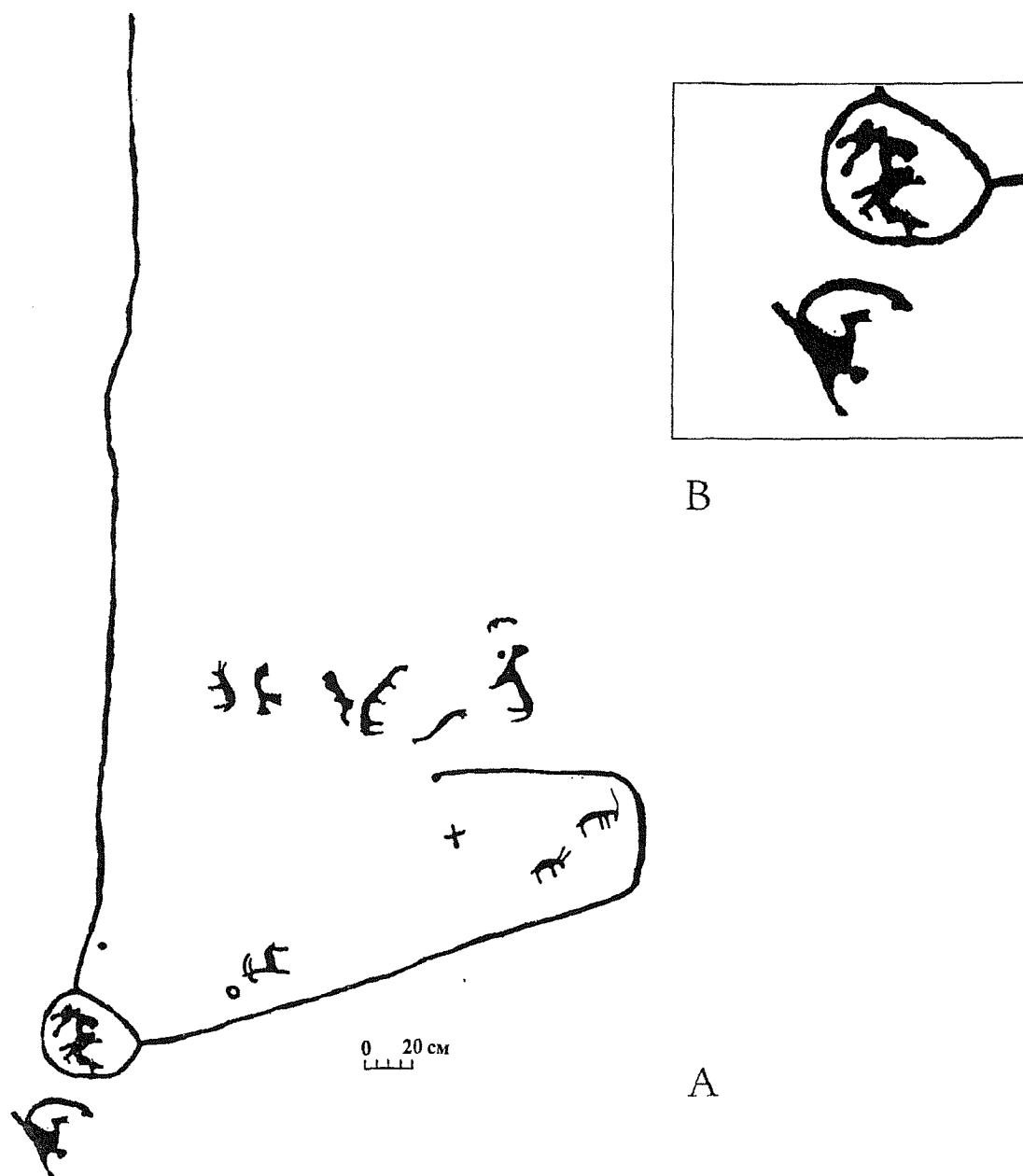


Figure 54. a) a large scene carved into a granite hillside at Terekty Aulie; b) detail of the camel and anthropomorph at the bottom of the scene.

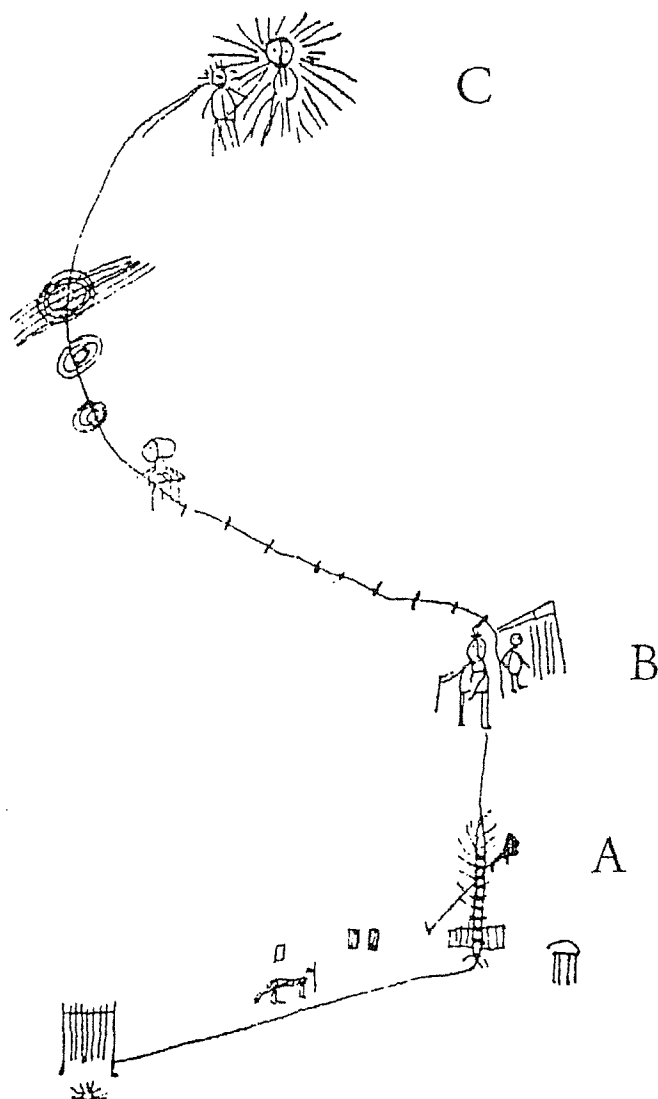


Figure 55. A drawing of an Altaic shaman's journey to the upper heavens (after Harva 1938: 57). Elements in the scene include: a) a sacrificed horse on a pole, b) the spirits of Bogdygan and his attendant, Bobyrkan, c) white Ulgen surround by white light along side his messenger.

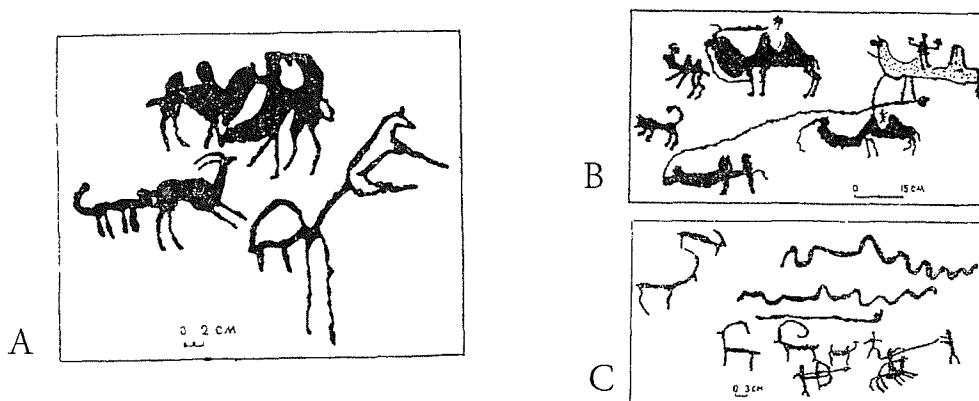


Figure 56. a) Petroglyphs of camels from Arpauzen III, surface 85 and b) Arpauzen III, surface 151 (after Kadyrbaev & Mar'yashev 1977: fig. 53, 62). c) Petroglyph scene at Gabaevka, southeast of Arpauzen, in the Karatau mountains (after Kadyrbaev & Mar'yashev 1977: fig. 85).

With regards to the petroglyph scene at Terekty Aulie the human figure at the bottom is in a twisting pose (figure 54b) which may reflect the somatic sensations of an individual in deep trance. In clinical studies it has been documented that a person can feel their legs become spirals or their limbs shrink or elongate (Klüver 1942: 181, 183). Upon entering into a trance state everyday reality vanishes and perhaps this image graphically depicts these experiences.

The petroglyph images of the camel, caprid, and other little animals were perhaps the spirit helpers employed by the shaman. To begin with, the petroglyph of the camel has a similarity with camels recorded by Kadyrbaev & Mar'yashev at Aprauzen (figure 56a, b) In particular camels are important animals in contemporary Central Asian societies and they have connections to liminal powers. Folk Islamic beliefs amongst the Kyrgyz involve the veneration of spirit masters in particular localities alongside the worship of Islamic saints (Basilov 1987: 13). These spirit masters can take the form of animals including camels. Basilov also reports that the Kyrgyz acknowledged a spirit in the form of a young white camel which was the master of sacred springs and trees. The Kazakh *baksy*'s musical instrument, the two stringed *kobyz* was also known as *nar-qobız* (where *nar* means 'camel') and according to a Kazakh legend, the first *baksy* made the first *kobyz* from the hide of a camel (Basilov 1989: 158).

The animals above the camel include a goat and perhaps the form of a snake. There is also a scene with possibly two snakes as well as goats and a camel recorded by Kadyrbaev & Mar'yashev at the petroglyph site of Gabaevka in the Karatau mountains (figure 56c). Spirit snakes were summoned with invocations by Kazakh and Karakalpak *baksy* (Basilov 1994: 279) and perhaps the Terekty image was a spirit assistant along with the other small animals. Domestic goats are important sacrificial animals and they are sacrificed to powerful spirits by the Altaians (e.g., Alekseev 1994: 67). In Kazakh *baksy* healing rituals a goat is usually sacrificed and during the course of the shaman's actions the illness afflicting the patient is transferred to the goat carcass and its body is disposed of thus taking away the disease (Kosko 1999: 74). However harmful spirits in Central Asia can also take the form of domestic goats. The *ajina* is a malicious spirit known amongst the Tajiks, Uzbeks, Karakalpak, Kyrgyz and Kazakhs which takes the form of a lone goat and attacks the unwary who believe it a lost stray (Basilov 1980: 44). Perhaps, the goat in the Terekty Aulie scene could be also an entity providing an obstacle or difficulties in the travels of the shaman into the otherworld.

Taking all these elements into consideration, the scene with lines at Terekty Aulie may depict the vision of the spirit world of an ancient shaman. The petroglyph camel in the circle assisted them with the power to traverse into the other world. The other spirit animals were dispatched by the shaman in order to catch the soul of a sick person. The lines coming from the circle were the paths to other worlds where the ancient practitioner journeyed and

encountered other spirits. The lines move in two directions indicating there are many routes to otherworld and not just the linear path of ascending to heaven.

These petroglyph scenes from Arpauzen and Terekty Aulie are arguably shamanic ‘maps’ as they depict spaces of encounters between humans, animals, and other entities. However, as Crook points out “unlike rationalist maps that depict frozen moments of survey in a permanent way, shamanic maps depict spaces of social encounters that extend in directions over space and time, dynamic and ‘polydimensional’ ” (Crook 2001: 17). The petroglyph scenes were mostly likely executed by members of society knowledge in topographies of otherworlds. The petroglyph scenes were visions of the spirit world and the encounters involved with spirits of these realms. Furthermore they could have been conducted as part of the process of healing someone who was physically and spiritually unwell in their society. Therefore, the power of the animal images acted upon the real world and affected human society, like bringing good health and fortune to those afflicted with illness and misfortune.

These petroglyph scenes also point out the closeness of intangible realities to everyday life. As I have already suggested we should also not assume that the rock surface was a passive object as it may have inherent powers perhaps similar to the special stones used by Mongol shamans which exercise control over rain, wind and blizzards (Boyle 1972: 184-185). I contend that not only individual stones could hold power but also the actual rock surfaces into which the petroglyphs were carved. Thus, the rock surface with the addition of visionary images played an important part in a person’s interventions in the world.

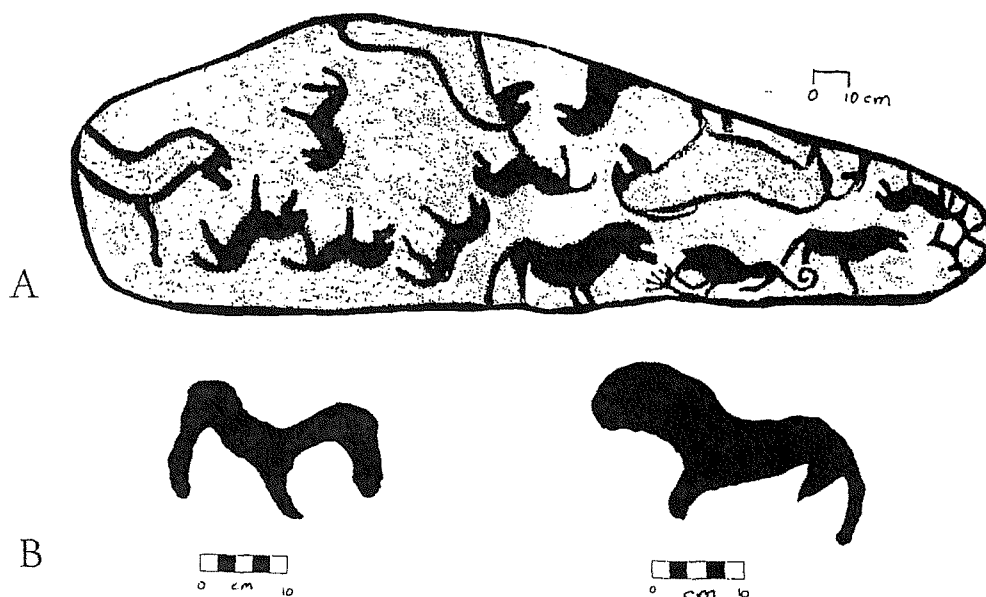


Figure 57. a) A petroglyph scene with horses on top of a hill at Terekty Aulie, Central Kazakhstan (used with kind permission from Dr. Samashev of the Margulan Institute of Archaeology). b) Singular zoomorphic images engraved in floor surfaces of human sized hollows in the granite hillside of Terekty Aulie (tracings by the author).

The presence of these shamanic ‘maps’ strongly suggests the very rock surface itself was a threshold to other realities. Sometimes petroglyphs are engraved and articulated in enclosed spaces amongst the natural rock. At Terekty Aulie the petroglyph images have also been carved into small nook and crannies. In the tiny natural hollows, in the granite of Terekty Aulie, singular animals were engraved onto the floor surfaces (figure 57b). These zoomorphic forms could be horses as Terekty Aulie has numerous horses carved into the granite surfaces of a high hill (figure 57a). In Khakass tales about mountain spirits a person could enter into the mountain home of the spirits or meet them by entering into caves or through special access points in the rock (Kazachinova & van Deusen 2002). The hollows and nooks in the hillside of Terekty Aulie could have been special places where the shaman or spirits crossed the boundaries through this world and the next.

Amongst the Altaian peoples the horse was an important animal to sacrifice to the powerful spirits and the shaman would journey with the horse into the otherworlds (e.g., Harva 1938; Alekseev 1994). In one Tuvan legend a young serf’s friendship with his horse was cruelly interrupted by the deliberate killing of the horse by his harsh overlord (van Deusen 1997: 29). The horse’s spirit appeared to the boy in a dream and showed him how to make a two-stringed *igil* musical instrument which will allow him to express his deep emotions. When the boy played the *igil* its sound enticed horses to come down to him from the upper world, and the new wealth of horses released him from bondage to the overlord. This invocation of the horses parallels the use of sound by the Kazakh *baksy* to call their helper spirits on their two stringed instruments of the *kobyz* or *dombra*. Perhaps the petroglyphs and their placement on special rock surfaces or in small holes could have been the ‘doorway’ for the movements of spirit animals being summoned by the ancient shaman through music, song and chants. Maybe the horse petroglyphs could also have been the stolen souls of sick persons which the shaman had to recapture. The boundaries of the rock surface are perhaps the most permeable at this point and this is where the practitioner can effectively connect with their spirit animal protectors.

In general shamans call upon spirits to assist or make interventions in this world, but there are also free agents which can cause trouble in human lives. Sometimes these agencies can bring about involuntary movements of people between the boundaries of this world and others. In Khakass legends the mountain masters can abduct women and men. A girl was taken by a mountain spirit to be his bride but after three years of refusal he released her back to her mother (Kazachinova & van Deusen 2002: 4). There could also have been hidden dangers involved in moving around the hillside of Terekty Aulie; these permeable boundaries being an entry point from otherworlds which could entice an outward movement of spirits that hold intentions of bringing misfortune to the unwary.

The petroglyph scenes of 'maps' and the placement of images in small holes and grottoes strongly indicate that Terekty Aulie was also an important place for the focus of shamanic activities. The Kazakh *baksy* is a shaman, musician and accomplished storyteller (e.g., Castagné 1930; N. Chadwick 1969) and have similar equivalents in the neighbouring Turkmen tribes (Zeranska-Kominek 1997). A potential Turkmen *bagshi* musician would make a pilgrimage to the shrine of the local Islamic saint Baba Gambar in southeast Turkmenistan to receive indications of their calling to their profession (Tyson 1997). The Turkmen *bagshi* stayed for awhile at the shrine in order to receive a blessing and musical skills from Baba Gambar. Perhaps in the past at Terekty Aulie potential candidates for shamanship would transverse the steppe on horseback or by foot to these granite hills with animal petroglyphs. They would stay awhile and explore the rock surfaces, nooks and crannies looking for special places that would facilitate the contact and receiving of blessings from the spirit(s) of place in order to gain the ability to shamanise or the bard's gift of music and telling stories.

Terekty Aulie, as well as all the other petroglyph sites discussed through out this chapter, are located at the permeability of boundaries, as the rock art and their sites become the medium through which a plethora of experiences are encountered, renegotiated and constituted by people. As we have seen, the boundaries of personal, social, economic and religious realities are slippery and fluid as the peoples of the past engaged with the zoomorphic imagery and their stone spaces through the day to day experiences of their lives. Particular designs and images cross the boundaries of different media and contexts from the zoomorphic petroglyphs on natural rock surfaces to stone slabs included in the construction of burial structures as well as the zoomorphic ornaments which adorned the attire of the deceased. These petroglyph places and necral spaces in the landscape contributed to the definition and delineation of social boundaries (clans, lineages, elite, chiefs, shamans) and the generation and preservation of communal identity as these places were where the clan spirit masters and lineage ancestors resided and were encountered. Therefore, it could be argued that the spaces in which the rock art was placed are at the permeability of boundaries between society and their environment as well as the tangible and intangible realms of people and other-than-human beings.

Conclusion

This chapter discussed the roles of the animal imagery in the context of the petroglyphs of Kazakhstan. The petroglyphs do not have the specificity of 'absolute dating' but nevertheless should be not fettered by the lack of chronological determination as there is a great spectrum of other connections which can be examined. In order to move beyond the limitations of previous characterisations of the rock art as a residue of the economic or 'primitive' cultic

activities of past societies I have regarded the petroglyphs as an active medium where meaning and experiences are located in specific places. I argue that the petroglyphs were bound up in various ways with the lives of the people who created and engaged with the images but they are also a part of the multiple uses and experiences of the landscape.

This approach represents a new direction of research in Central Asian rock art studies as well as Sako-Scythian studies as it moves the study of landscape beyond a passive backdrop of economic resources and enters into productive discussions about how peoples conceptualise and interact with places and spaces around them. My analysis has not found singular explanations of the zoomorphic imagery which have been previously considered as belonging to the so-called 'animal style' but explored a multiplicity of contexts and the people involved in them. The petroglyphs are a way of indicating the significance of places in the landscape and their related natural features. Crucial to this is the consideration that the environment is not composed of inert natural resources, such as mountains and stones, but full of agencies which play an active role in social life.

During my discussions one important line of inquiry emerged with regards to the connection of the petroglyphs with visionary realities. By exploring the neuropsychological dimensions of the petroglyphs related to trance states these investigations have *facilitated further discussions* about the nature of the context and use of the petroglyphs in daily life. This is not a reduction of all rock art into the singular casual base of being merely neuro-physiological properties of the human optic system but *one of many strands of evidence* which entwines with each other during the course of my inquiry and allows the building of models which may be used to seek further understandings about the roles of zoomorphic imagery in society.

I explored several multi-faceted realities of animals, visions and power in relation to the social roles of 'chiefs' and 'shamans'. Though it is argued that there are connections of the rock art to shamanic realities, this does not mean that shamans are the only individuals in the social interactions of rock art, for others have links to the rock art in society and these were also explored. The petroglyphs may be an active part of shamanic worldviews but they are not isolated from their society as they are embedded in complex relations in the society. Therefore this has been an exploration of how the shamanisms of the past were negotiated in their own unique way by situating them within the actions and negotiations of other persons within the society.

Essentially, the petroglyphs were not pictures in an art gallery that were a passive backdrop to the daily lives of people, but they actively negotiated and constituted social relationships. Furthermore, the image of animals were integral to mediation of an individual's role in their community. However, the questions about the role of animal imagery in society does not end

in this chapter's focus on the evidence of the rock art and in the next chapter I re-consider dimensions of so-called 'animal style' in the material culture of the famous Scytho-Siberian archaeological culture of the Altai, the Pazyryk.

Animals, art & society amongst the Pazyryk

Introduction

In this chapter the role of animal imagery is reconsidered in another Scytho-Siberian society believed to possess the so-called ‘animal style’ – the Pazyryk of the Altai. The discoveries of the Pazyryk archaeological culture are rooted in archaeological traditions starting in the 19th century with Radloff’s (1884) excavations of the frozen tombs of Berel and Katanda during Imperial Russian times and expanded upon in 20th century during Soviet times as exemplified by the excavations at the site of Pazyryk which produced a wealth of funerary objects decorated with zoomorphic ornamentations (Rudenko 1970). These archaeological materials have provided details of the social contexts of the animal imagery which combined with the evidence of rock art can provide more information upon the spectrum of relationships in which zoomorphics are involved. Petroglyph research is not the poorer cousin of archaeological studies and neither is it an island unto itself as the study of material culture provides other lines of inquiry into the role of animal images in society. In several of the Pazyryk tombs freezing processes have preserved items which would have perished with little or no trace (wood, fur, leather, felt and textiles), and have provided a wide range of materials unmatched by the less favourable conditions of survival among the Iron Age burials of Kazakhstan. This extensive range of preserved Pazyryk objects has enthusiastically been hailed by researchers as providing “a complete record of the early nomads’ vivid and original animal style” (Barkova 1978: 25), while being as well as a “complete reflection of all aspects of the economic and spiritual life of the nomads” (Bokovenko 1995b: 289). From this rich source of information it is possible to delve deeper into the contextual complexity of material culture and zoomorphic imagery in society by considering the active roles they played in peoples’ lives. Within the word limit constraints of this thesis, this entails the re-examination of which funerary objects were decorated with

animals and then followed by discussions to whom the images decorated by focusing upon the roles they played in the negotiation of social identities.

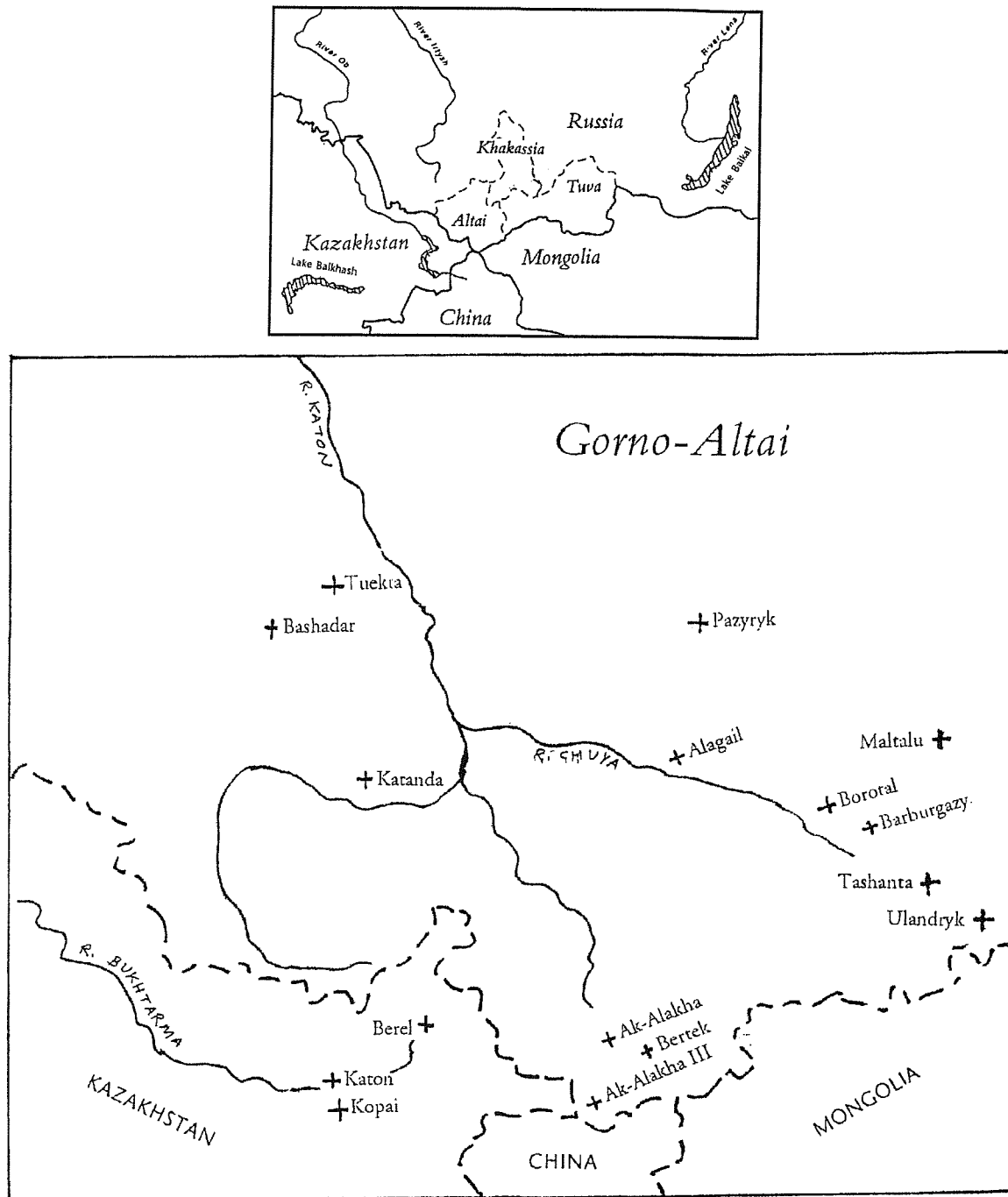


Figure 58. A map of the Gorno-Altai with the location of the Pazyryk cemeteries used in my database (appendix 2) indicated.

The Pazyryk

Before starting the analysis a brief introduction to the Pazyryk archaeological culture is required. The Pazyryk lived in the Altai mountains of northern Central Asia (figure 58). The Altai mountains extend from western Mongolia in the east, through the Gorno-Altai and into East Kazakhstan in the west. The Altai's environments range from alpine meadows to high mountainous tundra and glaciers. There are many natural areas in the Altai mountains suitable for pasturage which are found at different altitudes and some areas receive little snow making them suitable for year round pasture (Bokovenko 1995b: 285). Additionally, the Altai mountains are rich in larger mammals, notably the argali (*Ovis ammon* L., 'big horned sheep'), tau-teke goats (*Capra sibirica* M.), elk, maral (*Cervus elaphus sibiricus*), boar, wolf and snow leopard (Bokovenko 1995a: 261) which were probably hunted but were undoubtedly the inspirations for the imagery utilised by the Pazyryk culture. There are also pike, perch, trout, and carp in the rivers (Shnirelman, Olsen & Rice 1996: 133), which could have also supplemented the diet and perhaps were the inspiration for images of fish used in the decoration of horse saddles (figure 77) and tattooed on the body of a male from the frozen tomb of Pazyryk kurgan 2 (Rudenko 1970: 294) (figure 75).

The Pazyryk archaeological culture is named after the Pazyryk area in which the excavations of eight frozen tombs in 1929 and 1947-1949 revealed wealthy burials (Gryaznov 1929; Gryaznov & Golomshtok 1933; Gryaznov 1950; Rudenko 1953, 1970). The Pazyryk culture was typologically defined by these burials and funerary artefacts, and subsequent excavations in the Altai (see the list of sites which I have compiled in appendix 2) have widened the spectrum of the corpus of characteristic objects. This is in line with Childe's view of an 'archaeological culture' whereby diagnostic artefact types are associated with others in a repeated manner which, when plotted on map, produce a particular spatial distribution (Childe 1956: 123). In this perspective, the distribution of the Pazyryk archaeological culture can be generalised into a spread of burials and cemeteries distributed across the mountainous east of Kazakhstan into the south and central parts of the Gorno-Altai Republic (figure 58).

In contrast to the Pazyryk archaeological culture, which is named after archaeologically recovered materials from a type site, the term 'Saka', which is used to describe the Scytho-Siberian archaeology in Kazakhstan, is derived from historical sources. The name comes from the designation of peoples encountered by the Achaemenids of Persia which were recorded in the reliefs found at Behistun (6th century BC) and Persepolis (5th century BC) (Yablonsky 1995a: 194). The Achaemenid inscriptions listed three groups, the *Saka*

Paradrava, *Saka Tigrakauda* and *Saka Haumavarga* (Narain 1987: 27), which are generally referred to collectively by scholars as the Saka. Consequently, the term Saka has been applied by researchers to a corpus of Iron Age sites and archaeological materials found in Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and East Turkestan (e.g., Bernshtam 1952a; K.A. Akishev & Kushaev 1963; Debaine-Francfort 1990). Thus, these artefacts and burials have been attributed to a still not fully understood people based on fragmentary ancient texts and follow the premise that a material assemblage was the fossilised remains of a culturally defined human group confined to a specific region.

Similarities and connections have been recognised by researchers between the Iron Age cultures of Kazakhstan and the Pazyryk archaeological culture (e.g., Kadyrbaev 1966: 401; K.A. Akishev 1978: 5). Pazyryk-Saka links were first based on the similarity or occurrence of particular artefact types. Thin necked ceramic vessels, for example, were common among Pazyryk burials¹ (figure 59). Some vessels found in the wealthy Saka burial of Issyk (Semirech'e, Kazakhstan) correspond to the Pazyryk ones with thin necks (K.A. Akishev 1974: fig. 6; Maksimova 1978: fig. 4). Additionally, contact between Iron Age cultures has been indicated by the presence of a mirror found in the Pazyryk burial of Kaldzhin 6 kurgan 24 (Ukok Plateau, Gorno-Altai) which is a type that belongs to the Iron Age Tasmola culture of Central Kazakhstan². The excavator suggests this indicates that the Saka of Kazakhstan were probably an intermediary between the Tasmola and Pazyryk cultures (Molodin & Novikov 1994: 35).

The Pazyryk archaeological materials share common conventions in animal imagery with their southern Saka neighbours in Kazakhstan. For example, the image of an animal in a twisted pose, whereby the hind legs are 180° in the opposite direction from the fore legs (figure 60, 63), was found on a wide range of Pazyryk objects from coffins³ to horse equipment ornamentation⁴. Twisting animals were also utilised in the designs of all three tattooed bodies from the Pazyryk period (Ak-Alakha 3 kurgan 1, Pazyryk kurgan 2, Verkh-Kaldzhin II kurgan 3) (figures 1, 73-75). These are comparable to items from the Saka burial of Issyk (Semirech'e, Kazakhstan) including twisting winged felines used to decorate the headdress as well as twisting figures of an elk and a horse on a dagger (K.A. Akishev 1974: fig. 8; Baipakov & Bekturueva 1998: fig. 4,5).

¹ For example at Kaldzhin 6 kurgan 23 (Molodin & Novikov 1994: 34), Kuturguntas 1 (Polos'mak 1994c: fig. 100), Pazyryk kurgan 2 (Rudenko 1970: pl. 55).

² The mirror matches one at Karamunr-1, Central Kazakhstan (Margulan, Akishev, Kadyrbaev & Orazbaev 1966).

³ For example, an elk at Bashadar kurgan 2 (Rudenko 1960: fig. 21).

⁴ For example, elks at Berel kurgan 11 (Samashev, Bazarbaeva, Zhumabekova & Sungatai 2000: 44), argali ram and hares at Pazyryk kurgan 3 (Rudenko 1970: pl. 99c, pl. 102I, J), wolves at Pazyryk kurgan 4 (Rudenko 1970: pl. 110B), griffins at Tuekta kurgan 1 (Rudenko 1960: tab. XCVII), and argali rams on saddles at Tuekta kurgan 2 (Rudenko 1960: 156-157, fig. 102).

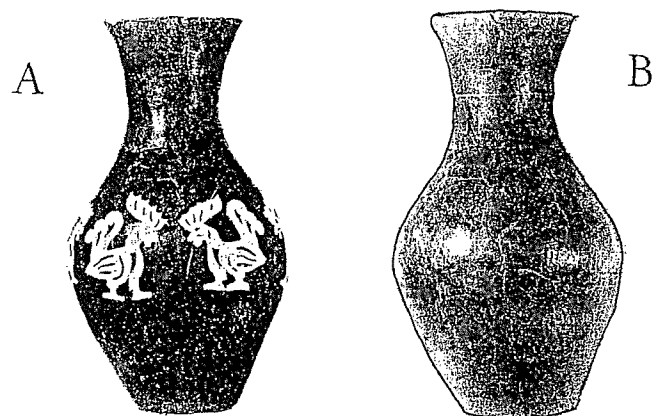


Figure 59. Examples of thin necked ceramic vessels from Pazyryk kurgan 2 (after Rudenko 1970: pl. 55).

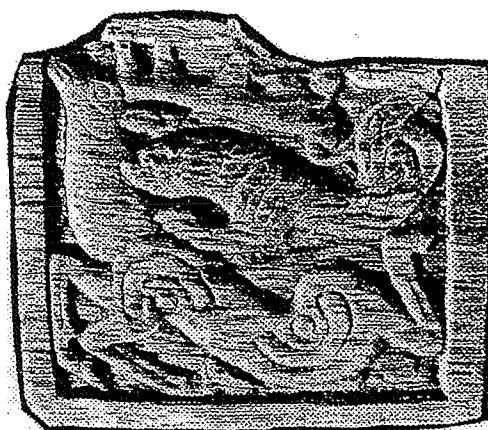


Figure 60. An example of an animal in a twisted pose on a horse ornament from Berel kurgan 11 (after Samashev, Bazarbaeva, *et al.* 2000: 39).



Figure 61. Recumbent deer on the diadem from Ulandryk IV kurgan 1 (after Kubarev 1987: tab. LXIX, 9).



Figure 62. Petroglyph of a recumbent Scytho-Siberian deer from Elangash, Gorno-Altai (after Kubarev 1979: table XII).

Importantly, there is saliency of particular images which cross the boundaries of mediums in both the Pazyryk and Saka archaeological cultures. The outline images of eagles, for example, in the petroglyphs of Eshkiol'mes (Kazakhstan) (figure 16) correspond to the golden figurines of eagles found at Chilikty kurgan 5 (Saka of Kazakhstan) (figure 17) and a leather cut-out figure of an eagle from Kuturguntas kurgan 1 in the Ukok plateau of southern Gorno-Altai (Polos'mak 1994c: fig. 99). Images of the recumbent deer are found on the diadem from Ulandryk IV kurgan 1 (Kubarev 1987: 183-186) (figure 61) that are similar to the golden figurines of deer from Chilikty kurgan 5 (figure 20). In turn these deer have correspondences to the petroglyph images at Arpauzen, southern Kazakhstan, (figure 18), and Elangash, Gorno-Altai (Kubarev 1979: table XII) (figure 62). Furthermore, tattoo images from Pazyrykian frozen mummies have correspondences to images in art and rock art. The bodies from Pazyryk kurgan 2 and Ak-Alakha 3 kurgan 1 both had tattoo images of twisting deer with bird beaks and antler tines terminating in bird heads (figures 1, 73-75). On two of the 'griffin-deer' they have bird heads sprouting from their shoulders and backs. In the funerary inventory of the Issyk kurgan (Semirech'e, Kazakhstan) there are two golden belt buckles in the shape of recumbent stags with bird heads on the end of a volute sprouting from their shoulders (K.A. Akishev 1974: fig. 11).

This is only a brief overview of some of the connections which have been used to support scholarly contentions that the Pazyryk were part of the broader umbrella of the greater Scytho-Siberian culture. Some scholars consider the Pazyryk belong to the Saka epoch in Central Asia and South Siberia (e.g., Artamonov 1973), while others label the Pazyryk as Sako-Scythians (e.g., Kato 1992), the Saka of the Altai (var. Sako-Altai) as well as the Scythians of the Altai (e.g., Gryaznov 1969: 133).

As Scytho-Siberians, the Pazyryk share the 'Scythian triad' of features which are found across Eurasia: horse harnesses, weapons (swords and arrowheads) and the so-called 'animal style'. However, K.A. Akishev (1973: 44) has pointed out this 'triad' of Scythian characteristics is too restrictive and there are other cultural elements which should also be considered. Other scholars who have elaborated on this point have added other pan Scytho-Siberian elements including the similarity of burial constructions under mounds, bronze cauldrons, mirrors, and pottery (Davis-Kimball 1998b: 246-251; Koryakova 2000a: 158). However, I believe we need to be careful and not let these shared similarities lead to the homogenisation of diverse peoples. Some researchers have recognised this problem and, as Koryakova points out, the Early Nomads were not homogenous for there are visible differences between the various regional archaeological cultures but yet they all share a general set of characteristics (Koryakova 2000a: 158).

I contend that a more considered approach to pan Scytho-Siberian societies should not concatenate them into a single unified culture but, more appropriately treat them as complex, shifting and co-existing communities based on numerous archaeologically identifiable material cultures. There may be broad levels of similarity between the material culture of neighbouring groups, but this is only one level of generalisation, one perspective. What the groups do with it and how it is part of their lives may be negotiated differently and in very idiosyncratic ways. The identification of particular forms of material culture acknowledge similarities and are useful in thinking about continuity, connections and descent amongst the various groups, but we also need to look at how the group in question drew upon these resources in their lives and negotiated them in their own unique ways.

We need also to be mindful of the fact that an 'archaeological culture' is not a living 'culture': the Pazyryk is an assemblage of artefacts and burials named after the site of Pazyryk in the Altai. In effect, it is the product of social constructions embedded in Western ideals. Because they are a prehistoric people we do not know the designation(s) which the Pazyryk actually called themselves. Even though we now call them by the accepted convention of the 'Pazyryk' we need to be careful in creating ethnicities from archaeological assemblages. By recognising the above outlined problems we can move forward this debate by being aware and attentive to clues of the complex socio-political aspects of ancient societies.

Nomadism

One important aspect of the Pazyryk relates to their nomadic lifestyle. Traditionally nomadism is defined as a specialised adaptation to drier environments. In Central and Inner Asia it is based on the management of herds of cattle, horses, camels, sheep and goats which were allowed to graze freely on grasslands. The term pastoral nomadism refers to the practice of mobile stock-raising which involves groups of people migrating with their animals from one seasonal pasture to the next within a yearly cycle. The distinctive feature of this economic strategy is that nomadic societies are adapted to high mobility and the needs of their livestock. Herders follow their livestock over long distances and have a material culture compatible to this mobile lifestyle. The animals within a herd relate to both ecological variables, like camels being more suited to arid places than horses, but cultural preferences in livestock keeping are of equal importance.

The Pazyryk (and Saka) are believed to have been fully mobile and are often referred to by scholars as the 'Early Nomads'. The term refers to the idea that they belonged to the first

archaeologically attestable societies which evolved into fully nomadic economies; horse riding and pastoralism mobilised their communities and changed their ways of life in the first millennium BC. It is argued, based on the archaeological evidence, that the adoption of nomadic/semi-nomadic pastoralism was achieved by the 8th century BC in Central Asia and resulted in cultural traits, regardless of region, which created the impression that all Early Nomads shared a similar culture (Askarov, Volkov & Ser-Odjav 1992: 459). This then leads to the inevitable conclusion that the Early Nomads of Eurasia were considered to have “a certain unity of culture and art because of their shared level of social development as well as political and trading contacts, but each group retained individual features” (Zavitukhina 1978a: 11).

The use of the term ‘nomad’, like ‘hunter-gatherer’, can stereotype peoples as particular economies directly related to stages of social and technological development. For example, Martynov argues that economic modes of production like hunting and herding transformed the basic ideas common to humankind into cults of animal fertility which were, in turn, depicted in Asian art (Martynov 1988: 13). These changes in economy also led to the creation of a new ideology characteristic of early agriculturists and herders (*ibid.*, 16). Therefore, Martynov argues that Siberian rock art depictions of elk, bears and birds are Neolithic because this was the subject that hunters would have depicted, while the art of the Bronze Age agriculturists depicted ‘solar symbols’ and the art of the nomadic Scytho-Siberian world utilised the ‘animal style’ (1988: 12). In essence this argument uses labels, such as ‘nomadic’, to invoke presumptions of universal laws of social evolution based on ecological circumscription. The effect of this approach is that all cultures with the same economic practice are homogenised into having the same characteristics like ‘ideology’ and ‘art’. In adopting such an approach it only gives primacy to economic modes of production, but does not by any means explain the role and meaning of the ‘animal style’ images in society.

Humphrey and Sneath (1999) strongly disagree with the universal concept of ‘nomadism’ as being an useful analytical category. Based on their study of Inner Asian nomads, they argued that “pastoralism in the vast grassland region of Inner Asia is no timeless ‘nomadism’ but is a series of local knowledges and techniques located in particular historical circumstances” (Humphrey & Sneath 1999: 1). They prefer to consider it as mobile pastoralism which is compatible with other social and economic systems, but is dynamic and flexible as the people who engage in it.

This can be illuminated by considering the example of the Buryats of South Siberia. The Buryats have not only practiced pastoral nomadism but also hunting and agriculture

(Krader 1978: 232). Furthermore, the Buryats were not some isolated Siberian tribe cut off from civilisation but, in fact, they have been in close contact with other societies of Asia and Europe for many centuries. This can also be a useful point to take into consideration when thinking about the Pazyryk. Particular exotic objects found in the frozen tombs of Pazyryk have pointed to complex trade networks and contacts with China, Persia and Siberia⁵. The appearance of grindstones and pestles at some Pazyryk sites (e.g., Bashadar, Bertek 1, Moinak 2) indicate that they had also processed grain. The grain was probably imported, as even today nomadic Kazakhs in East Turkestan exchange their livestock products for grain from the sedentary Uighurs (Shnirelman, Olsen & Rice 1996: 133). These points should caution us in keeping an open mind about the complexity of subsistence activities engaged by the Pazyryk and consider that their pastoralism was compatible with other socio-economic systems in dynamic and flexible ways.

Pazyryk art

Like the Scythians of the Black Sea (as discussed in Chapter 1) the Pazyryk were found to be ancient nomads who beautifully decorated their objects with animals. It was early recognised that these zoomorphic ornamentations, like the ones from the Black Sea, belonged to the 'animal style'. The first to be labelled as such were the few surviving museum specimens of Radloff's Katanda excavations (Borovka 1928: 63-64). Thereafter with the discoveries of the frozen tombs at the site of Pazyryk it was a matter of course that the zoomorphic imagery was deemed to belong to the so-called 'animal style' (Gavrilova 1957: 266; Rudenko 1970: 272). Some of the images (griffins, scenes of preying and *Bes* human heads) held similarities with motifs from Persia and Classical world (Rudenko 1958; Azarpay 1959; Rudenko 1970) and some scholars argue that Scytho-Siberian art crystallised when they and the other tribes borrowed and reinterpreted imagery derived from Achaemenid Persia (Artamonov 1973: 276-278). Here amongst other things the image of the griffin came to the fore and the decorative compositions were 'expressive' and 'full of rigour'. However, most of all their overall contribution to the 'world of ancient art' had been identified as the 'Pazyryk school' (Talbot Rice 1965: 39) and their zoomorphic images were considered to be the 'Altaic animal style' (e.g., Hanchar 1952: 10; Kubarev 1992: 111, 113).

Previous approaches to Pazyryk art treated the ornamentation of animals on artefacts as passive decorations (e.g., Artamonov 1969, 1979: 11-13). Talbot Rice argued the Pazyryk,

⁵ Items obtained from long distances include coriander, mirrors, silk, leopard skin and cowrie shells (e.g., Jettmar 1951; Rudenko 1970; Juliano 1985; Polos'mak 1998).

like the Scythians, produced art which was “essentially decorative” (1965: 32). However, she had found some of the Pazyryk animal imagery to her distaste: a torque with horned predators from Pazyryk kurgan 2 was “a rather barbaric and primitive” object decorated with “savage” beasts but akin to the “elegant” gold aigrette from the Oxus Treasure⁶ (Achaemenid period, 6th-4th century BC) (Talbot Rice 1965: 32). She proposed that Pazyryk art was perhaps an offshoot of the Achaemenid style in which the Oxus Treasure was made, but it was still a cruder expression of the ‘animal style’ than the refined works of the Black Sea Scythians (Talbot Rice 1957: 21-22, 1965: 33).

The derivation of Pazyryk imagery from other cultures is a common opinion among scholars, however, as the above examples demonstrate, this point of view has narrowly cast the forms found in the Pazyryk as crude imitations derived from the higher arts of ‘great civilisations’. The implication is that the Pazyryk were passive recipients of the detritus from other civilisations and this has ignored examining in detail the role of the animal images within their society.

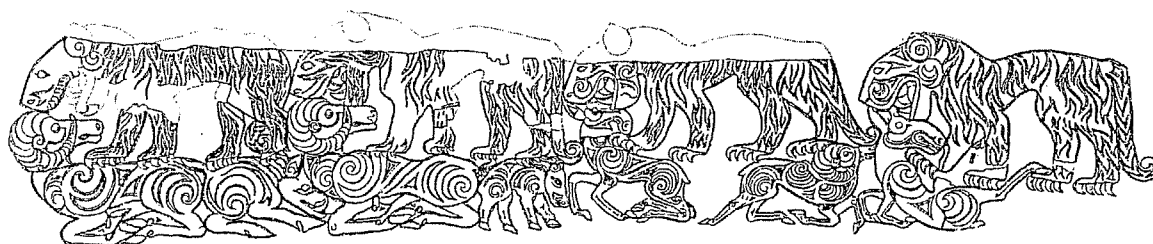


Figure 63. The animal decorated lid of a wooden coffin from Bashadar kurgan 2 (after Rudenko 1960: fig. 21).

The predominance of wild animals in Pazyryk art was also hypothesised to represent a residual archaic stratum when hunting was an important pursuit in primitive societies, as the zoomorphic imagery was a relic of a past when nomadic societies held beliefs in the ‘totemic’ origins of their tribes (Hanchar 1952: 191). Similarly, Artamonov (1973: 278) had stated that Pazyryk art was a part of the Scytho-Siberian ‘animal style’ whereby the tribes adopted the zoomorphic images in the art of the ancient ‘Orient’⁷ and transformed them into their local ‘totemic’ beliefs. In particular, Pazyryk scenes involving images of a

⁶ The Oxus Treasure is a hoard of gold objects which was discovered by accident on the right bank of the Amu Darya (Oxus) river near the Afghan border in what is now Tajikistan (Artamonov 1973: 269). Some of the objects were decorated with Achaemenid creatures (winged lions and griffins) and believed to be produced in the Achaemenid territory of Chorasnia (Phillips 1965: 90, 94-95).

⁷ It is recognised the ‘Orient’ is a problematic term that generalises numerous peoples and cultures into an exotic ‘other’ in contrast to the West (for further discussions see Said 1985, Ahmad 1992, Mitchell 1998).

predator attacking its prey also illustrated these 'totemic' clan ancestors in mortal combat (e.g., Hanchar 1952: 191). The Bashadar kurgan 2, for example, has a wooden coffin engraved with elk, argali and boar (figure 63) which were the so-called 'totems' of tribes that were defeated by the powerful tribe of the preying tiger 'totem' (A.S. Surazakov cited in Kato 1992: 10). Such speculations are hindered by the assumptions of totemism, which I have already discussed in chapter 2, and need no further comments on their unsuitability. It is interesting to note that Rudenko had also dismissed totemism in Pazyryk studies as ideas which have nothing to do with real ethnographic evidence (Rudenko 1970: 287).

Because of the perceived unity of Scytho-Siberian culture, it is usually assumed explicitly or implicitly that their animal art had a religious and ideological unity. This unity has been argued by some scholars to be directly related to the existence of embodied cosmic forces of binary oppositions reflecting the struggle between 'good and evil' and 'life and death' (Artamonov 1973: 278), or universal motifs like the archetypal⁸ 'tree of life' and the great Goddess. For example, in her analysis of "the symbolizing order of images" Jacobson (1993) had argued that the images of deer were articulated within a larger structure which was ordered by a vertical axis and bilateral symmetry (Jacobson 1993: 57). She contends that this order determined the arrangement of the tattoos on the male body from Pazyryk kurgan 2 (figure 75) as well as the decorations in the elaborate regalia of the Pazyryk tomb horses. This symbolic structure then referred to a 'mythic order' that referenced the 'tree of life' or 'world mountain' (*ibid.*, 86), however Jacobson's isolation of this structure led her further down the route of idealised reductions as she further peeled back the layers of Pazyryk imagery to reveal the ultimate meaning of all these axial alignments and structures as universal manifestations of the Goddess.

The presence of a transcendent, unitary meaning of images is crucial to traditional Western expectations and explanations of art (Summers 1989: 378). Summers further argues that interpretation in the discipline of art history is often used to discover essence through the analysis of form or theme which is believed to be integral to greater developments (Summers 1989: 383). In Jacobson's case this was not an upward development but based on the idea of the repression of the feminine whereby in Goddess thealogy there must be a degradation of the spirit of the Goddess throughout the ages and, in Jacobson's model, in Inner Asian art since the Neolithic (as discussed in chapters 1 & 2). This ideal order had persisted through the image of the deer as it transformed throughout the ages in Scytho-Siberian times and eventually became lost. For Jacobson the form of the vertical axis was the vehicle through which the universal meaning of the Goddess must be expressed;

⁸ I refer to the common meaning of the word 'archetype' and reject the Jungian and psychoanalytic redefinitions of the word and their associated connotations.

therefore, whatever archaeological culture investigated in Inner Asian prehistory it was ultimately symbolically reducible to the Goddess.

The use of archetypes is part of a Western tradition which searches for the universal meaning and the 'truth' of selected forms. Summer points out that the ultimate meaning(s) of a style of art are related to Western thinking derived from 19th century notions of *Weltanschauung*: the romantic belief that style expresses the unified worldview of a civilisation (Summer 1989: 382). In the field of anthropology Morphy (1995: 206) also argues researchers need to keep symbols in perspective as they should not be a privileged source of enquiry but a constitutive part of cultural processes for an over emphasis on symbols can obscure other important processes. Therefore, instead of universalising Scytho-Siberian animal art as Western archetypal symbols, I argue for a more nuanced approach which explores the role of the animal decoration in Pazyryk society. This would have to include a re-consideration of the interactions within the society (e.g., individuals, gender, status, work roles, etc.) and their connections to animals and art as the very context of material culture is embroiled in the everyday life of the Pazyrykians.

M a t e r i a l c u l t u r e

The zoomorphic ornamentations are part of what is considered by Western academia as 'material culture'. Material items are an important part of people's daily lives as these objects are used in the construction and negotiation of their identities in all their contradictions and ambiguities (Miller 1994: 417). Objects have many aspects important to understanding their meaning(s), role(s) and/or abilities in particular contexts. For example, Miller (1994: 404) argues that particular groups in society have greater influence on objects and these become established in their way of ordering reality, while people brought up using these materials will tend to understand the order and participate in it. Therefore, material culture plays an active part in networks and social interactions whereby the objects are embedded in social relationships between individuals and their groups.

Furthermore, as Wiessner found in her study of the Kalahari San of southern Africa: "The choice of attributes in which to invest style appeared to be the result of historical events, rather than following coherent principles" (Wiessner 1983: 273). Additionally, different attributes of an object can simultaneously provide different kinds of social information. The implications are that different individuals or groups draw on particular aspects of art that directly contribute to actions in society and can have multiple meanings dependant on their context.

However, an object can take on different roles throughout its life and, as Miller points out, there can be “no simple dichotomy between things and persons” (Miller 1994: 417). For example, Hoskins’ anthropological research amongst the Kodi of Eastern Indonesian points out that the life history of objects and the life histories of individuals are complexly intertwined and can be quite hard to disentangle (1998: 2). Ordinary household objects were entangled in the events of a person’s life and were a medium through which an individual expressed themselves. A Kodi storyteller, for example, used his simple betel bag not only to hold nuts but also as a ‘sack of souls and stories’ which contained the Kodi concepts of the ‘ancestral soul’ and the ‘vital spirit’ (Hoskins 1998: 184). Yet at some point in the betel bag’s life history it had also become the repository of his grandfather’s gift of ritual word and the bag itself represented traditional laws for the respect of ancestors. For the storyteller’s two wives, the betel bag and its contents of nuts and tobacco were symbols of his infidelity and his lack of being a good husband. Therefore, I reason that material culture is given meaning through the way it is encountered and experienced and objects of material culture can have a multiplicity of meanings, identities and relationships which are implicit, complex and/or ambiguous. However, equally as important, as I argued in chapter 1, objects of material culture (by extension art and rock art) can be socially active and affect influence in social life.

These ideas mark a departure from previous approaches to Pazyryk zoomorphic imagery to date and have a greater potential to bring further understandings about the lives of ancient people through the production, use and orchestration of their cultural objects. The large corpus of Pazyryk materials uncovered by archaeologists were not inert museum pieces behind glass, nor stored in forgotten archives as some objects are today, but instead they were once part of the living realities of living persons. The material culture was decorated but was produced and consumed in social situations. However, the animal images and the objects they adorned were not simply a ‘reflection’ of social understandings, but they were actively involved in negotiating understandings as the case of the Kodi betel bag demonstrates.

I take the position that the Pazyryk material culture and the specific organisation of their necral spaces formed the practices which were an active part of people’s lives and gave their daily lives meaning. The imagery utilised in their material culture also played a part in these practices for it was embedded in society and not an autonomous sphere external to it. This means the art as well as domestic spaces, necral spaces, material culture, etc. were embedded in a nexus of relationships in people’s daily lives. They can also correspond to people’s conception of themselves: their identities, and their relationship(s) with one

another and the world around them. In other words, the visual imagery was an active medium of communicating, reproducing, renegotiating and contesting these understandings.

A qualitative analysis of Pazyryk zoomorphic imagery

Before any further discussions can take place we need to establish what animals were depicted and with whom amongst the Pazyryk. Previous commentators have remarked upon the wide variety of objects which were decorated with animal images and their initial links to particular social roles, but these have been only surface readings. We, therefore, need to re-examine which artefacts were decorated with animals and scrutinise the differing and changing contexts in which the animals in Pazyryk art were used (or not used at all).

This study attempts to recognise and understand animal images in different contexts, transformations of the zoomorphics, and discuss patterns and themes in different forms. My analysis of decoration is based on the pioneering work conducted by Kate Rochester on the appearance of decoration in Iron Age material culture of Southern Britain (Rochester 1999). Rochester had found researchers had not looked at the basic relationship of the proportion of decorated to undecorated artefacts (Rochester 1999: 11), so she investigated the number of decorated objects in relation to the total number of artefacts recovered from the sites and the occurrence of designs over a period from the Middle to Late Iron Age.

Unlike Rochester, my examination only focuses on the Pazyryk archaeological culture and there is no comparison to earlier or later Iron Age stages (Maiemer and Shibe) in the Gorno-Altai as the dating of Pazyryk burials is not secure enough to even provide a clear distinction between earlier and later phases within the Pazyryk period itself⁹. My sample is based on 147 Pazyryk burials from East Kazakhstan and the Gorno-Altai (figure 58). The Pazyryk sites of analysis are listed in appendix 2, while the statistical tables are found in appendix 3. Problems relating to the bias of the archaeological record – which are discussed more fully in the ensuing paragraphs – make it only possible to apply a simple statistical evaluation to data as the data are not robust enough for further statistical techniques. However, more importantly, this counting exercise is not an answer in itself, but a stepping stone in furthering discussions on the processes in which the animal images were embedded.

⁹ See Mallory, McCormac, Reimer & Marsadolov (2000) for a recent overview on dating debates, especially on radiocarbon calibrations.

The following involves a fresh re-examination of Pazyryk animal images that considers their differing contexts. In my analysis I first looked for the total presence and absence of decorated and animal ornamented objects in each burial (appendix 3, table 2) to get a general overview of how much of the material culture was decorated and how much had zoomorphic images. This was then conducted again but only in examination of the presence of zoomorphic imagery in each burial in relation to the sex of human occupants (appendix 3, table 4), their age (appendix 3, table 6) and horse regalia (appendix 3, table 7).

In order to make sense of what items had animal imagery, the artefacts were grouped in appropriate categories based on function, i.e., horse equipment, coffin, vessels, furniture, implements, personal decoration, tattoos, mirrors and carpets (see appendix 3, table 1a for detailed listing of items which make up each category). Basic statistical counts were made to find out the relative frequency of animal decorated objects according to the classes of objects (appendix 3, table 3). This was followed by an analysis of the relationship of single animal motifs (see appendix 3, table 1b for detail listing of single motifs) to object type (appendix 3, table 9) and finally by an examination of the relationships of single animal motifs to the sex of the deceased (appendix 3, table 5) and to the horse regalia (appendix 3, table 8).

The statistical count of the presence of ornamented objects and zoomorphics has not been a simple task for the reporting of objects is often incomplete. This was also affected by the survival of objects due to natural processes as well as anthropogenic processes like grave robbing, modern construction and archaeological recovery techniques.

One theme of analysis was to examine if there were any patterns related to the sex of deceased human bodies (appendix 3, tables 4-5). The binary biological division of females and males were used, for this is how the burials were reported by the excavators. The reporting of sexual identification was poor at times and the basis of its determination was not explicitly stated by excavators. Sometimes sexual identification was determined by the funerary inventory as some of the skeletal materials were in a poor state of preservation. Mirrors, for example, are traditionally considered to belong to females, but the Ulandryk cemeteries had demonstrated both female and males can possess them (see the Ulandryk burial entries listed in appendix 2). Furthermore, it is acknowledged that the social construction of gender is more complicated than the bipolar labels of females and males and this will be further discussed below in the section on 'amazons'.

The analysis for correlations of animal images to human age also had its own problems. Once again the reporting and determination of age was sporadic. I used terms (infant, child, adolescent, adult and elder) which were not implied to be the actual categories of how the ancient society defined these stages of human life, but instead they were a theoretical device employed to observe if there were any relationships of animal images specific to matters of age (appendix 3, table 6). I found that the counts of age revealed the majority of Pazyryk burials were adult and this should caution us in being sensitive to the complex socio-cultural factors involved in the treatment of the dead, especially with regards to those who are entitled to be buried in a grave and those who do not receive this treatment.

The results then are as follows:

In my sample 35% of all the objects in the burial were ornamented, while 17% had zoomorphic imagery (appendix 3, table 2). Based on my survey of the burials in appendix 2, I developed eight categories of common object types found in the burials (horse equipment, coffins, vessels, furniture, tools/weapons, personal objects, tattoos, mirrors and carpets) and a full description of their items are found in appendix 3, table 1a. All object categories have the potential to be ornamented. However, a closer examination of the individual items reveals that some artefacts had a predisposition for animal decoration (horse bridles and saddles), while some objects were rarely decorated with animals (bronze knives, chekan-axes, mirrors, ceramic vessels) and others not at all (i.e., iron knives, arrows).

There is relatively the same level of occurrence of decorated objects for females and males; 34% of all objects were decorated and 17% had zoomorphics for females, while males had 33% of their objects decorated and 12% with zoomorphics (appendix 3, table 4). Furthermore, there are sets of objects (vessels, dishes with pieces of meat and knives) which were common to both females and males, as well as all ages groups, but these were the standard accessories in the Pazyryk burial rite and were rarely decorated with zoomorphic imagery.

Appendix 3, tables 5 and 8 were examinations to see if there were relationships of animal motifs according to the sex of the human body and horse regalia. Some animal images were too difficult to identify down to genus let alone species. Headless quadruped bodies, for example, could have belonged to a deer, tau-teke goat or horse, and it was difficult at times to distinguish between feline or lupine 'predators'. There were a few cases of tigers which could be identified by the presence of 'stripes' (e.g., Bashadar kurgan 2 coffin) (figure 63), but many feline figures were ambiguous in nature and this allowed for varying

interpretations by the excavators for the presence of lions, panthers and/or snow leopards. Additionally, the category of 'griffin' had a broad definition which overlapped with the identification of bird and eagle figures.

The species utilised the most in the art were primarily wild animals and this only reconfirms what is been widely known about the zoomorphic imagery of the Pazyryk. Previous scholars have also noted that the range of wild animals (deer, elk, birds, argali rams and tau-teke goats) were representative of the local fauna (e.g., Samashev, Bazarbaeva, Zhumabekova & Sungatai 2000: 36). My examinations also found that representations of 'fantastic' creatures (e.g., griffins, 'sphinxes' and winged lions) and fish were also utilised, while depictions of boar and hare were rare. More importantly there was the presence of images of domesticated animals that were not so readily acknowledged by scholars which include infrequent depictions of horse, and very rare depictions of camels and bulls.

My analyses found that both sexes can potentially utilise all the different types of animal motifs (appendix 3, tables 5a,b,c), while the pattern of occurrence of decorated and zoomorphics to age seems relatively the same despite the bias towards adult burials (appendix 3, table 6). My theoretical age categories revealed the images of animals could be associated with individuals at all stages of life, and infants and children could possess animal images, while many of the adults did not have any at all. Overall, these sex and age results indicate that there are more complex factors involved with animal ornamentation than simply singular causes of sex or age and this will be explored more fully in the ensuing chapter.

Previous researchers have casually remarked that zoomorphics were involved in the decoration of the various components of the horse equipment, but my counts found that the horse regalia and personal objects belonging to humans account for the majority of all zoomorphic decoration in Pazyryk burials (appendix 3, tables 7, 8a,b,c, 9). The counts for horse decoration (46% of the total) and associated zoomorphics (31% of the total) (appendix 3, table 7) are significantly higher than the counts conducted according to the sex of human bodies (appendix 3, table 4). However, the human counts were lower due to the fact not all bodies in the burials were clearly identified as being either male or female. Furthermore, the horse decorations had a higher survival rate as the attention of the grave robbers were focused on the human part of the tombs. Pazyryk kurgans numbers 1 to 5, for example, had spectacularly decorated horses but their human counterparts were stripped of their clothing or their bodies were completely removed (as in the case of Pazyryk kurgan 1), while the equid space of the grave remained intact. Though horses were killed and buried along with humans, they were actually infrequently depicted or carved into

figurines. The horses were ornamented with most of the individual zoomorphic motifs (appendix 3, table 9), but have not been associated with the images of camels and bulls. Additionally, the horse equipment did not have any images of boars but imitation boar tusks which were used in the adornments, and these have been used for personal decorations on people as well.

Significantly, the counts of the image of the griffin, which is also a creature of great scholarly fascination in Scytho-Siberian studies, was much higher amongst the horse equipment than human personal decoration (appendix 3, table 9). Once again this could be argued to be as the result of archaeological bias due the loss of evidence by the robbery of human corpses, but looking at the counts of cervid, equid, feline and avian imagery they are much higher amongst the humans than the horses and many of these images are derived from unrobbed human burials. Therefore the higher proportion of griffin imagery amongst equid regalia strongly suggests that the image more belongs to the domain of the horse in Pazyryk society than the human one, and the implications of this finding will be further discussed in the griffin section in the latter part of this chapter.

With regards to the material culture directly associated with human usage, the results so far do not support the traditional art historical idea that the animal imagery was created for purely decorative purposes. Significant to this is the fact that not everyone was decorated or associated with zoomorphic objects. Despite the problematic reporting and identification of sex and age, the overall results demonstrate that the occurrence of zoomorphic imagery has a basis in the negotiations of social position and identity and not just solely based on categories of sex or age. Even though the horses were commonly decorated, they too were also embedded in these complex social factors.

In order to bring further understandings to the above analyses we need to examine the reasons why particular artefacts were decorated, or decorated in a certain way through discussions that focus upon the lives of the animal images and the lives of their owners. As Geertz (1993: 97) pointed out anthropologists have found many peoples do not talk about art, design and meaning in ways that the Westerner would like to hear. Instead the art is related in terms of how it is used, who owns it, when it is performed, who performs it and what it may be exchanged for (*ibid.*). I believe these are poignant points of discussion with regards to the animal imagery in Pazyryk society and the role these images played in daily life. My approach then entails looking at the use of the art by individuals as well as its related experiences and sensibilities. This requires the re-examination of Pazyryk art with regards to the lives of the animal images in Pazyryk society in relation to individuals and their horses, while connecting these facets to their socio-political milieu.

Utilisation & consumption of animal art

The situation of the Pazyryk material culture is similar to that of the petroglyphs which I examined in the previous chapter; there is a lack of explicit consideration of the zoomorphic ornamented objects as part of local processes. As the petroglyphs are expressions of the understandings of the individual artists, embedded in place, time and culture, I argue that the art and material culture of the Pazyryk were also intimately situated within local processes. In effect, the art provides important clues to Pazyrykian local knowledges because they were connected to the way ancient persons negotiated their identities as well as with the way they interacted with world around them. Therefore, in the pursuit of bringing further understandings to what these local knowledges may have entailed I begin with the examination of the persons who utilised the art.

Because our knowledge about the Pazyryk culture is primarily derived from the funerary context, there are problems which need to be acknowledged when reconstructing living societies from mortuary practices. We need to be careful about the burial context and its relationship to the living for as Harke points out “burials are not mirrors of life” but more a “hall of mirrors of life” which provide distorted reflections of the past (Harke 1997: 25). As I have briefly discussed above, only certain persons were buried in the kurgans of the Pazyryk archaeological culture as there is a bias towards adult burials. This means that not the entire population was buried and their bodies must have received other funerary treatments.

However, the excavated burials have provided us with discernible information about the living members of Pazyryk society. The deceased, when they were alive, actively used the zoomorphic imagery in their lives as is indicated by their clothing, personal adornment and some of the associated funerary objects. Therefore, in order to bring further understandings of the context of zoomorphics discussions need to focus on the role that animal images played in maintaining and transforming an individual or social group, and consider the art as material culture which was actively utilised through the actions of living persons in creating and maintaining relationships.

The frozen mummies and exhumed skeletons from the Pazyryk burials were once living persons from a living society; the context of animal images were directly related to living persons for the animal images played an important part in the construction of their rank, gender and social role within society. An individual has salient identities contingent on their social context as their personal identity can involve such interlinking factors like age,

gender, work role, social status, group affiliation, etc. An individual can have multiple and differing identities within different social circumstances and these can change over small periods of time or over a life time (Wells 1995: 131). In addressing these issues I next turn to possible social roles within Pazyrykian society. Previous attempts at defining social roles in the Pazyryk have been articulated through categories of 'chiefs', 'warriors' and 'shaman-priests'. Although they are not without their problems, I find that they are useful focal points in the next phase my discussions. The ideas behind these roles in Pazyryk culture need to be re-examined but at the same time they allow us to further explore the nexus of relationships in which the animal ornamented objects were involved in people's daily lives.

Chiefs & commoners

In general, the analysis of mortuary practices has been an important resource for models of societal organisation and stratification in archaeology. Large tombs with singular or coupled occupants with decorated goods could be reasonably argued to belong to some sort of elite in society. Therefore, the first and foremost striking aspect of the Scytho-Siberians across Eurasia was the construction of large kurgan mounds with large grave pits and elaborate inner funerary structures, like the famous burials of Kul Oba and Kostromskaya Stanitsa around the Black Sea to Issyk and Chilikty in Kazakhstan, Pazyryk and Bashadar in the Altai, and Arzhan in Tuva. These and other kurgans have been submitted as evidence that only the highest of leaders of tribes or even tribal confederations were honoured by a large mound covering a complex burial structure (e.g., Jettmar 1970: 265; Gryaznov 1980), and the individuals inside could have been 'tsars', 'princes', 'aristocrats' or 'chiefs'.

The stratification of Early Nomadic societies was next deduced from the appearance of luxury goods and decorated items which provided clues towards the social status of the deceased. Pang contends trade was conducted for luxury goods which the Early Nomads could not produce and they became status symbols which benefited the nomadic elite (Pang 1998: 10). However, the representation of animals in Scytho-Siberian and Pazyryk art was an important indicator of social rank as there can be no doubt that their association with the dead in large kurgans represented the highest level of rank in society (Hanchar 1952: 192). K.A. Akishev further argues that the 'animal style' images amongst the Scytho-Siberians were used to a lesser degree as ornaments and to a greater degree as insignia of authority which indicated the hierarchical status of an individual (K.A. Akishev 1992: 5). Therefore, Akishev considers that the 'animal style' reflected the socio-political evolution of

Scytho-Siberian tribes whereby the images gained new ideological contents which supported the social system and authority of a ruling elite (K.A. Akishev 1992: 5).

Earlier excavations tended to focus on the highly visible kurgan mounds, but the balance has been readdressed in recent years as the excavation of cemeteries like Barbugazy and Ulandryk (Kubarev 1987, 1992) have brought to light the wider social spectrum of the Pazyryk archaeological culture. Importantly, they provided evidence of individuals in smaller graves with fewer goods which were sometimes accompanied by animal adorned artefacts and even sacrificed horses. Therefore, as Kato (1992: 18) points out, with regards to the evidence from the Ulandryk cemeteries, the so-called 'animal style' was available to objects belonging to 'commoners' as well as leaders.

So let us now turn to the Pazyryk burials which are the basis of this study (appendix 2). In my sample of 147 Pazyryk burials the graves range from single occupants (e.g., Tashanta II kurgan 3, Verkh-Kaldzhin II kurgans 1 & 3) to pairs (e.g., the male and female in Ak-Alakha 1 kurgan 1; 2 females in Ulandryk II kurgan 6; 2 children in Ulandryk I kurgan 6) and several bodies (e.g., 2 females and 2 newborn in Tashanta II kurgan 4). There was also a unique burial at Ulandryk I kurgan 2 where on a bedding of shrub were laid 2 wooden boards on which was placed the costume of young child (Kubarev 1987: tab. V). The costume consisted of a cap with flaps, a caftan decorated with images of cocks, and boots. There were no human remains, hence, the excavator contends the burial was a cenotaph in remembrance of a child. All in all, it can be stated there was a range of possibilities in the internment of Pazyrykian deceased and not just burials of singular bodies in richly furnished tombs.

There are several Pazyryk graves with only two adults which have been traditionally interpreted, after Herodotus' lead¹⁰, that the main individual of the burial was a man – a king or great warrior – and the second individual was his sacrificed consort. However, the recently excavated kurgan 11 at Berel has provided new information which challenges these assumptions. In the coffin there were the partially preserved bodies of a male (35-45 years) and a female (60-70 years). The male's body was covered with scraps of clothing and fur as he had been stripped of his belongings by looters long ago. The female was found to be interred later after the plunder of the male's burial as his corpse was pushed aside for her internment (Samashev, Bazarbaeva, Zhumabekova & Francfort 2000: 10). They were genetically related and their relationship could have been a mother and son or perhaps a father and his daughter who was buried with him many years later (*ibid.*, 11). This

¹⁰ Herodotus (*Histories* IV, 71-72) describes the burial of a Scythian king whereby his body was prepared and buried in a pit along with killed members of his entourage, concubines and horses, then covered over with a mound.

carefully controlled excavation looked at finer details in the light of contemporary archaeological techniques which were not available to older excavations, and this should also caution us to be careful about previous presumptions of female sacrifice in burials.

Besides the presence of rich inventories of funerary goods archaeologists also point out that high status Pazyryk burials are identifiable by the presence of sacrificed horses. To begin with horses were killed and usually placed in the northern part of the burial pit outside the funerary structure which contained the remains of the deceased. Not all persons were buried with horses, as demonstrated at the cemeteries of Barburgazy I-II, Ulandryk I-IV and Maltalu IV. Some individuals were buried with one horse (e.g., Ak-Alakha 5 kurgan 5, Bertek 1 kurgan 1) and others with many horses (e.g. Berel kurgan 11, Pazyryk kurgans 1-5). The woman of Ak-Alakha 3 kurgan 1 was buried by herself and accompanied by five horses which the excavator argues emphasises her high status in Pazyryk society – a ‘princess’ (Polos’mak 1994b, 1998). The large mounded burials of Berel kurgan 11 and Pazyryk kurgan 3 each had thirteen horses which also gives further weight to the contention that their human occupants were of high stature.

Amongst many Central Asian people the horse was an important measure of wealth. Amongst present day Kazakhs groups, which are still highly mobile pastoralists in East Turkestan, wealth is assessed according to an individual’s herd size and control over areas of winter pasture (Shnirelman, Olsen & Rice 1996: 133). It is interesting to note that the richest Kazakh leaders are the most nomadic because they spread out their herds across the area in order to minimise herd loss due to climatic hazards or environmental dangers. The high mobility of the rich ensures their quick movement to stake their claim on good pasture. The less well off herders have smaller herds and one bad snowfall can wipe out a herd overnight and even change a rich man immediately into a poor one (*ibid.*). The lowest members of Kazakh society work for the wealthy as farm hands and they were once sold as slaves in the past. Furthermore, many East Turkestan Kazakhs ride only horses as those who ride oxen are in a position of poverty in society (Shnirelman, Olsen & Rice 1996: 143).

Taking the above factors into consideration it is possible to distinguish elite individuals and ordinary people in Pazyryk society. Furthermore, it is possible to compare the surviving animal motifs from higher status graves with those of ordinary persons and the results are found in appendix 3, table 10. The table indicates that most of the animal motifs are found in both elite and commoner burials but the elite have greater quantities of animal adorned objects due to their richer funerary inventories. Because of the diversity of Pazyrykian objects, let us take a closer look to where the animal images are being employed amongst these persons.

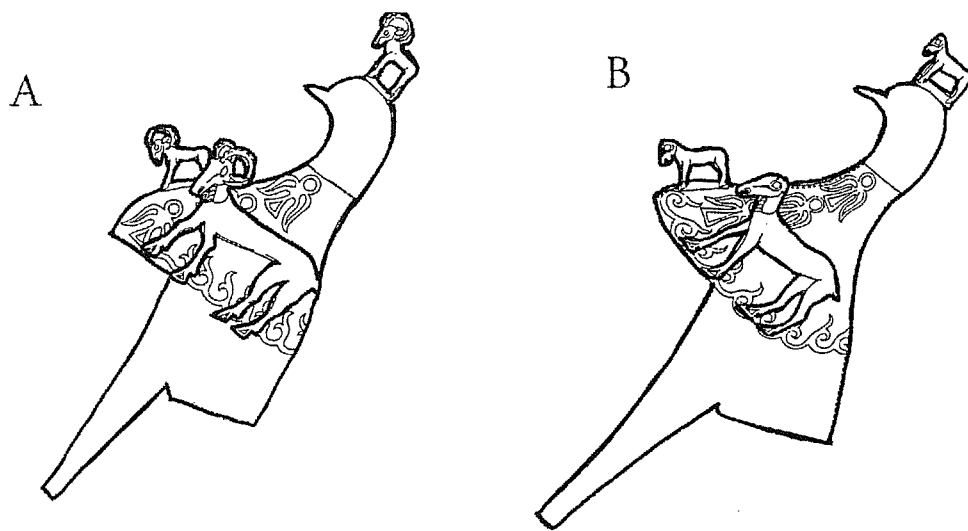


Figure 64. The female (a) and male (b) headwear from Ak-Alakha 1 kurgan 1 (after Polos'mak 1994: fig. 34, 38).



Figure 65. The unique headdress-wig worn by the woman found in Ak-Alakha 3 kurgan 1 (after Polos'mak 1996b: 157).

Many Pazyryk burials were of bodies placed in pits with larch frame structures. The deceased were sometimes laid in coffins usually made from a hollowed out trunk of a larch. Many of the coffins were not decorated (e.g., Ak-Alakha 1 kurgan 1, Barburgazy I kurgan 1, Bashadar kurgan 1, Kuturguntas 1 kurgan 1, Maltalu IV kurgan 4, Tashanta I kurgan 2, etc.), but those coffins which were had different kinds of decoration. On the sides of several coffins from prestigious burials were placed leather appliqué animals (e.g., deer in Ak-Alakha 3 kurgan 1, cocks in Pazyryk kurgan 1, elk in Pazyryk kurgan 2) or the coffins were carved with figures of animals (e.g., tigers, elk and boar in Bashadar kurgan 2) (figure 63). There was a larch-trunk coffin in Tuetka kurgan 1 with volutes and feline figures made of birch bark, while the female coffin from Bashadar kurgan 2 was painted with volutes and other swirling decorations. In the case of the prestigious burials of Berel 1 and 11 the coffin decorations involved spikes with figures of 'eagle-griffins' that were nailed into in the four corners of the coffin lid. Overall decorated coffins correlate to wealthier burials with several horses and many decorated grave goods, while undecorated coffins occurred amongst the ordinary burials with no horses (e.g., Ulandryk I kurgan 4) as well as the graves with richly decorated individuals and several horses (e.g., Ak-Alakha 1 kurgan 1).

The decoration of coffins with zoomorphic imagery clearly indicates animals were important in the funerary process as the act of burial is entwined in complex relationships involving the living and the dead. The context of adorning the coffin itself suggests the images of animals which were drawn on in life, on such items like personal attire, and took on other symbolic aspects in the transition of the deceased to the realm of the dead. The animals may have defined the social position of the individual in the next world, but could have also been their spirit protectors assisting the deceased's journey in the realm(s) of the dead. Amongst present day Siberian peoples, the wooden above ground coffins of Sakha and Tungus shamans were decorated with their spirit bird helpers in the form of wooden figurines and placed on stakes along the four corners (Lissner 1961: fig. 108; Ivanova-Unarova 2000: fig. 4). Perhaps, the 'eagle-griffin' nails of the Berel tombs were also special spirits that brought protection to the Pazyrykian deceased in the land of the dead.

The animal images, thus, are intimately connected to the Pazyrykian dead but they also adorned items which were part of the living: the funerary inventory contained items which were most likely used when the deceased was alive, like clothing and personal adornments. Freezing in some graves as well as intact burials have preserved parts of costumes reasonably well. Many large kurgans were robbed (e.g., Pazyryk cemetery), however, and the richness of personal decoration is hinted at from remaining scraps and fragments as well as occasional surviving complete items. Furthermore, the poor survival of organic materials

have left many bits of gold and fragments of animal decorations in many of the ordinary burials (e.g., Ulandryk cemeteries). Taking account of all these sources it is possible to have an informed indication where zoomorphic imagery was employed on the human body, though biased towards more complete items from higher status burials.

Starting from the top of the human body, individuals wore headwear with ear flaps made of felt which were adorned with gold and animals, like the ones found on the high status female and male bodies in Ak-Alakha 1 kurgan 1 (figure 64). The child in the prestigious burial of Ak-Alakha 1 kurgan 2 probably wore a similar cap with only the figure of a bull on its peak. A young child's costume found in Ulandryk I kurgan 2 had a cap with flaps and was decorated with thin gold leaf and square leather appliqué patches with the image of cocks. This rich costume may indicate this child may have been of a higher status. The male body found in Verkh-Kaldzhin II kurgan 1 wore a felt headpiece which was decorated with wooden figures of birds, horses and a camel, while the male found in Verkh-Kaldzhin II kurgan 3 had headpiece with flaps which was decorated with wooden figures of horse and deer.

Another type of elite headcover is found in Pazyryk kurgan 2, and involves a woman's headdress made of black colt's fur with decorative leather shapes and crowned with a 'diadem' of tiny leather figures of cocks. There is also the unique headdress-wig worn by the 'princess' found in Ak-Alakha 3 kurgan 1 (figure 65). Her head was shaved bald and she wore an one metre high elaborate wig-headdress that was constructed of felt moulded around a wooden frame. Dark hair (human and horse) was stretched tightly over a base with hair braids connected to wooden plaques that were decorated with bird heads and covered with gold leaf. On the hair were plaques with bird heads and a structure with a wooden recumbent cervid/caprid covered in gold leaf and a wooden 'pin' with the figure of a cervid/caprid standing on top of a small sphere. The upper part of the headdress was a flat elongated paddle-like shape that was decorated around its edges with fifteen tiny birds carved from wood and covered with gold foil.

Moving from the head to the cervical region there have been found neckpieces with the images of predators associated with higher status burials (e.g., felines on the male of Ak-Alakha 1 kurgan 1; 'wolves' on the female of Ak-Alakha 1 kurgan 1; felines on the female of Ak-Alakha 3 kurgan 1). In the rich burial of Pazyryk kurgan 2 there was also a loose find of a torque with horned felines figures with wings.

A few Pazyryk clothes (shirts, dresses, caftans) have survived in richer burials and of these items even fewer were decorated with animals. A woman's fur costume with leather cut-out

decorations and argali ram heads was found in Pazyryk kurgan 2 as well as a woman's fur apron with appliqué decorations and argali ram heads. In the same burial there was also the remains of the back part of a man's caftan decorated with two deer heads with long tree-like antlers and dots. A young child's caftan from Ulandryk I kurgan 2 had square leather appliqué patches with the image of cocks which matched the birds on their headcover.

Belts were wrapped around the waist and survive in rich burials as well as common ones. Some were decorated with wooden plaques which had the images of predators (the child of Ak-Alakha 1 kurgan 2) or felines (the male of Ak-Alakha 1 kurgan 1). At Pazyryk kurgan 2 there was a decorated leather belt with silver plates on which were scenes of a recumbent tau-teke and feline. There was also an occurrence of a bronze belt clasp in the form of a bird head in the ordinary grave of the male from Barbugazy I kurgan 23.

Mirrors were carried in pouches worn at the waist. Mirrors were a common personal accessory available to prestigious and ordinary individuals, but very few mirrors had animal decorations. A fragment of a mirror handle found in the common burial of Katon kurgan 5 had the image of a bird, while a bronze mirror belonging to an ordinary female in Maltalu IV kurgan 16 had a handle in the shape of a recumbent camel. There was a bronze mirror with a wild boar on the handle found in a felt case in the higher status burial of Ulandryk III kurgan 2, while the mirror belonging to the elite female of Ak-Alakha 3 kurgan 1 had a wooden frame decorated on the back with a maral stag (figure 66). Undecorated mirrors were occasionally kept in decorated bags. An undecorated bronze mirror belonging to the high status female from Ak-Alakha 1 kurgan 1 was in a leather pouch decorated with an appliqué bird shape, while a loose find of a bronze mirror from Pazyryk kurgan 2 was kept in a pouch made of leopard's fur indicating its exotic value.



Figure 66. The mirror from Ak-Alakha 3 kurgan 1 (after Polos'mak 1996b: fig. 12).

A pair of woman's boots incorporating leopard's fur were also found in the wealthy tomb of Pazyryk kurgan 2 as well as a pair of woman's leather boots with appliqué decoration and tiny images of birds ('geese'). However, now having reached the bottom of the human body this brief survey of costumes found among Pazyrykian burials ends.

The style of dress and its ornamentation is important to the identity of a person and plays a significant role in their socio-political negotiations. Amongst the 19th century Tlingit (Northwest Coast of British Columbia and Alaska), for example, their decorated objects (with animals, humans and graphic designs) were related to social hierarchy as headgear and chillkat blankets would be worn by high status individuals, while button blankets were for those of lesser status (Jonaitis 1993: 106). The Pazyryk female from Ak-Alakha 3 kurgan 1 most likely represents a prestigious burial as indicated by her elaborate headdress (figure 65), tattoos (figure 73) and her accompanying funerary objects which were all decorated with many zoomorphic ornamentations. This is in contrast to the Moinak-2 male burial which is more probably a Pazyryk 'commoner' as he had only one zoomorphic figurine of a horse that is inferred to belong to a headdress which did not survive (Molodin, Kahen-Delhayé, *et al.* 1993). These two burials demonstrate how the repertoire of animal art was differentially available to different parts of Pazyryk society. The fact that the Ak-Alakha 3 kurgan 1 female was buried with several horses while the Moinak-2 male had none only further emphasises a distinction between their respective social standings.

A study of the context of everyday and ceremonial of male dress from the Eipo of highland New Guinea is worth noting at this stage. In the everyday dress of the Eipo there was a high degree of personal expression which also depended on the activities of individuals (Wiessner 1989: 59). Some individuals wore no decoration and others were well-adorned. During intra-village dances involved in pig exchanges the costumes were homogenous as most participants wore standard ceremonial headgear, but individual expression still was being displayed. The Pazyryk may have buried some individuals in full costume, but during their lifetime, the individual may have worn it during specific occasions and they would have worn (or not worn) other items as their social role changed through time.

To discuss this further, let us return to the woman of Ak-Alakha 3 kurgan 1. In full regalia she would have looked quite impressive in daily life especially wearing her tall headdress upon her head (figure 65). Amongst some Central Asian peoples there was a distinction between the costume of a girl and a woman. A Turkmen girl traditionally wore a decorated cap with a metal dome on top in which feathers of an owl, eagle or falcon were placed in a way which resembled a warrior's pointed helmet (Basilov & Naumova 1989: 121). When

she married, her headdress changed with her change of status, as she donned a Turkmen woman's head covering with a veil (Basilov & Naumova 1989: 119). Perhaps, the Ak-Alakha 3 kurgan 1 female's headdress indicated her adult and martial status as well as her higher social position in her community. Importantly, the animals adorning the headdress were also part of these shifting identities as she lived out her life.

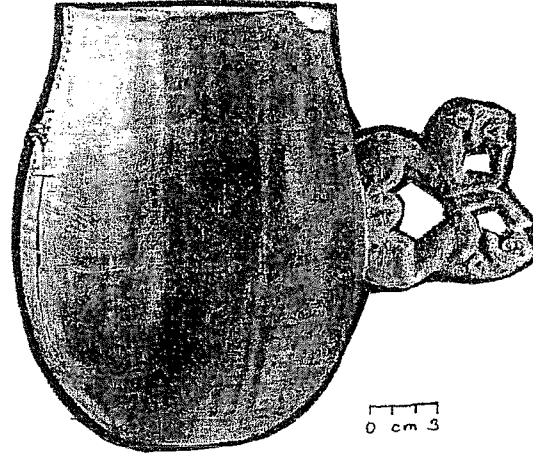


Figure 67 A wooden cup with felines carved in the handle from Ak-Alakha 3 kurgan 1 (after Polos'mak 1996: fig. 7).

The objects of material culture found in Pazyryk graves, including animal adorned objects, had complex life histories which undoubtedly entwined with other constitutive elements of society, like horses and cattle. The horse is a symbol of wealth in marriage among the Kazakhs of East Turkestan and is involved in complicated marriage transactions (Shnirelman, Olsen & Rice 1996: 147). The engaged couple received up to forty-seven mares from the bride's parents and the bride's parents may receive up to hundred horses from the groom's family. The bride's dowry which she brings into marriage contains clothing, textiles, a yurt, cooking and serving utensils, bedding and several good horses. The bride's father also gives the groom's father a whole herd of horses. Perhaps, the funerary goods, like the wooden cup with felines on the handle (figure 67) and the vessel made of horn, belonging to the woman of Ak-Alakha 3 kurgan 1 had similar life histories. The five horses which accompanied her in the grave could have also been representatives of the wealth of her dowry as well as an indication of her high social status. Additionally, items found preserved in other Pazyryk tombs, like carpets and felt wall hangings, could have been at one point in their lives a part of marriage transactions which demonstrate socio-political ties between wealthy families. Objects circulate and transform, like rugs and eating utensils, and become part of bride's dowry, but they are also the items used in everyday life and were part of her household in which she lived with her partner and family. The life cycle of these of objects came to an end when they accompany their owner into the grave and the objects then enter into their death cycle which accompanies their owners into the nether realms.

Pang briefly states that the animal art of the ancient steppe nomads was not only used to indicate social status but military strength and lineage (Pang 1998: 9), which leads us to the next topic of discussion in the life of Pazyryk objects. The Scythians and Scytho-Siberians have been characterised as ferocious warrior tribes who expanded across the steppes (e.g. Edwards 1996). This is in part based on Herodotus' accounts of the barbarian peoples who lived around the Black Sea. Herodotus described the Scythians as warriors who fought on horseback with bows and honoured the god Ares to whom they offered sacrifices of animals and prisoners of war (*Histories* IV, 62).

Implements which could have been used in battle that are found in Pazyryk burials include slat shields, bows and arrows and dagger/short swords. *Chekan*-axes (a kind of pick axe) found in many Pazyryk burials (figure 68) are also considered to be weapons by scholars. Furthermore, according to Rudenko the tattooed man of Pazyryk kurgan 2 had wounds in his cranium which could have been inflicted by an axe and perhaps he died in battle (1970: 219). Additionally, the punctures in skulls of the sacrificed horses placed in the graves were created by the impact of these weapons (e.g., Rudenko 1970: 40).

Table 4.1. Summary of animal motifs from funerary inventories of adult burials with battle implements – 'warriors' – in appendix 3, table 11.

	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>
deer	yes	yes
elk	yes	–
saiga	–	–
argali ram	yes	–
tau-teke	–	–
horse	yes	–
camels	yes	–
bull	–	–
boars	–	yes
felines	yes	yes
winged/horned felines	yes	–
'wolves'	yes	yes
hare	–	–
eagles	yes	–
swans/geese	–	–
cocks	–	–
birds	yes	yes
fish	yes	–
fantastic creatures	yes	–
griffin	yes	–
humans (heads, figures)	yes	–

Animal motifs in the material culture found among adult burials with battle implements are tabulated in appendix 3, table 11 and summarised here in table 4.1. Overall there is no correlation of particular animal motifs to warriors burials as they display the broad range of

images found throughout the Pazyryk culture. Individuals associated with several motifs tend to come from prestigious graves (e.g., the male of Tashanta I kurgan 1), while many ordinary persons had none (e.g., the males from Maltalu IV kurgans 5 & 8 and the female from Ulandryk II kurgan 6).

Furthermore, Pazyryk weapons were rarely decorated with zoomorphic imagery. The slat shields had decorative design patterns, while arrow shafts could be painted red (e.g., Maltalu IV kurgan 18, Tashanta I kurgan 1, Ulandryk II kurgan 12) or red and black (e.g., Ulandryk IV kurgan 1). However, there is a singular occurrence of a wooden part of a quiver decorated with animals that belonged to the higher status female of Ak-Alakha 1 kurgan 1; it featured a scene of feline predators tearing a wild boar which terminates in bird heads on each of its ends .

Dagger handles were decorated (e.g. Maltalu IV kurgan 11), but daggers with animals were rare, for example, in Ulandryk III kurgan 2 there was a bronze dagger with feline heads. It is not fully certain whether or not they were weapons and they could have been also a multi-purpose tool¹¹. Knives were common in Pazyryk burials and usually associated with the remains of meat which accompanied the dead person. Only one example of a carving knife had a pommel with 'wolf faces' and it was embedded in the preserved offering of horse meat in the burial of the elite female of Ak-Alakha 3 kurgan 1.

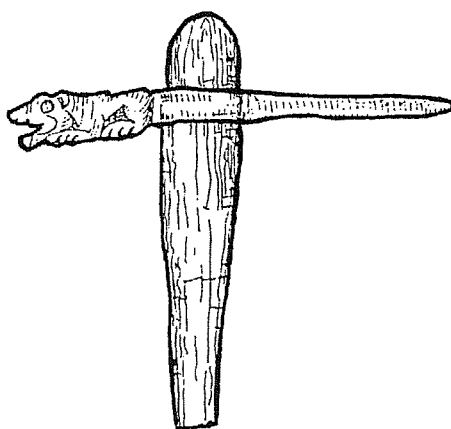


Figure 68. An example of a chekan-axe decorated with a predator from Ulandryk III kurgan 1 (after Kubarev 1987: tab. LVIII, 7).

Chekan-axe handles were painted red (e.g., ones associated with the male skeletons in Barburgazy I kurgans 13, 21 & 30 and Maltalu IV kurgans 13 & 18) and there was one example from Ulandryk I kurgan 5 of a chekan-axe shaft associated with the male skeleton which was painted in alternating red and black stripes. There were only two examples of

¹¹ It has been suggested they could be useful in textile production and weaving (Irene Good, textile conservator, Harvard University – pers. comm. 2001).

zoomorphic decoration: a bronze chekan-axe with a feline figure and red painted wooden handle was found in an ordinary burial with two skeletons in Ulandryk III kurgan 1 (figure 68), while another axe from Borotal II kurgan 7 had a wooden bird head attached to it and was associated with an ordinary adult.

In general, inter-group conflict is common to all human societies and it can take a variety of forms. Traditionally, amongst the Kazakhs the pasturage of an area was divided among various clans, so if a stranger stayed too long in the clan territory it could result in possible punishment (Shnirelman, Olsen & Rice 1996: 137). The breaking of a Kazakh marriage could create inter-clan resentment, leading to horse stealing, and armed clashes (Shnirelman, Olsen & Rice 1996: 148). Furthermore, a Kazakh could gain prestige and respect among his relatives and neighbours by horse stealing, but by the 19th century fines exceeding the value of the stolen livestock were established¹² (Shnirelman, Olsen & Rice 1996: 149). One recently discovered Pazyryk burial of Verkh Kaldzhin II kurgan 3 contained the mummified body of a young man with a tattoo (figure 74) who was accompanied by a single horse and an inventory of weapons which is believed to indicate that he was a 'warrior' (Polos'mak & Molodin 2000: 82). Perhaps, this young man was not only known for his battle prowess, but he had increased his status in his community by horse stealing or conducting other raiding activities in order to acquire the social status that allowed him to bear a tattoo on his body.

However, an individual can carry out many activities over their lifetime and have different identities under different circumstances. Battle and conflict is one aspect of life and day to day living would have involved other activities than just battle. The bows and arrows could have been also used in hunting activities amongst the Pazyryk. In the historical past hunting played a greater role in Kazakh society as hunters sought wild onagers from horseback for meat and leather (Shnirelman, Olsen & Rice 1996: 142). In hunting on horseback Kazakhs used whips, spears, bows and arrows, lassos and guns. Perhaps the Pazyryk kits of bows and arrows would have also been used in hunting deer or other wild animals on horseback.

Significantly the occurrence of bows, arrows, daggers and chekan-axes were not only found associated with Pazyryk males, but also with females¹³ and children¹⁴. The children buried with daggers and chekan-axes suggest that there are more social factors involved than simply battle prowess and their inclusion in the grave could have been symbolic of the

¹² For stealing one horse the compensation of twenty-seven horses and camel were sought, while for killing someone the murderer or his relatives had to pay a hundred horses in compensation (Shnirelman, Olsen & Rice 1996: 149).

¹³ For example, females had chekans axes at Ak-Alakha 1 kurgan 1, Ak-Alakha 5 kurgan 4, and Ulandryk II kurgan 6, and bows and arrows at Ak-Alakha 1 kurgan 1.

¹⁴ For example, children had chekans axes at Ak-Alakha 1 kurgan 2 and Kaldzhin 1 kurgan.

child's status in society. There were also imitation bows and arrows found with the two children in Ulandryk I kurgan 6 which possibly could have been toys. However, the female burials with weapons have received more scholarly attention and have been evocatively called 'Amazons', which brings us to the next topic of discussion.

Amazons

Classical texts have made references to the occurrence of warrior women called Amazons amongst the Scythians and related peoples around the Black regions. Herodotus, for example, mentions an account about a battle between the Amazons and the Scythians which led to the eventual inter-marriage between the two groups and the founding the Sauromatian peoples (*Histories* IV, 110-117). The Amazons were warrior women who wielded weapons and took part in battle, pillaging and plundering, while at the same time also sustained themselves by hunting. These and other Classical accounts of the Amazons have led to a scholarly fascination about them and there is a continuing search for these 'warrior women' in the archaeological record. Over the past few decades there have been a number of female burials excavated in the southern Urals region which contain spears, bows, arrows, and quivers, as well as iron swords (e.g., Il'inskaya and Terenozhkin 1983: 92, 106). These excavations have taken place in the geographical area where the Sauromatians were inferred to have dwelled, based on Herodotus' writings, and, hence, the Iron Age archaeological culture in the region has been given the same name. More recent Sauromatian excavations near the Russian town of Pokorvka (Davis-Kimball 1997; 1997/98; 1998a), close to the northern border of Kazakhstan in the southern Ural steppes, have also revealed seven female skeletons which were directly associated with iron swords, daggers and bronze arrowheads (Davis-Kimball 1997: 47).

Weapons have also been found in female burials in the Altai. For example, there was a female skeleton in Ulandryk II kurgan 6 which was associated with a chekan-axe. Another example comes from kurgan 1 of the Ak-Alakha-1 cemetery (Ukok plateau) where in one of the coffins was the body of a 16 year old female who wore red trousers (Polos'mak & Molodin 2000: 66-71). In addition to zoomorphic decorated objects she was accompanied by an iron chekan-axe, an iron dagger, seven arrows, a bow and the remains of a wooden quiver decorated with scenes of felines tearing wild boars. At another Ukok plateau burial of Ak-Alakha-5 kurgan 4 there was a joint burial of a female and male lying together and both bodies had their own individual iron chekan-axes (Polos'mak & Molodin 2000: 79). These examples of weapons associated with female bodies in the graves of the Ukok plateau have been argued by Polos'mak to indicate "the existence of a special

stratum of Amazon-like warrior women among the Pazyrykians” (Polos'mak & Molodin 2000: 83).

In table 4.1 there is a summary of animal motifs amongst the funerary objects associated with Pazyrykian ‘warrior’ women as tabulated also in Appendix 3, table 11. Within my dataset I could only find three adult females with battle implements (Ak-Alakha-1 kurgan 1, Ak-Alakha-5 kurgan 4 and Ulandryk II kurgan 6). It is interesting to note that all three were buried with horses, while many of the male warriors used in appendix 3, table 11 were not. The female of Ak-Alakha-1 kurgan 1 was the only ‘amazon’ with animal imagery, but this is not surprising as she comes from a prestigious burial with nine richly decorated horses. This sample of three bodies is too small to specify animal motif correlations with Pazyrykian ‘amazons’ and like the male warriors the quantity of images per person are more related to the richness of the individual’s burial.

The label of ‘amazon’ connotes an exotic ‘other’ which scholars find compelling because it contrasts so much with the norms of our culture. The argument for the presence of female warriors in ancient Asia is tantalising, because it challenges traditional Western ideals, however, this idea requires more careful consideration, especially with regards to how it actually manifests in other societies. Amongst the 13th century AD Mongols Marco Polo cites an account of a khan’s daughter who beat men in wrestling matches and went on to become a great warrior (*Travels* IV, 4). Another 13th century AD personality, the papal envoy Johann de Piano Carpini, observed amongst the Mongols that women wore trousers and some of them even used the bow as accurately as the men (Barfield 1989: 27). Even today Mongol girls still practice archery and participate in public competitions in the Republic of Mongolia (Severin 1991: 92-94). This is comparable to traditional Kazakh practices where equestrian sports (jumping, archery on horseback) were conducted by men, but women also competed in some of these events and even competed beside the men in the field (Shnirelman, Olsen & Rice 1996: 151). Furthermore, Kazakh women were also noted to have rode horses and wore leather trousers (Bacon 1966: 34).

It is worth noting that amongst many native North American peoples girls can be raised to take on male roles. In hunting based societies, like the Ojibway or Inuit of Canada, if there was no boy child, the girl would have to fulfil the male role in the family (S. Lang 1996: 192). Women can also take male roles if they choose to do so or by instructions given from the spirits. They can hunt and join raids with men. In one case from the 19th century, a Kutenai woman, who co-habited with a white husband, returned to her community as a man; she had lead a man’s life and she had been a warrior and a courier for white explorers (S. Lang 1996: 192). She was also a shaman and a prophet and this importantly points out

that a person can take on many roles throughout their life time according to the activities they conducted. Therefore a person's social status is dynamic and is intimately related to various internal and external socio-political factors which can shape and crystallise important aspects of it in particular contexts.

Priestesses & shamans

This theme of the diversity of women's roles in society then takes us to the next topic of discussion with regards to the idea that the Pazyryk had 'priestesses' operating in their society (e.g., Polos'mak 1996a). This relates in general to roles which have been sought by scholars through labels such as 'ritual specialists', 'priests', 'psychopomps' or 'shamans'. In particular the term 'priestess' arose with the discovery of the richly adorned woman of Ak-Alakha 3 kurgan 1 in 1993 (Polos'mak 1994b, 1995c, 1996a, 1996b, 1998). The frozen body of the woman was not only called the 'ice princess' but also the 'priestess of the Altai' by the excavator because of the nature of the princess' attire (Polos'mak 1996a) (figure 69). Her arms were also tattooed with animals (figure 73) in the same style as the male body from Pazyryk kurgan 2, and the significance of this will be discussed further below in the tattoo section. However, the costume she wore is unique in Pazyryk archaeology and featured an elaborate headdress (figure 65). She also carried a unique mirror with the image of a deer on its back in a pouch at her waist (figure 66). Polos'mak further suggests that the 'ice princess' plaited belt was similar in concept to Zoroastrian woollen cords which signified the acceptance of the individual into the religious community (Polos'mak 1998: 145). These cords are worn like belts and are fasten and unfastened several times a day during Zoroastrian prayers and thus the 'ice princess' belt probably played a special role in which Polos'mak infers came from the pan Indo-Iranian culture of Central Asia.

I contend that the argument for a 'priestess' status is not strong enough to warrant such a label for it is based on the identification of objects classified as solely 'ritualistic' (headdresses, mirrors) but these ideals draw implicitly upon traditional Western presumptions of 'primitive' religion (as discussed in Chapter 2). Furthermore, the label of 'priestess' has been used as an essentialist determination, as if there were only one predetermined religious role that a woman could perform in society. Though the label of 'priestess' is misleading in my opinion, Polos'mak, however, does make a more fascinating point which is more nuanced in its approach. Amongst contemporary Sayano-Altai peoples there are apparently at least thirty designations for various roles in society that possess special, secret knowledges (Polos'mak 1998: 163). Therefore, Polos'mak suggests that the Ukok princess could have been a story-teller, healer, prophet, weather charmer or diviner

though she stresses most of all that the ice princess was most likely highly “favoured by the Spirits” (1998: 163).



Figure 69. A reconstruction of the attire of the female from Ak-Alakha 3 kurgan 1 (after Polos'mak 1995c: 75).

Shamans

Spirits are important in endowing and legitimising the role of shamans amongst many Central and Inner Asian societies (e.g., Shternberg 1974; Basilov 1994; Vitebsky 1995). For example, during the initiation experience of Dyukhade, a shaman of the Nganasan people of northwest Siberia, he encountered two Mistresses of the Reindeer who initiated him into the role of a shamanic practitioner and they taught him knowledge which went with his socially prescribed duties (Vitebsky 1995: 109).

In some Pazyryk burials the deceased were inferred to be shamanic practitioners based on comparisons to Siberian ethnographies. For example, in an early article Zakharov (1925: 50-51) suggests that the costumes from Radloff's Katanda excavations which had animal

ornaments were similar to ones found on a Siberian *kam*'s (shaman) attire and may have been part of a costume of a shaman of ancient times. However, since the discovery of the tattooed body of an elder man in Pazyryk kurgan 2 in 1948 arguments have focused upon him as being the strongest candidate for the existence of Pazyrykian shamanic practitioners. Hanchar (1952, 1956) contends that the articles of clothing with their 'animal style' decorations, and the musical instruments (drums and 'Scythian harp') (figures 70, 71) leave no doubt that the tattooed man was a high status shaman. The implications of this argument with regards to the zoomorphic tattoos is that they were most likely the spirit assistants of the shaman (Sorokin 1978: 184). Furthermore, the finding of a collapsible tent with a charcoal burner containing charred hemp seeds in Pazyryk kurgan 2 is pointed out as confirmation of Mueli's hypothesis (1935) that Scythian *enarees* were shamans¹⁵ (Hanchar 1956: 189; Bongard-Levin & Grantovskii 1974: 90-91).

Though Hanchar (1952, 1956) briefly mentions of the presence of a drum and a stringed instrument in kurgan 2 – both undecorated – these were not pursued any further in his argument. The drum is made of horn and shaped like an hour glass. The drum is not morphologically like the tambourine-like drums used by Inner Asian shamanic practitioners but more like an African jambe. The stringed musical instrument is shaped like a long, thin box (figure 71) and has been called a 'Scythian harp' by scholars because of its two strings (e.g., Rudenko 1953: 324; Basilov 1989, 1992b). Basilov (1992b) and Zhetybaev (2002) argue this instrument was perhaps a proto-type to the *kobyz*, the two-stringed instrument with an opened case, used by the Kazakh *baksy* (figure 72). The *baksy* played the *kobyz* like a cello to induce spirit helpers in assisting them in healing rituals (Basilov 1992a: 70). The *kobyz* could be decorated with small metal pendants which were also used for their tinkling sounds during the ritual (Zhetybaev 2002). A capable *baksy* could play their instrument and manipulate malicious spirits like the *albasty*, a female demon, (Basilov 1992a: 234-235) which bring troubles to Kazakh daily life. The *baksy* was also a musician and bardic orator of stories and epics (Castagné 1930: 59) and played not only the *kobyz* but also other musical instruments. So far the 'Scythian harp' is an unique find in Pazyryk archaeology, while the remains of another jambe-like drum was found in Pazyryk kurgan 5. Musical instruments, like any other object, would have different functions and roles dependant on the context of performance in society. Perhaps the elder male of Pazyryk kurgan 2, like the *baksy*, used the 'harp' in musical performances of songs and stories as well as a device which enticed his animal spirits to come and help him in exorcising illness inducing entities.

¹⁵ As discussed in chapter 2.

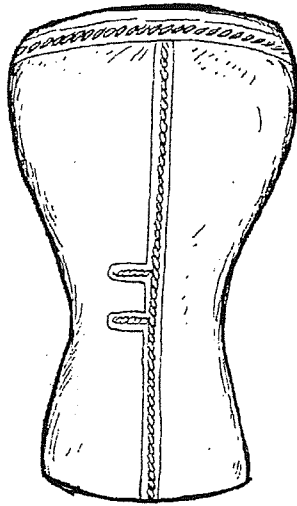


Figure 70. An example of a drum made from horn found in Pazyryk kurgan 2 (after Rudenko 1970: fig. 138).

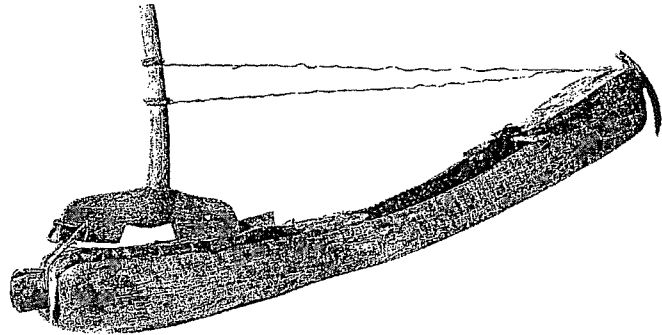


Figure 71. The two stringed 'Scythian harp' from Pazyryk kurgan 2 (after Rudenko 1970: fig. 146).



Figure 72. A Kazakh *baksy* playing a *kobyz* from around the turn of the 20th century (after Basilov 1989: 159).

Consequently, the tattooed male from Pazyryk kurgan 2 and the uniquely dressed woman from Ak-Alakha 3, kurgan 1 are considered the best candidates for shamanic practitioners in Pazyryk society. A summary of the animals motifs associated with these shamans is found in table 4.2. Both Pazyryk kurgan 2 and Ak-Alakha 3 kurgan 1 were prestigious burials each containing numerous horses. Pazyryk kurgan 2 is also a tomb with a great wealth of funerary objects that was looted in the past. The robbers disturbed much of the contents and many of objects with animal motifs can not be confidentially associated directly with the male's body. Overall the animal motifs associated with the female of Ak-Alakha 3 kurgan 1 and the male from Pazyryk kurgan 2 display a similar range of imagery; however, this is a small sample group and it is not possible to be assertive about special correlations of specific animals to Pazyrykian shamans. The situation is more complex as they are drawing upon the same pool of zoomorphic imagery in the Pazyryk culture which is potentially available to all its members, but they, as shamans, are utilising them in their own uniquely negotiated ways.

Table 4.2. Presence and absence of animal motifs in the material culture directly associated with the possible shamans from the burials of the female of Ak-Alakha 3 kurgan 1 and the male of Pazyryk kurgan 2.

	<i>Ak-Alakha 3 k1</i>	<i>Pazyryk k2</i>
cervid	yes	yes
argali ram	yes	yes
caprid	—	yes
feline ('snow leopard')	yes	—
winged and/or horned felines	yes	yes
'wolves'	yes	—
cocks	yes	yes
birds	yes	—
fish	—	yes
beaked nose deer with bird headed tines	yes	yes
griffin	—	yes
humans (heads, figures)	—	—

These ways can be discussed in relation to what is known about shamanic practitioners in the ethnographic record. Shamanic activities are individual responses to the spirit world and the ancient shamans could also have communicated with animal spirits and other beings which resided in the world. The animal spirits, such as deer, elk and bulls, are important to the induction of an individual into the shamanic path amongst many Inner Asian peoples (e.g., Waida 1983; Vitebsky 1995). An individual is called or tormented by spirits in order to become a practitioner and these spirits, usually in the form of animals, would teach the individual the necessary skills to become a shaman (Basilov & Zhukovskaya 1989: 162). Sorokin (1978: 184) suggests the animal tattoos on the Pazyryk kurgan 2 male were spirits met during shamanic ecstasy; thus the tattoos directly fuse the spirit world with his selfhood. Perhaps the Pazyryk kurgan 2 male received visions from particular spirits who told him to not only tattoo his body but also decorate his personal clothing with special

animals images in order to access the power of spirits. Furthermore, the imagery served as a visible remainder to his community of his connections to the spirit world as he wore his clothing in public during the activities of everyday life.

One must bear in mind that Inner Asian shamans, were not solitary, full-time ritual specialists; they were farmers, they tended cattle, took part in trading or performed crafts like woodworking, tanning, blacksmithing and other skills (Diakonova 1994: 246; Humphrey 1996: 5). Furthermore, amongst the Mongols, a chief could become a shaman and a shaman could assume the role of a chief (Humphrey 1995, 1996). We need to recognise the diversity involved in the negotiation of shamanic roles in society, and explicitly avoid the old 'Siberian shaman' stereotype. Furthermore there are a range of related roles which are connected to the spirits and other forces. In Mongol society there are shamans, for example, as well as other individuals with their own extra-ordinary powers and worldviews including: midwives, metal smiths, bone-setters, diviners, hunters and astrologers (Humphrey 1995: 138). What is distinctive about Mongol shamans is that their rituals involve all members of the community. This is in contrast with the activities of midwives, diviners and others who have a more restricted realm of practice involving only selected individuals.

The diversity of practices and experiences amongst the various members of a society also leads us to realise that animal images are not passive objects but were also actively a part of the political struggles of these individuals. Furthermore as Thomas & Humphrey have stated: "shamanic agencies may constitute a field of political power or forms of political agency that react to or are incorporated by indigenous political dynamics and extensions of colonial or non-colonial state power." (1994: 3). The implications for the study at hand is that we need to examine these specific negotiations and transformations of shamanship within the socio-political milieu of Pazyryk society.

Perhaps, the elder man was a high ranking shaman with political authority. A shaman is also a member of their community, who, like all other members, is enmeshed in the socio-politics of daily life and greater inter-group struggles. In the *Secret History of the Mongols*, which chronicles the rise to power of Chingis Khan c. 1206 AD, we are told about an incident whereby Chingis was embroiled in a dispute with his step-brother Teb Tenggeri (Barfield 1989: 194). Teb Tenggeri was known as a powerful Mongol shaman who communicated with the spirits of heaven to cure illnesses or curse enemies and he was also a seer who could predict the future. Teb Tenggeri was important to the validation of Chingis Khan's political authority as his earlier pronouncements asserted that Chingis had been chosen by heaven as the supreme ruler.

Teb Tenggeri was not only a shaman but a relative (step-brother) who was entitled to rule at least some of the tribes through right of inheritance. However, Chingis maintained his considerable power by wisely being distrustful of relatives and relied on non-kin commanders in running military affairs. Neither Teb Tenggeri's father nor his brothers had received a command post or troops under Chingis Khan. When Chingis' mother died Teb Tenggeri and his brothers seized control of the 10,000 troops given to her and Chingis' youngest brother. Because the Mongols were in awe of Teb Tenggeri's shamanistic powers, Chingis did not react in his usual ruthless manner with outright suppression, however, it was pointed out that any who insulted Chingis' brother was a threat to the entire family. Teb Tenggeri was eventually challenged by Chingis' brother to a wrestling match but he died of injuries inflicted by his brutal treatment in the hands of the brother's strongmen (Kahn 1984: 154-158). This story importantly reveals how shamanic practitioners are embedded in the complexity of socio-political dynamics within societies and they are not just some sort of solitary 'mystic' who hovers outside the social sphere and does nothing but 'meditate with the spirits'.

Furthermore, Siberian shamanic practitioners did not only use their abilities to heal but also employed them in inter-group conflicts. During Medieval times the Mongol shamans conducted rites of divination to foresee the outcome of battles and related imperial enterprises and in the early 19th century the shamans of the Cis-Baikal Buryats were known to incite their people to go to war (Krader 1978: 232). The elder male of Pazyryk kurgan 2 had fractures to his skull which indicated he had sustained injuries during battle (Rudenko 1970: 219) and suggests he was not just a shamanic practitioner but also a warrior, as a person can be many things and take many roles over their lifetime. Perhaps he and related persons with special powers employed them and called upon the spirits to assist their kin in conflicts and battles between feuding lineages or tribes as well as using more physical means of combat with the aid of chekan-axes and bow and arrows. It is known that Early Turkic rulers performing acts of soothsaying (Basilov 1992b: 94) and even Chingis Khan foretold war victories by going into trance and consulted 'devils' (Boyle 1972: 181).

T a t t o o s

Another element used in the construction of a person's identity comes from the practice of tattooing. The identification of the aforementioned 'priestesses' and shamans were also based on the presence of the visually striking tattooed bodies of Ak-Alakha 3 kurgan 1 and Pazyryk kurgan 2. However, as previously discussed above with regards to the various roles

in Pazyryk society, an individual has fluid identities contingent on their social context affected by factors like age, gender, work role, social status, group affiliation, etc., and the phenomenon of Pazyryk tattooing is also embedded intimately in these processes.

So far only three bodies from the Pazyryk culture have been found with such markings. In 1948, during the excavations of Pazyryk kurgan 2, there was discovered the body of an embalmed man about 60 years old of age in a poor state of preservation, as much of his flesh and muscle had disappeared (Rudenko 1953: 136-141, 1970: 109-114). However, his arms, chest, back and right leg were tattooed with intricate designs of animals (figure 75) in conventions considered to belonging to the Scytho-Siberian 'animal style' (Phillips 1965: 82-83; Barkova 1978: 47). As mentioned above, the large size of the burial structure, the accompaniment of seven horses and the wealth of the funerary inventory indicated that he was an elite member of society, perhaps a chieftain (Rudenko 1970) or high ranking shaman (Hanchar 1952).

In 1993 the excavations of Ak-Alakha 3 kurgan 1 on the Ukok Plateau discovered an embalmed woman tattooed with beasts almost exactly the same as the ones from Pazyryk kurgan 2 (Polos'mak 1994a, 1994b, 1996b, 2000). Her body was poorly preserved and only the partial remains of the designs on her left arm and hand had survived (figure 73). She was identified as being an elite member of society from the richness of her burial, and became more famously known as the 'ice princess' or 'priestess' of Ukok (Polos'mak 1996b).

The third tattooed body was of a male who was recovered in 1995 from Verkh-Kaldzhin II kurgan 3 (Polos'mak 2000). He had only one image which was a large zoomorph placed on his left shoulder (figure 74). The image is of a composite animal with the body of a deer, bird beak muzzle, and bird heads on the tips of its antler tines which matches similar creatures on the bodies from Ak-Alakha 3 kurgan 1 and Pazyryk kurgan 2. The excavators refer to his burial being of that of a 'commoner' because of he was accompanied by a single horse, but he has also been called a warrior from the bow, arrows and a chekan-axe which accompanied him (Polos'mak & Molodin 2000: 82).

So far there has been only three bodies found amongst the Pazyryk. This is due in part to preservation by freezing; burials in non-frozen conditions have not provided such a level of preservation of bodily tissue and it is impossible to determine from skeletal remains if a person was tattooed or not. However out of the handful of known frozen bodies so far uncovered there are only three which have been tattooed (Polos'mak 2000: 101). Though this is a small sample it is still possible to suggest that tattooing was not a ubiquitous

phenomenon but something more exclusive which certain members in society have chosen to be placed upon their bodies.

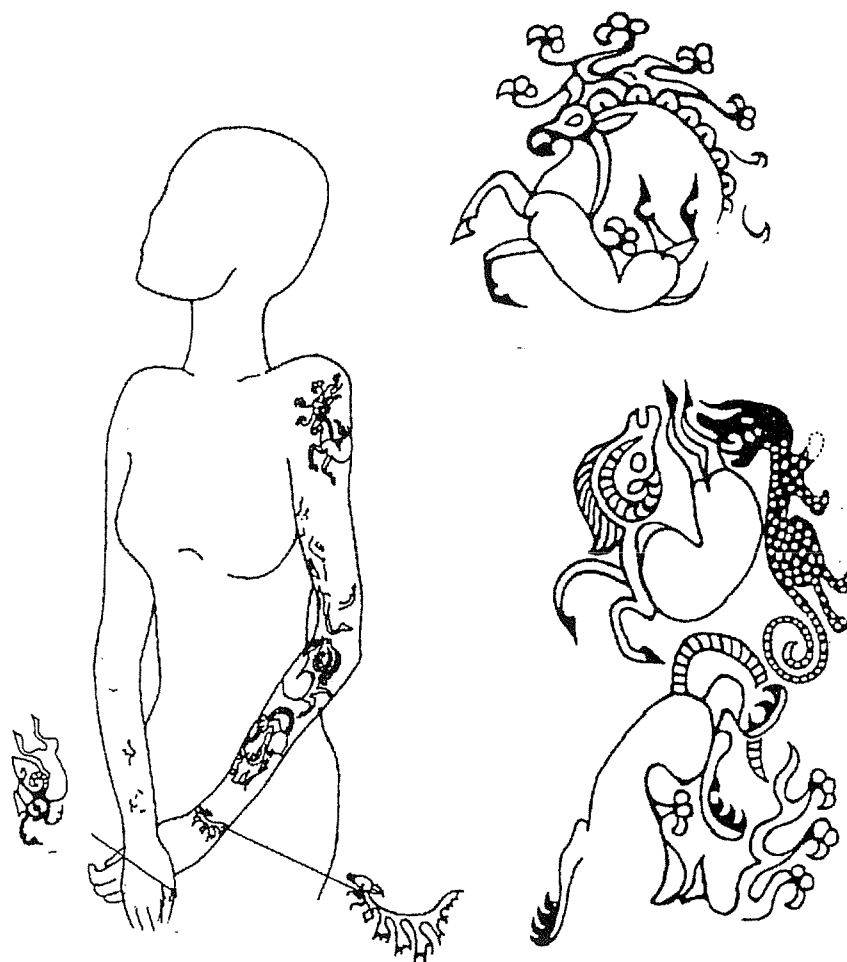


Figure 73. The tattoos from the woman found in Ak-Alakha 3 kurgan 1 (after Polos'mak 2000: fig. 1.2).

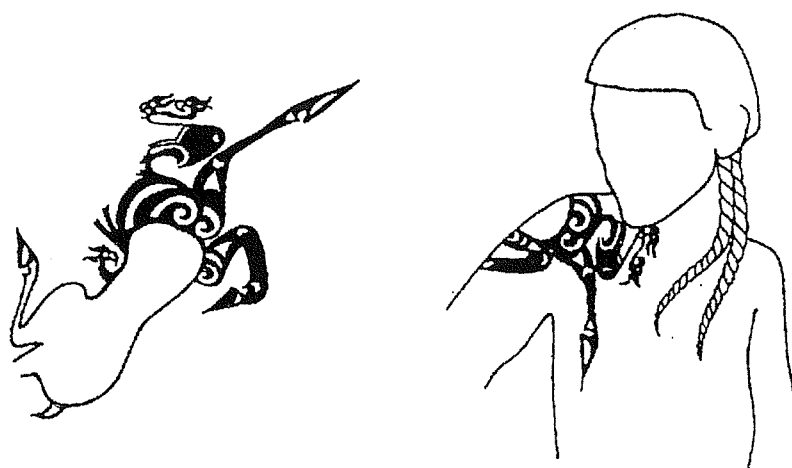


Figure 74. The tattoo from the body of a male found in Verkh-Kaldzhin II kurgan 3 (after Polos'mak 2000: fig. 1.3).

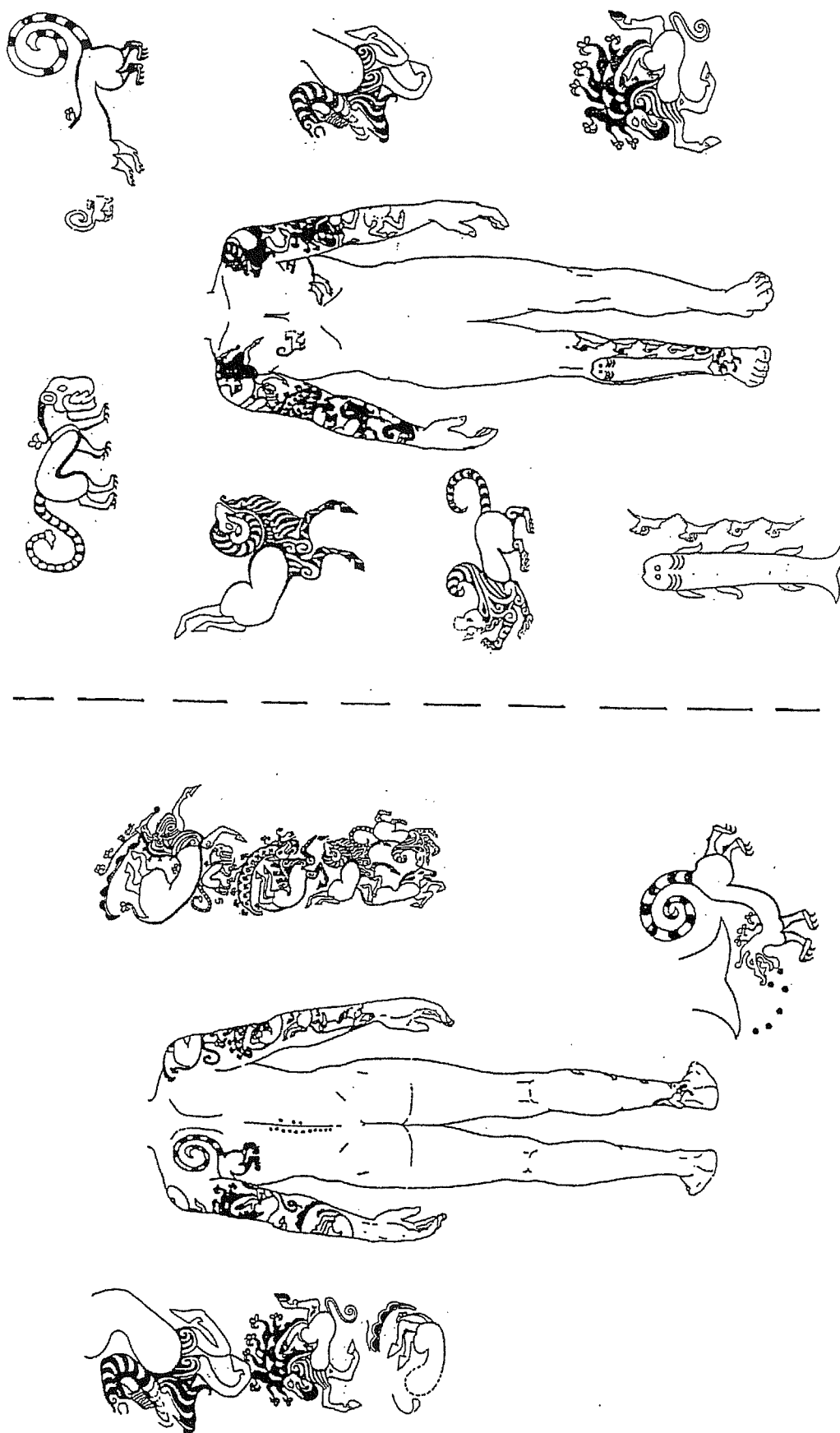


Figure 75. The tattooed man from Pazyryk kurgan 2 (after Rudenko 1970: fig. 51-52).

A summary of the animal motifs on the preserved Pazyrykian bodies is found in table 4.3. All three individuals have the tattoo images of the beaked nose deer with bird headed tines which indicates it can be employed on both female and male bodies. Both the Pazyryk kurgan 2 male and Ak-Alakha 3, kurgan 1 female have rams, felines and the beaked nose deer, but the Pazyryk male had the greater quantity of animal imagery out of all the tattooed bodies. The Verkh-Kaldzhin II kurgan male had only one large image of the beaked nose deer. The Pazyryk kurgan 2 male had a winged feline tattooed to his arm, while the Ak-Alakha 3, kurgan 1 female did not; however, she was buried with horses decorated with saddle rugs depicting winged felines and she wore a necklace of winged felines. The Pazyryk kurgan 2 male also had a fish tattooed to his leg which is a motif used for the decoration of horse saddles from other burials with female and male bodies (e.g., Ak-Alakha 1, kurgan 1). Therefore, like the warriors and shamans above, the tattoos draw upon the animal imagery available to most objects found in the Pazyryk culture, but it is their context of being directly placed upon the human body that indicates they held special meanings.

Table 4.3. Comparison of tattoo imagery from the three known preserved bodies and involves a tabulation of images from surviving skin surfaces.

	<i>Pazyryk k2</i>	<i>Ak-Alakha 3 k1</i>	<i>Verkh-Kaldzhin II k3</i>
argali ram	1	2	—
caprid	4	—	—
feline/'snow leopard'	—	1	—
feline/winged feline	3	—	—
fish	1	—	—
beaked nose deer with bird headed tines ('griffins')	6	2	1
dots	20	—	—

It is not surprising that Pazyrykian tattoos were inferred to be of 'totemic significance' (Hanchar 1952: 190; Scutt & Gotch 1986: 68). Moreover, Scutt & Gotch argued they were important artefacts in the great history of the adornment of mankind based on the idea that the tattoos were either scattered across the world due to the 'psychic unity of mankind' or spread by processes of cultural migration (Scutt & Gotch 1986: 22). The psychic unity of mankind is a social evolutionary concept prominent in 19th century scholarship which perceives the similarity of human cognitive structures as evidence for the unity of humanity. Therefore, once again, a form of art, in this case tattoos, is treated as an autonomous entity to society and are treated as a separate entity from the very bodies on which they are 'inscribed'. The implication of such an approach is that it ignores the actuality that tattooing is a practice intimately embedded in the complexities of social processes.

It is commonly accepted by scholars that the tattoos depicted mythological creatures (griffins, tigers) of the Pazyryk people (e.g., Bokovenko 1995b: 291). Furthermore, Polos'mak contends the Pazyrykian body was covered by 'sacred scripts' which transmitted social information as well as cosmogonic myths (Polos'mak 1996b: 162; Polos'mak 1998: 155; Polos'mak & Molodin 2000: 83). Since the Pazyryk were a preliterate society these stories were not written down; however, I would like to focus our attention instead on the consideration of how the tattoos are embedded in the actions and experiences of daily life.

Rudenko (1970: 112) suggests Pazyrykian tattoos were made to alleviate illness as he had himself observed the application of therapeutic tattooing amongst Siberian peoples. I would like to explore this idea further by considering the folk apotropaic practices involved tattooing in Thailand whereby the markings protect males from harm causing agencies or protect their bodies from physical harm incurred by bullets or knives (Tannebaum 1987: 695). The Thai markings could be Buddhist verses, diagrams or the images of animals. Tannebaum argues these are not magical in the 'mystical mumbo-jumbo' definition of the term but forms of power and protection which naturally exists and are utilised by Thai people (1987: 706). Tannebaum points out that amongst the Shan of Thailand:

"Tattoos make sense in the Shan worldview; they derive from a system of power and powerful beings, in which these beings related to people, and those people can empower other beings or objects. As with vaccinations, inoculations, or aspirin in Western medicine, people assume they work without knowing the mechanism for their effectiveness, so with Shan and their tattoos."

Perhaps the Pazyryk animal tattoos provided a important form of protection from harmful spirits which bring misfortune to their lives. All three Pazyryk individuals had the image of the beak-nosed deer placed on their bodies and perhaps it was an important and powerful being which brought protection and health to the person who bore its image.

Rudenko's therapeutic analogy, however, was rejected by E. Jacobson. She argues that the Pazyrykian tattoos were similar to "the manner in which Scytho-Siberians ornamented their clothed bodies with symmetrically arranged plaques", as the elaborate costume from the rich burial at Issyk (Semirech'e, Kazakhstan) confirms (Jacobson 1985: 151). However, I disagree with this statement based on the evidence of the clothes of the female of Ak-Alakha 3 kurgan 1; she wore a yellow shirt made of wild russer silk with long sleeves which hung over her hands. This indicates her tattoos were not for ostentatious public display but more connected to personal processes known to only a few persons. So far the rare occurrence of tattooing amongst the Pazyryk seems to be a selective practice which strongly suggests there are other relationships occurring than solely the ornamentation of

the body which mimetically copies the formal placement of adornments in clothing. The therapeutic applications of tattoos is one plausible explanation, but it is only one factor in the process of tattooing and other dimensions of the animal images need to be considered. Essentially, arguments for tattoos as solely the crystallisation of aesthetics only conceives them as passive things, mere body decorations, which denies the active role they would have played in the every day life of the person.

Tattoos, in general, may also be “the expression of a particular position, a distinctiveness that belongs to a particular person or persons” (Pritchard 2000: 333). As we have seen with each of the tattooed Pazyryk bodies, they each have their own unique set of images (figures 73-75). The tattoos have intimately become part of a person’s body and their perceptual surroundings and this in turn is involved in the specificity of their identity, and the complex relationships between certain cultural practices and cultural identity (Pritchard 2000: 331). Therefore, the tattoos belong to the perpetuation of social and political relationships and the negotiation of an individual’s identity according to their socio-political milieu (Gell 1993: 3).

So let us first consider the tattoos of the woman from Ak-Alakha 3 kurgan 1 (figure 73). Traditionally, amongst the Tlingit peoples of the Northwest Coast of British Columbia and Alaska only the upper class women in the community were tattooed on the hands and forearms (De Laguna 1972: 446). After puberty seclusion a Tlingit girl’s lower lip was pierced for her labret and she would receive a tattoo on her hand (De Laguna 1972: 522). The tattooing and piercing would have been done by a relative in the opposite Tlingit moiety. The Pazyrykian tattoos might have played an active part of the Ak-Alakha 3 kurgan 1 female’s life and not only indicated her higher status within the society, but they were perhaps also embedded in the rites and practices of a girl becoming a woman in Pazyryk society. We might also think that someone of a significant status like an elder family member or relative performed the intricate task of inserting the dark pigment with a needle into her skin and skilfully executed these swirling forms of symbolically significant animals on to her arms.

Rudenko notes that the depth of the tattoo pigment in the skin of the Pazyryk kurgan 2 male indicated he received these marks when he was young (Rudenko 1953: 140; Rudenko 1970: 112). Rudenko contends that the tattooed body of the male of Pazyryk kurgan 2 expressed his noble birth and these were perhaps also the marks of his manhood (Rudenko 1970: 113). Amongst the Northwest Coast peoples of British Columbia, animal motifs and

other crests¹⁶ as well as songs stories and performances were exclusively owned by the chief and their family (Hawthorn 1979: 31-32). The history of each family was based in encounters with ancestors and spirits and through these the families acquired crests which they depicted on their possessions, such as dishes and clothing (Ruddell 1995: 4-5). Only members of the family had the authority to wear these images and these were a part of the public negotiation of their group identity in society. Permission can be granted to other non-kin individuals to use the images and associated performances, but by the same token these can be taken away through hostile actions and by putting to death the original owners. The Pazyryk kurgan 2 male had numerous animals (figure 75) which suggests that his authority by right of kinship or his privileged higher social status allowed him to cover his body with them, while the Verkh Kaldzhin male with his single large tattoo (figure 74) probably came from a lower social position that only allowed him the privilege to bear one tattoo of a powerful animal.

Hanchar had argued that the disposition and renderings of the beasts of prey illustrated on the Pazyryk kurgan 2 male suggested these were done as acts of magical protection and defence as he was possibly a shaman and his tattoos were representations of his spirit helpers (Hanchar 1952: 190). The tattoos of animals represent the manner in which Pazyrykian individuals create and assert their own identities through their choices of decorative imagery on and off their bodies, however, I further suggest, the selection of depicted animals used upon the bodies of the Ak-Alakha 3 kurgan 1 female and the Pazyryk kurgan 2 male, could have been also dictated by supernatural entities who communicated their wishes through dreams or trance induced visions. Furthermore, I argue that the images were not just individual isolated motifs but together they collectively drew upon the power of animals and spirits. Perhaps the images of the Pazyryk tattoos, like the beak-nosed stag, were given to them in a dream from the very same spirit. The beak-nosed deer's edicts would have also involved activities and ritual observances in which other family members and other community members would have had to act upon.

The animal imagery in the Pazyryk tattoos were embedded in dynamic socio-political processes of the lives of persons who wore them and they were intimately connected to their personal identity, group affiliation and social status. Furthermore, they were linked to powerful other-than-human beings which made them images of power that acted in social life and brought protection to the bearers. What is fascinating to point out is that amongst the many animals utilised in the tattoos (deer, beak-nosed deer, felines, argali, fish) there

¹⁶ The North coast peoples have been unfortunately labelled with the mis-appropriate term of 'totemism' and even though I draw on aspects of their culture and discuss 'animal motifs' and 'crests' any connections to Western ideas of 'totemism' are fully rejected. 'Totemism' denies the complexity of the process, practices and experiences that the animal images played in the lives of the Northwest Coast peoples and their reappraisal is beyond the scope of this thesis.

were no images of horses depicted despite the fact that the many equid bodies were sacrificed to accompany the Ak-Alakha 3 kurgan 1 female and the Pazyryk kurgan 2 male in their graves. The images of the beak-nosed deer, rams and felines were not worshipped as 'primitive totemic idols' but probably held special powers that required them to be tattooed onto the human body which horses did not possess. Therefore in order to answer this question we need to now turn the focus of our examinations onto the horse and explore the role of equids and their zoomorphic regalia in Pazyryk society.

Horses & decoration

First of all it is necessary to point out that the living horse is an important animal to numerous Inner Asian peoples past and present. Not only are horses used for transport and military purposes but they provided milk, meat and raw materials. Horse sacrifice was also an important activity in their local religions. Horses were sometimes sacrificed during Altaic and Kazakh shamanic healing rituals (e.g., Alekseev 1994; Kosko 1999) or during Buryat community rites to encourage good fortune for children, cattle and horses (Parranen 1941: 29-30). Amongst the Kazakhs equid body parts (hair, skin, skull) were used in the objects of their material culture (e.g., strings for the *kobyz*, hooves as musical instruments) (Shnirelman, Olsen & Rice 1996). However, to the Kazakhs the horse was much more, as it was part of economic transactions, compensation payments, marriage transactions, and embedded in crime and punishment. The horse was the focus of theft as a Kazakh's wealth is determined by the number of cattle they owned and payment in horses was a form of compensation for various types of wrong doing. The punishments involving the greatest degree of disgrace for the Kazakhs was death by being torn into pieces by feral horses or the corpse of the person was tied to the tail of a horse and dragged around the local area for all to see (Shnirelman, Olsen & Rice 1996: 149).

My tallies found that horse equipment and the personal objects of humans account for the majority of zoomorphic decoration in the burials of the Pazyryk culture (appendix 3, tables 7 & 9). The tallies for horse decoration are significantly high and lead me to confidently conclude that another significant context of Pazyryk art was the decoration of horses. It has already been pointed out by scholars that expressions of status amongst the Scytho-Siberians occurred in their horse trappings (Pang 1998: 10); however, this is only a surface reading and I contend that the relationships were more profound as the life of the horse was an intimate part of the construction of the identity of the living and deceased Pazyrykians.

In my sample of Pazyryk burials (appendix 2) the horses placed in tombs were either decorated or not at all (as tabulated in appendix 3, table 7). In the larger Pazyryk burials there were many horses and they were richly decorated (e.g., Ak-Alakha 1 kurgan 1, Bashadar kurgan 2, Berel kurgan 11, Kuturguntas 1 kurgan 1, Pazyryk kurgans 1-5). However, there is the case of Ak-Alakha 1 kurgan 2 which had a child with rich objects which suggests they were of a higher social status, but the horse which accompanied them was not decorated. Furthermore, many burials of 'commoners' were accompanied by a single horse without any decoration (e.g., Barburgazy I kurgans 2,3, Borotal III kurgan 4, Maltalu IV kurgans 11-13).

The ornamentations were located on the bridle, saddle and saddle covers and they utilised a variety of non-figurative designs and motifs (e.g., Tashanta II kurgan 4, Ulandryk III kurgan 1) and/or zoomorphic imagery. The image of the horse itself has only occurred on ornamented horse whip handles found in Pazyryk kurgans 2 and 4. With regards to the zoomorphics almost all categories of animal motifs occur in the horse decorations except for camels, bulls and boars (appendix 3, tables 7-8). The well preserved horse equipment found in Ak-Alakha 1 kurgan 1 provides an excellent example of the use of decoration. There were seven complete sets of ornamented horse harnesses preserved and the harnesses were decorated with round forehead plates, various ornamental motifs, griffins, 'geese' figures with convex heads, and S-figure psalia with griffin heads (figure 76). There were also four elaborately decorated saddles and felt saddle covers (figure 77) decorated with appliqué pieces in the shape of decorative motifs, bird/griffin heads, squat birds (eagles/griffins/roosters) and a winged tau-teke with a large horn. Attached to three saddle coverings were large felt figures of fish while one other saddle had wolves which draped down its sides.

Some horses even had headdresses which ranged from the wooden tau-teke horns of Berel kurgan 11 (figure 78) or the single antler branches on pedestals at Tuekta 1 to the elaborate constructions found in the Pazyryk site kurgans. Pazyryk kurgan 1, for example, had horse headdresses which were masks that fitted over the horse's head; they were elaborate upper constructions made of felt, leather and fur in which one had a full size set of deer-like antlers (figure 79), while another had a three-dimensional griffin head with horns and wings (figure 80).

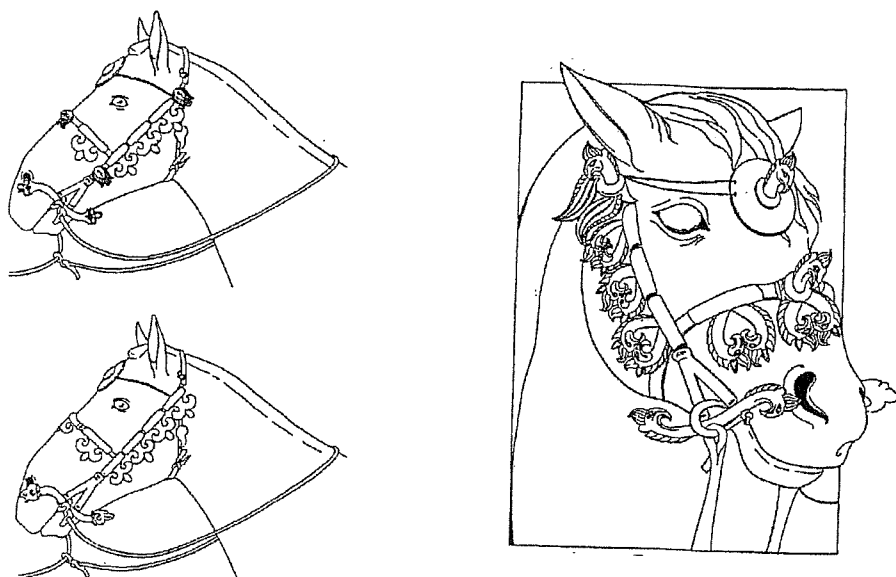


Figure 76. Examples of horse harness decorations from Ak-Alakha 1 kurgan 1 (after Polos'mak 1991b: fig. 3, 1994c: fig. 63, 65).

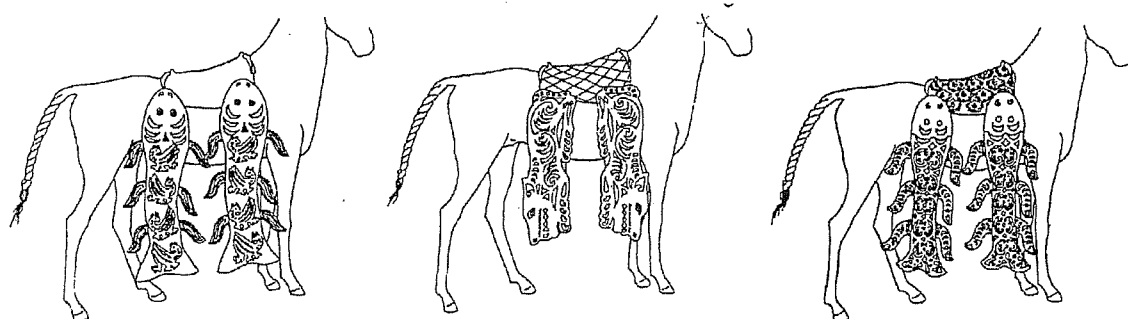


Figure 77. Examples of horse saddles decorations from Ak-Alakha 1 kurgan 1 (after Polos'mak 1994: fig. 43, 46, 51).

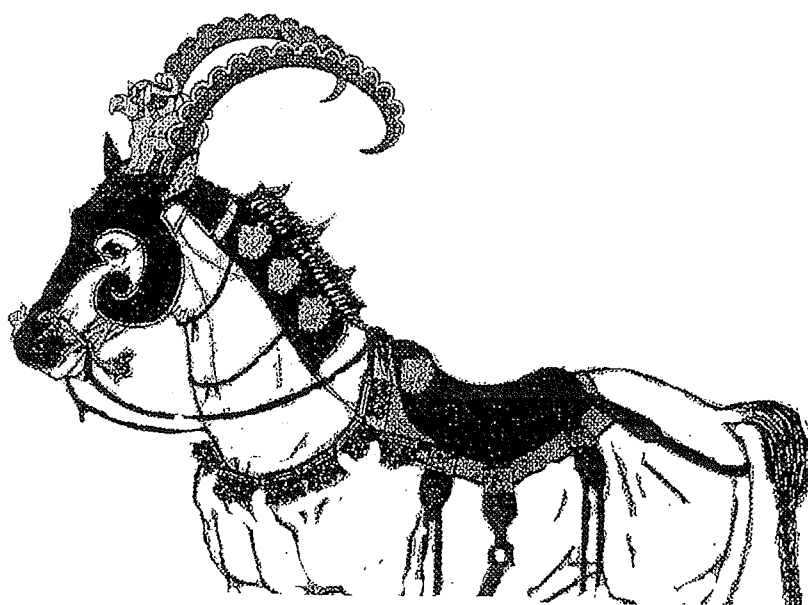


Figure 78. The horse headdress from Berel kurgan 11 (after Samashev, Francfort, Bazarbaeva, *et al.* 2000: 7).



Figure 79. The famous 'antler' horse headdress from Pazyryk kurgan 1
(after Gryaznov & Golomshtok 1933: fig 18).

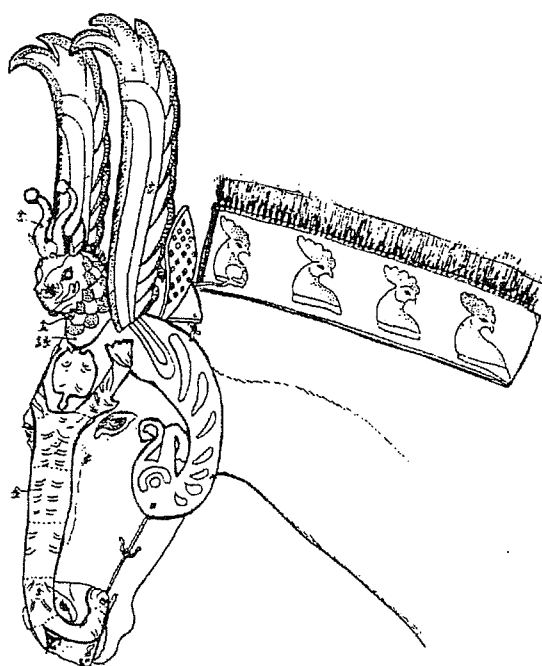


Figure 80. An elaborate horse headdress with a winged griffin from Pazyryk kurgan 1
(after Gryaznov & Golomshtok 1933: fig 19).

The horse figured most prominently in the military exploits of the nomads, giving their small numbers a mobility and power in battle that allowed them to defeat much larger opponents (Barfield 1989: 21). Slat shields have been even found attached to horse saddles in Pazyryk tombs (e.g., Pazyryk kurgan 1). Commentators have pointed out that the rich articles found in the Pazyryk tombs and the elaborate horse regalia were splendidly colourful and flamboyant in appearance (e.g., Blagg 1978: 10). Therefore, the visual impact of the richly ornamented Early Nomadic rider must have had an important psychological impact which “impressed and intimidated allies and adversaries alike.” (Pang 1998: 17). I would like to further expand upon this point by citing the visual impact of canoes amongst the Trobriand Islanders, of the South Pacific. Gell found canoe designs of the Trobriand Islanders were imbued with power; the canoe board is not only a visually striking piece of art but a potent psychological weapon with efficacy emanating from magical forces (Gell 1992: 46). The canoeboard is a symbol of the magic prowess of the canoe owner and the owner especially seeks carvers who are endowed with artistic prowess that is derived from their access to superior carving magic (Gell 1992: 46). Therefore, the visual appearance, the “technical virtuosity”, is intrinsic to the efficacy of art in the Trobriander social context (Gell 1992: 52). Many of the Pazyryk horses wore saddles and saddle covers which were decorated with scenes of predators preying upon their ungulate prey (e.g., Pazyryk kurgan 1) (figure 81). These scenes have been considered to be the depiction of mythical or ‘totemic’ clan struggles (e.g., Hanchar 1952), but I suggest these scenes of violent tearing may have been part of the ‘psychological warfare’ in display and decoration. The Pazyryk horse decorations could have been also endowed with potency imparted by Pazyryk horse equipment makers and were given further power from the owner who could have been an individual known to possess these special powers, like the male from Pazyryk kurgan 2 who may have been a warrior, shaman and chief over the course of his lifetime. However, some of the horse decorations could not have been of any use in the physical rigours of battle, as some of the headdresses (elaborate antlers and stuffed animals) would have seriously hindered horse mobility. Perhaps, these elaborate decorations were used more in psychological warfare within the socio-political arena and demonstrated very public statements of wealth and prestige of the owner as well as their access to magical powers.

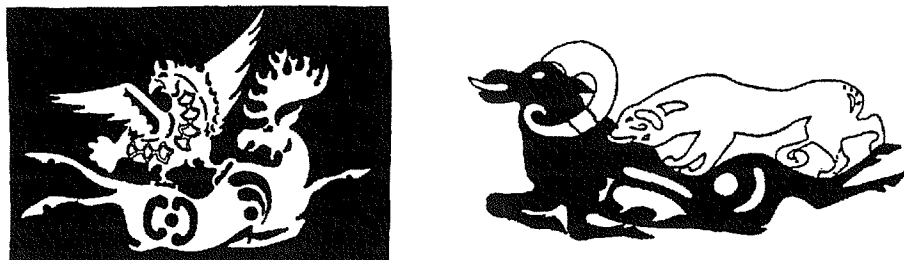


Figure 81. Two examples of scenes of preying from saddle covers found in Pazyryk kurgan 1 (after Talbot Rice 1957: fig. 54-55).

There would have been most likely other social circumstances for the bright display of horses other than just solely for war. For example, on the eve of a Kazakh wedding celebration, the bridegroom dresses the best horse available to him with an expensive bridle and good saddle and rides to his bride (Shnirelman, Olsen & Rice 1996: 148). Perhaps riding an elaborately dressed horse was an important part of the Pazyryk marriage process whereby the suitor had to demonstrate his wealth and power to the family of his prospective bride. Furthermore, the nomadic Kazakhs of East Turkestan mark their transhumant movement to summer pastures with parade-like processions (Shnirelman, Olsen & Rice 1996: 137). After the camp was loaded onto the camels, colourfully dressed girls riding on decorated horses stride along the moving caravan with the horse herds and sheep flocks trailing behind. In older times armed Kazakh warriors would have ridden their steeds in front of the caravan. The procession of the elaborately decorated Pazyryk horses must have been an impressive sight to witness in the scenic backdrop of the alpine valleys and raised plateaus in the Altai mountains as they made their way to special pre-set destinations.

The very fact that the Pazyryk horses were buried in full regalia along with people in graves strongly suggests there was a funeral procession whereby horses were led to the burial pit, struck on the head with a fatal blow, and placed in the northern part of the burial outside the deceased's inner burial structure. Traditionally, among the Kazakhs, a man does not part with his personal steed while he is alive and his horse plays one last role at his funeral (Shnirelman, Olsen & Rice 1996: 149-150). The horse's tail is trimmed and dressed in the deceased's saddle and other belongings. The horse is lead in procession to the grave followed by the deceased's widow, the deceased's livestock (including horse herds), and accompanied by armed riders, while women on horses surround the deceased on a transportable litter. A year later the favourite horse is slaughtered at a funerary feast with other cattle near the deceased's burial and afterwards horse races are given so the deceased can listen to the thunder of hooves across the steppe. Horses, along with other livestock, were important medium of interactions with other-than-humans beings through their sacrifice. The horse was used in clan sacrifices amongst the Buryats (Partanen 1941: 29-30) and also part of shamanic ceremonies amongst Altaians (e.g., Alekseev 1994). In the legitimisation of Pazyryk chiefs and other elite members of society the sacrifice of horses was probably an important way to demonstrate their authority in society by making offerings to deities, spirits and ancestors as well as demonstrating elite authority in death with the horse accompanying them to the grave.

Even more interesting is the occurrence of horns and antlers on horses. The most celebrated horse headdress is the one with 'antlers' from Pazyryk kurgan 1 (figure 79). This headdress

has lead to fanciful speculations by N. Marr, and cited frequently by subsequent researchers, that horses were disguised as stags because this harked back to more primitive times when reindeers were hypothetically used as mounts (Gryaznov & Golomshtok 1933; Rudenko 1953: 226; Talbot Rice 1957: 118). Even more speculatively, this change of a horse to a deer, as symbolically enacted by the Pazyryk horse donning an antlered headdress, might demonstrate the connections of the two animals to vague notions of solar symbolism (I.I. Meshchanov 1931 cited in Dudko 1985: 157) or may represent “the evolution of a deity who was originally female in nature, antlered in form, and most frequently represented as a deer” (Jacobson 1995: 56).



Figure 82. The image of a tiger with antlers from Tuekta kurgan 1 (after Rudenko 1960: 137-138, fig. 87).

The fact that horses were found in the grave wearing these elaborate decorations indicates their importance was defined by the context of the burial rite. In Berel kurgan 11 there were two horses with tau-teke horn headdresses (figure 78) which perhaps transformed the horses and allocated the powers of the tau-teke to the horse in order to assist their deceased owner into the afterlife (Samashev, Francfort, Bazarbaeva, *et al.* 2000: 6). I further suggest that the uses of antlers and horns on other animals in Pazyryk art also indicate they were potent symbols of power. In particular there are images of animals which have been given antlers and horns, such as the tiger with antlers from Tuekta kurgan 1 (Rudenko 1960: 137-138, fig. 87) (figure 82) and the feline predator with bull horns found decorating the horse saddles of Pazyryk kurgans 1, 4 and 5 (Rudenko 1970: fig. 114, 115, pl. 111b, 117, 171, 172). Additionally, there is the image of beak-nosed deer with antler tines which terminate in bird heads which is found on all three of the tattooed bodies (figures 1, 73-75). Perhaps antlers and horns may have been manifestations of supernatural powers as the living horses and images of certain animals were transformed with their addition and given further potency. These symbols of transformation and power were negotiated in Pazyrykian ways and emphasise the important inter-relationships of animals and spirit powers. These also demonstrate the permeability of animal characteristics which were not bounded by Western linnaean classifications of biological species, but indicated the way in which animals and other creatures were conceived in the worldview of the Pazyryk. The deer and tau-teke did not only decorate numerous Pazyryk cultural objects but they were

special animals with inherent powers which were drawn upon the horses through the antlered and horned headdresses. Many horses were buried with higher status members of society which demonstrated the wealth, prestige and power of the deceased, while the very act of wearing these decorations and being placed in the tombs alongside with their owners transformed the horses in order to journey with their masters into the realms of the dead.

Land of the Griffins

Another important Pazyryk image connected to the horse was the griffin. The image of the griffin has been identified by scholars as playing a significant role in Pazyryk culture as it was used in numerous decorated objects. The saliency of griffins and gold in Pazyryk art has been hailed by scholars (e.g., Polos'mak 1994c; Samashev, Bazarbaeva, Zhumabekova & Sungatai 2000) as confirming Herodotus' tale of griffins who guarded gold in distant mountains and were only known to the strange people who lived in neighbouring lands (*Histories* IV, 13-27). The actual location of this region is speculative and the context of this tale in Herodotus' writings reflects his interest in the reporting of folklore and exotic travellers tales, like Indians acquiring gold from giant ants (III, 102-105) and the flying snakes which guard the trees of frankincense in Arabia (III, 107). Nevertheless the connections of griffins to Pazyryk society require more nuanced approaches than simplistic statements of being the 'land of the griffins'.

There are differing views amongst scholars about the identification of types of griffins in Pazyryk art but in general there is a tendency to consider many avian forms as griffins (e.g., Kubarev 1987). These creatures with avian bodies and 'griffin-like' heads have been called 'eagle-griffins' by Barkova (1987) but she has also identified three other griffin categories including predatory bird heads with griffin features, griffins with horse, tiger and ram features, and griffins with eagle-heads. In my analysis of Pazyryk art I found the 'eagle-griffin' category difficult to identify at times for these images could also be birds (e.g., the avian on the ceramic vessel at Bertek 27 kurgan 1) (figure 83).

The tallies of the images which were clearly griffins in my sample of 147 Pazyryk burials were significantly higher than the ones of human personal decoration (appendix 3, table 9). This could be argued as the result of archaeological bias due to the loss of evidence from the pillaging of the corpses, but looking at the human personal items counts of cervids, equids, felines and birds in table 9 they are much higher than the ones for the horses and many of these animal motifs are found in unrobbed burials. Therefore, there is a strong

case for griffins being more important to the domain of the horse in Pazyryk society than that of humans.

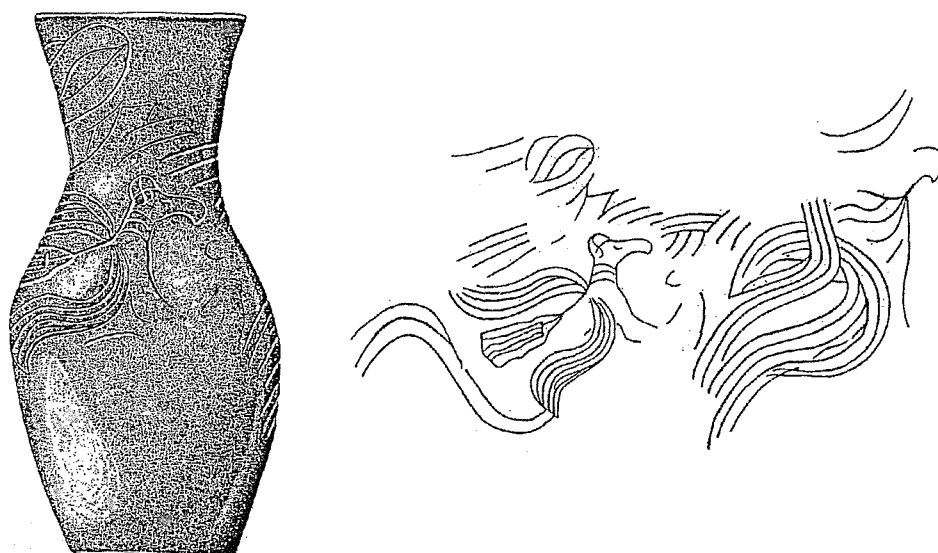


Figure 83. The ceramic vessel from Bertek 27 kurgan 1 with details of the designs (after Molodin 1992b: 29-30).

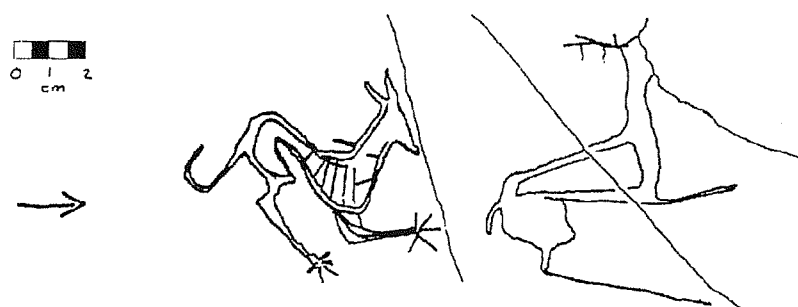


Figure 84. A scene from Eshkiol'mes, southeastern Kazakhstan with an animal believed to be a 'griffin' (tracing by the author).

Griffins are also known in the art of the Scythians of the Black Sea (e.g., Minns 1913; Phillips 1965; Artamonov 1969), however there is no conclusive evidence for the occurrence of griffins in the rock art of Central Asia. In particular, in my survey of the rock art of Kazakhstan there was one claim of the image of a griffin found at Eshkiol'mes (Mar'yashev 1994: 67), however, the image in question is ambiguous and could be possibly a predator or another animal (figure 84). The question becomes why is there an absence of griffins in the petroglyphs of Central Asia when they are found in the art of the Scytho-Siberians? Perhaps rock art was not considered to be a suitable medium for griffin images as the evidence from the Pazyryk burials indicates that the griffin was an important decorative element in the adornment of horses. Therefore, I contend this strongly suggests that the context of the griffin lay in the legitimisation and public display of owner's status via the medium of horse's body.

Furthermore, it is generally accepted that the griffin in Pazyryk art was derived from economic and political interactions with ancient Persian and Classical worlds (e.g., Rudenko 1958; Azarpay 1959; Rudenko 1970: 257). The griffin is argued to be one of many motifs found in the Pazyryk burials to have synthesised and integrated elements of the Achaemenid civilisation of Persia (Artamonov 1973: 276-278). However, I contend that the Pazyryk peoples were not passive recipients of the detritus from neighbouring civilisations and we need to relocate the griffin back into Pazyryk society and consider how its meaning(s) were negotiated within the Pazyryk worldview.

The image of the griffin was part of richly decorated horse headdresses, bridles and saddles found in burials that indicate these were persons of higher status in Pazyryk society (e.g., Pazyryk kurgans 1 & 2). At one level the griffin was a status symbol adorning another status symbol, the horse, but they were both actively used in the life and death of the person(s) who were laid to rest in the grave. Changes in lifestyle and the creation of new social relations and/or contesting previous orders can provide the expression of new (or challenging old) kinds of identities which in turn can be reflected in attire and appearance (Rochester 1999: 65). Therefore, I suggest the Pazyryk elite did not only adopt the symbols of power from another culture but in the very act of appropriation they renegotiated the role of griffins to their own needs and culturally specific ways.

Many researchers have commented that the kurgans represented nomadic chiefs and other high status individuals whose wealth came from controlling large numbers of domestic animals on behalf of a kinship group or by private ownership (Barkova 1978: 24). In several Inner Asian pastoral societies pasture was held in common by extended kinship groups while animals were private property (Barfield 1989: 22). Transhumant movements to these pastures were not random, but within a negotiated range of pastures to which a kinship group had access. A nomadic pastoralist's range was also defined by the socio-political authority of their kinship group; the stronger groups claimed the best pastures while lesser groups used them only after when they had moved on (*ibid.*).

The livestock and their products (wool, meat, milk, cheese) as well as and the pelts of wild animals were probably the medium of exchange in trade amongst local Pazyryk groups and neighbouring tribes as well as were probably a part of greater networks of distribution with distant ancient civilisations (Barkova 1978: 24). The Hsien-pi, for example, were nomadic 'barbarians' mentioned in Chinese Chronicles that dwelled around China's northern border around 2nd century AD and traded wild animals, birds and soft fur animals (sables, foxes and squirrels) to the Middle Kingdom of China (Kyzlasov 1996: 318) The horse and its pasturage was also probably important to the Pazyrykian economic interactions with other

external groups. The Chinese historical records c.100 BC also mention that the Chinese imported a special breed of horses from the Hsiung-nu in the west which were praised as being heavenly for they were believed to be descended from celestial horses of an upper heaven (Clutton-Brock 1996: 94).

Perhaps the Pazyryk elite were actively involved in the appropriation of elements of other cultures whose links (trade, exchange, battle) gave them greater political control over their own society. Maybe this resulted in a socio-political shift in society as the new wealthy members required their authority to be linked with the griffin and chose it to be an effective symbol of their socio-political power. The images of griffins and their display in horse regalia gave the individual as well as their family or kin-group a degree of social prominence but also provided a tangible resource that was used towards the empowerment of themselves in society. This increase of authority secured access for better pasturage for their livestock and to areas populated with fur bearing animals which allowed them to produce and hunt for more animals that were the basis of their economic power.

Socio-political power is also legitimised by association with supernatural forces. Part of the negotiation of a Mongol chief's role in society comes from conducting lineage sacrifices to the ancestors (Humphrey 1995). The chiefs of the Northwest Coast peoples wear crests of images of animals, which were not 'primitive idols' worshipped as 'totems', but visible reminders to the community of a bestowal of a gift from an ancestor or an animal society – as in their worldview the animals had social structures like the humans – obtained by the chief's ancestor (Hawthorn 1979; Ruddell 1995: 4-5). Perhaps, the power of the griffin was probably drawn upon by Pazyryk elite individuals through the performance of rites conducted by themselves or by an agent on their behalf, like elder members of the society or shamanic practitioners. Furthermore, as the spirits and other-than-humans can take on the form of animals, perhaps in the newly negotiated chiefly conceptions of the world the important spirits presented themselves as griffins.

The Altai mountains are rich in alpine flora, mammals and fish which were probably hunted and fished. Many of these animals were the inspirations for the imagery utilised by the Pazyryk culture. Originally, the griffin was not an indigenous creature but perhaps the beaked-nose deer with bird-headed antler tines (figure 1) may be an indigenous reinvention of the griffin which drew upon elements in the Pazyryk landscape.

As described at the beginning of this chapter, the Pazyryk dwelled in the various environs of the Altai mountains which are suitable for pasturage. Relations with the landscape and its inhabitants were not solely economically based as the evidence of Pazyryk burials and

animal petroglyphs indicates. For example, the Berel kurgans are situated on a flat grassy plateau surrounded on all sides by mountains (Samashev, Bazarbaeva, Zhumabekova & Francfort 2000: fig. 1) and present day local livestock herds freely graze around them (pers. observ.). The funerary landscape of the Pazyryk kurgans was then situated in terrains that are suitable for pasturage and placed amongst fields with burials from previous archaeological periods. The kurgans were building and maintaining identities between the living and the dead as the large mounds were visible remainders of the chiefs, elites and lineage ancestors. However, the kurgans were not only 'signposts' of wealth, rank and socio-political power in the landscape but embedded in the complexities of the Pazyryk world.

As I have discussed at the beginning of this chapter, there are animal images which cross the boundaries between the funerary goods of the kurgans and the petroglyphs carved into exposed rock surfaces. Therefore another constitutive aspect of the Pazyryk landscape were the petroglyphs and the spaces amongst the craggy rock outcrops (e.g., Molodin & Cheremisin 1994; Cheremisin 1995; Martynov & Miklashevich 1995). Petroglyphs were placed on a wide range of surfaces in a variety of rocky locations which could be easily visible or encountered by climbing steep mountain slopes. As I have argued in the previous chapter, some petroglyphs were probably placed in a more permeable part of the landscape that connected them with special powers. Even if there were no petroglyphs in the area created by Pazyryk members, they still would have encountered images carved by previous peoples of older times through their movements around the rocky spaces during the activities of daily life.

The kurgans and petroglyphs suggest different manifestations of power in the Pazyryk landscape and perhaps these were engaged with by different members of the community. It has been argued that the 'Altai bestiary' found in the Pazyryk art mediated or provided links between the worlds (Samashev, Bazarbaeva, Zhumabekova & Sungatai 2000: 44). As I have argued in the last chapter, the landscape is not some inert backdrop to human actions but full of agencies which can affect human life. Perhaps, the marals, argali, tau-teke and other animals in Pazyrykian art were spirits of place which manifested in the petroglyphs carved into the mountainous rock faces. Furthermore, there could have been a movement of the animal spirits up and down the mountains and across the alpine pastures as they were called upon in chiefly rituals to lineage ancestors or by shamanic practitioners seeking their assistance in exorcisms or for the alleviation of local community problems, like livestock fertility and personal misfortunes.

These animals were also depicted in the many items of material culture from personal attire to vessels, horse regalia and coffins, therefore in many ways these zoomorphic images were

part and parcel of local traditions and sensibilities. We should not think a people's culture is a static entity but it changes and adapts in its own pace and in its own ways which can be affected by internal and external socio-political pressures. Perhaps, amongst the Pazyryk there were emerging new groups in the continually ongoing social dynamics of change as a Pazyryk elite and/or other influential members of the community actively formulated and renegotiated their roles. In the depictions of griffins in Pazyrykian material culture we may have evidence for a particular, historically situated challenge to the local traditions of supernatural and political power. Perhaps, the wealthy Pazyryk chieftains wished to renegotiate their local socio-political systems and this involved new representations which had to be fashioned out of existing socio-religious experiences. Disputes with traditional practices and beliefs may have arisen from influences or contacts with outside socio-political systems. The representation and display of the equid body had then become an important location where this contestation of local identities manifested in Pazyryk society. Perhaps within these dynamic processes the image of the griffin came to the fore as the socio-political authority of the elite Pazyrykians grew and the elite actively incorporated new resources (the griffin) into the local ones (traditional animals utilised in the art) which assisted towards the legitimisation of their positions in society. In effect, they had reshaped and recreated the Pazyryk conception of the landscape and populated it with other-than-human beings in the form of griffins which they took with themselves into the grave. Therefore, we do not have a mythical land of the 'gold guarding griffins', but a living landscape where the Pazyryk griffins intimately entwined with the other zoomorphic images found in Pazyryk material culture, as they, and the other animals, were the active medium through which the different members of Pazyryk society interacted with themselves and the world around them.

Conclusion

This chapter discussed the roles of the animal imagery in the context the material culture of the Pazyryk society. Previous discussions of Scytho-Siberian animal art considered them representing a homogenous ideology that were the products of early nomadic economies which rendered their objects as relics of pastoralist societies and 'primitive' religions. The zoomorphic motifs in Pazyryk art were part of these stale discussions as the animals were simplistic mythological symbols which passively adorned the various articles of people's clothing and horse regalia. At one level the art was decorative, but it is important to consider that these decorations do not exist in a vacuum as they were produced by living persons and formed an important part of socially specific practices. The art and its zoomorphic imagery are embedded in social processes and the examination of its

idiosyncracities enables us to further understand how they were intimately connected to local knowledges that make up daily life. My approach represents a new direction in Pazyryk studies as it enters into fresh discussions about how people used the imagery in the construction of their identities as well as part of the way they engaged with the world around them. Crucial to this is the acceptance that there is no universal explanation for the animal motifs but their functions and meanings are contextually contingent on their location in society.

In consequence this has been a more wide-ranging examination of zoomorphic imagery as it has considered its usage amongst the various members of society ('chiefs', 'commoners', 'warriors', 'amazons' and 'shamans') and the decorations of their steeds. I explored a potential range of roles and ranks in Pazyryk society as each individual has salient identities contingent on their social context, and personal identity can involve such interlinking factors like age, gender, work role, social status, group affiliation, etc. The analysis of the animal imagery used in Pazyryk attire and tattoos revealed that they were individualistically and idiosyncratically employed but were also part of expressions of a person's identity within smaller sub-groups and the wider community. The zoomorphic images were intimately connected with how Pazyrykian individuals create and assert their own identities through their choices of decorative imagery on and off their bodies.

The zoomorphic images were not passive decorations worn on people and horses but also arguably manifestations of the world of spirits and ancestors which governed their lives. People's lives are constituted by interaction with the world around them and the animal imagery were part of multiple social contexts involving personal and group interactions. The diversity of practice and experiences amongst the various members of a society also leads us to realise that animal images are not passive objects but were also actively embedded in the political struggles of these individuals; images were utilised by persons to assert their personal identities, roles and authority in society. The Pazyryk were not some backwater tribe who were unable to generate autochthonic innovation without stimulus from other civilisations for even though they actively drew upon imagery from other distant societies they transformed into their own ways. Therefore all these factors contribute to the swirling vortex of interactions and connections in which the animals, art and society are intrinsically embedded.

Conclusion

Animals, art & society

The basis of this thesis has been the re-consideration of the so-called Scytho-Siberian 'animal style' as its unconditional acceptance has led to the homogenisation of a diversity of local art traditions across the Scytho-Siberian archaeological cultures of Central Asia. In order to move away from the sweeping essentialisations of art historical and history of religion approaches which have predominated the previous scholarship we need to explore new facets of the animal images through their different contexts which recognise the actions and experiences of the people who utilised them.

First, in chapter 1, it was necessary to scrutinise the basis of the argument for the existence of an 'animal style'. The artistic nature of the 'animal style' was founded by scholars at the beginning of the 20th century (Minns, Rostovtzeff and Borovka) who dealt with it not as a strict taxonomic category but as a general set of physical characteristics which reflected the arts of a large grouping of peoples across Eurasia collectively known as the Scytho-Siberians. The 'animal style' was employed as a universal principle which readily diffused itself into other societies yet at the same time it was autonomous to these societies. However, this is only an intellectual construction which researchers have employed to characterise the saliency of zoomorphic imagery across many diverse societies and it has not contributed any further explanations about their social contexts. We must recognise there is no one solution to all these contexts as the term the 'animal style' implies, so it is unnecessary to replace it with another term as it will only lead us down the route of universalisation once again. Instead what is needed is the adoption of more nuanced approaches that explore the contextual complexity of animals, art and society.

Whereas the art historical approach considered the formal aspects of the 'animal style', the content of the art was approached through traditional ideas from the history of religions. This has predominantly been inferred through 19th century concepts of 'sympathetic magic', 'totemism' and 'solarism' as well as ideas of a universal feminine divinity and the monolithic definition of shamanism. As discussed in chapter 2, these definitions were employed as universal characteristics of human societies yet their application ignored diversity and homogenised the phenomena under scrutiny into simple categories of accepted 'religious behaviours' for ancient peoples. Exploring the manifestations of religious phenomena in past societies requires us to be more explicit about our theory and methods so that we can build models which can examine new facets of the evidence with the hope of bringing greater understandings to the archaeological data.

Therefore, amongst the discussions in chapters 1 and 2, I have proposed the adoption of several important ways which move us towards greater understandings of the role of zoomorphic imagery in past societies. I contend that we need to highlight that art is a social phenomenon which is embedded in a society and has its own ways, experiences and power relations that are complexly connected to other aspects of society. This includes a move from a mechanistic view of religion, as a separate and bounded sphere from economy and society, to the recognition that people's lives are constituted by interactions with the world around including their social and material relationships with non-human agencies, like animals, rocks, mountains, spirits, ancestors and other-than-human beings. Most of all, the ancient art and rock art images were material realities that have agency and play an active role in social life.

The Iron Age chronologies of Central Asia have relied heavily on the presumed levels of social development of nomadic economies which are inherently culture-historic in their scope. Fresher perspectives were gained by my examination of the life histories of the animal imagery at a local level through two case studies involving the rock art and material culture from Iron Age archaeological cultures in Kazakhstan and the Gorno-Altai. In the case of the petroglyphs (chapter 3) I demonstrated that these rock carvings were intimately bound up in people lives as they moved through the places and spaces in the landscape during the course of their daily activities. Meanwhile, the case of the Pazyryk (chapter 4) provided different categories of material culture (personal attire, tattoos, horse regalia) that were given meaning through the way in which they were used and experienced in people's daily lives. The arguments in chapters 3 and 4 are not independent of one another; in each case I approached the issues of art and religion and worked towards a demonstration that the animal images are intimately situated in every day life and local knowledges.

In Central Asian rock art studies the 'animal style' is employed as a standard classificatory nomenclature by which the petroglyphs of the Iron Age were classified and dated. This has created a temporal unit peopled with homogenous societies but has misleadingly given the impression of conformity and staticness not only to cultural processes but also to the rock art itself. To move beyond these stale discussions I explored three case studies based on themes involving animals, visions and power in the petroglyphs and landscapes of Kazakhstan. This approach represents a new direction of research in Central Asian rock art studies as well as Sako-Scythian studies as it moves the study of landscape beyond a passive backdrop of economic resources and enters into productive discussions about how peoples conceptualise and interact with places and spaces around them. Amongst these discussions I argued that they were intimately connected to the activities of other-than-human agencies as the petroglyphs can be seen as a medium through which people and spirits interact. By focusing on the socio-politics of individuals, as well as their activities involving the world of daily life and the spirit world, I have significantly moved the discussion of 'shamanisms' forward by relocating Sako-Scythian practitioners into the complexities of their societies. The often neglected social dimensions are of crucial importance in discerning the significances of shamanic practices within a culture; this allows us to consider the diversity of shamanic expressions in order to readdress the methodological impasse of monolithic shamanism not only in Scytho-Siberian studies but rock art studies in general. In adopting this new approach Central Asian researchers are not searching for the same thing everywhere, but examining the specificity of these activities in their socio-historic context be it past or present societies (N. Thomas & Humphrey 1994; Humphrey 1994; Blain & Wallis 2000: 398). Though it is argued that there are connections of the rock art to shamanic realities in Kazakhstan, this does not mean that shamans are the only individuals in the social reproduction of rock art, for others have links to rock art in society as there are a multiple engagements which can take place at a site. Therefore, not only has this chapter presented the first comprehensive survey of rock art studies in Kazakhstan for English speakers, but it has provided important theoretical and methodological contributions to the internationally expanding field of Central Asian petroglyph research.

Whereas chapter 3 dealt only with one specific form of material culture, petroglyphs, chapter 4 dealt with a wider range of materials found amongst the burials of humans and horses in the Pazyryk archaeological culture of the Gorno-Altai. In order to clarify these contexts I conducted a quantitative analysis to determine basic relationships of what artefacts were decorated with zoomorphic imagery and those that were not. Though there has been a general agreement of the ubiquitous nature of animals in the art my analysis has been the first attempt to quantify what classes of artefacts were actually decorated as such. A further analysis of animal motif to artefact category revealed most animal images were used to adorn all objects while the griffin, considered by some researchers to be the most important symbol of the

Pazyryk, was primarily associated with horse regalia. However, all the animal ornamented artefacts were entangled objects, objects embedded in the web of relationships that make up society. The Pazyryk animal imagery were used in the attire, personal belongings and tattoos of women, men and children and they were a part of the repertoire of expressions of a person's identity within their kin group and the wider community. I have also significantly moved gender studies in Scytho-Siberian studies by considering more fluid constructions as hinted by archaeological evidence of 'Amazons' and historical allusions to 'enarees' with the hope this will be developed by other scholars in the future. The zoomorphic images were intimately connected with how Pazyrykian individuals create and assert their own identities through their choices of decorative imagery on and off their bodies. This included the body of the horse which was decorated with regalia full of animal motifs, especially that of the griffin, but by the same token the horses and zoomorphic images were mediums that actively negotiated the status and authority of specific members of Pazyryk society.

Implications & future research directions

Overall, my goal is to revitalise the way we approach zoomorphic imagery found in the Early Nomadic cultures of the 1st millennium BC. The stale discussions of the Scytho-Siberian 'animal style' in terms of origin, florescence and transmission have been given a new dimension as the conceptions of the objects have shifted from being autonomous entities to society to the recognition that they are intimately connected to peoples lives. This involves moving away from blanket explanations and seeking fresher ways of understanding the multi-facets of the evidence and relocating the practice of art production and the role its plays back into society.

When looking at animal images in art and rock art the very nature of their visuality creates a tendency to privilege the physical form of the objects over the social processes that they were embedded within. This leads to the implication that art and petroglyphs are a product, outcome and even the residue of social processes, which merely reflects socio-economic and religio-ideological structures, rather than as an active medium of social processes. The artists undoubtedly had the technical skills, design sensibilities and knowledge of culturally significant images and motifs but the ornamented art is much more, as it is a part of local knowledges and actively utilised in the socio-political identities of its producers and consumers.

However my explorations had constraints imposed upon them which reflected the current state of Iron Age and Saka archaeology. First, with regards to the Iron Age archaeology of Kazakhstan there needs to be clarification of the ambiguous reporting of stones found in

kurgan burial structures with petroglyph images upon them. We need to confidently determine with more controlled excavation techniques whether or not there is a regular pattern of petroglyph carved blocks being used as mound building materials and to explore the possibility of them being deliberately placed in burial structures, like the ones in the cist graves of the later Bronze Age at Tamgaly (Rogozhinskii 1999).

Additionally, amongst Saka artefacts there is a possibility that animal images, such as winged lion figures, played a similar role to that of the image of the griffin in the Pazyryk. In particular, there are no petroglyph images of these winged felines but they are a prominent motif found on Saka artefacts from Kazakhstan and neighbouring East Turkestan (China) which could be also related to the constructions of chiefly identities. However, before this can happen the corpus of information about Sako-Scythian archaeology in Kazakhstan requires further development as its current level is insufficient for a detailed examination of the all animal motifs found in their material culture. Archaeologists have made important contributions to Saka archaeology (e.g., K.A Akishev & Kushaev 1963; Chernikov 1965; K.A. Akishev 1978), but more systematic fieldwork and its dissemination through publication is still required in order to examine the wider spectrum of burials other than larger kurgans. There is also a need to explore the possibility of animal ornaments located in non-funerary contexts, as hinted by chance finds of 'pedestaled altars' decorated with winged felines (e.g., Bernshtam 1949, 1952a), which may bring forth new lines of evidence to future research.

The emphasis of the overlap of Scytho-Siberian and Sako-Siberian material culture found in Central Asian archaeological assemblages has addressed some issues of regional divergences, but has not appreciated fully the socio-cultural complexity of singular group identities. As our knowledge expands about Iron Age archaeology in Kazakhstan, we could then look forward to a detailed re-examination of animal imagery in the Saka period, as well as the early and later Iron Age cultures of Tasmola and Sarmatian in central and northern Kazakhstan. This would also entail future comparisons to the Gorno-Altai Iron Age of the Maiemer phase through the Pazyryk to the later Shibe phase as the comparisons between these ancient Central Asian peoples have the potential to highlight the differences in the ways communities were organised as well as the way they drew upon their material resources in the constitution of gendered identities and power. This will assist us in moving away from the pan-Scytho-Siberian approach which concatenates them into a single unified culture and more appropriately treat them as complex, shifting and co-existing communities as we explore their idiosyncrasies and diversities.

In essence, the aim of this thesis is to encourage a change in the way we approach so-called 'animal style' art and petroglyphs and relocate them from the fringes of archaeological enquiry and place them central to the study of Early Nomadic cultures of the 1st millennium BC. The

theorising of art and religious phenomena allows us to tie the animal images, archaeological contexts, landscape and social processes together. Therefore, this is only the beginning of a re-examination of animals, art and society in Scytho-Siberian studies with wider implications for rock art and archaeological studies worldwide.

Petroglyph sites surveyed in Kazakhstan

The following is a brief guide to the petroglyph sites which I had visited during three years of seasonal fieldwork within the Republic of Kazakhstan. The sites are listed in alphabetical order and divided into places of major and lesser concentrations of petroglyphs. The following does not contain a complete petroglyph corpus of each site for some sites such as Arpauzen and Tamgaly have already been well published and it would be redundant to reiterate their details over again. Instead I provide a general synopsis of the groups, brief descriptions of images and supplement them with selected relevant field recordings. It is acknowledged that the word descriptions are problematic, but they can provide a very basic introduction to the reader of what images are present. There was an attempt in the field to adhere to the petroglyph groupings established by previous researchers, however, their exact extent was ambiguous at times. It is hoped, based on all available information at hand, that the images are generally accorded to their previously designated groupings.

The application of absolute techniques so far have met with little success for dating images carved into the exposed cliffs and rocky hillsides, therefore relative dating is the prevalent means of age determination (Sher & Garyaeva 1996: 120). The standard sequence commonly employed in Central Asian petroglyph studies follows the traditional prehistoric ages of technological development and progresses into early historical periods: Bronze Age, Iron Age, Hunnic, Early Turkic, and the Middles Ages (e.g., Mar'yashev 1994). In figure 6 (p. 8) I have provided a table summary of later Bronze Age and Iron Age archaeological cultures of Kazakhstan. The Hunnic period lumps together a diversity of pastoralist societies between 200 BC to 200 AD around western China, Mongolia, southern Siberia and southern Kazakhstan. Some peoples were recorded in Chinese writings as the Hsiung-nu which is referred to as the Wu-sun period in Kazakhstani scholarship. The Early Turkic period refers to the rise and spread of the Turkic speaking peoples whose home according to Chinese writings is believed to be in the Altai (Barfield 1989: 131-163). The Turkic empire flourished

around 6th-8th AD. The final generalisation is the Middles Ages. It implies post-Turkic times and is yet another catch-all term covering a complex diversity of historically attested groups, where in some cases they are the ancestors of some of today's Central Asian peoples (e.g., Uighurs, Mongols). Overall, these general terms used in petroglyph chronology provide a broadly acceptable framework though we must be critical of their use and limitations.

MAJOR SITES

Arpauzen

Etymology

Variants: Arpa-Uzen, Arpaozen, Arpaözen.

It is derived from the Kazakh root words of *arpa* 'barley' and *özen* 'river'.

Survey date

April 1998.

Survey participants

This survey was organised in cooperation with the following institutions: the Institute of Prehistory, Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznan, Poland; Margulan Institute of Archaeology, Almaty, Kazakhstan; South Kazakhstan Oblast Historical and Local History Museum, Shymkent, Kazakhstan; and the Institute of Archaeology, Samarkand, Uzbekistan.

First discovery

The Arpauzen petroglyphs were found in 1971 during the extensive field survey of the archaeological monuments in the Karatau mountains under the direction of M.K. Kadyrbaev (Kadyrbaev & Mar'yashev 1972; Mar'yashev 1994: 39). Several petroglyph sites were identified during this campaign and details of the large concentration of petroglyphs at Arpauzen were published in 1977 by Kadyrbaev & Mar'yashev.

Geographical coordinates

43°50' N, 68° 50' E

Location

Arpauzen is the name of an area in the foothills below the Karatau mountains near the village of Abai in the Kalinina Suzakskii region of the South-Kazakhstan oblast. Directly to the west

of Abai in the Kalinina Suzakskii region of the South-Kazakhstan oblast. Directly to the west

of Abai, on the opposite side of the Karatau, is the historic town of Turkistan (a famous medieval town and centre of Sufi activity in Central Asia).

Physical character

The Arpauzen area is delimited by the Arpauzen river to the northwest and the foot of the Karatau mountains in the southwest. The foothills in which Arpauzen is located is in a vantage point between the Karatau mountains to the west and the great expanse of the flat steppe to the east. The petroglyphs are found in the exposed edges at the end of a raised plateau directly in front of the spurs of the Kelinshek and Bosaga mountains which form part of the eastern side of the Karatau mountain range. The highest peak of the local area is the distinctly shaped Kelinshek-tau which provides an excellent reference point for the Arpauzen area.

Petroglyph summary

The Arpauzen petroglyphs were placed upon the exposed sandstone edges of the foothills (Kadyrbaev & Mar'yashev 1977: 80). They were either carved with some sort of tool that could create fine lines and contours or they were knocked out by hitting the surface with another stone. The Arpauzen petroglyphs predominately cluster upon the middle and upper slopes along ravines and the upper mounts. These hills and valleys were divided into eight groupings of rock engravings by Kadyrbaev & Mar'yashev (1977).

The first three groups are on southeast slopes of a hill with a stream at its base.

Group 1. Notable images include: bulls, archers, dogs, goats, and horses.

Group 2. Notable images include: bactrian camels, goats, and horses.

Group 3. Notable images include: a hunting scene of large goat, camels, dogs, and *Casuarinus casuarinus* (ostrich-like birds), and the famous scene of 2 bactrian camels used on the back of the 50 Tenge banknote of the Republic of Kazakhstan (figure A1). Newly discovered images include: rectangular shapes, two animals on a grid (figure A2), and a scene of two rows of dots with tiny human figures (figure A4).

Group 4 is located at the end of the ridge down from groups 1-3. Notable images include: bulls, camels, humans with bows, dogs, deer, horses, and *Casuarinus casuarinus* (ostrich-like birds).

Group 5 is the southeast side of the hill with a valley fed by a stream from the dam of Kol'-Togan reservoir. Notable images include: a large multi-layered scene of Sako-Scythian deer, and a scene with a deer with 3 canids and a spiral (figure A5).

Group 6 is north-west of groups 1-3, and resides on the upper part of another hill and its adjacent slopes. Notable images include: a scene of several humans figures, camels, and deer.

Group 7 is a ridge north of groups 1-3 and 6. Notable images include: camels, goats, and a newly discovered scene of a deer with a honeycomb on its back (figure A3).

Group 8 is believed to be a continuation 7 which goes to the edge of the foothills, however we could not locate this group during our fieldwork survey. The group is noted for a scene of several animals with a Scythian deer.

The images of Arpauzen have been chronologically partitioned into the Bronze Age, Iron Age and periods of more recent times (Kadyrbaev & Mar'yashev 1977; Mar'yashev 1994). Arpauzen is important to Sako-Scythian studies in Kazakhstan and Central Asia because of the presence of the 'animal style' deer on Arpauzen V surface 37 (figure A5) and Arpauzen V surface 69.

Archaeology

Near the Arpauzen river there is a row of small kurgans which face in a line towards the mountains. This pattern is a common occurrence as there are, for example, lines of kurgans also at the foot of the Karakungei mountains, southeast Kazakhstan (see Karakungei 1 below). In the next plateau north of the Arpauzen river there are several large kurgans with robber trenches.

In the plateau west of the reservoir there is a large kurgan with a 'moustache', two ridges of piled rocks which come out of the kurgan. This kurgan had a robber's trench but I am not aware if any archaeological investigation had taken place here. The phenomena of 'moustache' kurgans is widespread in Kazakhstan and are found in the northern and eastern regions (Sulimirski 1976: 224, 227). They have connections with the Iron Age Tasmola culture of Central Kazakhstan (Kadyrbaev 1966) and a similar form also occurred in the Ural-Kazakhstan steppes during 7-6th centuries BC (Koryakova 2000a: 159).

There is the remains of square wall enclosing a large area with mature poplar trees. These are the only trees in this vicinity as the vegetation is a treeless steppe. According to the locals it is possibly related to Sufi activity in the area. Directly west on the other side of the Karatau

range is the historic city of Turkistan. Turkistan has been important site of Muslim pilgrimage since the Middle Ages and it was a famous centre of Sufi teaching.

Known petroglyph sites in vicinity

Petroglyphs are found at Koibagar which is 30 km northwest of Arpauzen and Baba-Ata 40 km to the southeast. Koibagar has a large concentration of petroglyphs (Kadyrbaev & Mar'yashev 1973) details of which were published along with Arpauzen in the same volume (Kadyrbaev & Mar'yashev 1977). The Bronze Age Arpauzen petroglyphs are believed to be related in subject and style to the Bronze Age petroglyphs of Koibagar (Kadyrbaev & Mar'yashev 1977: 81). The published tracings of Baba-Ata (Senigova 1962) are not of a high standard and make it difficult to establish any connections to Arpauzen.

Key published works

Kadyrbaev & Mar'yashev 1972; Kadyrbaev & Mar'yashev 1973; Kadyrbaev & Mar'yashev 1977; Mar'yashev 1994; Lymer 1999a; Lymer 2002; Lymer forthcoming.

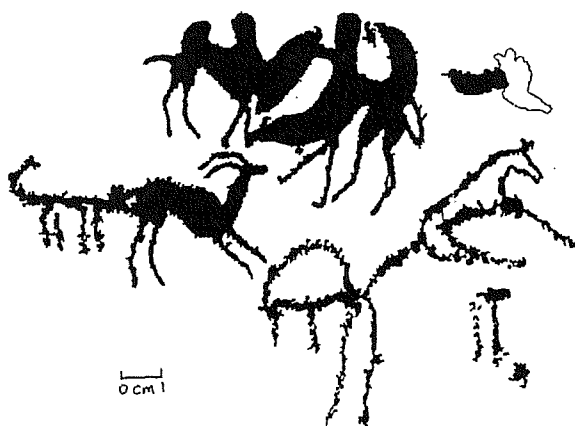


Figure A1. A new tracing of Arpauzen III surface 85.



Figure A2. A new scene from Arpauzen III of two animals on a grid.

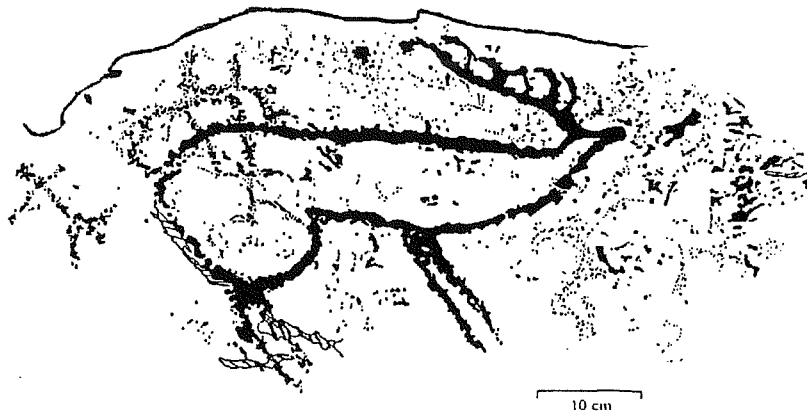


Figure A3. A new scene from Arpauzen VII of a Sako-Siberian deer.

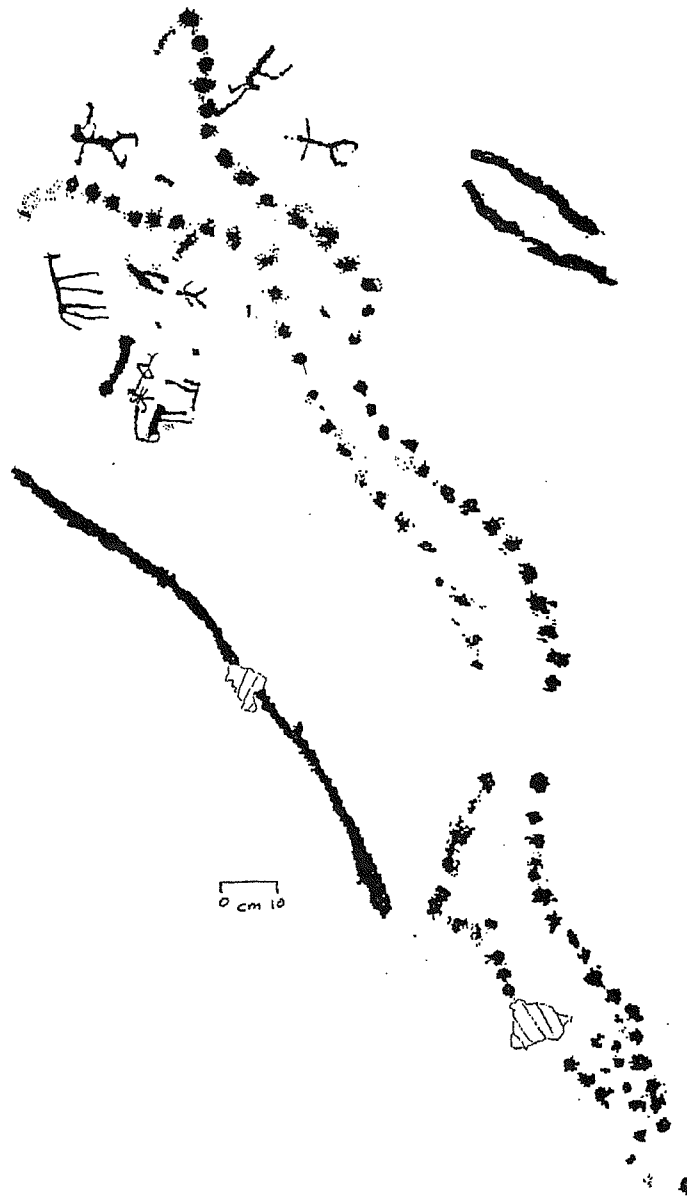


Figure A4. A new scene from Arpauzen III of two rows of dots.

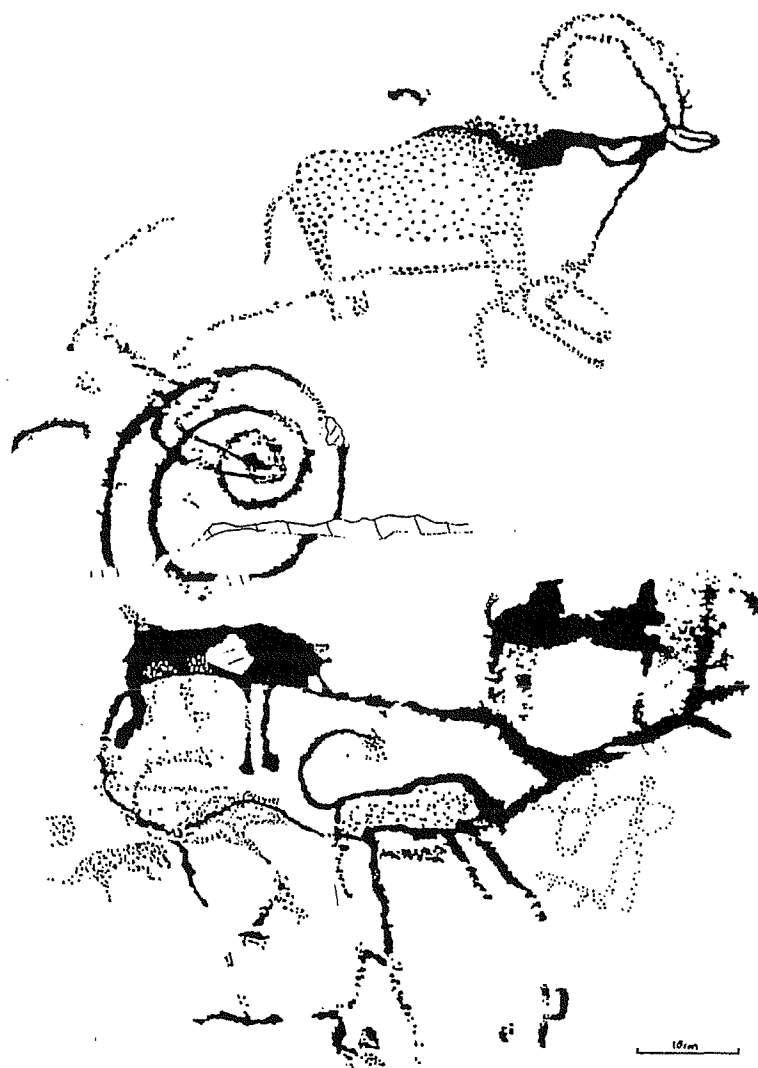


Figure A5. A new tracing of Arpauzen V surface 37.

Bayan Zhurek

Etymology

Variant: Boyen-Zhurek, Bayanzharyk.

Boyen/Bayan is a common Kazakh name for a girl.

Survey date

June 1999.

Survey participants

This survey was undertaken in cooperation with the Margulan Institute of Archaeology, Almaty.

Discovery

Petroglyphs were discovered in 1979-1980 during field surveys in the Zhungarian Alatau area conducted by the Semirech'e expedition of the Institute of History, Archaeology and Ethnography AN KazSSR (A.K. Akishev 1981).

Geographical coordinates

45° 8' N, 79°13' E

Location

The Bayan Zhurek mountains are approximately 25 km east of the village of Kapal in the Taldykorghan region, Almaty oblast, southeast Kazakhstan (Samashev 1998: 197).

Physical character

The Bayan Zhurek mountains are separated by the flat plain of Kurymbel' from the Zhungarian Alatau range, but the distance to them is less than 10 km. The river Muzdybulak flows north from the Zhungarian Alatau and passes by the base of the western end of Bayan Zhurek hills. There is a great concentration of petroglyphs in the exposed rock of the western end of the Bayan Zhurek mountains. They reside among the steep cliffs of a valley and extend along an adjacent ridge leading up the highest peak in the western end of the range.

Petroglyph summary

The hillsides are very steep and require one to be physically fit in order to clamber up and down them. The petroglyphs occur only in the middle and upper zones of the hills. They are carved with the use of some sort of tool to create fine lines and contours or knocked out by hitting the surface with another stone. The petroglyph concentrations have been subdivided into seven zones by previous researchers (Z.S. Samashev pers. comm. 2000) but their work remains unpublished at the moment.

Group 0 begins at the western end of the valley of the first concentration. The images found here are believed to date to the early Turkic period.

Group 1 is directly next east to group 0. There is a scene of human figures with pantaloons and the side view of a cart which all are believed to date to the Middle Ages.

Group 2 is directly next to group 1. There are images of goats, deer and a spiral.

Group 3 is directly next to group 2. There are images of goats, deer, an unique human figure with an elaborate headdress (figure A7), and duelling sultans on horseback (figure A8).

Group 4 is directly next to group 3. Notable images include deer, goats, and duelling sultans on horseback.

Group 5 is the ridge leading to the highest point in the western part of the mountains. Notable images include: deer, goats, humans, and Saka boars (figure A9).

Group 6 is on the mount of the highest peak in the western end of the Bayan Zhurek mountains. Notable images include: scenes of goats, a caprid with dots (figure A10), a chariot, and another unique figure with an elaborate headdress (figure A11).

On the north side of the valley of Groups 0-4 there is a new concentration of petroglyphs which I have nominally designated as group 7. In this group there are images of dots (figure A6), animals and Turkic horse riders.

Archaeology

At the base of groups 0-1 there is a stone circle used to ring a yurt and a square stone coral which both relate to a 19th century Kazakh occupation. On the hill directly opposite the river from the petroglyphs are 19th century Kazakh mudbrick mausoleums which are in a poor state of preservation.

In the plain of Kurymbel' there is a small cluster of kurgans with outer circle pavements which date to the Late Saka/Wusun period (3rd century BC - 3rd century AD).

Known petroglyph sites in vicinity

At Chimbulak there are petroglyphs on the side of a mountain near the Kapal river which is 15 km northwest of Kapal village (A.K. Akishev 1982). The Chimbulak imagery includes: a scene of 12 archers hunting a gigantic 'griffin', a chariot, snakes, and geometrics similar to ones at Saimaly-Tash (Kyrgyzstan). Unfortunately, no images were published so the 'griffin' and geometrics are not confirmable.

Karasai is an area along the Kapal river bordering the Mungshukur mountains, which are on the opposite side of the Kurymbel' plain from Bayan Zhurek (Mirzabaev & Aldiyarov 1995: 136-137). At Karasai there are images of horse riders and goats along with Kazakh engravings of Islamic motifs and an Arabic inscription of the name 'Mohammed', but details of these were not published.

Petroglyphs were found at Kyzyl, Zhanbas and Aulie-tuma in the area between the villages of Kapal and Arasan (A.K. Akishev 1982: 429). In regards to Kyzyl there was only one photo of

a chariot scene published (A.K. Akishev 1982: 429). Zhanbas is still unpublished and is only cited in A.K. Akishev 1982. Aulie-tuma is near the Bien river and has Saka goats, Buddhist inscriptions, Kazakh inscriptions and *tamga*; however, no images were published (Mirzabaev & Aldiyarov 1995: 135-136).

Karakungei 1, 2, 3 (see below).

Key published works

A.K. Akishev 1981; Mar'yashev & Goryachev 1998; Samashev 1998; Lymer 1999b; Samashev 1999.



Figure A6. A new scene of dots.

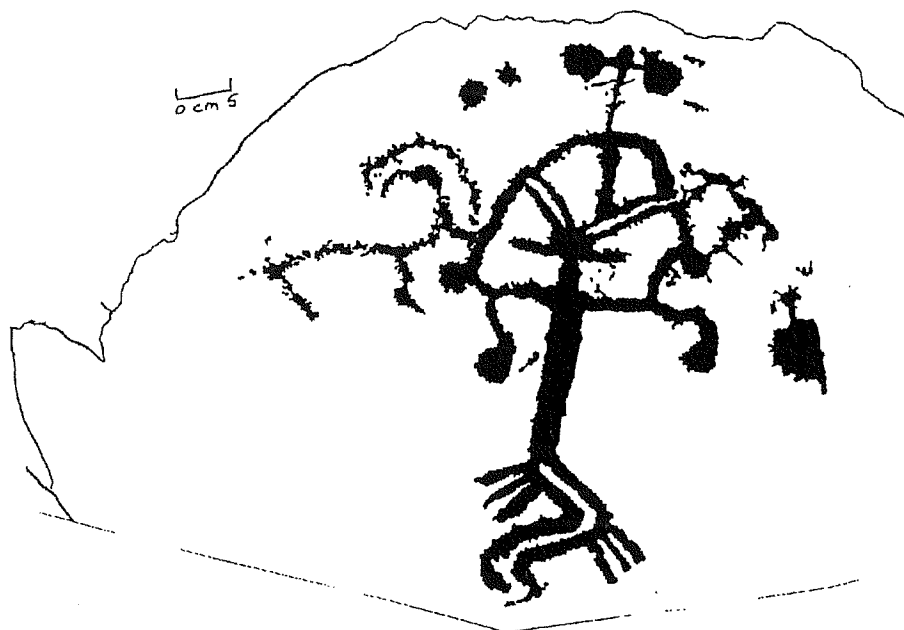


Figure A7. A new tracing of the anthropomorph from group 2.



Figure A8. A new tracing of a scene from group 3 with a 'sultan'.

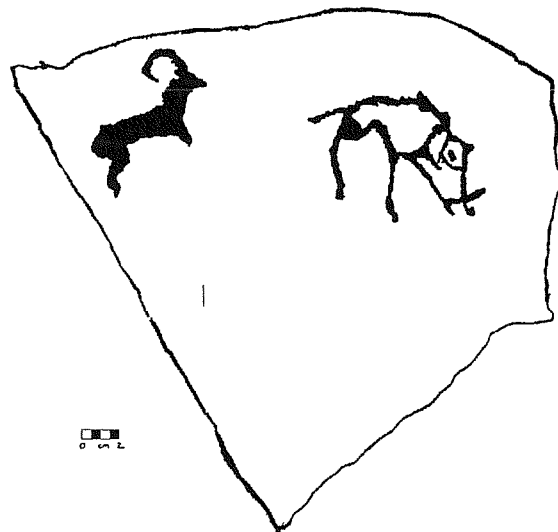


Figure A9. A new scene from group 5 of a Sako-Scythian boar.

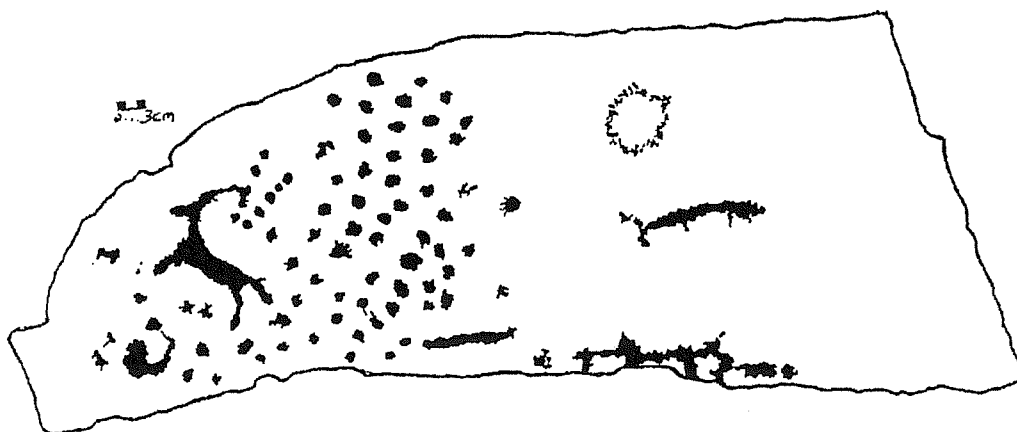


Figure A10. A new scene from group 6 of a caprids with dots.



Figure A11. A new tracing of an anthropomorphic figure from group 6.

Eshkiol'mes

Etymology

Variant: Eshki-ol'mes, Eshkiul'mes, Eshkiölmes.

It is derived from the Kazakh root word of *eshki*, 'goat', and means 'the place where goats will not die because there is grass to feed on'.

Survey date

June 1999.

Survey participants

This survey was undertaken in cooperation with the Margulan Institute of Archaeology, Almaty.

Discovery

The petroglyphs of Eshkiol'mes were discovered in 1981 by the geologist L.I. Skrynnik (Mar'yashev & Rogozhinskii 1991: 3) and their systematic archaeological study has continued ever since.

Geographical coordinates

44° 48' N, 78° 23' E

Location

The Eshkiol'mes hills are a 30 km long western spur of the greater Zhungarian Alatau range which divides Kazakhstan from China. The Eshkiol'mes hills rise from the terrace of the north bank of the Koksus river. Due south on the opposite side of the Koksus is the town of Talapty (formerly known as Zhapsharkak) which is 27 km south of the city of Taldykorgan in the Taldykorgan region, Almaty oblast, southeast Kazakhstan.

Physical character

The south side of the Eshkiol'mes mountains are exposed sandstone rock cliffs, while the north side is made of gently sloping hills covered with grass. There are several concentrations of petroglyphs along the jagged hills and steep valleys. At the base of the hills is the terrace of the river valley.

Petroglyph summary

The petroglyphs are engraved in the exposed sandstone of the southern facing part of the Eshkiol'mes hills. The images are found throughout the hills and ravines. The hills are very steep and again require one to be physically fit in order to clamber up and down them. The petroglyphs are predominately located in the middle to upper zones of the hills. There are a few images which are at the terrace level and tend to be small images in isolated spots. They were either carved with the use of a tool to create fine lines and contours or knocked out by hitting the surface with another stone. Eshkiol'mes is noted for its exceptionally fine cut images made of thin lines or scratchings. The petroglyph clusters have been divided in four groups, but our examinations could not locate 'group 4'.

Group 1 is the most western hill and has images of goats, deer and human figures. Notable scenes include: a chariot with horses (one horse was re-cut into an Iron Age goat) (figure A12), and a multi-animal scene with an elk. A new scene with a multi-figured scene with a column emitting a zigzag (figure A13).

Group 2 is the next concentration east from group 1. Notable scenes include: recumbent Scythian deer (figure A14), figures wearing caftans and carrying bows and arrows, and a large deer with many fine line scratchings.

Group 3 is the next concentration east from group 2. The most notable scenes involve 2 groups of Saka eagles (figures A15, A16).

Group 4's location is unknown and it is not clear from the published sources what images belong to it.

The images are divided into the Bronze Age, Iron Age, Early Turkic period and Middle Ages. The Bronze Age is believed to be represented by scenes of chariots (e.g., figure A12). The Iron Age is believed to be represented by the presence of archers with Scythian type bows (Mar'yashev, Gorjashev, Potopov 1998: 18), while there is an one-to-one correspondence of eagle petroglyphs to Saka artefacts (figure A15, A16). Figures which appear to be wearing a caftan (a long tunic which hangs down to the knees) are believed to belong to the Early Turkic period or the Middle Ages.

Archaeology

Later Bronze age cist cemeteries (Talapy I, II; Kuygan I, II, III) were found in the upper river terrace. There has been no indication in published sources of petroglyphs being engraved on the cist slabs as there is the case of Tamgaly (see below). A Bronze Age settlement was found to the west of the Talapy II cemetery, while another settlement was located at where the Zalgisagash river joins the Koksu river.

Iron Age kurgans are present but it is not known if they were excavated.

Known petroglyph sites in vicinity

Terekty, Taldysai and Orkozhandy are all further east from Eshkiol'mes along the Koksu river. Terekty and Taldysai are near the village of Begash (var. Bigash). Begash is in turn near the larger village of Zhalgyzagash which is 12 km southeast from Talapy village where Eshkiol'mes lies. Terekty is a cluster of petroglyphs found in a canyon 4 km east of Begash village (Goryachev & Mar'yashev n.d.: 4). The images at Terekty were of goats, bulls, horses, argali, birds, deer, horses, humans, and predators, but have not been published as of yet. Information on Taldysai and Orkozhandy have not been published as they are only cited as map entries (Mar'yashev, Gorjachev & Potopov 1998: fig. 1).

Key published works

Mar'yashev & Rogozhinskii 1991; Mar'yashev 1994; Mar'yashev & Goryachev 1998; Mar'yashev, Gorjachev & Potopov 1998.

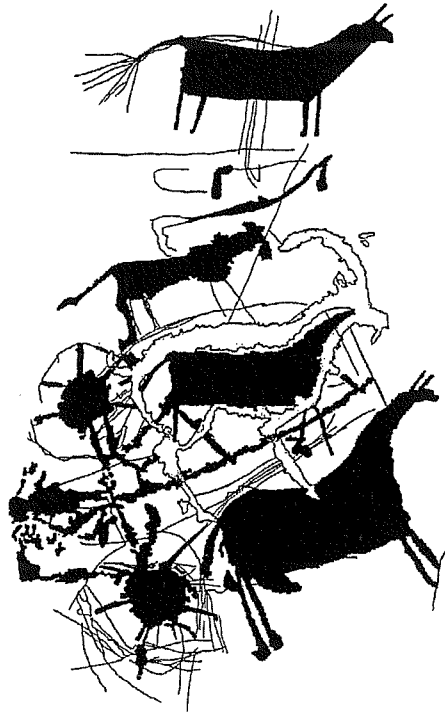


Figure A12. A new tracing of a scene from group 1 of a Bronze Age chariot with one horse recut as a Sako-Scythian caprid.



Figure A13. A new scene from group 1 with the image of a column emitting zigzags.



Figure A14. A new scene of Sako-Scythian deer from group 2.



Figure A15. A new tracing of the scene with Sako-Scythian eagles in group 3.



Figure A16. A new tracing of the second scene with Sako-Scythian eagles in group 3.

Karakungei 1

Etymology

It is derived from the Kazakh root words of *kara*, 'black', and *kungei*, 'sun side', therefore it means 'the stones burnt black by the sun'.

The site is also known as Dzhangsugurov which is the Russian form of the nearby Kazakh town of Zhansugir.

Survey

July 2000.

Survey participants

This survey was undertaken in cooperation with the Margulan Institute of Archaeology, Almaty.

Discovery

Petroglyphs were discovered around 1979-1980 during field surveys in the Zhungarian Alatau region conducted by the Semirech'e expedition of the Institute of History, Archaeology and Ethnography AN KazSSR (A.K. Akishev 1981).

Geographical coordinates

45° 22' N, 79° 31' E

Location

Karakungei 1 is along a high ridge in the Karakungei mountains, Almaty oblast, southeast Kazakhstan. It is south of the village of Zhansugir and is found along the road from Zhansugir to the village of Arasan. The Aksu river defines eastern boundary of Karakungei mountains while the Bien river defines the west.

Physical character

The mountains of Karakungei are very steep and Karakungei 1 has a large concentration of petroglyphs on a high spur in the mountains. There are no local streams or source springs, just high peaks with sparse vegetation.

Petroglyph summary

Karakungei 1 has a concentration of petroglyphs along the side of hills facing south towards the Zhungarian Alatau. Fieldwork in 2000 reconfirmed published reports of the main hill and discovered several smaller concentrations along the linking ridge. The petroglyphs were either

carved with the use of some sort of tool to create fine lines and contours or they were knocked out by hitting the surface with another stone. We were unaware of any previous zonation so we identified 7 groups during the course of our fieldwork.

Group 1 is the main hill along the southern side of the Zhansugir-Arasan road. Notable images include: *Casuarius casuaris* (ostrich-like birds) (figure A17), goats, deer, and humans.

Group 2 is next in the ridge beside Group 1. Notable images include: a chariot scene, humans, dogs, horses, horse riders, and goats.

Group 3 is next along on the ridge beside Group 2. Notable images include: goats, bulls, deer (figure A18), dogs, and a feline.

Group 4 is a hill below group 3. Notable images include: a Turkic warrior, and a Turkic horse rider.

Group 5 is farther down the ridge from Group 3. The images were not recorded.

Group 6 is farther down the ridge from Group 5. The images were not recorded.

Group 7 is farther down the ridge from Group 6. Notable images include: a scene with dots, a Turkic warrior on horse, and goats.

The petroglyph chronology ranges from the Bronze age and Saka/Hun periods to the Early Turkic period and later Middle Ages (A.K. Akishev 1981; Mirzabaev & Aldiyarov 1995).

Archaeology

In the north plain at the foot of the Karakungei hills there are many kurgans (A.K. Akishev 1983: 449) which are in single lines facing towards the Karakungei hills.

Known petroglyph sites in vicinity

Karakungei 2 & 3 (see below).

Petroglyphs were found at Kyzyl, Zhanbas and Aulie-tuma in the area between the villages of Kapal and Arasan (A.K. Akishev 1982: 429). With regards to Kyzyl there was only one photo of a chariot scene published (A.K. Akishev 1982: 429). Zhanbas is still unpublished and is only cited in A.K. Akishev 1982. Aulie-tuma is near the Bien river and has Saka goats, Buddhist inscriptions, Kazakh inscriptions and *tamga*, however, no images were published (Mirzabaev & Aldiyarov 1995: 135-136).

Bayan Zhurek (see above).

At Chimbulak there are petroglyphs on the side of a mountain near the Kapal river which is 15 km northwest of Kapal village (A.K. Akishev 1982). The Chimbulak imagery includes: a scene of 12 archers hunting a gigantic 'griffin', a chariot, snakes, and geometrics similar to ones at Saimaly-Tash (Kyrgyzstan). Unfortunately, no images were published so the 'griffin' and geometrics are not confirmable.

Karasai is an area along the Kapal river bordering the Mungshukur mountains, which are on the opposite side of the Kurymbel' plain from Bayan Zhurek (Mirzabaev & Aldiyarov 1995: 136-137). At Karasai there are images of horse riders and goats along with Kazakh engravings of Islamic motifs and an Arabic inscription of the name 'Mohammed', but these were not published.

Key published works

A.K. Akishev 1981; Mirzabaev & Aldiyarov 1995.

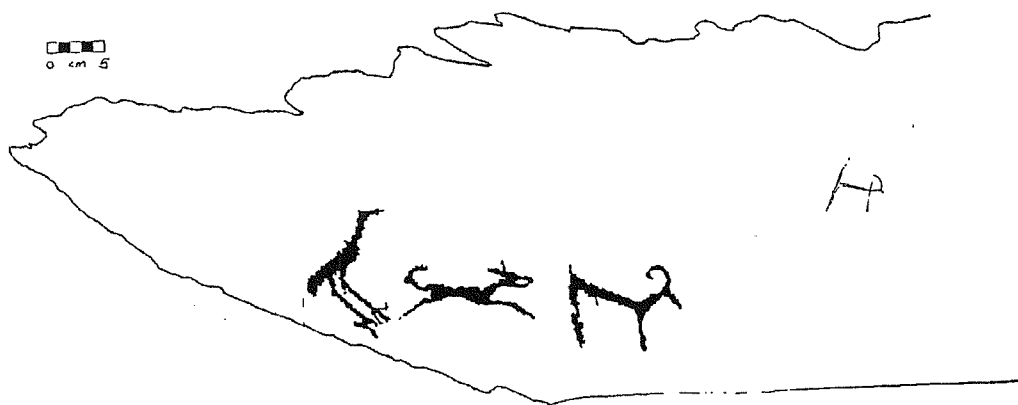


Figure A17. A new tracing of a scene from group 1 featuring a *Casuarius casuarius* bird.

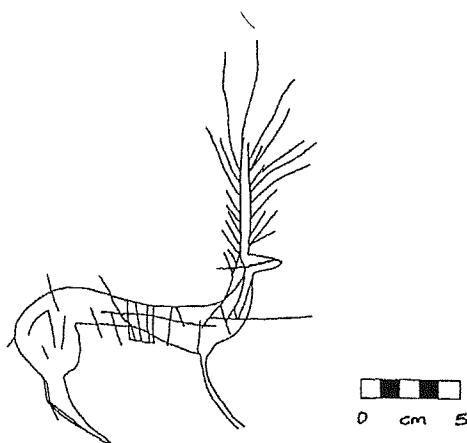


Figure A18. A new tracing of a deer in group 3.

T a m g a l y

Etymology

Variant: Tangbaly.

It is derived from the Kazakh root word *tamga*, 'clan mark' or 'symbol', thus *Tamgaly* is 'the place of the symbols'.

Survey date

July 1999, July 2000.

Survey participants

In 1999 the survey was made in cooperation with the Institute of Conversation and Restoration of Cultural Monuments, Almaty, and in 2000 in cooperation with the Carnegie Museum of Natural History, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

Discovery

A great concentration of petroglyphs at Tamgaly was discovered by A. Popov in 1957 (Ksica 1966: 56, 1969: 8). Popov was the staff photographer of an archaeological team working in the area directed by A.G. Maksimova. Tamgaly has become the most famous rock art site in Kazakhstan and the most studied of any other site. It is also well publicised in the travel literature and is frequented by tourists due to it only being only a 3 hour drive from Almaty.

Geographical coordinates

44° 48' N, 75° 32' E

Location

Tamgaly is near the village of Karabastau, Almaty oblast. The Tamgaly canyon is on the northern edge of the Anrakhai mountains about 170-180 km northwest from Almaty (Mar'yashev & Goryachev 1998: 13; Goryachev & Mar'yashev n.d.).

Physical character

Tamgaly is a canyon of low relief hills which are physically accessible by anyone climbing up them. Standing on any summit around Tamgaly it is possible to see to the south the vast flat plains surrounding the area and to the south the distant peaks of the Tien Shan mountains which border Kyrgyzstan. The Tamgaly river runs through the canyon and is usually dried up in the summer.

Petroglyph summary

Numerous petroglyphs were carved into the exposed sandstone bedrock and placed on surfaces along hills, valleys, summits, slopes and crests. The majority of the petroglyphs are located in main canyon. They were either carved with the use of an tool to create lines and contours or knocked out by hitting the surface with another stone. Of all petroglyph sites in Kazakhstan, Tamgaly has been the most extensively cited because of its scenes of so-called the 'solar-head' gods – anthropomorphic figures with large round heads emitting 'rays'. Petroglyphs have been demarcated by archaeologists into seven distinct zones.

Group 1 petroglyphs are on the rocky ridge at the beginning of the valley on east bank of the Tamgaly river. Notable images include: figures of people, horses, goats, bulls, kulans, deer, *tamga*, anthropomorphic figures with spines, and scenes of archers with dogs.

Group 2 petroglyphs are beside group 1 further down the ridge. Scenes vary from single animal images (horses, bulls, deer, goats, wild-boars) to complex multi-figured compositions with 'solar-headed' deities, anthropomorphic figures with spines and crook-shaped hands, clubbed-warriors, and scenes of hunt. There is the image of a foot associated with a scene with person with bow and large deer. There is also a deer with a grid on its back (figure A19) with newly discovered images of grids nearby (figure A20).

Group 3 is further down the ridge and along the corner as the ridge bends into another valley. This valley is aligned in a southeastern direction and is part of group 3. Notable images include: four dancing persons, a 'solar-headed' deity standing on a bull, a 'cow' with 'calf' inside its body frame, and a scene with a figure of an animal later amended to a horse with rider (Mar'yashev & Goryachev 1998: 14).

Group 4 is in a ridge to the opposite of the ridge with groups 1-3 and is on the west side of the Tamgaly river. A small terrace high up the ridge has large composition with several 'solar-headed' deities. Under two deities are figures of animals and 12 dancing human figures. Before this composition there is a natural ledge believed to be used in ritual purposes, and reinforces the idea that this was the centre of the Tamgaly sanctuary in antiquity (Mar'yashev & Goryachev 1998: 14). Other notable images include: bulls, goats, horses, predators, camels, scenes of a hunt with dogs. There is also the Buddhist mantra *om mani padme hum* written in Tibetan script and beside it there is a recent scene commissioned by a local government official in the 1980s.

In front of the Group 4 stone ridge is a large flat area with many tall bushes growing along the river bank. Many of the bushes were covered with white rags tied to their branches. This area is the destination for spring and autumn festivals conducted by present day Kazakhs.

During Ramadan goats were sacrificed within this vicinity (Davis-Kimball pers. comm. 2000).

Group 5 is located directly opposite of group 4 on the exposed rock by the east side of the river. The rock surfaces face to the west. Notable images include: deer, bulls, goats, horses, kulans, camels, predators, 'solar-headed' gods (figure A21), and an image of a chariot. There is a scene of deer with folded legs considered to be of the Scytho-Siberian 'animal style' (figure A22) and also a image of a figure which has been considered to be the outline of a Buddha.

Group 6 is a ridge further south from the Tamgaly's centre. The rock surfaces face to the west. Notable images include: goats, deer, humans, a Scytho-Siberian predator, and an Early Turkic horse rider bearing a standard.

The petroglyphs of group 7 are located 1.5 km from main part of Tamgaly and I was unable to locate this group during my surveys. Notable images include: archers, horsemen, anthropomorphic figures, argali, camels, horses, and goats. There is also an Arabic inscription.

The chronological divisions of the petroglyph imagery range include the Middle Bronze Age, Later Bronze Age, Iron Age (Saka), Wusun and Early Turkic period. The majority of the petroglyphs at Tamgaly are believed to be Bronze Age, especially the scenes with images of 'solar-headed' gods. Recent work on the Bronze Age cist burials had found small images carved onto stones of two of the graves (Rogozhinskii 1999, 2001). Absolute dating of these burials provided Bronze Age dates but they can only be used in a broad sense; the images are minor and do not represent the great diversity of images and scenes in the Tamgaly petroglyphs, nor do they have images of the 'solar-headed' gods. However, the 'solar-headed' gods and the cist cemeteries give support to the widely held contention that the area of Tamgaly was an important Bronze Age sanctuary.

There are some zoomorphic figures executed in the Scytho-Siberian 'animal style' in Group 2 (Mar'yashev & Goryachev 1998: 14). Iron Age petroglyphs also occur in the central area (petroglyph groups 4 and 5) and in group 3 toward the northeast entrance of the gorge. In group 6 along an outer ridge the southern back end of the gorge there are Iron Age petroglyphs and Early Turkic imagery.

Archaeology

In and around Tamgaly there are numerous archaeological sites from the Bronze Age up to present times. The rock carvings were important part of a specific area connected to Bronze Age cemeteries. The cemeteries are situated in two groups: a northern group at the front of Tamgaly opposite petroglyph groups 1 & 2 (cemeteries I-II); and southern group at the back

end (cemeteries IV-VI) (Rogozhinskii 1999). These graves are situated at the natural entrances of the Tamgaly canyon and perhaps indicate some sort of threshold before entering into the central area. Archaeological investigations date the cemeteries to the Middle Bronze Age, 14th-13th centuries BC (Rogozhinskii 1999: 9). There are no remains of habitations and other structures.

There is a cist grave with a slab engraved with two tiny human figures in the Tamgaly II cemetery, while in Tamgaly IIa there are two cist graves with single engraved slabs – one of a circle and line, and the other a goat with two other animals (Rogozhinskii 1999).

The Bronze Age cemetery of Karakuduk is 1.5 km southeast of the front entrance of Tamgaly. It was during excavations of Karakuduk in 1957 that Tamgaly was found. A couple of the Karakuduk cist graves also had images of animal cut into stone slabs (Mar'yashev & Ermolaeva 1981: 138-139).

Known petroglyph sites in vicinity

Petroglyphs are found at Karakyr about 7 km northwest of Tamgaly and at the Serektas hills 16 km to the northwest (Goryachev & Mar'yashev n.d.: 1-2). Both are unpublished and only briefly discussed by Goryachev & Mar'yashev (n.d.). Karakyr has 'solar symbols', 'solar-headed' anthropomorphs, humans, dogs, bulls, horses, deer, argali, goats, birds and predators. Petroglyphs are mainly dated to the Bronze Age and are believed to be comparable to Tamgaly. There are also petroglyphs of the Scytho-Siberian 'animal style' higher in the hills. The Serektas concentration has images of 'solar symbols', deer, bulls, goats, argali, humans and yurts. The 'animal style' petroglyphs are believed to belong to the Early Iron Age. The yurts were not dated but probably relate to the ethnographic present.

Key published works

Maksimova 1958; Ksica 1966; Ksica 1969; Mar'yashev, Ermolaeva & Motov 1979; Mar'yashev 1980; Mar'yashev & Ermolaeva 1981; Maksimova, Ermolaeva & Mar'yashev 1985; Mar'yashev 1994; Rogozhinskii 1994; Francfort, Soleilnavoup *et al.* 1995; Mar'yashev & Goryachev 1998; Mar'yashev, Gorjachev & Potopov 1998; Rogozhinskii 1999, 2001; Rozwadowski 2001; Goryachev & Mar'yashev n.d.



Figure A19. A new tracing of the deer with a grid on its back from group 2.

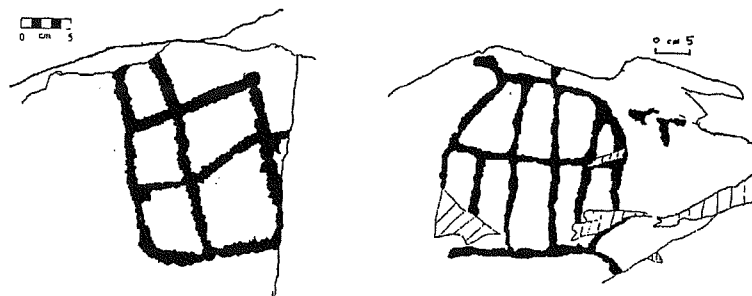


Figure A20. Newly discovered images of grids found nearby the deer with a grid in group 2.

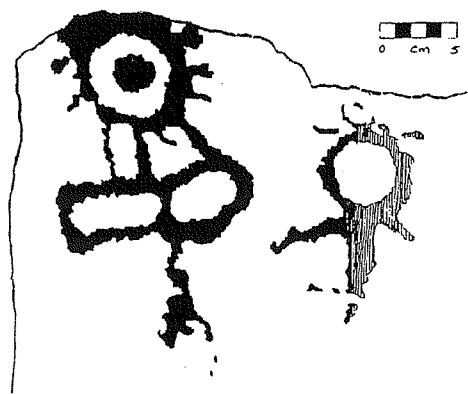


Figure A21. A new tracing of a scene of 'Solar-headed gods' from group 5.



Figure A22. A new tracing of a scene with recumbent deer from group 5.

Terekty Aulie

Etymology

Variants: Terekty-aulie, Terekty.

The Kazakh word *aulie* means 'holy' and makes reference to the connections of the place with the presence of a local Saint as well as its importance as a focal point of local Folk Islamic practices.

Survey date

July 1999, August 2000.

Survey

In July 1999 I attended the survey directed by the Margulan Institute of Archaeology, Almaty in association with the Zhezkazgan City Historical-Archaeological Museum. In August 2000 my survey was made in cooperation with the Margulan Institute of Archaeology.

Discovery

The petroglyphs were discovered by archaeologists in 1946 during the extensive survey of the region under the auspices of the Central Kazakhstan Archaeological Expedition AN KazSSR lead by A. Kh. Margulan (Margulan 1948a, 1948b, 1979: 12) but systematic research into the petroglyphs was not initiated until the late 1990s.

Geographic coordinates

Unknown.

Location

Terekty Aulie is an area of small gentle hills and grass fields found in the Ulatau region, near the city of Zhezkazgan, Karaganda oblast in central Kazakhstan. It is about 20 km north-north-east of the Terekty train station which is on the main line to Zhezkazgan.

Physical character

The hills are exposed granite outcrops which rise above the flatness of the steppe. Their low and gentle slopes have been weathered smooth by the elements. There are cracks, crevices and gullies in the granite with occasional natural grottoes and small hole pockets. The area is important for water as Terekty Aulie has several natural springs which flow to the surface.

Petroglyph summary

Amongst the many possible granite outcrops in the area, the petroglyphs were mainly concentrated in three adjacent hills. The greatest concentration of petroglyphs occurs on the main hill next to the 19th century Kazakh mausoleum cemetery as well as the two adjacent hills directly to the east. The petroglyphs were mainly carved into flat, exposed surfaces of granite. They were executed by knocking out a deep contour into the granite and smoothed afterwards.

The hills have been grouped into 3 concentrations.

Group 1 is the farthest east of the hills. Notable images include: horses, goats, camels, 'cup and rings', horse hooves, a unique scene of 2 fighting stallions, a large deer, and a deer similar in depiction to ones found on deerstone stelae.

Group 2 is adjacent to group 3. It features a gigantic scene of 2 long lines emitting from a circle with a camel inside (figure A26). Below the circle is a twisted human figure and along the lines are small animals.

Group 3 is adjacent to the Kazakh mausoleum cemetery to the north and it is the largest hill in the immediate vicinity. The petroglyphs were carved into flat, exposed surfaces of the granite and some were placed onto the walls and awnings of the natural grottoes and on the floors of small hole pockets. On the highest point of the summit is a natural slab with a split down the middle which is covered with horses and singular images of bulls, humans and feline-like predators (figure A24). In this crack there has been erected a shrine stone for local Islamic practices (see the archaeology section below). Elsewhere along the hill there are also images of horses, one large bull, human foot prints, and a gigantic grid (figure A25). On the floor surfaces of nooks and crannies there are sometimes images of animals (figure A23).

In the summer of 1999, a new discovery was made of a few horses on top of a more distant hill northwest of hill 3 which is considered to be group 4.

Later in the summer of 1999 group 5 was found about 5 km northwest of group 3. The outcrop is not a hill but a flat exposed piece of granite in the steppelands. The images were of a small horse and a gigantic horse.

A tentative dating of the Bronze Age has been suggested for many of the images as most of the horses have a distinctive mane which is similar to the equid figures adorning Seimo-Turbino knife handles (Samashev & Zhumabekova 1996; Samashev, Kurmankulov & Zhetybaev 1998: 116). It is worth noting that the Seimo-Turbino archaeological horizon has also been argued by Parzinger (1997) to be a hypothetical early stage in the Scytho-Siberian 'animal style'. There are deer and camel images believed to be Iron Age and one deer is similar to ones found on deerstone stelae found across Mongolia, Tuva and the Altai. The deerstones of southern Siberia are dated to the later Bronze Age to Early Iron Age period, c. 10th-8th centuries BC (Jettmar 1967: 168; Askarov, Volkov & Ser-Odjav 1992: 468; Jacobson 1993: 234; Kubarev & Jacobson 1996: vii).

Archaeology

There are Middle Bronze Age graves southeast of group 1 and a settlement directly south of group 2. In the nineteenth century, the Kazakh groups belonging to the clan subdivisions of the Bagnaly and Baltaly erected tombs beside the main granite outcrop (Samashev, Kurmankulov, Zhetybaev & Lymer 1999: 3). These mausoleums were built of unbaked mudbrick and had domed roofs. The Kazakh cemetery still continues to be used today for there are several recent constructions using modern materials amongst the older, crumbling mudbrick mausoleums. Not far from the cemetery an Islamic shrine had been erected atop of the main hill (group 3) that looks down onto the mausoleums. The shrine is simply an upright slab nestled between the crack of two rocks covered with petroglyphs. The shrine slab is wrapped with numerous layers of rags tied around it.

Known petroglyph sites in vicinity

The petroglyph sites of Aktau and Ortau are over 140 km east of the Terekty train station. Both were mentioned by Margulan (1948a: 58) and he published a small scene of camels from Aktau. Baikonur is about 200 km west of the Terekty train station and remains unpublished except for 2 rock surfaces featuring 'chariots' (Novozhenov 1994: 40, fig. 17-18).

Key published works

Margulan 1948a; Margulan 1948b; Margulan 1979; Samashev, Kurmankulov & Zhetybaev 1998; Samashev, Kurmankulov, Zhetybaev & Lymer 1999; Samashev, Kurmankulov, Zhetybaev & Lymer 2000; Lymer 2000.



Figure A23. Tracings of animals found on the floors of nooks and crannies from group 3.



Figure A24. A scene from the top of the hill of group 3.

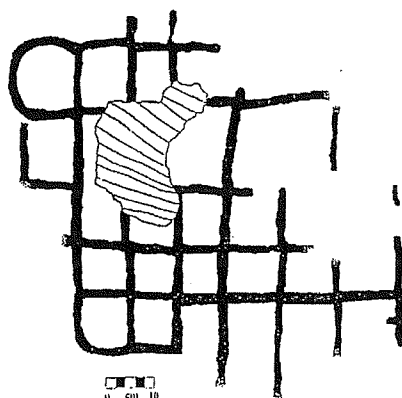


Figure A25. A new tracing of the gigantic grid of group 3.

K a r a k u n g e i 2

Etymology

See Karakungei 1.

Survey date

July 2000.

Survey participants

This survey was undertaken in cooperation with the Margulan Institute of Archaeology, Almaty.

Discovery

The new discoveries of Karakungei 2 & 3 were made during our fieldwork in 2000 while looking for Karakungei 1. In the Karakungei mountains we found 2 smaller clusters of petroglyphs west of Karakungei 1 and both were situated near the Zhansugir-Arasan road.

Geographical coordinates

45° 21' N, 79° 30' E

Location

The Karakungei mountains of southeast Kazakhstan is delimited in the east by the Aksu river, while the Bien river defines the western boundary. Karakungei 2 is a small valley that cuts into a steep hillside with a western orientation. Along the south facing side of the valley there is a small concentration of petroglyphs. The valley is near a bend in the Zhansugir-Arasan road which is west of Karakungei 1.

Physical character

Karakungei 2 is in an area of hills and steep valleys with exposed sandstone rocks. There are no springs or streams in the surrounding area.

Petroglyph summary

The petroglyphs were carved by hitting the surface with another stone. Notable images include dots and Saka eagles (figure A27) and a scene of a camel caravan which was partly buried under 10 cm of sediment.

Archaeology

Unknown (but also see Karakungei 1).

Known petroglyph sites in vicinity

Karakungei 1, 3 (see above and below).

Petroglyphs were found at Kyzyl, Zhanbas and Aulie-tuma in the area between the villages of Kapal and Arasan (A.K. Akishev 1982: 429). In regards to Kyzyl there was only one photo of a chariot scene published (A.K. Akishev 1982: 429). Zhanbas is still unpublished and is only cited in A.K. Akishev 1982. Aulie-tuma is near the Bien river and has Saka goats, Buddhist inscriptions, Kazakh inscriptions and *tamga*, however, no images were published (Mirzabaev & Aldiyarov 1995: 135-136).

Bayan Zhurek (see above).

At Chimbulak there are petroglyphs on the side of a mountain near the Kapal river which is 15 km northwest of Kapal village (A.K. Akishev 1982). The Chimbulak imagery includes: a scene of 12 archers hunting a gigantic 'griffin', a chariot, snakes, and geometrics similar to ones at Saimaly-Tash (Kyrgyzstan). Unfortunately, no images were published so the 'griffin' and geometrics are not confirmable.

Karasai is an area along the Kapal river bordering the Mungshukur mountains, which are on the opposite side of the Kurymbel' plain from Bayan Zhurek (Mirzabaev & Aldiyarov 1995: 136-137). At Karasai there are images of horse riders and goats along with Kazakh engravings of Islamic motifs and an Arabic inscription of the name 'Mohammed', but these were not published.

Key published materials

None.



Figure A27. A new scene with dots and eagles.

Karakungei 3

Etymology

See Karakungei 1.

Survey date

July 2000.

Survey participants

This survey was undertaken in cooperation with the Margulan Institute of Archaeology, Almaty.

Discovery

The new discoveries of Karakungei 2 & 3 were made during our fieldwork in 2000 while looking for Karakungei 1. In the Karakungei mountains we found 2 smaller clusters of petroglyphs west of Karakungei 1 and both were situated near the Zhansugir-Arasan road.

Geographical coordinates

45° 21' N, 79° 29' E

Location

The Karakungei mountains of southeast Kazakhstan are delimited in the east by the Aksu river, while the Bien river defines the western boundary. Karakungei 3 is found near the Zhansugir-Arasan road by a river valley and is southwest of Karakungei 1.

Physical character

Karakungei 3 is a large area of hills and steep valleys with exposed sandstone rocks. There are streams, dried up stream beds, and a few natural springs which the *chabani* use for their flocks.

Petroglyph summary

They were either carved with the use of an tool to create fine lines and contours or knocked out by hitting the surface with another stone. Three groups were identified.

Group 1 is comprised of the hills along the large dried up stream. Notable images include: dogs, goats, a Scytho-Siberian beast (figure A28) and large scene of archers hunting a deer.

Group 2 is along a hillside northwest of group 1. The petroglyphs are on the west side of Zhansugir-Arasan road. Notable images include: goats, deer, large scene of animals, and a 'couple holding hands'.

Group 3 is on the mount of a high peak which is north of group 2. At the top of the mount is a cluster of petroglyphs. Notable images include: a scene with a grid (A1.29), a 'caravan' scene, and modern graffiti.

Known petroglyph sites in vicinity

Karakungei 1 & 2 (see above).

Petroglyphs were found at Kyzyl, Zhanbas and Aulie-tuma in the area between the villages of Kapal and Arasan (A.K. Akishev 1982: 429). In regards to Kyzyl there was only one photo of a chariot scene published (A.K. Akishev 1982: 429). Zhanbas is still unpublished and is only cited in A.K. Akishev 1982. Aulie-tuma is near the Bien river and has Saka goats, Buddhist inscriptions, Kazakh inscriptions and *tamga*; however, no images were published (Mirzabaev & Aldiyarov 1995: 135-136).

Bayan Zhurek (see above).

At Chimbulak there are petroglyphs on the side of a mountain near the Kapal river which is 15 km northwest of Kapal village (A.K. Akishev 1982). The Chimbulak imagery includes: a scene of 12 archers hunting a gigantic 'griffin', a chariot, snakes, and geometrics similar to ones at Saimaly-Tash (Kyrgyzstan). Unfortunately, no images were published so the 'griffin' and geometrics are not confirmable.

Karasai is an area along the Kapal river bordering the Mungshukur mountains, which are on the opposite side of the Kurymbel' plain from Bayan Zhurek (Mirzabaev & Aldiyarov 1995: 136-137). At Karasai there are images of horse riders and goats along with Kazakh engravings of Islamic motifs and an Arabic inscription of the name 'Mohammed', but there were not published.

Key published materials

None.

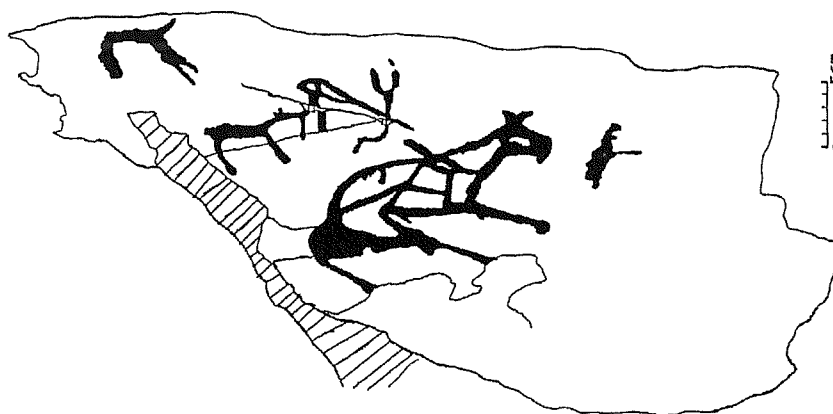


Figure A28. A new scene from group 1.



Figure A29. A new scene from group 3.

Ma i e m e r

Etymology

Variant – Maie mir, Maimyr, Maymyr.

Survey date

July 2000.

Survey participants

This survey was undertaken in cooperation with the Margulan Institute of Archaeology, Almaty.

Discovery

Unknown.

Geographical coordinates

49° 10' N, 84° 58' E

Location

The petroglyphs of Maiemer are found in the hills immediately on the outskirts of Maiemer village in Katon Karagai region of the East Kazakhstan Oblast. The hills are part of the outer fringes of the Narymskii mountain range.

Physical character

The area has a variable topography of steep cliffs and hills of varying sizes. Maiemer village is situated directly on the Narym river which flows through the middle of the village.

Petroglyph summary

Petroglyphs are either carved with the use of an tool to create fine lines and contours or knocked out by hitting the surface with another stone. There are two concentrations of petroglyphs. The first concentration is high up a steep cliff on the north bank of the Narym river. Notable images include goats, a scene with a Scythian deer (figure A30). The second concentration is on a hill 1 km south of the village with images of goats, deer, a unique motif of a 6-headed caprid with Sako-Scythian caprids (figure A31), a Kazakh ornamental design motif, and some Arabic script.

Archaeology

Nearby in next hills are Adrianov's Early Nomadic burials of Maiemer (Rudenko 1960) which were basis of the 'Maiemer stage' of the Altaic Iron Age, as defined by Gryaznov (1947).

Known petroglyph sites in vicinity

Novoberezovka (see below).

To the east are the petroglyph sites of Katon-Karagai and Kabyrga which are cited by Samashev (1993: fig. 3) but no further details are reported.

Key published materials

None. (Some figures were published with no description in Samashev, Francfort, Ermolaeva, *et al.* 1998, while two full colour photos were published in Francfort 1999.)

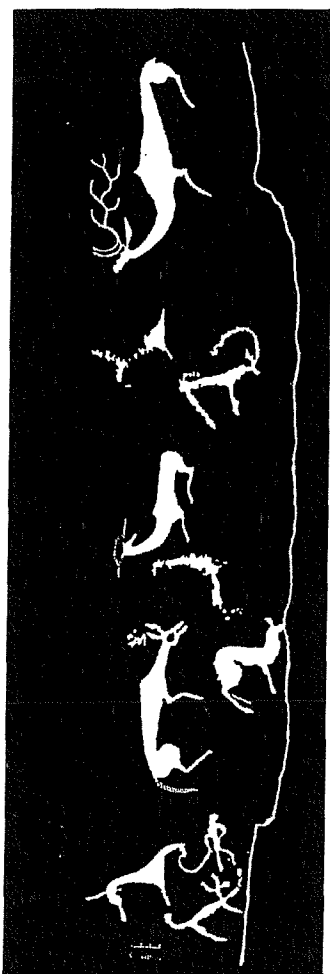


Figure A30. A scene with a Scythian deer.



Figure A31. A scene with Sako-Scythian caprids.

Novoberezovka

Etymology

Unknown.

Survey date

July 2000.

Survey participants

This survey was undertaken in cooperation with the Margulan Institute of Archaeology, Almaty.

Discovery

Unknown.

Geographical coordinates

49° 12' N 84° 51' E

Location

The village of Novoberezovka is 8 km northwest from Maiemer village, in the Katon Karagai region of the East Kazakhstan Oblast. The petroglyphs are found in the hills 2 km south of the village.

Physical character

Outside of Novoberezovka there is a ridge of exposed bedrock with petroglyphs. The ridge slopes at gentle angles and is easily accessible to clamber up. The hills are the outer edge of the Narymskii mountain range.

Petroglyph summary

There is a small concentration of petroglyphs scattered among the low angled slopes. They are carved by hitting the surface with another stone. Notable images include goats and a Saka eagle (figure A32).

Archaeology

Unknown.

Known petroglyph sites in vicinity

Maiemer (see above).

To the east are the sites of Katon-Karagai and Kabyrga which are cited by Samashev (1993: fig. 3) but no further details are reported.

Key published materials

None. (Fig's published with no description in Samashev, Francfort, Ermolaeva, *et al.* 1998.)



Figure A32. The Saka eagle of Novoberezovka.

Pazyryk cemeteries & burials

Introduction

The following Pazyryk burials in the Gorno-Altai and East Kazakhstan are part of the discussions in chapter 4. This is not intended to be a complete inventory but a guide to the relevant objects of each burial connected to the tabulation of the presence of zoomorphic imagery in appendix 3.

The entries are based on a synthesis of 35 cemeteries and 147 burials collected from published reports with variable standards in reporting. This is not a complete survey of all Pazyryk sites as some cemeteries could not be included due to the inaccessibility of locating their sources. The sites range from Eastern Kazakhstan to southern and central Gorno-Altai (Russian Federation) and include the first excavated frozen tombs (Katanda, Berel) up to present day excavations. The database is composed of burials of varying sizes from large kurgans to singular burial pits. Only the Pazyryk material cultural component of the burial was considered as some of them had intrusive secondary later burials which range in date from the Kara-Koba archaeological culture (3rd-2nd BC) up to the ethnographic present and these are ignored.

Methodology

Amongst the descriptions there are tallies of the presence of ornamented and zoomorphic ornamented objects. Tabulating this has been not an simple task for the reporting of objects can, at times, be incomplete. Furthermore, this is effected by the survival of objects from natural processes and grave robbing. The following convention in reporting the tallies is used:

$$[x-y-z]$$

x = total objects counted

y = the number of those objects which are decorated

z = the number of those objects which are decorated with zoomorphics

Total counted objects – This is based on counts of singular items. Sometimes similar fragments had to be grouped together to make one object. Items, like decorated horse bridles and saddles, that were made of many smaller ornamented parts were also treated as one object. Unfortunately the identification of objects can be hindered by their fragmentation or by the survival of durable elements that made up the object, like wood or gold. Thus uncontextualised loose and fragmented objects reduced the tallies of objects in some burials like Tuekra 1 even though they had a large inventory of artefacts. The result is that the ‘total counted objects’ only provides a quantitative analysis of artefacts present which is a different total from the sheer quantity of surviving fragmentary remains.

Total decorated – This is the number of artefacts from the ‘total counted objects’ which are decorated with zoomorphic and non-zoomorphic imagery and designs.

Total zoomorphs – This is the number of artefacts from the ‘total counted objects’ which are decorated with zoomorphic imagery.

At the end of the burial entry the totals of these tallies are presented and followed by a summary of the types of animals present in the burial by following the criteria:

Animal images – This lists the appearance of all zoomorphic forms in the burial including those which could not be counted due to their questionable context or fragmentary nature.

Horse – This lists all zoomorphic forms directly associated with horses in the burial.

Sex – This lists all zoomorphic forms according to identified sex. This is based on published identifications of the sex of the bodies by the excavators. We must be mindful of the fact that these determinations are made on poorly preserved skeletal remains and/or the associated grave goods and may not be as accurate as the excavator indicates. Furthermore, there have been several burials with no indication the sex of the deceased due to poor reporting or the poor preservation of the skeletal materials and in some burials a body is completely missing due to poor preservation factors or grave robbery. The problems of the biological binary sexual division of female and male is beyond the scope of this thesis and some issues relating to gender are discussed in chapter 4.

Age – This lists all zoomorphic forms according simple categories of age. It is acknowledged that the terms employed (adolescent, adult, etc.) are biased and do not reflect how the ancient society defined these stages of human life. The purpose of this is look for potential relationships of animal images specific to age. The ageing of individuals can be as difficult to determine as sexual identification and one has to accept the age provided by the excavator, while sometimes it is not given at all.

The counts generated for all the Pazyryk burials in this database have been summarised in the accompanying analytic tables found in appendix 3 and their results form the basis of discussions in chapter 4.

The list of the cemeteries in the database includes:

<i>cemetery</i>	<i>(no. of burials)</i>	<i>page</i>	<i>cemetery</i>	<i>(no. of burials)</i>
Ak-Alakha I	(2)		Maltalu IV	(24)
Ak-Alakha III	(1)		Moinak 2	(2)
Ak-Alakha V	(5)		Pazyryk	(8)
Alagail	(1)		Sebÿstai	(2)
Barburgazy I	(25)		Tashanta I	(2)
Barburgazy II	(1)		Tashanta II	(4)
Bashadar	(2)		Tashanta III	(1)
Berel	(3)		Tuekta	(2)
Bertek 1	(1)		Ulandryk I	(14)
Bertek 10	(1)		Ulandryk II	(11)
Bertek 27	(1)		Ulandryk III	(5)
Borotal II	(3)		Ulandryk IV	(3)
Borotal III	(3)		Ulandryk V	(2)
Kaldzhin 1	(1)		Verkh-	
Kaldzhin 6	(6)		Kaldzhin II	(2)
Kaldzhin 8	(8)			
Karatas 11	(11)			
Katanda 2	(1)			
Katon	(8)			
Kopai 2	(1)			
Kuturguntas 1	(1)			

Ak-Alakha 1 cemetery

Introduction

The Ak-Alakha 1 cemetery consists of six kurgans, in which five belong to the Pazyryk culture. Kurgan 1 was excavated in 1990, while kurgan 2 was excavated in 1992.

Location

The cemetery is situated on the left bank of the Ak-Alakha river in the centre of the valley. The Ak-Alakha river is found in the Bertek Basin of the Kosh-Agachskii region, in the Ukok plain of southern Gorno-Altai.

Burials and associated artefacts

— Kurgan 1 —

This is a large stone mound ringed by a stone fence with an inner burial pit and a larch construction at the bottom. Inside the first, larger structure were placed nine horses in the northeastern part outside the second inner wooden chamber (only their skulls were preserved). There were seven complete sets of ornamented horse harnesses preserved [7-y-y], while four horses had iron bits. The harnesses were decorated with round forehead plates, various ornamental motifs, griffins (heads, bodies), 'geese' figures with convex heads, and S-figure psalia with griffin heads. Additionally there were sixty imitation boar tusks which were part of equine decoration. There were also elaborately decorated saddles [4-y-y] and felt saddle covers decorated with appliqué pieces in the shape of decorative motifs, bird/griffin heads, squat birds (eagles/griffins/roosters) and a winged tau-teke with large horn. Attached to the saddle coverings were felt figures of fish (three saddles) and wolves (one saddle) which draped down the sides of the saddle. In one set of fish coverings there were squat bird figures (eagles/griffins/roosters), while another had bird/griffin heads.

Inside the second inner chamber there were two larch coffins [2-n-n] in a zone of ice. In the corner of the chamber there were two clay vessels [2-n-n], two wooden dishes [2-n-n], and two horn vessels [2-n-n]. Iron knives and meat were placed on the dishes.

Larch coffin 1 — This contained the body of a male (45-50 years) with the remains of felt headdress [1-y-y] with ear-flaps and ornamented with spiral and bird-like gold leaf as well as

wooden figures of deer/horses covered with gold leaf. The top of the headdress had a wooden base shaped as a bird's head on which a figure of a deer/horse/ram was placed. The man wore a neckpiece [1-y-y] with two wooden figures of feline predators facing one another and jointly holding in their mouths the neck of a deer, while below their jaws was the image of a feline face. The neckpiece figures were covered by gold leaf. He wore a belt [1-y-y] with wooden plaques covered with gold leaf and ornamented with designs and feline predators ('snow leopards'). A wooden comb was associated with the belt [1-n-n]. He wore long red trousers [1-n-?] made of wool and felt shoes trimmed with fur [1-n-?]. There were fragments of clothes made of felt and fur and adorned with appliqué. In the coffin were an iron chekan-axe with wooden handle [1-n-n], an iron dagger [1-?-?] in a wooden sheath [1-n-n], wooden fragments of a quiver, five arrows and shafts [1-n-n], and fragments of a bow.

Larch coffin 2 — This contained the body of a female (16 years) with the remains of a headdress [1-y-y] with ear-flaps. It was ornamented with spiral and bird-like decorations as well as wooden figures of deer/horse/rams covered with gold leaf. The top of the headdress had a wooden base shaped as a bird's head on which a figure of a deer/horse/ram was placed. She wore a neckpiece [1-y-y] with two wooden figures of predators ('wolves') covered in gold leaf attached to a bronze back. Around her waist she wore thirty-four cowrie shells and a belt of wooden plaques [1-n-n]. She wore red trousers [1-y-?] and footwear [1-?-?] and there were also fragments of clothes made of felt and fur. In the coffin were an iron chekan-axe with wooden handle [1-n-n], a bronze mirror [1-n-n] in a leather pouch decorated with an appliqué bird shape [1-y-y], an iron dagger [1-?-?] in a wooden scabbard [1-?-?], a wooden part of a quiver [1-y-y] decorated with a scene of feline predators ('snow leopards') tearing a wild boar which terminated in a bird head on the end, seven arrows and shafts [1-?-?], and the remains of a bow.

Total counted objects — 41

Total decorated — 19

Total zoomorphs — 18

Animal images — griffins, 'geese', bird/griffins, eagle/griffin/roosters, winged tau-teke, fish, wolves, deer/horse, bird, deer/horse/ram, feline predators, deer, 'snow leopards', wild boar

Horse – griffins, 'geese', bird/griffins,
eagle/griffin/roosters, winged tau-teke, fish,
wolves
Sex – female: deer/horse/rams, bird, predators
(wolves), feline predators ('snow leopards'), wild
boar

male: deer/horse, bird, deer/horse/ram,
feline predators, deer

Age – 45-50 years: deer/horse/rams, bird,
predators (wolves), feline predators ('snow
leopards'), wild boar

16 years: deer/horse, bird,
deer/horse/ram, feline predators, deer

— Kurgan 2 —

This is a small mound ringed by a stone fence
with an inner burial pit and timber construction.
Outside the structure was a horse skeleton with
an iron bit [1-n-n].

In the construction was the skeleton of an 8 year
old boy. Around his skull were the following: the
remains of a headdress [1-y-y] with gold leaf
decorations and a small figure of a bull covered
in gold leaf; a gold earring with spiral cut into a
thin metal sheet [1-y-n]; and a bronze neckpiece
[1-?-?]. The child wore fur clothing and wooden
belt buckles [1-y-y] with predator images.
Around the skeleton there were a bronze dagger
[1-n-n] in a leather sheath [1-y-n], a bronze
chekan-axe with decorated leather strap and a
boar tusk pendant [1-y-n], and eight bone
arrowheads [1-n-n]. Outside the body there were
a decorated ceramic vase [1-y-n] and ram bones.

Total counted objects – 10

Total decorated – 6

Total zoomorphs – 2

Animal images – bull, predator(?)

Horse – 0

Sex – male: bull, predator(?)

Age – 8 years: bull, predator(?)

Dating

The larch coffins, burial chamber and funerary
objects from kurgans 1 and 2 typologically
belong to the Pazyryk culture. The Ak-Alakha
kurgans occupies a place between the kurgans of
Tuekta and Bashadar, on the one hand, and
Pazyryk on the other, at V-IV centuries BC
(Polos'mak 1994c: 66).

References

Polos'mak 1991a; Polos'mak 1991b; Polos'mak
1992b; Polos'mak 1994c; Polos'mak 1995a;
Polos'mak 1996c; Polos'mak & Molodin 2000

Ak-Alakha 3 cemetery

Introduction

A kurgan was excavated in 1993 which had been
disturbed by modern border-defence
constructions (Polos'mak 1998: 125; Polos'mak
& Molodin 2000: 73). The upper part had a
rectangular grave with a Kara-Koba burial, which
had been looted in antiquity, while the deeper
Pazyryk burial chamber remained intact. Upon
melting the ice it was discovered a log coffin
containing the partially preserved body of a
women with a spectacular headdress and tattoos
on her arm. She has been subsequently called the
'ice princess' and the 'priestess of the Altai' by the
excavator.

Location

The Ak-Alakh river runs through the Ukok plain
in the Gorno-Altai. The cemetery is in the
southern most part of the Gorno-Altai which
borders China, Mongolia and Kazakhstan, hence
the reason for the construction of the Soviet
border defences.

Burials and associated artefacts

— Kurgan 1 —

This is a stone mound with an inner burial pit
and wooden construction. The kurgan was by
itself and not part of a group or chain of kurgans.
In the upper part there was an intrusive Kara-
Koba burial in a small wooden construction
which was placed on top of the roof of the
Pazyryk chamber. The Pazyryk larch timber
chamber remained intact and was frozen with
ice.

In the pit outside the chamber there were six
horses whose bodies and equipment were
preserved by freezing. The horses wore
elaborately decorated harnesses, while their tails
were plaited. The harnesses were made of wood
and decorated with motifs and animal forms
(recumbent argali rams) which were covered with
gold foil, circular forehead plates, and griffin
headed ornamented cheek pieces with iron bits
[5-?-?, 1-y-y]. On their backs were felt saddle
cloths with appliqué work and long woollen
plaits ending in tassels. The saddle cloths were

made of appliqué felt and two covers [2-y-y] and had two different forms of winged lions [thus the remaining 4-?-?].

Inside the chamber was a larch log coffin. The outside of the coffin [1-y-y] was decorated with leather appliqué pieces in the shape of deer. In chamber were placed: two pottery vessels [2-y-y] decorated with round clay shapes and incisions, and thin pieces of leather appliqué in the form of cocks; a vessel made from bull's horn [1-n-n]; a small wooden dish with four short legs [1-n-n] which held the remains of ram's vertebrae with preserved meat; a larger table-like tray with long legs [1-n-?] which held a piece of preserved horsemeat pierced by a knife (decorated on the pommel with 'wolf' faces [1-y-y]); and a wooden mug [1-y-y], with a handle in the form of two felines ('snow leopards'), which held a churning stick.

Inside the coffin was the body of a female (25 years old) whose body was embalmed. She was covered with a fur blanket decorated with gold foil shapes [1-y-?]. Near the head was a stone saucer [1-?-?] with coriander seeds.

Her head was shaved bald and she wore an one metre high elaborate wig-headdress [1-y-y] that was constructed of felt moulded around a wooden frame. Dark hair (human and horse) was stretched tightly over a base with hair braids connected to wooden plaques that were decorated with bird heads and covered with gold leaf. On the hair were plaques with bird heads and a structure with a wooden recumbent cervid/caprid covered in gold leaf and a wooden 'pin' with the figure of a cervid/caprid standing on top of it on a small sphere. The upper part of the headdress was a flat elongated paddle-like shape that was decorated around its edges with fifteen tiny birds carved from wood and covered with gold foil.

She had golden earrings [1-y-n] and a necklace [1-y-y] of eight wooden winged felines ('snow leopards') covered in gold leaf. She wore a yellow silk shirt (made of wild tusser silk) [1-y-n] which hung down to her knees and was trimmed with red woollen cords and braids. It had long sleeves which hung over her hands.

Her arms were tattooed [1-y-y] with animals in the same style as the male body from Pazyryk kurgan 2. The tattooed bestiary included: a twisting ungulate with bird's beak and an antler with tiny 'griffin-headed' tines; a twisting argali ram; a feline with sharp-teeth and twisting tail;

an animal with the body of a deer, a griffin head with an antler terminating in tiny 'griffin-headed' tines, sharp claws and a striped tiger tail; a deer's head with an antler; and a twisting ungulate.

She wore a long woollen skirt (made of sheep's and camel's wool) [1-n-n] held by a belt [1-y-n] around the waist made of plaited woollen threads coloured red. On her legs were white felt stockings [1-y-n] with red appliqué felt decorations at the top and red soles. At the side of her left thigh, on top of the skirt, was a decorated felt bag [1-y-n] containing a silver mirror [1-y-y] set in a wooden frame with the image of a maral stag carved in its back. Nearby were beads, bronze pendants and horse-hair tassels.

Total counted objects – 32

Total decorated – 18

Total zoomorphs – 12

All animal images present – argali rams, winged felines, griffins, deer (maral stag, antlerless cervids), felines ('snow leopards'), birds, 'fantastic' creatures, cocks, wolves, feline, cervid/caprid

Horse – griffin, argali rams, winged felines
Sex – female: cervid/caprid, birds, felines ('snow leopards'), winged felines, fantastic creatures, argali rams, feline, maral stag
Age – 25 years: cervid/caprid, birds, felines ('snow leopards'), winged felines, fantastic creatures, argali rams, feline, maral stag

Dating

The tomb structure, horse harnesses, funerary objects and tattoos typologically belong to the Pazyryk culture.

References

Polos'mak 1994a; Polos'mak 1994b; Polos'mak 1995c; Polos'mak 1996a; Polos'mak 1996b; Polos'mak 1998; Polos'mak 2000; Polos'mak & Molodin 2000

Ak-Alakha 5 cemetery

Introduction

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Location

The cemetery is near the Ak-Alakha river in the Bertek Basin of the Kosh-Agachskii region, in the Ukok plain of southern Gorno-Altai.

Burials and associated artefacts

— Kurgan 1 —

This is a small mound with a stone fence and inner burial pit with a timber construction. The northern part of the burial had six bridled horses. The lower horses had some remains of psalia and felt saddle covers. Some of the wooden harness decorations were ornamented with griffins [thus 5-?-?, 1-y-y].

In the construction was the body of a female (30-35 years). The lower part of burial had ice which preserved some objects and some of the female's body. She had a red and white woollen skirt [1-y-?], woollen shirt [1-?-?], and a neckpiece [1-y-?] made of wood and covered with gold foil. There were wooden headpiece ornaments [1-?-?] and wooden belt plates [1-?-?]. A bronze mirror [1-?-?], iron dagger [1-?-?] in a wooden scabbard [1-?-?] and a second mirror [1-?-?] lay by her right arm. A second set of wooden headpiece ornaments [1-?-?] and neckpiece [1-?-?] were found near her suggesting an additional funeral assemblage for another person (Polos'mak & Molodin 2000: 77). In the northern part of burial were a wooden dish [1-?-?] with food, a wooden vessel [1-?-?], fragments of a ceramic vessel [1-?-?], and an iron knife [1-?-?].

Total counted objects – 21

Total decorated – 3

Total zoomorphs – 1

Animal images – griffins

Horse – griffins

Sex – female: 0

Age – 30-35 years: 0

— Kurgan 2 —

This is a small mound with a fence and an inner burial pit with a timber construction.

An infant (1.5 years) was laid to rest with fragments of a ceramic vessel [1-?-?] near its head. A wooden fish [1-y-y] was found in the chest area and scraps of gold foil around the

skeleton. Ram bones were laid near the infant's legs.

Total counted objects – 2

Total decorated – 1

Total zoomorphs – 1

Animal images – fish

Horse – n/a

Sex – ?

Age – 1.5 years: fish

— Kurgan 3 —

This is a small mound with a fence and an inner burial pit with a timber construction. In the burial pit there were four bridled horses [4-?-?].

In the construction there were two males (25-30 and 20-22 years old). One male lay near pottery fragments [1-?-?], while the other male had a bronze mirror [1-?-?].

Total counted objects – 6

Total decorated – 0

Total zoomorphs – 0

Animal images – 0

Horse – 0

Sex – male

Age – 20-30: 0

— Kurgan 4 —

This is a small mound with a fence and an inner burial pit with a timber construction. Outside the construction there were two bridled horses [2-?-?].

In the timber construction were a male (35-40 years) and female (34-40 years). Gold foil was near the head of the male and he was also associated with fragments of fur, leather and fabric. He had an iron chekan-axe [1-?-?], a bronze mirror [1-?-?]. The female lay near the male and she had an iron chekan-axe [1-?-?] and a knife [1-?-?]. Along the northern wall were placed two ceramic vessels [2-?-?], ram bones and an iron knife [1-?-?].

Total counted objects – 9

Total decorated – 0

Total zoomorphs – 0

Animal images – 0

Horse – 0
Sex – female: 0
 male: 0
Age – 34-40 years: 0

— Kurgan 5 —

This is a small mound with a fence and an inner burial pit with a timber construction. In the northern part of burial there was a horse.

In the timber construction lay a male (40-45 years) whose upper skeleton was damaged by grave robbers. There were wood fragments under his legs, while pottery fragments [1-?-?] lay near the northern frame wall.

Total counted objects – 1
Total decorated – 0
Total zoomorphs – 0

Animal images – 0

Horse – 0
Sex – male: 0
Age – 40-45 years: 0

Dating

Burials and objects belong to the Pazyryk culture.

References

Polos'mak & Molodin 2000

Alagail cemetery

Introduction

Alagail is a multi-period cemetery of six kurgans where one kurgan was excavated in 1976.

Location

The Alagail cemetery is near the Chuya river and is also northwest from the Borotal valley and its associated cemeteries. The Chuya river is in the Ulangan region, Gorno-Altai.

Burials and associated artefacts

— Kurgan 1 —

This is a stone mound that has an inner burial pit with a poorly preserved wooden structure at the bottom. Near the northern wall were two horses with iron bits. The northern horse had a bone psalia [thus 1-?-?, 1-n-n].

In the funeral chamber there were two human skeletons which were disturbed by marmot burrowing. In the northeast corner of the framework were fragments of five vessels [5-?-?]. Around the head of the north skeleton there were fragments of gold leaf. Among the bones of south skeleton were the remains of three iron knives [3-n-n], two bone arrowheads [1-n-n] and a bronze mirror [1-n-n].

Total counted objects – 12
Total decorated – 0
Total zoomorphs – 0

Animal images – 0

Horse – 0
Sex – ?
Age – ?

Dating

All features of the funeral rite and objects belong to the Pazyryk culture.

References

Mogil'nikov & Surazakov 1980

Barburgazy I cemetery

Introduction

Kurgan 25 was excavated in the summer of 1975 along with four other kurgans. The rest of the cemetery was studied in 1978 (Kubarev 1992: 3-4).

Location

Barburgazy I lies near the bank of the Barburgazy river, in Turu-Alty district of the Gorno-Altai. The Barburgazy river flows in the mountain valleys of southeastern Gorno-Altai.

Burials and associated artefacts

— Kurgan 1 —

This is a small mound with an inner burial pit. At the bottom was a larch trunk coffin without a lid [1-n-n].

Inside the coffin were the remains of a human skeleton, fragments of a ceramic vessel [1-?-?] and ram bones.

Total counted objects – 2

Total decorated – 0
Total zoomorphs – 0

Animal images – 0

Horse – n/a
Sex – ? : 0
Age – ? : 0

— Kurgan 2 —

This is a small mound that has an inner burial pit with a larch structure. In the northern part of the pit were two horse skeletons. One had an iron bit [1-n-n], while the second horse had a saddle bone buckle [1-n-n].

In the structure there were some human bones, fragments of gold leaf, and fragments of a ceramic vessel [1-?-?].

Total counted objects – 3
Total decorated – 0
Total zoomorphs – 0

Animal images – 0

Horse – 0
Sex – ? : 0
Age – ? : 0

— Kurgan 3 —

This is a small mound that has an inner burial pit with a wooden structure. Outside the structure were two horse skeletons with iron bits [2-n-n].

Inside the structure was a human skeleton. Around its head and shoulders were fragments of gold leaf and a cervid head covered with gold leaf [1-y-y]. Near the pelvis were a small bronze chekan-axe with a wooden handle red painted [1-y-n], and wooden belt plates [1-n-n].

In the burial space there were a decorated ceramic vessel [1-y-n], a red painted board from a quiver [1-y-n], ram bones and a fragment of an iron knife [1-n-n].

Total counted objects – 8
Total decorated – 4
Total zoomorphs – 1

Animal images – cervid

Horse – 0

Sex – ? : cervid
Age – ? : cervid

— Kurgan 4 —

This is a small mound that has an inner burial pit with a box made of stone plates.

In the box were skeletons of a woman and child. Around the neck of both skeletons were gold leaf heads of predators ('wolves') [2-y-y]. In the burial space there were two ceramic vessels [2-?-?], two piles of ram bones, and two iron knives [2-n-n].

Total counted objects – 6
Total decorated – 2
Total zoomorphs – 2

Animal images – predators ('wolves')

Horse – n/a
Sex – female: predators ('wolves')
?
Age – adult: predators ('wolves')
child: predators ('wolves')

— Kurgan 5 —

This is a small mound that has an inner burial pit with a stone plate box.

In the box was the skeleton of a man. Around his pelvis were the remains of fabric and a fabric belt. In the burial space there was an iron knife [1-?-?].

Total counted objects – 1
Total decorated – 0
Total zoomorphs – 0

Animal images – 0

Horse – n/a
Sex – male: 0
Age – adult: 0

— Kurgan 6 —

This is a mound that has an inner burial pit with a small stone plate box.

In the box was the skeleton of a child. There was a ceramic vessel with broken off handle [1-n-n] and an oval wooden dish oval [1-n-n] with ram bones and an iron knife [1-n-n].

Total counted objects – 3

Total decorated – 0
Total zoomorphs – 0

Animal images – 0

Horse – n/a
Sex – ? : 0
Age – child: 0

— Kurgan 7 —

This is a mound that has an inner burial pit with a larch structure. Outside the structure were two horse skeletons. The second horse had an iron bit [1-n-n].

Inside the structure were the disarticulated remains of two human skeletons. There were fragments of gold leaf, two iron knives [2-n-n], two small bronze objects, and sherds of a ceramic vessel [1-?-?].

Total counted objects – 4
Total decorated – 0
Total zoomorphs – 0

Animal images – 0

Horse – 0
Sex – ? : 0
Age – ? : 0

— Kurgan 8 —

This is a mound that has an inner burial pit with a larch structure.

Inside the structure was the skeleton of a woman. Opposite to her were sherds of a ceramic vessel [1-n-n], mutton vertebrae and a fragment of an iron knife [1-n-n]. Near her skull were fragments of gold leaf, while around her pelvis was a bronze mirror [1-n-n] in a felt bag [1-?-?].

Total counted objects – 4
Total decorated – 0
Total zoomorphs – 0

Animal images – 0

Horse – n/a
Sex – female: 0
Age – adult: 0

— Kurgan 10 —

This is a mound that has an inner burial pit with a larch structure. Outside the structure was a

horse skeleton with an iron bit and wooden harness ornaments in the shape of boar's tusks [1-n-n].

Inside the structure was the skeleton of a woman. Under her skull was a dark stain and fragments of gold leaf. Under her jaw were fragments gold leaf with images of predator heads [1-y-y]. Between the skull and the southern wall were fragments of wooden 'animal' figures [1-y-y]. In the northern part of structure were a ceramic vessel [1-?-?], ram vertebrae and an iron knife [1-?-?].

Total counted objects – 5
Total decorated – 2
Total zoomorphs – 2

Animal images – predator heads, 'animals'

Horse – 0
Sex – female: predator heads, 'animals'
Age – adult: predator heads, 'animals'

— Kurgan 11 —

This is a mound that has an inner burial pit with a larch structure.

Inside the structure was the skeleton of a man. Around his skeleton were an iron knife [1-n-n], a bronze dagger [1-n-n], a bronze mirror [1-n-n] in a felt case decorated with two maral tusks [1-y-n]. In a northeast corner were a decorated [1-y-n] and an undecorated [1-n-n] ceramic vessel.

Total counted objects – 6
Total decorated – 2
Total zoomorphs – 0

Animal images – 0

Horse – n/a
Sex – male: 0
Age – adult: 0

— Kurgan 12 —

This is a mound that has an inner burial with a stone box structure.

In the box were skeletons of a woman and a child. Near the northern wall were mutton vertebrae and an iron knife [1-n-n].

Total counted objects – 1
Total decorated – 0
Total zoomorphs – 0

Animal images – 0

Horse – n/a

Sex – female: 0

?: 0

Age – adult: 0

child: 0

— Kurgan 13 —

This is a mound that has an inner burial pit with a larch structure. Outside the structure was the skeleton of a horse with an iron bit [1-n-n].

Inside the structure was the skeleton of a man. Above his skull were fragments of gold leaf. Around his skeleton were a bronze needle, bronze chekan-axe with a wooden handle painted red [1-y-n], and a bronze dagger [1-n-n]. In the southeast corner were two ceramic vessels [2-n-n] and a bronze knife [1-n-n] amongst mutton vertebrae.

Total counted objects – 5

Total decorated – 1

Total zoomorphs – 0

Animal images – 0

Horse – 0

Sex – male: 0

Age – adult: 0

— Kurgan 14 —

This is a mound that has an inner burial pit with a stone box structure.

In a box was the skeleton of a child. Around the skeleton were wooden parts of a belt [1-n-n], and two arrow shafts [1-n-n]. To the left of the child was a ceramic vessel [1-?-?], a wooden dish [1-n-n] with ram bones and a bronze knife [1-n-n], and a tiny wooden 'deer' head [1-y-y].

Total counted objects – 6

Total decorated – 1

Total zoomorphs – 1

Animal images – 'deer'

Horse – n/a

Sex – ?: 'deer'

Age – child: 'deer'

— Kurgan 15 —

This is a mound that has an inner burial pit with a larch structure. Outside the structure was a horse skeleton with an iron bit [1-n-n].

Inside the structure were three human skeletons. The first and third skeletons (male) were laid down first, and a young woman was squeezed between them. Under her skull were a dark stain and fragments of gold leaf, while around her pelvis was a wooden mirror [1-n-n].

The largest skeleton was along the southern wall, and above his head were fragments of wooden figures of 'animals' and gold leaf [1-y-y]. Along his back were the remains of a 'gorytus' [1-?-?] with fragments of a bow [1-n-n] and arrows [1-n-n]. He was also associated with a bronze knife [1-?-?] in a wooden sheath [1-y-n] and wooden plates [1-n-n].

The third skeleton was associated with a bronze dagger [1-n-n] in wooden sheath [1-n-n]. Around his pelvis was a bronze chekan-axe with a wooden handle [1-n-n].

In the northeast corner of the structure were sherds of three ceramic vessels [3-n-n], iron and bronze knives [2-?-?] and mutton vertebrae in a wooden dish [1-?-?].

Total counted objects – 18

Total decorated – 2

Total zoomorphs – 1

Animal images – 'animals'

Horse – 0

Sex – female: 0

male: 'animals'

Age – adult: 'animals'

— Kurgan 17 —

This is a mound that has an inner burial pit with a stone box structure.

On the floor were two boards on which laid the skeleton of a woman with a wooden dish opposite of her skull. The wooden dish [1-n-n] held ram vertebrae and fragments of an iron knife [1-n-n].

Under her skull was a dark stain and around her skull were ornaments probably belonging to a headdress [1-y-y]: fragments gold leaf, wooden sculpture of a 'horse'/cervid on a spherical basis terminating in a pin, a wooden figure of a deer, two wooden figures of a crouching predator,

wooden pendants, and wooden cases for braids. She had a wooden mirror [1-n-n]. There were also scraps of brown felt and woollen fabric from her clothes.

In the northeast corner was a small ceramic vessel [1-n-n] and a wooden vessel [1-n-n].

Total counted objects – 6

Total decorated – 1

Total zoomorphs – 1

Animal images – ‘horse’/cervid, deer, predator

Horse – n/a

Sex – female: ‘horse’/cervid, deer, predator

Age – adult: ‘horse’/cervid, deer, predator

— Kurgan 18 —

This is a mound that has an inner burial pit with a stone plate box structure.

In the box on the floor were two boards with the skeleton of a man lying on top. The left half of his skull was naturally mummified. On his left ear there was a bronze ear-ring [1-?-?]. He wore some sort of headdress [1-y-y] made from leather and fur and was probably decorated with wooden animal figures (a ‘deer’ and a ‘horse’) and gold leaf. Around his body were two wooden figures of recumbent argali rams and another ‘horse’ figure [1-y-y], two belt buckles and plates [1-y-n], a wooden comb [1-n-n], a small bronze chekan-axe with wooden handle [1-y-n], a wooden dagger [1-n-n] with a sheath [1-n-n], an imitation boar tusk [1-n-n], part of a wooden base of a quiver [1-n-n], two arrows [1-n-n], and scraps of fur and leather.

In the northeast corner of the box were a wooden dish with four legs [1-n-n], a wooden ladle with a handle [1-n-n], and a ceramic vessel [1-n-n].

Total counted objects – 14

Total decorated – 4

Total zoomorphs – 2

Animal images – ‘deer’, ‘horse’, argali ram

Horse – n/a

Sex – male: ‘deer’, ‘horse’, argali ram

Age – adult: ‘deer’, ‘horse’, argali ram

— Kurgan 21 —

This is a mound that has an inner burial pit with a stone box structure.

Inside the stone box was the large skeleton of a man laid on top of two larch boards. In the northeast corner there was a ceramic vessel [1-y-n] and nearby were mutton vertebrae and fragments of an iron knife [1-n-n]. Above his skull were fragments of gold leaf. Around the pelvis were belt buckles and plates [1-n-n], a wooden comb [1-n-n], and a small wooden mirror [1-n-n]. Under his right thigh bone were a wooden chekan-axe with a handle painted red [1-y-n], and a bronze dagger [1-y-n] in a wooden sheath [1-n-n]. On the sheath was a brown scrap of felt [1-n-n] with grains of millet inside in it. Around the lower part of his skeleton were a wood base of a quiver painted red colour [1-y-n], three-four arrow shafts [1-n-n], and a fragment of a bow [1-n-n].

Total counted objects – 12

Total decorated – 4

Total zoomorphs – 0

Animal images – none

Horse – n/a

Sex – male: 0

Age – adult: 0

— Kurgan 22 —

This is a mound that has an inner burial pit with a larch structure. Outside the structure were two horse skeletons with iron bits [2-n-n].

Inside the structure were three human skeletons. The first skeleton (adult male) laid by southern wall. Above his skull were gold leaf, a small wooden head of a deer on top of a bronze needle, and fragments of wooden ‘animal’ figures [1-y-y]. Associated with the first skeleton were a bronze chekan-axe with a wooden handle [1-n-n], a bronze dagger [1-n-n] in a wooden sheath [1-n-n], and fragments of clothes from leather and woollen fabric.

The second skeleton (adult female) was to the left of the first skeleton. Under her skull was a dark stain and fragments of gold leaf. She had a bronze mirror [1-n-n].

The third skeleton (adult male) was associated with an iron chekan-axe [1-n-n], an iron dagger [1-y-n] in a wooden sheath painted red [1-y-n], and three wooden belt plates [1-n-n].

Along the northern wall were two unornamented ceramic vessels [2-n-n] and an ornamented

ceramic vessel [1-y-n], a bronze knife [1-n-n], and an iron knife [1-n-n].

Total counted objects – 16

Total decorated – 4

Total zoomorphs – 1

Animal images – ‘animals’, deer

Horse – 0

Sex – female: 0

male: ‘animals’, deer

Age – adult: ‘animals’, deer

— Kurgan 23 —

This is a mound that has an inner burial pit with a stone box structure. Outside the box was a horse skeleton with an iron bit and fragments of wooden ornaments of a harness [1-y-n].

Inside the box were two skeletons of a man and woman. Above both skulls were fragments of gold leaf and wooden figures of animals [2-y-y]. Associated with the male skeleton were a wooden chekan-axe [1-n-n] and a bronze belt clasp in the shape of a bird head [1-y-y].

Along the east wall was a wooden dish on four small-legs [1-?-?] with mutton vertebrae and two bronze knives [2-n-n]. Along the northern wall was a ceramic vessel [1-?-?].

Total counted objects – 9

Total decorated – 4

Total zoomorphs – 3

Animal images – ‘animals’, bird

Horse – 0

Sex – female: animals

male: animals, bird

Age – adult: animals, bird

— Kurgan 25 —

This is a mound that has an inner burial pit with a stone box structure. Outside the structure was a horse skeleton with an iron bit [1-n-n].

In the box was the skeleton of a man lying on four boards. Parts of his body were mummified (skin on the skull, hands and legs). Near his skull were fragments of gold leaf. There were fragments of leather and felt around him and fragments of a woollen fabric painted in red colour [1-y-n]. Objects close around him include: a wooden sheath [1-y-n]; a bronze

chekan-axe with a long wooden handle terminating in an ornamented ending [1-y-n]; two leather belts with wooden plaques [2-y-n]; a wooden imitation boar tusk; fragments of leather clothing with appliqué decoration [1-y-n]; a bronze dagger [1-n-n]; three wooden arrows [1-n-n]; the wooden base of a quiver painted red [1-y-n]; a tiny bronze mirror [1-n-n] in a felt case [1-?-?].

Above his skull was placed a large wooden dish [1-n-n] on the floor boards. In the dish were mutton vertebrae, fragments of an iron knife [1-n-n]. Near the northern wall were ceramic sherds [1-?-?], and a wooden cup with a handle [1-n-n]. Scattered around the burial were two wooden figures of ‘horses’, a wooden ‘deer’ with a saiga head on its torso [all figures 1-y-y], wooden pendants and buttons, a wooden comb [1-n-n], and a decorated wooden diadem [1-y-n].

Total counted objects – 19

Total decorated – 9

Total zoomorphs – 1

Animal images – ‘horse’, ‘deer’ with saiga head on torso

Horse – 0

Sex – male: ‘horse’, ‘deer’ with saiga head on torso

Age – adult: ‘horse’, ‘deer’ with saiga head on torso

— Kurgan 26 —

This is a mound that has an inner burial pit with a larch structure. Outside the structure were two horse skeletons. One had an iron bit [1-n-n], while the other had a bronze bit with two wooden psalia with eagle/griffin headed endings [1-y-y].

Inside the structure were the skeletons of a woman and a man. Around the female’s skull was a dark stain, fragments of gold leaf and a wooden ornament [1-?-?]. Near her right hand was a bronze mirror [1-?-?] in a felt case [1-?-?]. Around the male’s skull were fragments of gold leaf in various forms including a gold plate of a bird [1-y-y]. Around his neck was a bronze rod with wooden tips in the shape of wolf heads [1-y-y]. He had wooden belt plates and buckles [1-?-?]. Around his pelvis was a bronze mirror [1-?-?] in a felt case [1-?-?], an iron dagger [1-?-?] with sheath [1-?-?], and fragments of woollen fabric and pieces of leather.

In the northeast corner of the framework were two ceramic vessels [2-?-?], a wooden dish [1-?-?], mutton vertebrae, a bronze knife [1-?-?] and an iron knife [1-?-?].

Total counted objects – 17
Total decorated – 3
Total zoomorphs – 3

Animal images – eagle/griffin, wolf

Horse – bird
Sex – female: 0
 male: bird, wolf
Age – adult: bird, wolf

— Kurgan 27 —

This is a mound that has an inner burial pit with a larch structure.

Inside the structure was the skeleton of a woman. Above her skull was one bead, while under her pelvis were two maral teeth [thus all 1-n-n]. In the northern part of the structure were a ceramic vessel [1-?-?], mutton vertebrae and a small bronze knife [1-?-?].

Total counted objects – 3
Total decorated – 0
Total zoomorphs – 0

Animal images – 0

Horse – n/a
Sex – female: 0
Age – adult: 0

— Kurgan 28 —

This is a mound that has an inner burial pit with a wooden framework.

Inside the framework was a skeleton of a woman. Under her skull was a dark stain and some fragments of gold leaf. Near to her right hand were two maral teeth pendants [1-n-n]. Along the northern wall were fragments of a ceramic vessel [1-n-n], and a wooden dish [1-?-?] with mutton vertebrae and an iron knife [1-n-n].

Total counted objects – 4
Total decorated – 0
Total zoomorphs – 0

Animal images – 0

Horse – n/a

Sex – female: 0
Age – adult: 0

— Kurgan 29 —

This is a mound that has an inner burial pit with a larch structure. Outside the structure were two horse skeletons with iron bits [2-n-n].

Inside the structure were two poorly preserved human skeletons. The first skull lay in a dark stain indicating that it, perhaps, belongs to a female. In the stain were remains of head wear including a wooden case for a braid, a wooden head of a 'deer', wooden pendants and gold leaf [1-y-y]. Among the fragments of the second skull were fragments of gold leaf, while under the pelvis there were a bronze mirror [1-n-n], fragments of woollen fabric, a belt plate [1-n-n] and a tooth amulet [1-n-n]. Along northern wall were a ceramic vessel [1-y-n], mutton vertebrae and a bronze knife [1-n-n].

Total counted objects – 8
Total decorated – 2
Total zoomorphs – 1

Animal images – 'deer'

Horse – 0
Sex – female: 'deer'
 ?: ?
Age – adult: 'deer'

— Kurgan 30 —

This is a mound that has an inner burial pit with a larch structure. Outside the structure was a horse skeleton with an iron bit and fragments of harness decorations (boar tusks and a wooden ornament) [1-y-n].

Inside the structure was the skeleton of a man. Above his skull was the remains of head wear including gold leaf, poorly preserved wooden plates and two wooden figures of cervid/'horses' covered by gold [1-y-y]. Around the pelvic region were a bronze chekan-axe with a handle painted red [1-y-n], a bronze dagger [1-n-n] with a wooden sheath [1-?-?], a bronze mirror [1-n-n], and the remains of a belt (wooden belt plates, buckles and a wooden imitation boar tusk) [1-y-n]. There was also fragments of a bow [1-?-?] and arrow shafts [1-?-?].

In the northeast corner were ornamental wooden plates [1-y-n], sherds of a ceramic vessel [1-n-n],

fragments of a wooden dish [1-n-n] with mutton vertebrae and an iron knife [1-n-n].

Total counted objects – 13

Total decorated – 5

Total zoomorphs – 1

Animal images – cervid/‘horses’

Horse – 0

Sex – male: cervid/‘horses’

Age – adult: cervid/‘horses’

Dating

Barburgazy I cemetery is dated by typological correlation to 4th-3rd centuries BC, Pazyryk period of the Altai (Kubarev 1992: 113). One radiocarbon date was made from material of kurgan 4 and places it at 490 BC (Kubarev 1992: 114).

References

Kubarev 1992

Barburgazy II cemetery

Introduction

This consisted of a row of nine mounds in which kurgans 3 (Pazyryk) and 9 (Early Turkic period) were excavated.

Location

The cemetery is situated an area between the rivers Kuruuzek and Barburgazy

Burials and associated artefacts

— Kurgan 3 —

This is a small mound with an inner burial pit and larch structure.

In the structure were two children of infant age. Above both of their skulls were fragments gold leaf. One fragment had a cervid snout with a mouth painted red [1-y-y]. Other fragments of gold leaf were around their necks. Under the left skull was a bronze ear-ring [1-n-n]. Below the second skull (right) was a small bronze mirror [1-n-n] in a felt case [1-?-?]. In the northern part of the structure were two ceramic vessels [2-y-n], two heaps of mutton vertebrae and two iron knives [2-n-n].

Total counted objects – 8

Total decorated – 3

Total zoomorphs – 1

Animal images – cervid

Horse – n/a

Sex – ?

Age – infant: cervid

Dating

Pazyryk period of the Altai.

References

Kubarev 1992

Bashadar cemetery

Introduction

Bashadar (var. Bash-Adar) is a multi-period cemetery with fifty-seven monuments. Two large kurgans (no. 1 & 2) were excavated in 1950.

Location

Bashadar is a natural area near the Kulada river, about 1 km from Kulada village in Central Gorno-Altai.

Burials and associated artefacts

— Kurgan 1 —

This is a large stone mound with an inner burial pit and wooden construction. Outside the construction were ten horses in poor state of preservation. Not much of the horse equipment survived, just fragments of gold leaf and some wooden plaques covered with gold [1-y-?]

Inside the chamber was a log-trunk coffin [1-?-?] with a male skeleton (25 years). Amongst his bones were gold ornaments, wood plates covered in gold [1-y-n] and fragments of silk. Near his skull was a fragment of woollen fabric, possibly the remains of a headdress.

Outside the coffin at its top were two ceramic jugs (one was decorated) [1-n-n, 1-y-n].

Outside the chamber was the remains of a quiver [1-n-n] with nine arrows [1-n-n].

Total counted objects – 7

Total decorated – 3

Total zoomorphs – 0

Animal images – 0

Horse – ?

Sex – male: 0

Age – 25 years: 0

— Kurgan 2 —

This is a large stone mound with an inner burial pit and wooden chamber construction which was robbed in the past. Outside the construction were fourteen horses. Some of the horses were cut up and scattered within the breached funeral chamber. Some of the horse manes were trimmed and their tails braided. The tails of two horses were decorated with gold sheet. Only five horses still had their ornamentation intact, while the most of the harness ornaments were left on the chamber floor by the robbers and stripped of their gold leaf

The horses had iron bits and their harness ornaments were made from wood, bronze and horn [thus 13-?-?, 1-y-y]. The bridles were decorated with non-figurative motifs and boar tusks, while the psalia were decorated with non-figurative motifs and bird heads. Additionally, one of the horse forehead decorations had two pieces of wood shaped like tau-teke horns and covered with gold leaf.

The horse saddles did not preserve well. Fragments of saddle decorations include: wooden plaques of eagle/griffins with spread out wings and argali ram heads; cut out felt shapes of eagle/griffins with out spread wings; an example of coloured felt resembling two interconnecting griffin heads; and a felt decoration of a predator head ('wolf') [thus 13-?-?, 1-y-y].

There was also the hilt of a horse whip decorated with predator heads (wolf) [1-y-y].

Originally in the chamber there were two cedar log coffins with the bodies of a male and female. The cedar coffin [1-y-y] of the male remained *in situ*, but its lid, made of larch, was removed. The lid was decorated with four snarling tigers with two argali rams, two antlerless elk and two boar under foot, while one surviving side of the coffin had four tigers and an antlerless elk under foot. The body of the male remained in its coffin but his skull was removed. The coffin of the female was removed and broken up by the robbers as female's body parts were scattered through out the chamber. A fragment of the female's coffin [1-y-n] was painted with volutes and other swirling decorations.

Their clothes were removed and only scraps remain. The male still retained his boots [1-y-n]. The boots were made of leather, felt and fur and sewn in a checker-board pattern.

In the chamber were also: bronze plates decorated with an eagle ('griffin') with out spread wings and a cervid head; a fragment of a wooden deer head and fish-like figure [thus all figures 1-y-y]; and fragments of a birch vessel.

Based on fragmentary sherds of pottery it is believed that there could have been eighteen vessels left in the burial chamber. Thirteen of them were decorated with non-figurative markings [13-y-n, 4-n-n], while one pot sherd had an etching of a deer with antlers [1-y-y].

Total counted objects – 51

Total decorated – 21

Total zoomorphs – 6

Animal images – tiger, argali, elk, boar, deer, fish, bird, eagle/griffins, griffins, predator ('wolf')

Horse – bird, eagle/griffins, argali, griffins, predator ('wolf'), also a headdress with tau-teke horns

Sex – female: ?

male: tiger, argali, elk, boar

Age – adult: tiger, argali, elk, boar

Dating

The burial and funerary objects are typologically similar to ones found at the site of Pazyryk. Based on the radiocarbon determinations Rudenko calibrates the date of Bashadar to c. 520 BC (Rudenko 1970: xxxvi).

References

Rudenko 1960; Jettmar 1967; Rudenko 1970; Barkova 1978

Berel cemetery

Introduction

In the 19th century Berel, along with Katanda, were the first frozen tombs discovered by researchers. In the Berel steppe W. Radloff had identified twenty kurgans and excavated seven of them in the summer of 1865 (Radloff 1884: 110). The excavations of the largest one, near the river, revealed a mound made of layered stones with frozen soil underneath and a wooden structure associated with the burial of horses and remains of a human skeleton (Radloff 1884: 110-112). This kurgan was re-excavated in 1959 and is known as *Bolshoi Berel* (kurgan 1), the large barrow of Berel. More recently the Berel Steppe has been under investigation since the 1990s. Currently, more than thirty kurgans arranged in chains have been identified. Berel kurgans 11 and 18 were excavated during 1998-1999.

Location

The cemetery is located in the Berel Steppe beside the Bukhtarma river, 7 km southwest of Berel village, Katonkaragai region of the East Kazakhstan oblast. This plateau is within the Altai mountains which is the furthest eastern part of Kazakhstan which borders of Gorno-Altai.

Burials and associated artefacts

— Bolshoi Berel Kurgan (Berel kurgan 1) —

In 1865 excavations revealed a mound made of layered stones with frozen soil underneath (Radloff 1884: 110-112). Radloff's team thawed the ice and found sixteen decorated horses. Lower down there was a wooden chamber that had a horse and fragments of a human skeleton which led Radloff to believe that this tomb had been robbed. The quality and recording of Radloff's excavations are poor, while few of the uncovered items have survived in museum collections. The re-excavation in 1959 has provided additional information, and what is known of the tomb is as follows:

It is a large stone mound covering an inner burial pit with a wooden construction. Outside the construction there were sixteen horses. They had iron bits and their harnesses were decorated with wooden and bronze ornaments [thus 15-?-?, 1-y-y]. Ornamentation had volutes and other decorative forms as well as deer/elk heads. Saddle-clothes [1-y-n] were decorated with geometric ornaments made from birch. Some were covered with gold foil. Other horse decorations were made of birch which were shaped in various shapes (like crosses and

volutes) and animal forms (a griffin head with a beak snout, deer-like ear and tined antler). There were also gold foil shapes in the form of denticulate leaves, feline predators and fish.

Inside the construction was a log-coffin [1-y-y] decorated on the lid with four bronze bird/griffin figures mounted on nails at each corner. Inside the coffin was placed a human skeleton which the re-excavation in 1959 had only found its hand and leg bones.

Total counted objects — 18

Total decorated — 3

Total zoomorphs — 2

Animal images — deer/elk, griffin with antler, feline predators, fish, bird/griffin

Horse — deer/elk, griffin with antler

Sex — ?

Age — ?

— Kurgan 11 —

Berel 11 is at the north end of a chain of kurgans on the Berel steppe. The mound was made of stones piled in a specific construction of different layers of specific stone sizes. Around the perimeter of the stone mound were squarish plates placed in an arrangement like flower petals. Underneath the mound was a pit with a larch chamber construction. The ground under the stone mound was frozen.

Outside the chamber were thirteen frozen horses. The horses were harnessed [13-y-y] and saddled. The heads of three horses were decorated with wooden horns in the shape of tau-teke horns, while another horse wore on its head a small wooden sculpture of griffin with horns made out of leather.

The harness consisted of iron bits with wooden ornaments covered in gold leaf. The psalia terminated at both ends in the form of animal heads (beaked griffin, feline with volute swirl on top of head, and elk with antlers). Bridle ornamentation included: ornamental motifs; feline/canid predator heads; griffin heads and beaked griffin heads; feline heads; wooden plaques of stag heads; plaques in the shape of a 'griffin' with a mane and cervid/caprid in its mouth; decorations with an argali ram head on a volute; plaques in the shape of bird with spread out wings; a plaque from horse outfit in shape of a stylised animal head with volute horn and a stylised feline; a plaque of two felines ('lions')

with volute on top of each head; a series of wooden figures from a horse outfit of reclining creatures with a feline body and human faces ('sphinxes'). One has two volutes on top of its head which perhaps could be stylised antlers, while another has one head shared between two bodies; a wooden plaque of two twisting elks; and two wooden plaques with a scene of a feline predator pouncing on a twisting stag.

The horses had saddles of red colour and decorated with fur [12-?-?]. One saddle had a scene of a 'tiger' tearing a hoofed animal (cervid? yak?) [1-y-y]. Another saddle had a wooden slat shield attached to it [1-n-n].

The chamber was disturbed by looting. In the wooden chamber was a larch log coffin [1-y-y] with four bronze bird-griffin nails placed on each corner of the lid.

In the coffin were the partially preserved bodies of a male (35-45 years) and female (60-70 years). The male's body was prepared by embalming techniques. He had a beard and moustache and his hair was plaited. On his body were the remains of clothing and fur, but he had been stripped of his belongings by looters. The female was interred later after the plunder of the burial of the male (Samashev, Bazarbaeva, Zhumabekova & Francfort 2000: 10). His corpse was pushed aside for her burial, but her body was poorly preserved because of its location within the grave. They were genetically related and their relationship could have been mother and son or perhaps a father and daughter who was buried years later (Samashev, Bazarbaeva, Zhumabekova & Francfort 2000: 11).

In the burial space outside the coffin were: a small wooden table with short legs [1-?-?], fragments of two ceramic vessels [2-n-n] and a vessel made of horn [1-?-?]; and a fragment of a richly decorated fabric with tiny blue-green glass beads.

Total counted objects – 32
Total decorated – 15
Total zoomorphs – 15

Animal images – griffin, feline, elk, predator (feline/canid), deer, argali, bird, feline, 'lion', 'sphinx', 'tiger', bird/griffin

Horse – griffin, feline, elk, predator (feline/canid), deer, argali, bird, 'lion', 'sphinx', 'tiger', and also three headdresses with tau-teke horns

Sex – female: ?
 male: bird/griffin
Age – 35-45: bird/griffin
 60-70: ?

— Kurgan 18 —

The mound was made of stones piled in a specific construction of different layers of specific sizes of stones. Stone plates were set up around the edge at a tilting angle from the ground. The inner burial pit had a broken wooden structure. Outside the structure were four horses and one of them had an iron bit [1-?-?]. The tomb was robbed as no human body was found but there were fragments of decorated ceramic [1-y-n], gold leaf, gold thread and a ceramic vase decorated with zones of triangles [1-y-n].

Total counted objects – 3
Total decorated – 2
Total zoomorphs – 0

Animal images – 0

Horse – 0
Sex – ?
Age – ?

Dating

The Bolshoi Berel burial structure and its funerary objects typologically belong to the Pazyryk culture (Sorokin 1969: 225). Dendrochronological analysis of the wood at Berel kurgan 11 date it to 294 BC, while Berel 1 was around 350-360 BC (Samashev, Bazarbaeva, Zhumabekova & Francfort 2000: 19,20).

References

Radloff 1884; Zakharov 1928; Sorokin 1969; Francfort 1999; Samashev, Bazarbaeva, Zhumabekova & Francfort 2000; Samashev, Bazarbaeva, Zhumabekova & Sungatai 2000

Bertek 1 cemetery

Introduction

Bertek 1 is a cemetery of two kurgans whereby the largest one belonged to the Pazyryk period.

Location

The Bertek valley is found near the banks of the Ak-Alakha river, in the Bertek Basin of the Kosh-Agachskii region, on the Ukok plain of southern Gorno-Altai.

Burials and associated artefacts

— Kurgan 1 —

This is a stone mound with inner burial pit and wooden structure. Outside the structure was a horse skeleton with an iron-bit [1-n-n].

In the structure was a male skeleton (50-60 years) with a bronze knife [1-n-n] in a poorly preserved sheath [1-?-?] and a chekan-axe [1-n-n]. Around the skull were fragments of leather and gold leaf. Other burial objects include a ceramic vessel [1-y-n], an iron knife [1-n-n],

Total counted objects – 6

Total decorated – 1

Total zoomorphs – 0

Animal images – 0

Horse – 0

Sex – male: 0

Age – 50-60 years: 0

Dating

The funeral structure and inventory are typologically Pazyryk.

References

Molodin & Solov'ev 1994a

Bertek 10 cemetery

Introduction

Bertek 10 is a cemetery of ten burials of which kurgan 1 was excavated.

Location

The Bertek valley is found near the banks of the Ak-Alakha river, in the Bertek Basin of the Kosh-Agachskii region, on the Ukok plain of southern Gorno-Altai.

Burials and associated artefacts

— Kurgan 1 —

This is a stone mound with inner burial pit and wooden structure. Outside the structure was a horse skeleton with its skull missing. There were remains of a harness with some harness decorations (including boar tusks) [1-y-n] and residues of leather from a saddle.

In the structure was a male skeleton (50-60 years) with a bronze knife [1-?-?], part of a chekan-axe [1-n-n], and arrowheads. Other burial objects include sherds of a ceramic vessel [1-n-n].

Total counted objects – 4

Total decorated – 1

Total zoomorphs – 0

Animal images – 0

Horse – 0

Sex – male: 0

Age – 50-60 years: 0

Dating

The funeral structure and inventory are typologically Pazyryk dating 5-3rd centuries BC (Molodin & Myl'nikov 1994: 76).

References

Molodin & Myl'nikov 1994

Bertek 27 cemetery

Introduction

Bertek 27 is a cemetery of seven kurgans whereby the largest one was only excavated.

Location

The Bertek valley is found near the banks of the Ak-Alakha river, in the Bertek Basin of the Kosh-Agachskii region, on the Ukok plain of southern Gorno-Altai.

Burials and associated artefacts

— Kurgan 1 —

This is a small mound ringed by a stone fence with an inner burial pit and a wooden structure. In the northern part of the pit was a horse skeleton with iron bit [1-?-?].

In the structure was the body of a male (50-60 years) with an iron knife [1-?-?]. There was also a smashed ceramic vessel [1-y-y] uniquely decorated with a 'flying griffin'.

Total counted objects – 3
Total decorated – 1
Total zoomorphs – 1

Animal images – 'flying griffin'

Horse – 0
Sex – male: griffin
Age – 50-60 years: griffin

Dating

The burial and ceramic vessel belong to the Pazyryk culture (Molodin & Solov'ev 1994b: 94).

References

Molodin 1992a; Molodin 1992b; Molodin & Solov'ev 1994b; Polos'mak & Molodin 2000

Borotal II cemetery

Introduction

The Borotal II cemetery consists of eight kurgans in chain. Three kurgans were dug as part of 1976 excavations of an area which was to be flooded by a hydroelectric station.

Location

The Borotal II cemetery is located in the southeast branch of the Borotal valley on the bank of a dried up channel of an unnamed river. The Borotal valley is located near the Chuya river, Ulangan region, Gorno-Altai.

Burials and associated artefacts

— Kurgan 1 —

This is a stone mound with an inner burial pit and wooden construction.

Along the southern wall of the chamber laid an adult skeleton with fragments of gold leaf around their neck. Along the northern wall was a clay vessel [1-n-n], ram vertebrae and fragments of an iron knife [1-?-?].

Total counted objects – 2
Total decorated – 0
Total zoomorphs – 0

Animal images – 0

Horse – 0
Sex – ?
Age – adult: 0

— Kurgan 2 —

This is a stone mound that has an inner burial pit with wooden construction. Outside the northern wall of the structure was a horse skeleton with an iron bit [1-n-n].

In the funeral chamber there were three human skeletons: two adults and an adolescent. Objects were found only on the skeleton who was lying nearest to the southern wall of the structure. Around their skull was gold leaf, while near its pelvis was a tiny bronze chekan-axe [1-?-?] with a wooden handle and a tiny bronze mirror in a wooden case [1-n-n]. Around the legs were a bronze dagger [1-y-n] in a wooden sheath [1-n-n] and a crushed clay vessel [1-?-?]. Near the north wall were ram vertebrae, an iron knife [1-?-?] and a ceramic jug [1-?-?].

Total counted objects – 7
Total decorated – 1
Total zoomorphs – 0

Animal images – 0

Horse – n/a
Sex – ?
Age – adults: ?
 adolescent: ?

— Kurgan 7 —

This is a stone mound that has an inner burial pit with wooden structure. Outside the northern wall was a horse skeleton.

In the structure was an adult skeleton. Near its left arm were fragments of gold leaf, while around the middle of the body was a tiny bronze chekan-axe [1-y-y] with a wooden handle. On the chekan-axe was adhered a wooden piece with a griffin head. Near the right thigh bone was the remains of an iron dagger with wooden hilt [1-n-n], a fragment of a wooden griffin head decoration, an imitation tiny bronze mirror [1-?-?] in a wooden case. Near the east wall of the chamber was a crushed clay vessel [1-?-?], while in the northeast part were ram vertebrae and the remains of an iron knife [1-?-?].

Total counted objects – 5

Total decorated – 1
Total zoomorphs – 1

Animal images – griffin

Horse – 0
Sex – ?
Age – adult: griffin

Dating

All features of the burials and funerary objects belong to the Pazyryk culture.

References

Mogil'nikov & Surazakov 1980

Borotal III cemetery

Introduction

The Borotal III cemetery consists of nine burials. They were dug as part of 1976 excavations of sites in the area which was to be flooded by hydroelectric station.

Location

The cemetery Borotal III is located 160 m from Borotal II. Both are in the southeast branch of the Borotal valley on the bank of a dried up channel of an unnamed river. The Borotal Valley is near the Chuya river, Ulangan region, Gorno-Altai.

Burials and associated artefacts

— Kurgan 4 —

This is a stone mound that has an inner burial pit with wooden structure. Outside the northern wall were two horse skeletons with iron bits [2-n-n].

The burial was plundered and in the chamber were the disarticulated bones of three human skeletons. In the northeast corner was a fragment of a wooden dish [1-n-n], while in the southwest corner was the remains of a bronze dagger [1-?-?] in a wooden sheath [1-n-n].

Total counted objects – 5
Total decorated – 0
Total zoomorphs – 0

Animal images – 0

Horse – 0

Sex – ? : 0
Age – ? : 0

— Kurgan 5 —

This is a stone mound that has an inner burial pit with wooden structure.

In the chamber were the remains of three skeletons of children disturbed by marmot burrowing. In the northern part of the chamber were two ceramic vessels [2-n-n] and a third vessel with a handle and S-shaped lines decorating the body [1-y-n]. Near the vessels were fragments of an iron knife [1-?-?]. In the northeast corner were remains of a wooden vessel [1-?-?], ram vertebrae and the remains of two iron knives [2-?-?]. In different parts of the burial were fragments of gold foil.

Total counted objects – 7
Total decorated – 1
Total zoomorphs – 0

Animal images – 0

Horse – n/a
Sex – ?
Age – children: 0

— Kurgan 8 —

This is a stone mound that has an inner burial pit with wooden construction.

Along the southern wall of the funeral chamber were two human skeletons which were disturbed by marmot burrowing. In the northeast corner were ram vertebrae and the fragments of two poorly preserved iron knives [2-?-?]. Along the northern wall was a ceramic vase [1-?-?]. In the southern part were two bronze ear-rings with hanging pedal-like pendants [1-y-n] and a bronze mirror [1-n-n] in the remains of a fur case [1-n-n].

Total counted objects – 6
Total decorated – 1
Total zoomorphs – 0

Animal images – 0

Horse – n/a
Sex – ?
Age – adult: 0

Dating

All features of the burial and funerary objects belong to the Pazyryk culture.

References

Mogil'nikov & Surazakov 1980

Kaldzhin 1

Introduction

A single isolated kurgan which was excavated in 1993 (Massart *et al.* 1995).

Location

The kurgan is in valley near the confluence of Kaldzhin and Ak-Alakha rivers, in the Ukok plateau, southern Gorno-Altai.

Burials and associated artefacts

— Kaldzhin 1 kurgan —

This was a small mound with stone fence and an inner burial pit with wooden construction. Inside was the crushed skeleton of an infant (3 years old) with a ceramic vessel decorated with swirls [1-y-n] near its skull. Other objects include: fragments of gold leaf; an iron knife [1-n-n]; a bronze dagger [1-n-n] in a wooden sheath [1-n-n]; and a bronze chekan-axe with wooden handle [1-n-n].

Total counted objects – 5

Total decorated – 1

Total zoomorphs – 0

Animal images – 0

Horse – n/a

Sex – ?

Age – 3 years: 0

Dating

The inner burial construction is similar to other Pazyryk culture graves at Pazyryk and Ukok (Massart *et al.* 1995: 108). The bronze dagger and chekan-axe are typical of Pazyryk material culture.

References

Massart *et al.* 1995; Polos'mak & Molodin 2000

Kaldzhin 6 cemetery

Introduction

This is a large multi-period cemetery (sixty-five monuments) where two Pazyryk kurgans were investigated in 1993.

Location

In the river valley of the Ak-Alakha river, in the Ukok plateau, southern Gorno-Altai.

Burials and associated artefacts

— Kurgan 23 —

This is a small mound ringed by a stone fence and an inner burial pit with a wooden structure.

In the burial there were two adolescent bodies. There were two vessels [2-n-n], two iron knives [2-n-n] and some ram bones. One body had a bronze mirror [1-n-n], a precious stone pendant [1-y-n], gold around their neck and along the spine. The other body had a bronze chekan-axe [1-n-n].

Total counted objects – 7

Total decorated – 1

Total zoomorphs – 0

Animal images – 0

Horse – n/a

Sex – ?

Age – adolescent: 0

— Kurgan 24 —

This is a small mound with a fence and an inner burial pit with a wooden structure. Outside the structure was a horse with an iron bit [1-n-n].

Inside the structure was a female (20-22 years) laying on a felt mat with gold foil ornamentation. She had a golden earring [1-y-n], a felt pouch [1-?-?] and bronze mirror [1-n-n]. Near the southwestern wall of the structure were fragments of a metal belt [1-n-n], a metal knife [1-y-n], a broken ceramic vessel [1-n-n] and ram bones.

Total counted objects – 7

Total decorated – 2

Total zoomorphs – 0

Animal images – 0

Horse – 0

Sex – female: 0

Age – 20-22 year: 0

Dating

The burial type and presence of specific artefacts belong to the Pazyryk culture.

References

Molodin & Novikov 1994; Polos'mak & Molodin 2000

Kalzhin 8 cemetery

Introduction

This is a multi-period cemetery (four monuments) with one Pazyryk burial.

Location

The cemetery is located on the Ukok plateau, southern Gorno-Altai.

Burials and associated artefacts

— Kurgan 2 —

This is a small mound with a stone fence and an inner burial pit with wooden construction.

Inside was a crushed skeleton of a male (40-50 years). Near the northern wall were a broken ceramic vessel [1-?-?], ram bones and iron knife [1-?-?].

Total counted objects – 2

Total decorated – 0

Total zoomorphs – 0

Animal images – 0

Horse – n/a

Sex – male: 0

Age – 40-50 years: 0

Dating

Pazyryk period.

References

Polos'mak & Molodin 2000

Karatas 11 cemetery

Introduction

The Karatas 11 cemetery consists of a chain of Pazyryk kurgans, of which the largest one (kurgan 2) was examined.

Location

The Ukok plateau, southern Gorno-Altai.

Burials and associated artefacts

— Kurgan 2 —

This is a small mound with an inner burial pit and wooden construction. Outside the construction there was a horse.

In the construction was a badly damaged skeleton (male?). There were pottery fragments [1-?-?], iron chekan-axe [1-?-?], corroded iron dagger [1-?-?], bronze earring [1-?-?], scraps of gold foil, and ram bones.

Total counted objects – 4

Total decorated – 0

Total zoomorphs – 0

Animal images – 0

Horse – 0

Sex – male?: 0

Age – ??: 0

Dating

Pazyryk period.

References

Polos'mak & Molodin 2000

Katanda 2 cemetery

Introduction

Katanda 2 is a large multi-period cemetery discovered by Radloff in the 19th century. In 1865 the largest kurgan (Bolshoi Kurgan) was opened and it, along with Berel, were the earliest frozen tombs excavated under the directions of Radloff. In 1954 that which had remained of the Bolshoi Kurgan was re-investigated.

Location

Katanda 2 cemetery is about 2 km from the village of Katanda, in a valley between the Upper and Lower Katanda rivers, at the foot of Belukha mountain in southern Gorno-Altai.

Burials and associated artefacts

— Bolshoi kurgan—

A large stone mound with an inner burial pit and larch construction. In the stone mound were horse and human bones which were part of intrusive funerals from later periods (Gavrilova 1957: 254). Beneath the stones the ground was frozen. In the pit there were horse and human bones, but the number of individuals was not quantified by Radloff (Zakharov 1925: 42).

Re-excavations found twenty-two horse skeletons in three tiers (Gavrilova 1957: 257). The horses had iron bits, while only two horses had remains of bridle decorations [thus 2-y-n, 20-n-n]. Several of the horses had rotting saddles [21-n-n], while one horse saddle was decorated with gold ornamentation [1-y-n]. Radloff reports finding remains of embroidered leather which he believed were saddle-cloths by (Zakharov 1925: 43). Within the horse area were sherds of three ceramic vessels (two were decorated) [2-y-n, 1-n-n].

Further down was a larch construction. In the ice of the chamber were a dress-like coat (adorned with leather and gold plates and lined with silk and sable fur) [1-y-n], and a rolled up caftan or ermine fur with small plates and buttons covered by gold leaf [1-y-?]. Wrapped up in the caftan there were four little wooden figures of standing horses sewn to a ribbon and three loose ones with an unknown decorative purpose relating to the person's costume [1-y-y], two wooden horse figures in lying down pose, a wooden figure of a 'fantastic' animal (griffin head, equid/cervid body and legs), a round plate with curled predators (feline? – the larger one's head is full face and its tail terminates in a bird head) and two wooden plaques of predator heads (feline/canid?) which Zakharov (1925: 46) suggests could have originally decorated a horse [1-y-y], a rectangular wooden belt plaque with an bull or elk head [1-y-y], wooden bell-like shaped pendants, and a wooden plaque of a predator (feline?) attacking a stag.

At the bottom Radloff found one bier with four legs and a second bier with legs was decorated with bronze hoops. On each bier was a human skeleton which Radloff claims were undecorated, but he mentions the presence of gold plates with animal images which could not be collected due to muddy waters seeping in from the sides of the excavation (Radloff cited in Zakharov 1925: 48). There were also fragments of garments made of silk and wool. The re-excavations in 1954 did

not find any remains of the biers or human skeletons, but there were fragments of gold leaf (Gavrilova 1957: 261).

Total counted objects – 52

Total decorated – 11

Total zoomorphs – 3

Animal images – horse, 'fantastic' animal (griffin head, equid/cervid body and legs), predators (feline/canid), bull/elk, deer

Horse – ?

Sex – ?

Age – ?

Dating

The burial structure, horse burial and pottery belong to the Pazyryk culture (Gavrilova 1957). The horse figures correspond to ones found in the Pazyryk culture burials at Ulandryk I (kurgans 4, 6) and Ulandryk II (kurgan 8). Additionally, the predator heads correspond to ones in kurgan 6 of Ulandryk I.

References

Radloff 1884; Zakharov 1925; Jettmar 1951; Gavrilova 1957

K a t o n c e m e t e r y

Introduction

This is a multi-period cemetery consisting of a chain of kurgans which were excavated during 1960-1964. There was poor bone and wood preservation due to soil conditions.

Location

The cemetery is located on the east outskirts of the village of Katon-Karagai, East Kazakhstan Oblast, Kazakhstan. It is 2 km from the Sarymsak river.

Burials and associated artefacts

— Kurgan 2 —

This is a stone mound with an inner burial pit and poorly preserved wooden structure.

In the structure was the poorly preserved skeleton of a young adult (male) accompanied by a ceramic vessel [1-n-n], bronze pick-axe (chekan) with wooden handle [1-n-n] and two bone arrowheads.

Total counted objects – 2
Total decorated – 0
Total zoomorphs – 0

Animal images – 0

Horse – n/a
Sex – male: 0
Age – young adult: 0

— Kurgan 3 —

This is a stone mound with an inner burial pit and stone plate construction.

Inside the construction were the poorly preserved bones of an adult skeleton accompanied by a ceramic vase [1-n-n], two ceramic vessels [2-?-?], a small pot decorated below the brim [1-y-n], and four iron knives [4-n-n].

Total counted objects – 8
Total decorated – 1
Total zoomorphs – 0

Animal images – 0

Horse – n/a
Sex – ?
Age – adult: 0

— Kurgan 5 —

This is a stone mound with an inner burial pit and poorly preserved wooden construction.

Inside the structure there were no trace of human remains. Burial inventory includes: iron knife [1-n-n]; a bronze mirror [1-n-n]; a fragment of a handle from another mirror with image of a bird [1-y-y]; fragments of gold foil including tau-teke head with horn and a feline predator head [1-y-y]; a decorated ceramic vase [1-y-n]; and sherds of a second ceramic vessel [1-?-?].

Total counted objects – 6
Total decorated – 3
Total zoomorphs – 2

Animal images – bird, feline predator

Horse – n/a
Sex – ?
Age – ?

— Kurgan 10 —

This is a stone mound with an inner burial pit and wooden construction. Outside the construction were two horse skeletons with two iron bits [2-n-n].

Inside the structure were the disarticulated bones of two individuals. Amongst the grave goods there were two iron knives [2-n-n], an iron axe head [1-n-n], a bronze mirror [1-n-n], fragments of gold foil, and two ceramic vessels [2-n-n].

Total counted objects – 8
Total decorated – 0
Total zoomorphs – 0

Animal images – 0

Horse – 0
Sex – ?
Age – ?

— Kurgan 12 —

This is a stone mound with an inner burial pit and wooden construction.

The human skeleton was not preserved. Amongst the grave goods there were a decorated ceramic vessel [1-y-n], a ceramic vessel [1-n-n], an iron knife [1-n-n], and a small bronze mirror [1-?-?].

Total counted objects – 4
Total decorated – 1
Total zoomorphs – 0

Animal images – 0

Horse – n/a
Sex – ?
Age – ?

— Kurgan 14 —

This is a stone mound with an inner burial pit and wooden construction.

In the construction was an adult skeleton (female). Amongst the grave goods there were a decorated ceramic vessel [1-y-n], a bronze plate [1-y-n], an iron knife [1-?-?], and fragments of gold foil.

Total counted objects – 3
Total decorated – 2
Total zoomorphs – 0

Animal images – 0

Horse – n/a
Sex – female: 0
Age – adult: 0

— Kurgan 17 —

This is a stone mound with an inner burial pit and wooden construction. Outside the construction were two horse skeletons with iron bits [2-n-n].

In the structure was the poorly preserved skeleton of an adult. Amongst the grave goods there were a ceramic pot [1-n-n], an iron dagger [1-n-n], a bronze mirror [1-n-n], and fragments of gold foil.

Total counted objects – 5
Total decorated – 0
Total zoomorphs – 0

Animal images – 0

Horse – 0
Sex – ? : 0
Age – adult: 0

— Kurgan 19 —

This is a stone mound with an inner burial pit and wooden construction. Outside the construction were two horse skeletons with iron bits [2-n-n].

In the structure was the poorly preserved skeleton of an adult (male). There were two iron knives [2-n-n] and fragments of gold foil.

Total counted objects – 4
Total decorated – 0
Total zoomorphs – 0

Animal images – 0

Horse – 0
Sex – male: 0
Age – adult: 0

Dating

Burial structures and artefacts correspond to the Pazyryk culture (Sorokin 1966: 57).

References

Sorokin 1966

K o p a i 2 c e m e t e r y

Introduction

This consists of a group of kurgans in a chain of which two were excavated in 1963.

Location

The cemetery is in the Kopai area south of the village of Katon-Karagai, East Kazakhstan Oblast, Kazakhstan. The cemetery is along the bank of the Sarymsak river and close to the Katon cemetery.

Burials and associated artefacts

— Kurgan 8 —

This is a stone mound with an inner burial pit.

In the structure was the poorly preserved skeleton of an adult. Amongst the grave goods there were a ceramic vessel [1-?-?], two iron knives [2-n-n], and two bronze mirrors [2-n-n].

Total counted objects – 5
Total decorated – 0
Total zoomorphs – 0

Animal images – 0

Horse – n/a
Sex – ?
Age – adult: 0

Dating

Burial structures and artefacts are similar to the Katon graves (Sorokin 1966: 59), hence belonging the Pazyryk culture.

References

Sorokin 1966

K u t u r g u n t a s 1 c e m e t e r y

Introduction

The largest mound of a group of 5 kurgans was excavated in 1991.

Location

The Kuturguntas 1 cemetery is located on the bottom terrace of the Ak-Alakha river in a small mountain valley, near where the rivers Ak-Alakha, Kara-Bulak and Ak-Kol' merge on the Ukok Plateau, Gorno-Altai.

Burials and associated artefacts

— Kurgan 1 —

This is a stone mound surrounded by two stone rings with an inner burial pit and wooden construction. The inner burial structure was accessed by a side entrance on the east side like a dromos.

In the northern part of burial were ten horse skeletons with iron bits. Only one bridle set was preserved as its harness was decorated with wooden ornaments of griffin heads and bird-bodied griffins that were covered with gold foil [1-y-y]. The psalia were S-shaped and terminated on both ends with griffin heads. Fragments of harness decorations from other horses had horse head decorations and bridle pendants in the form of human faces with 'wings' [1-y-n] [thus the remaining 8-?-?].

The inner burial structure was a rectangular box with a second smaller chamber in which was placed a larch log coffin [1-n-n]. The coffin was broken into, and its occupant, the body of 30-35 year male, was disturbed, while his belongings were removed. The remaining objects include: a ceramic vessel [1-n-n]; fragments of a small wooden table with legs [1-?-?]; two bone arrowheads; bronze griffin heads; pieces of woollen and fur clothing; leather appliqué-works in the shape of a 'goat horn', bird and animal figures (eagles, bird-'griffins', two wooden heads of argali rams) [1-y-y]; a round iron plate covered with a gold foil from a quiver [1-n-n]; the remains of a leather pouch with appliqué-work [1-y-n]; and beads.

Total counted objects – 15

Total decorated – 3

Total zoomorphs – 1

Animal images – griffin, horse, human faces with wings, goat horn shape, eagles, bird-griffin, argali

Horse – horse, human faces with wings

Sex – male: griffin, eagles, bird-griffins, argali

Age – 30-35 years: ?

Dating

Burial construction, objects, horse harness and animal imagery have parallels to other Pazyryk culture sites (Polos'mak 1994c).

References

Polos'mak 1992a; Polos'mak 1994c; Polos'mak 1995b; Polos'mak & Molodin 2000

Maltalu IV cemetery

Introduction

The cemetery of Maltalu IV was a long row of kurgans excavated in 1980.

Location

The cemetery is on an upper terrace of the Buguzun river, in the Sailyugem mountains of southeast Gorno-Altai.

Burials and associated artefacts

— Kurgan 2 —

This is a mound and inner burial pit with a larch framework.

Inside the structure was the skeleton of a woman. Around her neck were two gold plates [1-n-n]. In the stomach area there were an iron plate with a bronze handle and a small bead [both 1-n-n].

Total counted objects – 2

Total decorated – 0

Total zoomorphs – 0

Animal images – 0

Horse – n/a

Sex – female: 0

Age – adult: 0

— Kurgan 3 —

This is a mound and inner burial pit with a larch structure.

Inside the structure were the skeletons of a woman and man. The female's skull lay in a dark stain. Fragments of gold leaf were found from her skull down to her chest. Around her pelvis was a bronze mirror [1-n-n] in a felt case [1-?-?].

Around the male's jaw were fragments gold leaf with the occurrence of an impressed image of a 'wolf' head [1-y-y]. Around the pelvis was a bronze dagger [1-n-n] in a wooden sheath [1-?-?], a chekan-axe [1-n-n], and a bronze mirror [1-n-n].

In a southwest part of the burial space were two ceramic vessels [1-y-n, 1-?-?], ram vertebrae and an iron knife [1-n-n].

Total counted objects – 10

Total decorated – 2

Total zoomorphs – 1

Animal images – 'wolf'

Horse – n/a
Sex – female: 0
 male: 'wolf'
Age – adult: 'wolf'

— Kurgan 4 —
This is a mound with an inner burial pit.

At the bottom of the pit was a larch trunk coffin with the skeleton of a child. There were no objects.

Total counted objects – 0
Total decorated – 0
Total zoomorphs – 0

Animal images – 0

Horse – n/a
Sex – ? : 0
Age – child: 0

— Kurgan 5 —
This is a mound that has an inner burial pit with a larch structure.

Inside the structure was the skeleton of a man. Around his pelvis were a bronze dagger [1-n-n] in a wooden sheath [1-n-n] and a bronze chekan-axe decorated with a wooden imitation boar tusk [1-y-n]. Along the western wall was a ceramic vessel [1-y-n] and an iron knife [1-n-n].

Total counted objects – 5
Total decorated – 2
Total zoomorphs – 0

Animal images – 0

Horse – n/a
Sex – male: 0
Age – adult: 0

— Kurgan 6 —
This is a mound that has an inner burial pit with a wooden structure.

Inside the structure were the skeletons of a woman and a poorly preserved child. Under the female's skull was a black stain. No objects were present.

Total counted objects – 0
Total decorated – 0

Total zoomorphs – 0

Animal images – 0

Horse – n/a
Sex – female: 0
 ? : 0
Age – adult: 0
 child: 0

— Kurgan 7 —
This is a mound that has an inner burial pit with a larch structure.

Inside the structure were two disarticulated skeletons of a man and child. Amongst the bones were sherds of a ceramic vessel [1-y-n] and two iron knives [2-n-n].

Total counted objects – 3
Total decorated – 1
Total zoomorphs – 0

Animal images – 0

Horse – n/a
Sex – male: 0
 ? : 0
Age – adult: 0
 child: 0

— Kurgan 8 —
This is a mound that has an inner burial pit with a wooden structure.

Inside the structure were the skeletons of a woman and man. The skull of the woman lay in a black stain. The male was associated with a bronze dagger [1-y-n] in a wooden sheath painted red [1-y-n], a bronze mirror [1-n-n] in a felt case [1-n-n], and a corroded iron chekan-axe [1-?-?]. In the northeast corner were two ceramic vessels [2-n-n] and an iron knife [1-n-n].

Total counted objects – 8
Total decorated – 2
Total zoomorphs – 0

Animal images – 0

Horse – n/a
Sex – female: 0
 male: 0
Age – adult: 0

— Kurgan 9 —

This is a mound that has inner burial pit with a wooden structure. Outside the structure was a horse skeleton with only a bone bridle buckle [1-n-n].

Inside the structure was the skeleton of a man(?). Along the northeast wall was a ceramic vessel [1-?-?], ram vertebrae and an iron knife [1-n-n]. Around the skull were fragments of gold leaf and one piece bore the image of an ungulate [1-y-y].

Total counted objects – 4
Total decorated – 1
Total zoomorphs – 1

Animal images – ungulate

Horse – 0
Sex – male(?): ungulate
Age – adult: ungulate

— Kurgan 10 —

This is a mound that has an inner burial pit with a larch structure.

Inside the structure was the skeleton of a woman. Under her skull was a black stain, while near her chest was a bronze pin set in an animal phlange [1-n-n]. In the northwest corner were fragments of a ceramic vessel [1-y-n], ram vertebrae and an iron knife [1-n-n].

Total counted objects – 3
Total decorated – 1
Total zoomorphs – 0

Animal images – 0

Horse – n/a
Sex – female: 0
Age – adult: 0

— Kurgan 11 —

This is a mound that has an inner burial pit with a wooden structure. Outside the structure was a horse skeleton.

Inside the structure were the skeletons of a man and a child. In the man's hand was a bronze chekan-axe [1-n-n], while near his knees was a bronze dagger [1-y-n] in a wooden sheath [1-?-?]. Around the skulls of both bodies there were fragments of gold leaf. In the northeast corner were two ceramic vessels [2-?-?], two piles of mutton vertebrae and two iron knives [2-n-n].

Total counted objects – 7
Total decorated – 1
Total zoomorphs – 0

Animal images – 0

Horse – 0
Sex – male: 0
?: 0
Age – adult: 0
child: 0

— Kurgan 12 —

This is a mound that has an inner burial pit with a larch structure. Outside the structure was a horse skeleton.

Inside the structure was the skeleton of a man. Around his skull were fragments of gold leaf, while near his pelvis there was a bronze dagger [1-n-n] in a wooden sheath [1-?-?]. Along the northern wall were vertebrae and an iron knife [1-n-n].

Total counted objects – 3
Total decorated – 0
Total zoomorphs – 0

Animal images – 0

Horse – 0
Sex – male: 0
Age – adult: 0

— Kurgan 13 —

This is a mound that has an inner burial pit with a wooden structure. Outside the structure were two horse skeletons.

Inside the structure were four skeletons (three male adults, 1 child). Above their skulls were four ceramic vessels [4-n-n], three piles of vertebrae and four iron knives [4-n-n]. Around their skulls were fragments of gold leaf.

Around the lower part of the first skeleton (male) was a bronze dagger [1-n-n] in a wooden sheath painted red [1-y-n] a bronze chekan-axe with a wooden handle painted red [1-y-n], and a small bronze mirror [1-n-n] in a pouch with appliqué [1-n-n].

Around the pelvis of the third body (male) was a small bronze chekan-axe [1-n-n], a bronze mirror

[1-n-n] in a case [1-?-?] and a bronze dagger [1-n-n] in a wooden sheath [1-?-?].

Around the fourth body (male) were two bronze mirrors [2-n-n], bronze dagger [1-n-n] and a bronze chekan-axe [1-n-n].

Total counted objects – 22

Total decorated – 2

Total zoomorphs – 0

Animal images – 0

Horse – 0

Sex – male: 0

?: 0

Age – adult: 0

child: 0

— Kurgan 14 —

This is a mound that has an inner burial pit with a stone box structure.

Inside the box was a poorly preserved skeleton of a child. Along the northern wall were a ceramic vessel [1-n-n], mutton vertebrae and an iron knife [1-n-n].

Total counted objects – 2

Total decorated – 0

Total zoomorphs – 0

Animal images – 0

Horse – n/a

Sex – ?: 0

Age – child: 0

— Kurgan 15 —

This is a mound that has an inner burial pit with a wooden structure.

Inside the structure was a poorly preserved skeleton of an infant (1-2 years). Around its skull were fragments of gold leaf. In the northeast corner were a ceramic vessel [1-y-n] and an iron knife [1-n-n].

Total counted objects – 2

Total decorated – 1

Total zoomorphs – 0

Animal images – 0

Horse – n/a

Sex – ?: 0

Age – infant: 0

— Kurgan 16 —

This is a mound that has an inner burial pit with a wooden structure.

Inside the structure were four skeletons of women. All had around their skulls and necks fragments of gold leaf, while under three skulls there were black stains. Between the first and second skeletons were a bronze and iron knife [2-n-n]. Near the skull of the second body was a gold fragment impressed with the image of a pair of predator heads (wolf or panther) [1-y-y]. In legs of the third skeleton was a bronze mirror with a handle in the shape of recumbent camel [1-y-y].

Along the eastern wall were two ceramic vessels [1-y-n, 1-n-n], ram vertebrae, an iron knife [1-n-n] and a bronze knife [1-n-n].

Total counted objects – 8

Total decorated – 3

Total zoomorphs – 2

Animal images – predator (wolf or panther),
recumbent camel

Horse – n/a

Sex – female: predator (wolf or panther),
recumbent camel

Age – adult: predator (wolf or panther),
recumbent camel

— Kurgan 17 —

This is a mound that has an inner burial pit with a larch structure.

Inside the structure were the skeletons of a woman and a poorly preserved child. Around their skulls were fragments of gold leaf. In northern part of the burial was a ceramic vessel [1-y-n] and ram vertebrae.

Total counted objects – 1

Total decorated – 1

Total zoomorphs – 0

Animal images – 0

Horse – n/a

Sex – female: 0

?: 0

Age – adult: 0

child: 0

— Kurgan 18 —

This is a mound that has an inner burial pit with a larch structure. Inside the structure were the skeletons of a woman and man.

Around the female's skull and cervical region were a dark stain, fragments of wooden figures of 'deer' and argali rams covered in gold [1-y-y] and fragments of gold leaf in which some had impressed images of recumbent argali ram. She had a bronze ear-ring [1-?-?], while on her pelvis there was a bronze mirror [1-n-n].

Around the male's skull were fragments of gold leaf in some of which there were impressed images of 'animals' [1-y-y]. His skeleton was associated with a bronze chekan-axe with a handle painted red and covered by sheet gold [1-y-n], a bronze dagger [1-n-n] in a sheath painted red [1-y-n], a bronze mirror [1-n-n], and red painted arrow shafts [1-y-n].

Along the northern wall was another bronze dagger [1-n-n] in a wooden sheath [1-y-n], as well as another chekan-axe [1-n-n] with an imitation boar tusk nearby it. Along the eastern wall were two ceramic vessels [2-?-?], a third decorated one [1-y-n], two piles of ram vertebrae, a small leg of a wooden dish [1-?-?], and two iron knives [2-n-n].

Total counted objects – 18

Total decorated – 7

Total zoomorphs – 2

Animal images – 'deer', argali ram, 'animals'

Horse – n/a

Sex – female: 'deer', argali ram
male: 'animals'

Age – adult: 'deer', argali ram, 'animals'

— Kurgan 19 —

This is a mound that has an inner burial pit with a wooden structure.

Inside the structure was the skeleton of an infant (1-2 years). Above its head and around its neck were fragments of gold leaf. Along the northern wall was a ceramic vessel [1-?-?].

Total counted objects – 1

Total decorated – 0

Total zoomorphs – 0

Animal images – 0

Horse – n/a

Sex – ? : 0

Age – infant: 0

— Kurgan 20 —

This is a mound that has an inner burial pit with a larch structure.

Inside the structure were two skeletons of children. The first skeleton by the southern wall was younger than other child which laid beside it. Between them there was a decorated ceramic vessel [1-y-n]. The first child is associated with fragments of gold leaf in which some had fragments of 'deer' heads [1-y-y]. The second child was associated with a tiny bronze mirror [1-n-n].

Total counted objects – 3

Total decorated – 2

Total zoomorphs – 1

Animal images – 'deer'

Horse – n/a

Sex – ?

Age – child: 'deer'

— Kurgan 21 —

This is a mound that has an inner burial pit with a larch structure.

Inside the structure were the adult skeletons of a female and male. The woman's skull lay upon a dark stain. She had a silver earring [1-n-n] and on her pelvis there was a bronze mirror [1-n-n]. Around the male's pelvis were a bronze chekan-axe [1-n-n], a bronze dagger [1-n-n] in a wooden sheath [1-y-n], a bronze mirror [1-n-n], and fragments of a leather belt decorated with an imitation wooden boar's tusk and a wooden S-shaped motif [1-y-n].

Along the eastern wall were two ceramic vessels (one was decorated) [1-n-n, 1-y-n]. In the burial space there were mutton vertebrae near the female and a second pile near the male together with an iron knife [1-n-n].

Total counted objects – 10

Total decorated – 3

Total zoomorphs – 0

Animal images – 0

Horse – n/a

Sex – female: 0

male: 0

Age – adult: 0

— Kurgan 22 —

This is a mound that has an inner burial pit with a larch structure.

Inside was the skeleton of a woman with a dark stain under her skull. Gold leaf was found around the cranial and cervical regions. She had a bronze earring [1-n-n] and on her pelvis was a bronze mirror [1-n-n]. In the eastern part of burial were a ceramic vessel [1-n-n], ram vertebrae and an iron knife [1-n-n].

Total counted objects – 4

Total decorated – 0

Total zoomorphs – 0

Animal images – 0

Horse – n/a

Sex – female: 0

Age – adult: 0

— Kurgan 23 —

This is a mound that has an inner burial pit with a larch structure. Outside the structure was a horse skeleton with an iron bit [1-n-n].

Inside the structure was the skeleton of a man. Around his skull and neck were fragments of gold leaf. He had an iron chekan-axe [1-?-?], a bronze mirror [1-n-n] in a felt pouch [1-?-?], an iron dagger [1-n-n] in a wooden sheath [1-?-?]. In the northern part of the burial were a ceramic vessel [1-?-?], mutton vertebrae and an iron knife [1-n-n].

Total counted objects – 8

Total decorated – 0

Total zoomorphs – 0

Animal images – 0

Horse – 0

Sex – male: 0

Age – adult: 0

— Kurgan 24 —

This is a mound that has an inner burial pit with a poorly preserved wooden structure.

Inside the structure were disarticulated bones of a child. There were fragments of a ceramic vessel [1-?-?], ram vertebrae, and a bronze mirror [1-n-n] in a decorated leather pouch [1-y-n].

Total counted objects – 3

Total decorated – 1

Total zoomorphs – 0

Animal images – 0

Horse – n/a

Sex – ?

Age – child: 0

— Kurgan 25 —

This is a mound that has an inner burial pit with a wooden framework.

Inside the structure were the skeletons of a woman and man. Around the woman's skull was a dark stain and fragments of gold leaf. Around the male's skull and neck were fragments of gold leaf. Near his pelvis were a bronze dagger [1-n-n] in a wooden sheath [1-y-n], a bronze mirror with a ornamental handle [1-y-n], a bronze chekan-axe [1-n-n], fragments of a leather belt decorated with wooden imitation boar tusk [1-y-n] and four bone arrow heads.

Along the eastern wall were two ceramic vessels [2-?-?], mutton vertebrae and two iron knives [2-n-n].

Total counted objects – 9

Total decorated – 3

Total zoomorphs – 0

Animal images – 0

Horse – n/a

Sex – female: 0

male: 0

Age – adult: 0

Dating

Most of the Maltalu IV cemetery is typologically dated to around 3rd-2nd centuries BC, the later Pazyryk phase of the Altai, while a few kurgans (3,9,18,19 & 25) could be earlier at around 4th century BC (Kubarev 1992: 114).

References

Kubarev 1992

Moinak 2 cemetery

Introduction

In 1992 two Pazyryk burials were excavated in the Moinak valley of the Ukok Plateau, southern Gorno-Altai.

Location

The valley of Moinak is near the Ak-Alakha river, Ukok Plateau in the Kosh-Agach district of the Gorno-Altai.

Burials and associated artefacts

— Kurgan 1 —

This is a stone mound ringed by a stone fence with an inner burial pit and stone box of shale plates.

Inside the box was a male skeleton (40-45 years). Amongst the funerary goods there were a clay vessel [1-n-n] with seeds inside, two wooden cups [2-n-n], a wooden plate [1-n-n] with ram bones, and a small iron knife [1-n-n]. All these objects were undecorated. A small gold-leaf covered 'horse' figurine was found near the skull and was believed to have been part of a headdress [1-y-y].

Total counted objects – 6

Total decorated – 1

Total zoomorphs – 1

Animal images – 'horse'

Horse – n/a

Sex – male: 'horse'

Age – 40-45 years: 'horse'

— Kurgan 2 —

This is a small stone mound with a stone fence.

The grave pit was covered by logs and contained the body of a male skeleton (40-50 years old). There were animal heads (bird, griffin and/or wolf) carved from bone [1-y-y], two broken pots [2-?-?], a bronze knife [1-?-?], ram bones, two bone arrow heads, and two stone grinders [2-?-?].

Total counted objects – 6

Total decorated – 1

Total zoomorphs – 1

Animal images – bird, griffin and/or wolf

Horse – n/a

Sex – male: bird, griffin and/or wolf

Age – 40-50 years: bird, griffin and/or wolf

Dating

The kurgan structures are similar to the Pazyryk complex on the Ukok plateau (Molodin, Kahen-Delhaye, *et al.* 1993: 24), while the ceramic and wooden vessels are common in Pazyryk archaeological culture (Molodin, Kahen-Delhaye, *et al.* 1993: 25). Thus, kurgans 1 and 2 are assumed to date around 500-200 BC (Molodin, Kahen-Delhaye, *et al.* 1993: 26).

References

Molodin, Kahen-Delhaye, *et al.* 1993; Polos'mak & Molodin 2000

Pazyryk cemetery

Introduction

The Pazyryk cemetery consists of twenty-five kurgans of which eight were excavated. The cemetery was discovered in 1924 and kurgan 1 was excavated 1929. A few years later kurgans 2-4 were excavated between 1947-48 and kurgans 5-8 excavated in 1949. All the kurgans, except kurgan 7, had secondary burials from later periods inserted into the stone mounds.

The kurgans had been previously plundered and most of the tomb chambers were emptied (except kurgan 2) with the horse burials remaining more or less intact. Despite this fact the corpus of objects is considerable and conditions allowed for the preservation of finely decorated objects made of perishable materials as well as the bodies of horses and humans.

Location

The Pazyryk valley is within in the greater Ust Ulagan Valley, High Altai oblast, eastern Gorno-Altai.

Burials and associated artefacts

— Kurgan 1 —

This is a large stone mound with inner pit and wooden structure. In the centre of the mound there was a crater created by looting in the past. Outside the structure in the northern part of the pit were ten horses. All horses had iron bits except for one which had a bronze bit.

The first horse had a bridle [1-y-n] with wooden pendants and S-shaped cheek-pieces decorated with non-figurative motifs, and a forehead disk. Its saddle [1-y-y] was decorated with two scenes of an twisting elk in the claws of a cock-griffin, while leather pendants with human-like faces hung from the edges. A shield [1-y-n] made of poles was attached to the right-hand side of the saddle.

The second horse had a bridle [1-y-y] of wooden pendants and cheek-pieces decorated with non-figurative motifs and elk figures. The saddle [1-y-y] was decorated with two scenes of a griffin with a winged feline body attacking a twisting argali ram, while along the edges hung pendants with argali rams between horned feline heads. A shield [1-y-n] made of poles was attached to the right-hand side of the saddle.

The third horse had a bridle [1-y-y], saddle [1-y-y], headdress [1-y-y], mane cover [1-y-y] and tail sheath [1-y-n]. The bridle was made of leather

straps with decorated wooden psalia and leather tau-teke heads. The saddle-cover was decorated with a feline predator preying upon an elk, while along the edges hang pendants in the shape of fish. Leather tau-teke heads decorated the breast strap as well as leather cock-griffins with extended wings. The headdress had a crest in the form of a horned griffin with wings, while the mane cover was with decorated with figures of cocks. The tail sheath was an ornamented piece of leather.

The fourth horse had a bridle [1-y-y] of wooden pendants with non-figurative motifs and argali ram heads, while the two wooden psalia were in the form of argali rams. The saddle cover [1-y-y] was decorated with a twisting feline predator attacking a twisting deer. A shield [1-y-n] made of poles was attached to the right-hand side of the saddle.

The fifth horse had a bridle [1-y-y], saddle [1-y-y], headdress [1-y-n], mane cover [1-y-y] and tail sheath [1-y-n]. The bridle was decorated with wooden figures of stylised argali rams, while the wooden psalia terminated in argali ram heads. The saddle had feline figures on the cover, pendants in the form of horned predators (feline?) and a chest strap with argali ram heads. The headdress had shapes formed into antlers, while the mane cover is decorated with heads of cocks. The tail sheath was an ornamented piece of leather.

The sixth horse had a bridle [1-y-y] of wooden pendants with non-figurative motifs and argali ram heads, while the two psalia were decorated with griffin's heads. The saddle-cover [1-y-y] was decorated with lion heads in profile, while the pendants had fish curling around the head of an argali ram. The saddle breast-strap was decorated with wooden non-figurative motifs with a griffin in the centre.

The seventh horse had a bridle [1-y-y] of wooden pendants with non-figurative motifs and forehead disk, while the two psalia were decorated with griffin heads. The saddle-cover [1-y-y] was decorated with a feline predator attacking an argali ram.

The eighth horse had a bridle [1-y-y] of wooden pendants with figures of recumbent deer and a forehead disk, while the two psalia were shaped as prancing deer. The saddle-cover [1-y-y] was decorated with a scene of an eagle headed griffin (feline body with wings) fighting a horned feline with wings. The saddle breast-strap was

decorated with wooden figures of recumbent deer and elk.

The ninth horse had a bridle [1-y-y] and psalia with feline heads with a boar's tusk in its jaws. The saddle-cover [1-y-y] was decorated with a scene of a winged feline attacking a tau-teke. The saddle breast-strap was decorated with feline heads with a boar's tusk in its jaws.

The tenth horse had a bridle [1-y-y] of wooden pendants with bearded human heads (the Egyptian deity *Bes*) and a forehead plate in shape of a crescent, while the two psalis terminated in non-figurative motifs. The saddle-cover [1-y-y] is adorned with argali ram heads, while the saddle-pendants had images of argali ram heads. The saddle breast-strap was decorated with the '*Bes*' heads.

In the burial shaft above the chamber structure were parts of a trolley (two yokes, two platforms, poles, and other wooden pieces) [1-n-n].

The burial chamber structure was composed of an outer box and an inner box which was breached by robbers. There was no body and only its log coffin remained. The coffin [1-y-y] was made from the trunk of a tree and was decorated externally with leather shapes of cocks with long tail feathers.

In the inner chamber had the following items including: three leather shapes of tau-teke heads; part of a felt wall-hanging [1-y-y] decorated with triangles and lion heads and secured to the wall with wooden and copper nails; a ram's vertebrae; a carved wooden leg [1-y-n] from little table; a wooden stool or pillow [1-n-n]; a wooden handle of an axe [1-n-n]; a fragment of a clay vessel [1-?-?]; fragments of leather and woollen cord; and gold leaf.

Total counted objects – 36

Total decorated – 32

Total zoomorphs – 24

Animal images – elk, cock-griffin, human faces, griffin, argali, horned feline, tau-teke, feline, fish, cocks, deer, lion, *Bes* heads

Horse – elk, cock-griffin, human faces, griffin, argali, horned feline, tau-teke, feline, fish, cocks, deer, lion, *Bes* heads, and also a headdress with deer antlers

Sex – ? : cocks, lion

Age – ? : cocks, lion

— Kurgan 2 —

This is a large stone mound with inner burial pit and wooden structure. In the centre of the mound there was a crater created by looting in the past. The ground beneath the stone mound was frozen. Outside and above the structure in the northern part of the pit were seven horse skeletons. They each had a bit; there were two bronze and five iron bits. The soft parts of the bridles and saddles were in a poor state of preservation.

The surviving bridle sets include:

- the remains of one bridle set [1-y-y] with an iron bit and antler psalia, a horn plate with a pair of geese in the jaws of two predator heads with horns, and horn plates with non-figurative ornamentation;
- the remains of one bridle set [1-y-y] with figures of felines on pedestals, a forehead disk and wooden psalia ending in feline heads.
- the remains of one bridle set [1-y-y] with argali ram head decorations, forehead disk, fragments of psalia with argali ram head endings.
- the remains of one bridle set [1-y-y] with feline heads ('lion'), an ornament with a deer's head in a feline's mouth ('lion') and psalia ending in feline heads ('lion').
- [thus 3-?-?]

The surviving saddle covers include:

- a saddle cover [1-y-y] with a scene of a feline preying on an argali ram;
- a saddle cover [1-y-y] with a scene of a feline preying on an elk;
- a saddle cover [1-y-y] with a figure of an elk;
- a saddle cover [1-y-y] with a griffin;
- a fragment of a saddle cover [1-y-y] with a scene of a herbivore being attacked;
- two undecorated saddles covers [2-n-n].

Other finds associated with the horses include: wooden psalia with bird-headed ends; wooden psalia with argali ram headed ends; saddle tassels; horn saddle pendants; a horse headdress [1-y-y] with a figure of an tau-teke head with a bird on top; a griffin's head from horse head gear; a whip handle [1-y-y] with a horse figure; a decorated leather bag [1-y-n] which contained cheese; two shields made of sticks [2-?-?]; and fragments of gold leaf.

The wooden structure is made of an outer box enclosing an inner box chamber. Black felt coverings [1-n-n] hung on the inner chamber walls. In the inner chamber there was a tree-trunk coffin [1-y-y] decorated with leather figures of elk.

The looting had taken place when the chamber was filled with an initial layer of ice. The coffin lid was torn off and the bodies and objects were thrown out. Many of the objects lay on the surface of the ice, while some items were still *in situ* embedded in the ice (pots, tables, and censers).

Present was a the body of a woman of about 40 years of age. Objects related to her include: braids of female hair and an iron hairpin [1-n-n]; a woman's fur costume [1-y-y] with leather cut-out decorations and argali ram heads and a fur apron with appliqué decorations and argali ram heads; a pair of woman's leather boots [1-y-y] with appliqué decoration and tiny images of birds ('geese') as the soles were decorated with glass beads and pyrite crystals; a pair of woman's boots [1-y-n] with uppers of leopard's fur, bead decoration on the upper edge and decorated soles; two woman's felt stockings [2-y-n] with border decoration; a woman's headdress [1-y-y] made of black colt's fur with decorative leather shapes, a 'diadem' of tiny leather figures of cocks, and pendants of coloured fur.

There was also a body of an elder male (60 years) with an artificial beard. Upon the surviving parts of his skin were tattoos [1-y-y] which were made when he was much younger. Tattoos, by distribution on the body include:

- right arm: a twisting stag with beaked snout and bird-headed/floral antler tines, feline predator with striped tail, a second twisting stag with beaked snout and bird-headed/floral antler tines, a twisting argali ram, a feline predator with volute/wing and striped tail, and an ungulate.
- chest: a small feline predator, a second larger feline which continues wrapping around onto the back.
- left arm: probably a twisting argali ram, a twisting stag with beaked snout and bird-headed/floral antler tines, and another incomplete ungulate.
- back: a row of dots along the spine.
- right leg: a long fish, four tiny leaping argali rams, seven dots, and feline predator with bird-headed/floral antler tines on its back and a striped tail.

Objects related to him include: a man's shirt [1-n-n] and the remains of another; the back part of a man's caftan [1-y-y] decorated with two deer heads with long tree-like antlers and dots; a man's felt stockings decorated with a pattern on upper border [1-y-n]; an undecorated man's felt stocking; part of a man's pointed felt cap [1-?-?];

and wooden figure of a deer's head in the beak of a griffin with bird images on the griffin's neck which is believed to be part of a hat for a man [1-y-y].

An inventory of other items in the burial chamber is as follows:

- pieces of a caftan;
- a sleeve of a sable fur costume [1-n-n];
- two leather belts [2-?-?],
- a decorated leather belt [1-y-n]
- a decorated leather belt with silver plates that had scenes of a recumbent tau-teke in the fore and a feline (lion?) in the back [1-y-y];
- silver pendants in the shape of horses [1-y-y];
- gold earrings [1-y-n]
- a torque [1-y-y] with carved horn and wooden horned felines with wings
- a horn comb [1-n-n];
- a silver mirror with ox-horn handle (obverse smooth, reverse is decorated) [1-y-n];
- a bronze mirror [1-n-n] in a leather and leopard's fur case [1-n-n];
- an iron knife [1-y-n] with decorated hilt and wooden sheath [1-n-n]
- piece of leather in the shape of bull elk
- pieces of wooden decorations in the form of griffin heads, deer heads with large stylised antlers and cock-griffins.
- four wooden stag figures [1-y-y] with great antlers made of stiff leather which stands on a spherical pedestal. Their purpose is unclear but surmised to be a mounted finial on some kind of object (Barkova 1978: 57);
- fragments of copper decorations with the images of a horned winged lion covered with gold-leaf, two twisting herbivores, argali ram heads, horned felines with hooves covered with gold-leaf, and griffins covered with gold-leaf [1-y-y];
- beads
- pieces of cloth, coloured woollen cloth;
- pieces of woollen pile carpet
- a leather saddle-bag with a stick handle decorated with two feline heads on the ends [1-y-y];
- a leather pouch with copper figures of birds (geese?) sewn to it [1-y-y];
- a leather pouch with appliqué decoration [1-y-n];
- a leather flask with appliqué decoration [1-y-n];
- a decorated leather purse [1-y-n];
- a leather pouch [1-n-n];
- a sable fur pouch [1-n-n];
- a leather flask decorated with a cock-griffin attacking a black grouse [1-y-y];

- pieces of patterned borders of felt carpets [1-y-n];
- a stone lamp with small legs [1-n-n];
- four small wooden tables with turned legs and legs in the shape of a feline figures (at least two sets) [thus 2-n-n, 2-y-y];
- a solid wooden stool or pillow with a fur covering [1-n-n];
- a wooden vessel with a horn handle [1-n-n];
- a wooden vessel [1-n-n] on felt with a ring-stand [1-y-n];
- a ceramic vase [1-n-n];
- a ceramic vase decorated with leather figures of cocks [1-y-y];
- two antler arrow-heads;
- a drum made of two curved plates of ox horn [1-y-n];
- a two-stringed musical instrument [1-n-n];
- a piece of leather with a little leather purse stitched into it containing human finger-nails [1-n-n];
- scraps of leather, felt and fur;
- and fragments of gold leaf.
- coriander seeds; seeds of hart's dover.

Finally, there was a cauldron-shaped copper censer [1-n-n] containing stones and charred hemp seeds, a copper censer [1-n-n] with four feet containing stones and hemp seeds, two hexapod stands, and leather and felt covers [2-?-?]. These were accessories of the 'hemp tent' for inhaling smoke vapours and its practice was described by Herodotus amongst the Black Sea Scythians (*Histories* IV, 73).

Total counted objects – 77

Total decorated – 44

Total zoomorphs – 29

Animal images – geese, predators, felines, argali, 'lion', elk, griffin, birds, tau-teke, horse, cocks, deer, deer-griffin, 'winged' feline, fish, horned felines with wings, cock-griffins, black grouse, 'geese'

Horse – geese, predators, felines, argali, 'lion', elk, griffin, bird, tau-teke, horse

Sex – female: argali, birds ('geese'), cocks

male: fantastic deer, feline, deer-griffin,

'winged' feline, fish

Age – 60 years: fantastic deer, feline, deer-griffin, 'winged' feline, fish

40 years: argali, birds ('geese'), cocks

— Kurgan 3 —

This is a stone mound with an inner burial pit and wooden structure that was robbed in the

past. Outside the structure were fourteen horse skeletons of which nine had iron bits, while the other five were bronze.

Details of the horse bridle sets include:

- horn bridle decorations and antler psalia [1-y-n];
- a bridle with carved wooden decorations and a bronze bit [1-y-n];
- parts of a bridle with wooden ornaments, forehead plaque and wooden psalia [1-y-n];
- a bridle with 'rosette' decorations and iron bit [1-y-n];
- a bridle with wooden swans and bronze bit [1-y-y];
- a bridle with wooden decorations and bronze bit [1-y-n];
- a bridle with wooden balls, wolf heads and argali rams in various poses (including twisted pose) and bronze bits [1-y-y];
- a bridle with elk heads and a triangular frontal plate [1-y-y];
- a bridle with wooden heads of saiga/elk, a frontal plate, psalia and bronze bit [1-y-n];
- a bridle with wooden feline heads and stylised animal faces, and S-shaped psalia with a feline head on one ending and a bird/eagle/griffin head on the other [1-y-y].
- [thus 4-n-n]

Details of the saddles include:

- a set of horn saddle decorations [1-y-y] with plaques decorated with elk heads and girth strap plaques with feline heads;
- a set of saddle plaques with decorative motifs, elk heads, twisting hares and feline heads and shoulders with 'wings' [1-y-y];
- a set of saddle plaques with stylised animal faces [1-y-y];
- a set of wooden saddle pendants [1-y-n];

There were other loose objects which included: the remains of saddle plaques, strap pendants and ornamented saddle parts; wooden horse decorations of bird heads and bird figures; leather pieces of bridle decorations; and fragments of gold-leaf and lacquer that had covered the horse decorations.

Also amongst the horses were a felt caftan [1-n-n] with a hood and three shields made of sticks [1-y-n, 2-?-?].

The wooden structure consisted of an outer box enclosing an inner box chamber. The inner chamber was full of ice. In the inner chamber was a tree trunk coffin [1-n-n] which was opened

and its skeleton (a middle aged man) moved to the other side of chamber by the robbers.

In the chamber were the following items including: a decorated cowl headdress with a square 'crown' [1-y-n]; remains of a second headdress [1-?-?]; pieces of sable fur, woollen cord, woollen yarn, woven material; a piece of decorated silk; a silk pouch [1-n-n]; two small tables [1-y-n, 1-?-?]; a solid wooden stool or pillow [1-n-n]; a wooden spatula [1-n-n]; twenty-four arrow-shafts decorated with various fine designs [1-y-n]; remains of hexapod stands [1-?-?]; and vertebra bones of horse, cow and sheep.

Total counted objects – 32

Total decorated – 18

Total zoomorphs – 7

Animal images – swans, wolves, argali, elk, saiga/elk, feline, bird/griffin, hares, 'winged' felines, bird

Horse – swans, wolves, argali, elk, saiga/elk, feline, bird/griffin, hares, 'winged' felines, bird

Sex – male: ?

Age – middle aged adult: ?

— Kurgan 4 —

This is a stone mound with an inner burial pit and wooden structure that was robbed in the past. Outside the structure were fourteen horse skeletons with iron bits.

The horse equipment includes:

- a set of horn bridle parts [1-y-n];
- a set of horn bridle accessories and their decorations [1-y-n];
- a set of bridle decorations in the shape of 'wolves' and twisting 'wolves', and wooden psalia with 'wolf' head endings [1-y-y];
- a set of bridle decorations with 'wolf' heads and deer heads in the jaws of 'wolves', and wooden psalia with 'wolf' head endings [1-y-y];
- a set of wooden bridle decorations in the shape of felines and wooden psalia with horned feline head endings [1-y-y];
- a set of bridle decorations feline heads, and psalia with bird/griffin head endings [1-y-y];
- a set of bridle decorations and psalia with predator heads, cervid heads and leather winged felines ('lions') [1-y-y];
- [thus 7-?-?];
- two sets of saddle parts and saddle pendants [2-y-n].

Additionally, there were also fragments of wooden psalia, a whip handle with a horse figure [1-y-y], remains of stick shields, and remains of gold leaf.

In the debris of the robbers' hole were found: a rim-sherd of a ceramic vessel [1-?-?]; a piece of leather in the shape of a thin griffin head with a long thin antler; an antler chisel [1-n-n]; and two wooden legs of a small table [1-?-?].

In the ice-filled chamber structure were a tree-trunk coffin [1-n-n] with a female skeleton (15-16 years) and a tree-trunk coffin [1-n-n] with an elderly man's skeleton.

In the chamber were a small table with undecorated legs [1-?-?], decorated legs from another table [1-y-n], a solid wooden stool or pillow [1-n-n], rods from two hexapod stands, and white beads.

Total counted objects – 25

Total decorated – 11

Total zoomorphs – 6

Animal images – 'wolves', deer, felines, bird/griffin, predator, cervid, winged feline ('lions'), horse, griffin with antler

Horse – 'wolves', deer, felines, bird/griffin, predator, cervid, winged feline ('lions'), horse, griffin with antler

Sex – female: ?

male: ?

Age – elderly adult: ?

15-16 years: ?

— Kurgan 5 —

This is a large stone mound surrounded by upright stones. In the centre was the inner burial pit with a wooden structure that had been robbed in the past. Freezing had occurred in the tomb after the robbery.

Outside the structure, in the northern part, were nine horse bodies with iron bits.

Horse 1 had a bridle decorated with wooden decorations [1-y-n]. The saddle was decorated with pendants and a felt saddle-cloth covered by fine woollen cloth decorated with motifs and lions [1-y-y].

Horse two had a bridle decorated with wooden disks [1-y-n]. The saddle was decorated with wooden pendants and the felt saddle-cover had appliqué motifs [1-y-n].

Horse three had a bridle decorated with 'horned' feline heads, while the S-shaped psalia had 'horned' feline head endings which were connected to the bridle by forks in the shape of a predator's head [1-y-y]. The saddle was covered in parts with red lacquer and the felt saddle-cloth had appliqué motifs [1-y-n].

Horse 4 had a bridle decorated with wooden saiga heads, while the psalia had saiga head endings [1-y-y]. The saddle had decorated wooden plaques and images of saiga and horse heads, while the felt saddle-cloth had appliqué motifs [1-y-n].

Horse 5 had a bridle decorated with wooden feline heads and recumbent deer, while the psalia had griffin head endings and predator head forks [1-y-y]. The saddle [1-y-y] was decorated with motifs, cervid/equid and 'horned' feline heads, plaques with elk and feline ('lion') figures. The felt saddle-cover was covered by a white silk embroidered with polychrome silk and had vegetative designs with birds ('Chinese phoenixes'). The horse also had a headdress [1-y-y] with a wooden deer's head and a leather mane-cover.

There were four identical bridles from the last four horses decorated with carved wooden hemispherical plaques [4-y-n].

Along with the horses was the remains of a wheeled wagon [1-y-y] made of thin poles with draught-pole and harness for four horses. Some parts were lathe turned into ornamental shapes. There was a canopy for the carriage made of twigs and felt. Sculptural felt figures of swans are believed to have adorned the canopy.

There were also parts of trolleys with thick axles with solid wheels [1-n-n], a large felt carpet or wall-hanging [1-y-y] with motifs and scenes of a seated figure and a moustached horse rider, a pile carpet with motifs and images of elk, griffins and horse riders, and fragments of gold-leaf and wooden decorations.

In the robbers' entry hole, in inner ceiling of the tomb, there was a solid wooden stool or pillow [1-n-n].

In the southern side [1-n-n] of the chamber was a very long wood-trunk coffin (length of two persons). The coffin was broken open and the body of an adult female was placed atop the body of an adult male (55 years). Their clothing had been removed.

In the burial chamber the following items were found including: a part of a headdress with a long braid of hair; a fragment of a felt stocking, a fleece and goat's skin; a turquoise bead; a felt cushion stuffed with deer hair [1-n-n]; remains of a felt wall-hanging [1-y-y] with border designs and the figures of a 'fantastic' creature ('sphinx' — a human head with antlers and big animal ears, lion body with a wing and a long tail), and a 'fantastic' bird; legs of three small tables [1 set undecorated and the other not shown thus 2-?-?, 1-n-n] and a piece of one; rods of hexapod stands; a piece of a horn drum [1-?-?]; a sherd of a ceramic vessel; and remains of cheese and coriander seeds.

Total counted objects — 26

Total decorated — 18

Total zoomorphs — 9

Animal images — lions, 'horned' felines, predator, saiga, horse, feline, deer, griffin, cervid/equid, elk, birds ('Chinese phoenixes'), swans, human figures, 'sphinx', 'fantastic' bird

Horse — lions, 'horned' felines, predator, saiga, horse, feline, deer, griffin, cervid/equid, elk, birds ('Chinese phoenixes')

Sex — female: ?

male: ?

Age — 55 years

— adult

— Kurgan 6 —

This is a small stone mound with an inner burial pit and wooden structure that was robbed in the past. Outside the structure were three horse skeletons. Inside the structure were the skeletons of an adult female and an adolescent girl. Burial finds include: many beads; cowrie shells; red lacquer plates; two earthenware vases [1-n-n, 1-?-?]; horn saddle pendants [1-n-n]; an iron knife [1-?-?]; fragments of gold leaf; and a fragment of a Chinese mirror [1-y-n]. The mirror is Tsin type with a polished obverse, while the reverse is decorated with non-figurative elements (Rudenko 1970: pl. 70c; Barkova 1978: 45, fig. 29).

Total counted objects — 5

Total decorated – 1
Total zoomorphs – 0

Animal images – 0

Horse – ?
Sex – female: 0
Age – adult: 0
 adolescent: 0

— Kurgan 7 —

This is a small stone mound with an inner burial pit and wooden structure that was robbed in the past. Inside the structure there was an infant's skull and leg bones. Other finds include fragments of decorated clothing [1-y-y] with gold plates ornaments of saiga heads, and an antler tine [1-?-?].

Total counted objects – 2
Total decorated – 1
Total zoomorphs – 1

Animal images – saiga

Horse – n/a
Sex – ?
Age – infant : saiga

— Kurgan 8 —

This is a small stone mound with an inner burial pit and wooden structure that was robbed in the past. There was a horse skeleton and the skeleton of a woman. The funerary inventory includes an antler pick [1-n-n], square copper plates [1-y-n], a copper bead covered with gold, and fragments of gold-leaf.

Total counted objects – 2
Total decorated – 1
Total zoomorphs – 0

Animal images – 0

Horse – 0
Sex – female: 0
Age – ?

Dating

The Pazyryk kurgans have seen numerous dating estimations over the years (see Mallory, McCormac, Reimer & Marsadolov 2000 for a good overview). The Chinese mirror in Kurgan 6 dates to the Warring States period in China (480-222 BC) (Bunker 1991: 20; Hiebert 1992:

121) and could not be earlier than the late 4th century BC (Barkova 1978: 45; Bunker 1991). The first dendrologically dated archaeological samples in the Soviet Union came from the first five Pazyryk kurgans and Tuekta (Zamotorin 1959). Zamotorin proposed that the five tombs were built within 48 years between each other. The first radiocarbon dates from Pazyryk kurgans 2 & 5 (Butomo 1965) were calibrated by Rudenko to 430 BC (Rudenko 1970: xxxvi). A second radiocarbon exercise placed kurgan 2 at 430 BC and kurgan 5 at 380 BC (Zaitseva *et al.* 1998), while more recent radiocarboning placed kurgan 2 at 301-282 BC and kurgan 5 at 252-234 BC (Mallory, McCormac, Reimer & Marsadolov 2000: 237).

References

Gryaznov 1929; Gryaznov & Golomshtok 1933; Gryaznov 1937; Rudenko 1948; Rudenko 1949; Gryaznov, M.P. 1950; Jettmar 1951; Rudenko 1953; Gryaznov 1958; Zamotorin 1959; Butomo 1965; Gryaznov 1969; Rudenko 1970; Barkova 1978; Bunker 1991; Hiebert 1992; Zaitseva *et al.* 1998; Mallory, McCormac, Reimer & Marsadolov 2000

Sebÿstei cluster 12

Introduction

The two most southern kurgans in a chain of eight kurgans (aligned in a north-south axis) were excavated.

Location

Cluster 12 is situated on a river terrace in the mountainous valley of the Sebÿstei river in southeastern Gorno-Altai.

Burials and associated artefacts

— Kurgan K1 —

This is a stone mound with an inner burial pit and wooden structure.

Inside the structure was the disarticulated skeleton of a young adult (male) with indications that his body was embalmed (from the evidence of two fragments of mummified human skin found sewn together). The burial was robbed and the funerary objects that remain included: Pazyryk type bone arrowheads; a bone with notches and a hole (function unknown) [1-y-n]; a pendant made of a horse tooth [1-n-n]; two

brass ornaments (function unknown) [1-y-n]; a fragment of gold leaf; and fragments of leather straps.

A ceramic vessel with decorated rim [1-y-n] was deliberately broken and thrown into the stone filling of the mound.

Total counted objects – 4

Total decorated – 3

Total zoomorphs – 0

Animal images – 0

Horse – n/a

Sex – male: 0

Age – young adult: 0

— Kurgan K2 —

This is a stone mound smaller than kurgan K1 with an inner burial pit and wooden canopy at the bottom. An indentation in the mound indicates that the mound was robbed.

Below the canopy was a larch trunk sarcophagus [1-n-n] and in it was the disarticulated skeleton of a young child (2-3 years old). Accompanying the child was a Pazyryk type ceramic vessel [1-n-n] and a rectangular piece of wood with the inner surface covered in ochre (bracelet?) [1-y-n].

A ceramic vessel with decorated rim [1-y-n] was deliberately broken and thrown into the stone filling of the mound.

Total counted objects – 4

Total decorated – 2

Total zoomorphs – 0

Animal images – 0

Horse – n/a

Sex – ?

Age – infant 2-3 years : 0

Dating

Dendrochronological analysis of the larch sarcophagus from K2 dates it to 491 BC, the Pazyryk period of the Iron Age Altai (Bourgeois, Bourgeois, Cammaert, *et al.* 1999: 350). The smashed vessels in the upper stone layers indicated both K1 and K2 were contemporary. The bone arrowhead from K1 were Pazyryk type

References

Bourgeois, Bourgeois, Cammaert, *et al.* 1999

T a s h a n t a I

Introduction

Two kurgans found near Tashanta village were excavated during 1982-1983.

Location

Tashanta I cemetery is southwest of Tashanta village near the Tashantinka river.

Burials and associated artefacts

— Kurgan 1 —

This is a mound with an inner pit and wooden funeral structure. Outside the structure were three horse skeletons with iron bits, wooden S-shaped psalia and whole or fragmentary wooden ornaments of bridles with wild-boar tusks [2-y-n, 1-y-y]. One set of psalia had feline head endings. At the side of one horse was a wooden plate with a human face.

The wooden burial structure was in frozen ground. In the northeast corner of the structure were a broken wooden dish [1-n-n] with mutton vertebrae, a fragment of a wooden ladle [1-n-n], and a crushed ceramic vessel with black coloured strips on body [1-y-n].

In the southern half of the structure was a funeral box made of larch with a male skeleton inside. The inventory directly associated with the skeleton includes: a bronze chekan-axe with a wooden handle [1-n-n]; a wooden imitation boar tusk; two wooden 'wolves' and round plates related to his clothing [1-y-y]; a bronze dagger [1-n-n] in a wooden sheath [1-n-n]; a bronze mirror [1-n-n]; wooden animal figures (two horse heads, one full horse, a 'deer' without a head) covered with fragments of gold leaf [1-y-y]; wooden belt plates [1-n-n]; a quiver with the remains of a bow; and five arrows with the painted red [1-y-n].

Total counted objects – 14

Total decorated – 7

Total zoomorphs – 3

All animal images present – feline, human face, 'wolves', horses, 'deer'

Horse – feline, human face

Sex – male: ‘wolves’, horses, ‘deer’
Age – adult: ‘wolves’, horses, ‘deer’

— Kurgan 2 —

This is a mound with an inner pit and a larch trunk coffin [1-n-n] at the bottom.

In the coffin was the skeleton of a child who was disturbed by burrowing rodents. Amongst the lower part of the skeleton were a wooden dish with four small-legs [1-n-n] and a wooden conic pendant. Nearby was a fragment of a wooden ladle [1-n-n]. In the centre of the coffin was a crushed ceramic vessel [1-?-?].

Total counted objects – 4
Total decorated – 0
Total zoomorphs – 0

All animal images present – 0

Horse – n/a
Sex – ?
Age – child: 0

Dating

The burials and objects of Tashanta I belong to the Pazyryk culture around 3rd century BC (Kubarev 1987: 132).

References

Kubarev 1987

T a s h a n t a I I

Introduction

Two kurgans found near Tashanta village were excavated during 1982-1983.

Location

Tashanta II cemetery is southeast of Tashanta village near the Tashantinka river. Tashanta I cemetery is nearby to the west.

Burials and associated artefacts

— Kurgan 1 —

This is a mound with an inner pit and larch funeral structure. Outside the structure was a horse skeleton with a bit [1-n-n].

In the northern half of the structure were a small ceramic vessel [1-n-n], mutton vertebrae in the

remains of a wooden dish [1-?-?], a second ceramic vessel decorated with five bands of incisions [1-y-n], fragments of a wooden ladle with a handle [1-n-n], and the remains of another dish [1-n-n] with mutton vertebrae and an iron knife [1-?-?].

In the southern part of the structure were two skeletons of children. Above their heads were fragments of a wooden diadem [1-y-n] and wooden figures of deer/horses, a feline head, and two quadrupedal animals [1-y-y]. Around the middle of the skeletons were fragments of belt plates [1-y-n], fragments of a quiver [1-?-?] and arrows [1-?-?].

Total counted objects – 12
Total decorated – 4
Total zoomorphs – 1

Animal images – deer/horses, feline

Horse – 0
Sex – ?
Age – children: deer/horses, feline

— Kurgan 2 —

This is a mound with an inner pit and larch funeral structure. Outside the structure was a horse skeleton with an iron bit. There were bridle parts with griffin heads [1-y-y], an iron bit and the remains of wooden psalia.

In the structure was the skeleton of a woman who was embedded in ice. The funerary goods included a large ceramic vessel [1-n-n], three small-legs for a dish [1-n-n], a stain of a black paint, and a large fragment of red fabric.

Outside the structure was a fragment of a female braid which was painted with black paint, a leather appliqué-work feline predator with protrusion from shoulder-blade [1-y-y], and fragments of a large oval dish [1-n-n].

Total counted objects – 5
Total decorated – 2
Total zoomorphs – 2

Animal images – griffin, feline predator

Horse – griffin
Sex – female: feline predator
Age – adult: feline predator

— Kurgan 3 —

This is a mound with an inner pit and larch funeral structure. Outside the structure was a horse skeleton with an iron bit and a poorly preserved wooden psalia with the image of a griffin with a comb [1-y-y].

In the structure was the skeleton of a woman. Around her skull were wooden cases for hair braids [1-y-n]. There was an indication that she wore a conic headdress by the arrangement of finds and configuration of a stain of black paint. The headdress [1-y-y] was adorned with figures of a deer and a horse. At her shoulders were two wooden felines ('panthers').

In the northeast corner of the structure were a ceramic vessel [1-n-n], a wooden ladle [1-n-n], a four legged wooden dish [1-n-n] with ram vertebrae and an iron knife [1-n-n].

Total counted objects – 7

Total decorated – 3

Total zoomorphs – 2

Animal images – griffin, deer, horse, felines ('panthers')

Horse – griffin

Sex – female: deer, horse, felines ('panthers')

Age – adult: deer, horse, felines ('panthers')

— Kurgan 4 —

This is a mound with an inner burial pit and larch funeral structure. Outside the structure were two horse skeletons with iron bits and fragments of wooden psalia. There were poorly preserved wooden ornaments in the shape of boar tusks and painted white found around the skulls [thus 2-y-?]

In the structure were two skeletons of women. The first female had in her pelvis the skeleton of a newborn (unborn?) child. Below the pelvis of the second female was a poorly preserved skeleton of a newborn (unborn?) baby.

Under the skulls of both women were black stains of paint. The women each wore a wooden diadem. On one of them were figures of two antelopes/saiga/tau-teke [1-y-y], while the other diadem was undecorated [1-n-n]. Each female had on their belt a wooden mirror [2-y-n] and a wooden comb [2-y-n] painted in red colour. Between the both skulls of burials there were a wooden case for braids executed as stylish goat horn [1-y-n].

Above the head of the first woman were a wooden figure of a recumbent deer with pendants, rods of a frame base for a headdress with a tiny figure of an quadruped at the top [1-y-y].

All animal figures and diadems were covered with gold leaf and gold fragments were found in large number under both women's skulls.

In northern half of the structure were two dishes [2-n-n] with ram vertebrae and iron knives [2-n-n], two wooden ladles [2-n-n], and two ceramic vessels [2-y-n].

Total counted objects – 18

Total decorated – 11

Total zoomorphs – 2

Animal images – antelopes/saiga/tau-teke, deer

Horse – ?

Sex – female: antelopes/saiga/tau-teke, deer

Age – adult: antelopes/saiga/tau-teke, deer
newborn child: ?

Dating

The burials and objects of Tashanta II belong to the Pazyryk culture around 3rd century BC (Kubarev 1987: 132).

References

Kubarev 1987

T a s h a n t a I I I

Introduction

Tashanta III cemetery has eleven kurgans and five Early Turkic monuments. A Pazyryk kurgan (no. 7) was excavated during 1982-1983 (Kubarev 1987: 5).

Location

The cemetery was located 2 km northwest of the village of Tashanta, near the river Tashantinka.

Burials and associated artefacts

— Kurgan 7 —

This is a mound with an inner burial pit and larch structure.

In the southern part of the structure was the crushed skeleton of a child. Among the

fragments of the skull and cervical vertebrae were fine fragments gold leaf. In the northern part was a crushed ceramic vessel [1-n-n] and a wooden dish [1-n-n] with mutton vertebrae.

Total counted objects – 2

Total decorated – 0

Total zoomorphs – 0

Animal images – 0

Horse – n/a

Sex – ?

Age – child: 0

Dating

The burials and objects of Tashanta III belong to the Pazyryk culture around 5th-4th century BC (Kubarev 1987: 132).

References

Kubarev 1987

Tuekta cemetery

Introduction

The Tuekta cemetery is a large ancient burial ground (197 kurgans). Tuekta kurgans 1 & 2 were excavated in 1954.

Location

The Tuekta cemetery is located near Tuekta village in the valley of the Ursul river, central Altai

Burials and associated artefacts

— Kurgan 1 —

This is a large stone mound with an inner burial pit and wooden structure that was robbed in the past. Outside the wooden structure were eight horses but their harnesses and saddles were removed, stripped of their gold and scattered to other parts of the burial. Thus, it is difficult to reconstruct complete bridle and saddle sets to each individual horse [8-y-y].

Objects relating to the horses include: four forehead disks and floral ornaments made of wood and horn belonging to horse bridles; wooden harness decorations of a feline face bearing its teeth with a lower volute (sometimes the volute endings terminated in bird/griffin heads) and psalia with feline head and volute endings; six wooden pieces from the horse

headgear in the shape of tau-teke horns with small petals (two had tiny feline ('lion') figures on top of the petals); four wooden pieces from the horse headgear with a single tined antler and a shape of an ear; wooden psalia with volute endings and wooden volute bridle pendants; wooden psalia with elk head endings and wooden bridle pendants with elk heads; wooden psalia with predator ('wolf') head endings and wooden bridle pendants with predator ('wolf') heads; wooden psalia with eagle/griffin head endings and wooden bridle pendants with eagle/griffin heads, bird/eagle figures and twisting griffin figures with wings; wooden bridle and saddle pendants with feline heads and winged feline figures; wooden bridle and saddle ornaments in the shape of claws and boar tusks; and ornamental wooden bridle and saddle pendants; wooden saddle decorations in the shape of disks and lunates; and cut out motifs and figures (antlered feline ('tiger') and griffin heads) of leather and birch which possibly decorated the saddles.

In the chamber was a larch-trunk coffin with opened lid. The coffin [1-y-y] was decorated with volute shapes cut out of birch bark and poorly preserved figures of felines ('tigers'). Scraps of leather were placed on the lid. Inside was the skeleton of a man which was disturbed by robbers. In the coffin was a wooden pillow, fragments of arrow shafts [1-y-n] and a decorated wooden cup [1-y-n].

In the chamber along the western wall was a wooden table [1-n-n] with a wooden dish [1-n-n] with legs on it. On the floor in a pile were fragments of wooden dish [1-n-n] with legs and sherds of a ceramic vessel [1-n-n].

Other finds in the chamber include: a piece of trouser leg [1-y-n]; a fragment of a bronze plate with several twisting saiga and a fragment of a metal ornament of two felines from a sheath [1-y-y]; a wooden sheath [1-y-n]; fragments of decorated wooden parts; four shields (three made of sticks) [4-y-n]; and fragments of decorated felt.

Total counted objects – 22

Total decorated – 18

Total zoomorphs – 10

Animal images – feline, elk, predator ('wolf'), eagle/griffin, bird/eagle, griffin, winged felines, 'tigers', saiga

Horse – feline, elk, predator ('wolf'), eagle/griffin, bird/eagle, winged felines, tiger, griffin, and also headdresses with tau-teke horns and a single tine with an ear.
Sex – male: tigers
Age – adult: ?

— Kurgan 2 —

This is a large stone mound with an inner burial pit and wooden chamber which was robbed in the past. In the northern part of the pit were eight horses and their harnesses and saddles were scattered throughout the chamber [8-y-y].

Objects relating to the horses include: iron bits; wooden ornaments from the harness of the heads of cervids, felines, argali rams, tau-teke and griffins; wooden harness ornaments of feline faces and volutes; wooden harness ornaments; gold leaf figures of fish decorating the horse harness; wooden harness ornaments in the shape of small tau-teke horns; wooden bridle and saddle pendants with volute motifs; wooden bridle and saddle pendants with elk heads; wooden boar tusks; wooden ornaments from a saddle; and four bronze plates with twisting argali rams used to decorate the saddle.

In the chamber was a coffin with the skeleton of a woman. The coffin [1-y-y] was made from a log of larch and decorated with antlered deer figures. Her body was displaced and her clothes had been removed. Fragments of decorated fabric, clothes and felt were found in the coffin and chamber. Horse bones and equipment stripped of their gold were also found in her coffin.

Total counted objects – 9
Total decorated – 9
Total zoomorphs – 9

Animal images – cervids, felines, argali rams, tau-teke, griffins, fish, elk, deer

Horse – cervids, felines, argali rams, tau-teke, griffins, fish, elk
Sex – female: deer
Age – adult: deer

Dating

Recent radiocarbon dating of a sample of wood from Tuekta 1 has placed it at 655 BC (Zaitseva *et al.* 1998).

References

Zaitseva *et al.* 1998; Rudenko 1960

U l a n d r y k I c e m e t e r y

Introduction

All the Ulandryk cemeteries (I-IV) were excavated during successive campaigns during 1968-1969, 1972-1975, 1980-1981. At Ulandryk I there were fourteen excavated kurgans belonging to the Pazyryk phase.

Location

Ulandryk I cemetery is located on the left bank of the Ulandryk river, 12 km to the west of Tashanta village, central Gorno-Altai.

Burials and associated artefacts

— Kurgan 1 —

This is a small kurgan mound with an inner burial pit and structure.

Inside the structure lay two skeletons. To the left of the skull of the first body was a ceramic vessel [1-y-n] and above it a wooden oval dish [1-?-?]. Between the skull and vessel was a wooden diadem [1-y-y] decorated with two camels. On the left hip bone of the first skeleton were fragments of a leather trouser-leg and a felt case [1-?-?] with a bronze mirror [1-n-n] inside. Nearby was wooden dagger [1-n-n] in a sheath [1-n-n]. To the right of the skull of the second body were two wooden figures of horses [1-y-y]. The second body was associated with woollen fabric, a bronze buckle with the head of a bull [1-y-y], and bone and wooden dagger [1-?-?] and sheath [1-?-?]. Under skeletons were eleven wooden plates of various size, form and ornamentation. Along a southern wall of the structure were a chekan-axe [1-?-?] and wooden fragment of a quiver [1-n-n]. Fragments of woollen and silk fabric of red colour were also found.

Total counted objects – 13
Total decorated – 4
Total zoomorphs – 3

Animal images – camel, horse, bull

Horse – n/a
Sex – ?
Age – adult: camel, horse, bull

— Kurgan 2 —

This is a small mound with an inner pit and larch log framework.

On bedding of kuril tea shrub were laid two wooden boards on which was placed a leather costume of a young infant. There were no human remains, thus the excavator considers the burial to be a cenotaph. The costume consisted of a cap [1-y-y] with flaps and decorated with thin gold leaf, a caftan [1-y-y], and boots [1-n-n]. The cap and caftan had square leather appliqué patches with the image of cocks on them. Fragments of gold leaf are found in bedding under the costume. On the fragments were images of predator heads. Other burial objects include a ceramic vessel [1-n-n] with a small handle, a wooden cup [1-n-n], the remains of a birch-bark vessel [1-n-n], and a wooden oval dish [1-n-n] (with four small legs) containing ram meat, a 'cake' and seeds.

Total counted objects – 7

Total decorated – 2

Total zoomorphs – 2

Animal images – cocks, predators

Horse – n/a

Sex – ?

Age – young infant: cocks, predators

— Kurgan 3 —

This is a small mound with an inner pit and wooden burial structure.

In the structure were three human skeletons. To the left of the thigh bone of the first skeleton was the remains of a short iron sword [1-n-n]. Around the second skeleton were three wooden plates decorated with cross-like shapes and three wooden round plates [1-y-n]. Near to the skull of the third skeleton was a wooden fragment in image of a bird's head, an ornament made of two 'wolf' heads and three wooden conic pendants [1-y-y]. In the northeast corner of the burial space were a wooden ladle [1-n-n], a ceramic vessel [1-y-n], fragments of two wooden rectangular trays [2-n-n]. Many of the wooden objects were painted in black and red colour.

Total counted objects – 7

Total decorated – 3

Total zoomorphs – 1

Animal images – bird, 'wolf'

Horse – n/a

Sex – ?

Age – adult: bird, 'wolf'

— Kurgan 4 —

This is a small mound with an inner pit and a larch trunk-coffin.

In the coffin [1-n-n] was the poorly preserved skeleton of a child. Near its skull was placed a wooden round vessel [1-n-n], wooden figures of horse/deer [1-y-y], and a fragment of an iron knife [1-?-?].

Total counted objects – 4

Total decorated – 1

Total zoomorphs – 1

Animal images – horse/deer

Horse – n/a

Sex – ?

Age – child: horse/deer

— Kurgan 5 —

This is a small mound with an inner pit and a box made of seven stone plates.

Inside the box was the skeleton of the adult male. Near skull were two metal ear-rings [1-n-n]. On the right of the body was a leather quiver [1-n-n] with seven arrows (six arrow shafts partially painted red colour, while the seventh was black) [1-y-n]. Under the quiver was a bronze chekan-axe with shaft painted in alternating red and black stripes [1-y-n]. Under the chekan-axe were the fragments of a woollen fabric and leather belt decorated with square leather plates [1-y-n] and a small leather pouch decorated with an appliqué spiral [1-y-n] with two cowrie shells inside. On the right femur bone there was a bronze dagger [1-n-n] in a wooden sheath trimmed by leather [1-n-n] and a bronze mirror [1-n-n].

In north-west corner of the box was a ceramic vessel [1-n-n] and a pelvic bone of a horse with a bronze knife placed on top of it [1-n-n]. In southwest corner of the box was wooden round ladle with a small handle [1-n-n], a poorly preserved wooden dish [1-?-?] and a bead.

Total counted objects – 13

Total decorated – 4

Total zoomorphs – 0

Animal images – 0

Horse – n/a

Sex – male: 0

Age – adult: 0

— Kurgan 6 —

This is a small kurgan mound with an inner pit.

At the bottom was a tree trunk coffin [1-n-n] with two poorly preserved skeletons of children. In the northwest corner of the coffin was a round wooden vessel [1-n-n] and a ceramic vessel [1-n-n]. In the right corner of the coffin was a wooden dish with four small-legs [1-n-n] with ram vertebrae. Beside the dish was a narrow iron knife [1-?-?] and wooden imitations (toys?) of two bows [2-n-n] and two arrows [2-n-n]. In the middle part of the coffin were a tiny wooden bowl [1-n-n], and animal figures (wooden horse/deer, a horse/deer decorated with 'saiga' and argali ram heads, two wolf heads and two griffin heads) [1-y-y] wrapped in thin gold sheeting.

Total counted objects – 11

Total decorated – 1

Total zoomorphs – 1

Animal images – horse/deer, 'saiga', argali, wolf, griffin

Horse – n/a

Sex – ?

Age – child: horse/deer, 'saiga', argali, wolf, griffin

— Kurgan 7 —

This is a small kurgan mound with an inner pit.

At the bottom was a wooden structure containing two disarticulated skeletons. In the east corner of the structure there was also a human skull. Amongst the bones of the two skeletons were fragments of wooden figures of deer/horses [1-y-y], a comb [1-n-n], and several ornamented belt plates [1-y-n]. On the left thigh bone of one of the skeletons was a bronze dagger [1-n-n] with a wooden sheath [1-y-n]. There were also fragments of clothes made from wool and leather.

In the middle of the structure there were two horn chekan-axes [2-n-n]. In the northwest part of the structure there were a leather bag [1-n-n] and an imitation mirror [1-n-n]. A part of a deer

antler [1-n-n] was in the western corner of structure. In the southeast structure corner there were a narrow-necked ceramic vessel [1-n-n], a wooden cup [1-n-n], and fragments of another ceramic vessel [1-?-?].

Total counted objects – 13

Total decorated – 3

Total zoomorphs – 1

Animal images – deer/horse

Horse – n/a

Sex – ?

Age – ?

— Kurgan 8 —

This is a small mound with an inner burial pit.

At the bottom there was a larch structure containing three human skeletons. Above the skulls and around their necks were fragments of gold leaf. The first skeleton (adult female) had two ceramic vessels [2-n-n] near her skull. Near the thigh bone of the third skeleton was a bronze mirror [1-n-n]. In the east corner of the burial were ram vertebrae, two bronze knives (one decorated thus [1-n-n, 1-y-n]) and an iron knife [1-n-n]. There were also present wooden fragments of a small 'deer' head and a predator head [1-y-y].

Total counted objects – 7

Total decorated – 2

Total zoomorphs – 1

Animal images – 'deer', predator

Horse – n/a

Sex – female: ?

?: ?

Age – adult: 'deer', predator

— Kurgan 9 —

This is a mound with an inner burial pit and larch structure. Outside the structure were two horses and one of which had an iron bit [1-n-n].

Inside the structure were the disarticulated bones of two human skeletons. The first skeleton was probably a woman because of a stain of black paint under the skull. Among her bones were fragments of gold leaf, a wooden belt plate [1-y-n], an iron dagger [1-n-n] in a wooden sheath [1-n-n]. The second skeleton was almost completely crushed by the logs of the structure's southwest

wall. In its pelvic bones were two wooden rectangular plates [1-y-n] and fragments of woollen fabric, while at its thigh bone was a wooden fragment of a quiver [1-n-n].

Additionally, in the structure were two ceramic vessels [2-n-n], a wooden ladle with a small handle [1-n-n], fragments of two arrow shafts [1-n-n], and the remains of a wooden oval dish [1-?-?] with ram vertebrae and an iron knife [1-n-n].

Total counted objects – 12

Total decorated – 2

Total zoomorphs – 0

Animal images – 0

Horse – 0

Sex – female: 0

?: 0

Age – adult: 0

— Kurgan 11 —

This is a mound with an inner pit and wooden structure. Outside the structure was a horse skeleton with an iron bit, the remains of bridle ornaments, and wooden imitation wild boar tusks [thus 1-y-n].

In the structure was a human skeleton. Under its crushed skull was a stain of black paint, while nearby were fragments of a wooden figure of a horse/deer [1-y-y] and gold foil. Above the skull were fragments of gold leaf and three wooden pendants. Around the pelvis were wooden imitations of a comb [1-n-n] and a mirror [1-n-n].

In the left part of the structure was a ceramic vessel [1-n-n], a ladle with the handle [1-n-n], and a poorly preserved wooden oval dish with four small legs [1-n-n]. In the dish were ram vertebrae and an iron knife [1-n-n].

Total counted objects – 8

Total decorated – 2

Total zoomorphs – 1

Animal images – horse/deer

Horse – 0

Sex – ?

Age – adult: horse/deer

— Kurgan 12 —

Kurgan 12 was one of largest kurgans in the cemetery. This was a large mound with an inner burial pit and larch burial structure. Outside the structure were three horse skeletons. All the horses had poorly preserved wooden bridle ornaments though there was present an ornament with griffin head [thus 2-?-?, 1-y-y]. The top horse had an iron bit.

The inside of the structure was filled with ice and there were two skeletons present. The first skeleton had a stain of a black paint under their skull. Around the skull were a figure of a deer, a tiny wooden figure of an ungulate, wood ornaments, and two wooden figures of winged felines ('snow panthers') [1-y-y]. All these wooden items were covered by gold leaf. On the pelvis of the same skeleton was a wooden mirror [1-n-n].

Around the skull of the second skeleton were fragments of wooden deer figure, a horse head, and pendants which were all covered by gold leaf [1-y-y]. The second skeleton had a belt with two wooden large plates [2-y-n]. To the left of its thigh bone was wooden part of quiver [1-n-n]. On its pelvis were fragments of leather and woollen fabric, a small bronze mirror [1-n-n] in a felt case [1-?-?], and a bronze knife [1-n-n] with a wooden sheath [1-n-n].

In a northeast corner of the structure were two ceramic vessels [1-y-n, 1-n-n]. Nearby were the fragments of a wooden dish [1-?-?] with ram vertebrae and an iron knife [1-n-n], and a bronze knife [1-n-n].

Total counted objects – 18

Total decorated – 6

Total zoomorphs – 3

Animal images – griffin, deer, winged felines ('snow panthers'), horse

Horse – griffin

Sex – ?

Age – adult: deer, winged felines ('snow panthers'), horse

— Kurgan 13 —

This is a mound with an inner burial pit and wooden structure.

In the structure was the disarticulated skeleton of a child. Amongst the bones were two wooden belt buckles [1-n-n]. In the northwest part of the structure were a ceramic vessel [1-n-n], a broken

four legged wooden dish [1-n-n] with ram vertebrae and an iron knife [1-n-n], and fragments of a wooden ladle [1-n-n].

Total counted objects – 5

Total decorated – 0

Total zoomorphs – 0

Animal images – 0

Horse – n/a

Sex – ?

Age – child: ?

— Kurgan 14 —

This is a mound with an inner pit and larch structure. Outside the structure were two horse skeletons. The first horse had poorly preserved wooden bridle ornaments [1-?-?]. The second horse had a bronze bit, wooden psalia and four wooden bridle plates [1-y-n].

The structure was broken into by marmot burrowing. In the burrow-hole under the belly of the first horse were a fragments of an iron knife [1-n-n]. In the structure were the displaced bones of two persons which were scattered across the chamber. There were fragments of two wooden oval dishes with four legs [2-n-n], a small wooden vessel [1-n-n], two ceramic vessels [1-?-?, 1-y-n], and a wooden ladle [1-?-?].

Total counted objects – 9

Total decorated – 2

Total zoomorphs – 0

Animal images – 0

Horse – 0

Sex – ?

Age – ?

— Kurgan 15 —

This is a mound and inner pit with larch funeral structure. Outside the structure was a horse skeleton with a bronze bit, fragments of wooden psalia and wooden bridle ornaments [1-y-n]. Under the horse was a bone buckle and three imitation wooden wild boar tusks – both from the harness.

In the structure was the skeleton of a woman(?). By the skull was a stain of black paint and nearby there was a small wooden head of a deer covered in gold leaf [1-y-y]. To the left of the skull were traces of a wooden oval dish [1-n-n] with ram

vertebrae and a bronze knife [1-n-n]. Near the woman's knees was a fragment of a metal mirror [1-n-n] in a leather bag [1-?-?]. In the east corner of the structure were fragments of a large ceramic vessel [1-?-?] and fragments of a wooden bowl [1-?-?].

Total counted objects – 8

Total decorated – 2

Total zoomorphs – 1

Animal images – deer

Horse – n/a

Sex – female?: deer

Age – adult: deer

Dating

The burials and objects of Ulandryk I belong to the Pazyryk culture around 5th-4th century BC (Kubarev 1987: 132).

References

Kubarev 1987

Ulandryk II cemetery

Introduction

A cemetery of twelve kurgans of which 11 were excavated.

Location

Ulandryk II cemetery is located 10 km west from the village of Tashanta and is 2 km from Ulandryk I.

Burials and associated artefacts

— Kurgan 1 —

This is a kurgan mound with an inner pit and larch structure. Along the northwest wall of the pit was a horse skeleton with an iron bit [1-n-n].

In the structure was human skeleton, probably female because of a stain of black paint by the skull. Above the skull were fragments of gold leaf and a bronze needle [1-y-n] indicating there was once elaborate head ornamentations. Around the cervical vertebrae were fine fragments gold leaf. To the left of the skeleton was a crushed ceramic vessel [1-?-?], some mutton vertebrae and an iron knife [1-n-n].

Total counted objects – 4

Total decorated – 1
Total zoomorphs – 0

Animal images – 0

Horse – 0
Sex – female? : 0
Age – adult : 0

— Kurgan 2 —

This is a mound with an inner pit and larch structure.

In the southern part of the framework was the skeleton of a woman(?). Around her cranium were fragments of gold leaf. Around the cervical vertebrae were fragments gold leaf, a small wooden horse and small wooden pendants [all together 1-y-y]. Under the left pelvic bone was a bronze chisel [1-n-n]. To the left of the skeleton is a crushed ceramic vessel [1-?-?], and a fragment of an iron knife [1-n-n] associated with ram vertebrae.

Total counted objects – 4
Total decorated – 1
Total zoomorphs – 1

Animal images – horse

Horse – n/a
Sex – female?: horse
Age – adult: horse

— Kurgan 3 —

This is a mound with an inner pit and larch structure. Outside the structure was a horse skeleton with an iron bit [1-n-n].

In the structure was the skeleton of a woman with the skull lying in black paint. In the black paint there was a bronze ear-ring [1-n-n]. Fragments of sheet gold were around her neck and under a flat boulder, serving as a 'stone pillow'. Near the northern wall were fragments of a ceramic vessel [1-n-n], an iron knife fragment [1-?-?], and ram vertebrae.

Total counted objects – 4
Total decorated – 0
Total zoomorphs – 0

Animal images – 0

Horse – 0
Sex – female : 0

Age – adult : 0

— Kurgan 4 —

This is a mound with an inner pit and larch framework at the bottom.

In the framework was the disarticulated skeleton of a child. Among their legs was a wooden cup [1-n-n]. Near the northern wall were an iron knife [1-n-n] and oval wooden dish [1-n-n].

Total counted objects – 3
Total decorated – 0
Total zoomorphs – 0

Animal images – 0

Horse – n/a
Sex – ?
Age – child : 0

— Kurgan 5 —

This is a mound with an inner pit and larch structure. Outside the structure was a horse skeleton with an iron bit [1-n-n].

Inside the structure was the skeleton of a woman(?). Around the skull were fragments of gold leaf. There were two wooden figures of deer/horses and two figures of felines ('panthers') covered in gold leaf [1-y-y]. Among the vertebrae was bronze mirror [1-?-?] in a felt case [1-?-?]. Along the east wall of the framework were a wooden vessel [1-n-n], a crushed ceramic vessel [1-y-n] and fragments of an oval wooden dish [1-n-n]. In oval dish were ram vertebrae and an iron knife [1-n-n].

Total counted objects – 8
Total decorated – 2
Total zoomorphs – 1

Animal images – deer/horse, feline ('panther')

Horse – 0
Sex – female? : deer/horse, feline ('panther')
Age – adult : deer/horse, feline ('panther')

— Kurgan 6 —

This is a mound with an inner pit and larch structure. Outside the structure were three horse skeletons with iron bits [3-n-n]. One horse had a bone bridle and a saddle-girth buckle.

In the structure were two skeletons of women. The second female was older and she had an atrophied lower jaw, while some of her teeth were placed in a pouch [1-?-?] suspended on a belt. Their skulls lay in patches of black paint. Fragments of gold leaf were found around the entire framework, but were concentrated around the skulls and near the pelvic bones. The first skeleton had two earrings from thin gold wire under its skull [1-n-n], a pendant [1-n-n], and three bronze mirrors [3-n-n]. One of the mirrors was in a felt case [1-?-?] suspended on a belt.

Near the first skeleton were the remains of a chekan-axe with bronze blade [1-n-n]. In the northeast corner of framework were a large crushed ceramic vessel [1-?-?], ram vertebrae and two iron knives [2-n-n] for one burial, and a the same set of objects (ceramic vessel, ram vertebrae, bronze knife) for the second burial [2-n-n].

Total counted objects – 16
Total decorated – 0
Total zoomorphs – 0

Animal images – 0

Horse – 0
Sex – female : 0
Age – adult : 0, elder : 0

— Kurgan 7 —

This is a mound with an inner pit and larch structure.

In the structure were fragments of a child's skull and the skeleton of an adult man. Around the adult's skull were fragments of gold leaf. Near his neck were wooden ornaments in the shape of felines ('panthers'): one figure had a complete body with a 'wing', while the other was a fragment of the head and covered with gold leaf. Above the adult skull were two wooden figures of horses wrapped in gold leaf [thus all figures 1-y-y]. Near the pelvis were unornamented and ornamented wooden belt plates [1-y-n], a wooden imitation wild-boar tusk, an iron chekan-axe blade [1-n-n], a bronze dagger [1-y-n] in a wooden sheath which was painted red [1-y-n]. Also in the northwest corner of the structure was a ceramic vessel [1-n-n].

Total counted objects – 6
Total decorated – 4
Total zoomorphs – 1

Animal images – winged felines ('panther'), horse

Horse – n/a

Sex – male: winged felines ('panther'), horse
Age – adult: winged felines ('panther'), horse
child: ?

— Kurgan 8 —

This is a mound with an inner pit and larch-trunk coffin.

In the coffin was a poorly preserved skeleton of a child. Around the neck were wooden figures of quadrupeds: one full body deer and one fragment of a deer head and neck, a body with legs of indeterminate species, and a tiny figure of a 'horse' atop a wooden ornament [1-y-y]. Beside the skeleton were a wooden ladle cup with handle [1-n-n], a wooden oval dish [1-n-n] with ram vertebrae and an iron knife [1-n-n].

Total counted objects – 4
Total decorated – 1
Total zoomorphs – 1

Animal images – deer, 'horse'

Horse – n/a
Sex – ?
Age – child : deer, 'horse'

— Kurgan 9 —

This is a mound with an inner pit and a larch structure.

Inside the structure was the skeleton of a woman with a patch of black paint under the skull. In the patch were wooden ornaments covered with gold leaf including two 'deer' head fragments and tiny conic pendants [1-y-y]. Beneath the skull was a fragment of a silver ear-ring [1-n-n]. Under the pelvis was a bronze mirror [1-n-n] in a leather pouch which was decorated outside of leather by appliqué-work [1-y-n]. In the southwest corner of the structure were a ceramic vessel [1-y-n], ram vertebrae, and an iron knife [1-n-n].

Total counted objects – 6
Total decorated – 3
Total zoomorphs – 1

Animal images – 'deer'

Horse – n/a
Sex – female : 'deer'
Age – adult : 'deer'

— Kurgan 11 —

This is a mound with an inner pit and a larch structure. Outside the structure were two horse skeletons with iron bits [2-n-n].

No human skeleton was in the structure leading the excavator to call the burial a cenotaph. In the structure there were two crushed ceramic vessels [2-y-n], the remains of a wooden oval dish with ram vertebrae and two iron knives [1-n-n], a bronze knife [1-n-n], a bone comb [1-n-n], fragments of gold leaf, and the remains of a leather quiver with a wooden base [1-?-?]. In the quiver were poorly preserved shafts of arrows [1-?-?].

Total counted objects – 9

Total decorated – 2

Total zoomorphs – 0

Animal images – 0

Horse – 0

Sex – ?

Age – ?

— Kurgan 12 —

This is a mound with an inner pit and a larch structure.

In the structure was a human skeleton. Near to the skull were fragments of a wooden diadem [1-y-n], a wooden figure of a bird, and the head of a griffin/bird [1-y-y], while fragments gold leaf were under the lower jaw. Near the pelvis were a wooden imitation mirror [1-n-n], and two decorated rectangular buckles [1-y-n]. Along the backbone was a small arrow shaft painted red [1-y-n]. In the northwest corner was a wooden oval dish [1-?-?] with ram vertebrae and an iron knife [1-n-n], and a ceramic vessel [1-y-n].

Total counted objects – 8

Total decorated – 5

Total zoomorphs – 1

Animal images – bird, bird/griffin

Horse – n/a

Sex – ?

Age – adult: bird, bird/griffin

Dating

The burials and objects of Ulandryk II belong to the Pazyryk culture around 3rd century BC (Kubarev 1987: 132).

References

Kubarev 1987

U l a n d r y k I I I c e m e t e r y

Introduction

Ulandryk III is a chain of 8 kurgans in which five were of the Pazyryk period.

Location

Ulandryk III cemetery is located near the Ulandryk river.

Burials and associated artefacts

— Kurgan 1 —

This is a mound with an inner burial pit and larch structure.

Outside the structure were two horse skeletons. The first horse had an iron bit and harness ornaments of wooden imitation wild-boar tusks painted white [1-y-n], while the second horse had fragments of a wooden psalia [1-?-?].

The burial was disturbed by rodent burrowing. In the structure was a human skeleton. Around the skull and neck were fragments of gold leaf, red painted pieces of leather and fragment of a 'deer' head [1-y-y]. Near the legs were a bronze chekan-axe with feline figure and red painted wooden handle [1-y-y], bronze mirror with a wild boar on the handle [1-y-y] in a felt case [1-?-?], and a bronze dagger with feline heads [1-y-y] in an decorated wooden sheath [1-y-n]. Near the pelvis were a wooden belt buckle and decorated square belt plates [1-y-n]. In the back of the skeleton were three-four arrow shafts [1-n-n] and fragments of a wooden quiver base [1-?-?], and the shaft of a bow.

In northern part of the structure was a crushed ceramic vessel [1-?-?], a poorly preserved wooden ladle [1-?-?], and a wooden dish [1-?-?] with mutton vertebrae and fragments of an iron knife.

Total counted objects – 14

Total decorated – 7

Total zoomorphs – 4

Animal images – 'deer', feline, wild boar

Horse – n/a

Sex – ?

Age – adult: ‘deer’, feline, wild boar

— Kurgan 3 —

This is a mound with an inner burial pit with larch structure. Outside the structure were two incomplete skeletons of horses.

The burial was disturbed by rodent burrowing and the skeletons of two persons were disarticulated as well as their burial goods.

Burial contents include: an iron knife [1-?-?]; two sets of wooden handles of a chekan-axe [2-n-n]; arrow heads and fragments of arrow shafts (some painted red) [1-y-n]; fragments of a bow; wooden fragment of a quiver base [1-?-?]; small belt plates [1-y-n]; a bronze mirror [1-n-n] in a felt case [1-n-n]; a small leather bag painted red [1-y-n]; two bronze daggers [2-n-n] with wooden sheaths [2-y-n]; fragments of woollen fabric and leather from clothes; wooden animal figures (two griffin heads, two figures of ‘horses’) [1-y-y]; and fragments of gold leaf.

Total counted objects – 14

Total decorated – 6

Total zoomorphs – 1

Animal images – griffin, ‘horses’

Horse – 0

Sex – ?

Age – ?

— Kurgan 4 —

This is a mound with an inner burial pit and larch structure. Outside the structure were two horse skeletons. One horse had a bit and a wooden imitation wild-boar tusk [1-n-n].

In the structure is the incomplete skeleton of a man. Beside his skull there were fine fragments of gold leaf, a wooden figure of a human face with ‘horns’, and a wooden deer figure decorated with animal heads (saiga/tau-teke, argali ram) on the haunches and a human face by the back hooves [1-y-y].

Burial inventory included: a fragment chekan-axe shaft [1-n-n]; a bronze dagger [1-n-n] in wooden sheath painted red [1-y-n]; an iron knife [1-n-n] and mutton vertebrae; a ceramic vessel [1-n-n]; wooden belt plates [1-y-n]; and tiny beads.

Total counted objects – 8

Total decorated – 3

Total zoomorphs – 1

Animal images – human face with ‘horns’, deer decorated with animal heads

Horse – 0

Sex – male: human face with ‘horns’, deer decorated with animal heads

Age – adult: human face with ‘horns’, deer decorated with animal heads

— Kurgan 6 —

This is a mound with an inner burial pit and larch structure. Outside the structure was a horse skeleton.

Inside the structure was the disarticulated skeleton of a man(?). The funerary inventory includes: a bronze knife [1-n-n] in a wooden sheath painted red [1-y-n]; a small bronze mirror [1-n-n] in a felt case [1-?-?]; a crushed ceramic vessel [1-?-?]; fragments of a wooden dish [1-?-?] with mutton vertebrae; fragments of a wooden diadem [1-y-n]; imitation wild-boar tusk; piece of wooden base of a quiver [1-?-?], fragmentary shafts of arrows [1-n-n], and a compound bow.

Total counted objects – 9

Total decorated – 3

Total zoomorphs – 0

Animal images – 0

Horse – 0

Sex – male: 0

Age – adult: 0

— Kurgan 7 —

This is a mound with an inner pit and larch structure. Outside of the structure were two horse skeletons. The second horse had an iron bit [1-n-n].

Inside the structure was the disarticulated remains of two adult human skeletons. Under the skull of the first skeleton was a patch of a black paint suggesting they were female.

In the northeast corner of the structure were two crushed ceramic vessels [2-?-?] and a fragment of an iron knife [1-n-n]. Other burial objects include: a wooden belt plate [1-y-n], a bronze chekan-axe with a wooden handle [1-n-n], a bronze mirror [1-n-n] in a felt case [1-n-n], and bronze knife [1-n-n] in a wooden sheath [1-y-n].

Total counted objects – 10
Total decorated – 2
Total zoomorphs – 0

Animal images – 0

Horse – 0
Sex – female: 0
?: 0
Age – adult: 0

Dating

The burials and objects of Ulandryk III belong to the Pazyryk culture around 5th-4th century BC (Kubarev 1987: 132).

References

Kubarev 1987

U l a n d r y k I V c e m e t e r y

Introduction

The cemetery has three Pazyryk period kurgans.

Location

Ulandryk IV cemetery is 0.5 km south from Ulandryk III and about 3.5 km south from Tashanta village.

Burials and associated artefacts

— Kurgan 1 —

This is a mound with an inner burial pit and larch structure. There was some ice in the burial.

In the structure was an adult skeleton. Around the skull were: a wooden diadem with images of recumbent stags, felines and a griffin head in the front and birds ('swans') on the back [1-y-y]; a deer figure with four pendants painted white; four argali ram figures; and three 'horse' figures. All the wooden animal figures were covered by gold leaf most likely part of a headdress [1-y-y] from which only fragments of felt (painted red) only survived.

Fragments of fur clothes and large pieces of woollen fabric were around the skeleton. Around the middle of the skeleton there were two wooden belt buckles and four belt plates [1-y-n], a wooden base of a quiver [1-?-?], fragments of arrow shafts painted in red and black colour [1-y-n], an iron dagger [1-n-n] in a wooden sheath [1-y-n], iron chekan-axe and wooden handle [1-

n-n], and two wooden imitation boar tusks painted yellow-white.

In the northeast corner of the framework were fragments of an oval dish with four small legs [1-?-?], a large ceramic vessel [1-?-?], and a wooden ladle with a handle [1-n-n].

Total counted objects – 11
Total decorated – 5
Total zoomorphs – 2

Animal images – deer, felines, griffins, birds ('swans'), argali, 'horses'

Horse – n/a
Sex – ?

Age – adult: deer, felines, griffins, birds ('swans'), argali, 'horses'

— Kurgan 2 —

This is a mound with an inner burial pit and larch structure. Outside the structure were the skeletons of a horse and a foal. Under them was a third horse skeleton in frozen ground. The horses had iron bits, wooden S-shaped psalia which ended in animal heads and wooden bridle ornaments [3-y-y]. Stylish griffin heads were on the wooden bridle ornaments of the first two horses, while the third horse psalia had griffin and feline heads. The third horse bridle ornaments had images of two opposed heads of griffins together with wooden imitation boar tusks and rectangular wooden plates. The remains of a saddle consisted of wooden parts, leather and a horn buckle [1-n-n].

In the structure were the skeletons of a female and male found in a layer of ice.

The skull of the woman was in a thick stain of black paint. Around her skull was the remains of a headdress [1-y-y]: fragments of gold leaf; fragments of a wooden diadem with bird figures; a wooden object like a 'goat horn'; two wooden ornaments covered by gold; a wooden deer with a double torso; a figure of a 'horse' on a spherical base with a bronze needle; and tiny pendants. She also had two bronze ear-rings [1-n-n]. Near her pelvis was a bronze mirror [1-n-n] in a felt pouch [1-n-n], ten semicircular wooden plates covered with a thin gold sheet [1-y-n], and pieces of woollen fabric and leather.

Between the two bodies there were two winged feline ornaments.

Near to the man's skull were the following items including: gold leaf; a wooden figure of a tau-teke with a large horn along with other tau-teke figures; two wooden horse figures cover by gold; a wooden bird with wings; and a wooden deer figure [1-y-y]. Associated with the lower part of the skeleton of the man were: an iron dagger [1-?-?] in a wooden sheath [1-n-n]; an imitation boar tusk; a bronze mirror [1-?-?]; belt plates [1-y-n]; two iron small-chekan-axes with wooden handles [2-n-n]; the remains of a bow; ten arrows (fragments of shafts and arrowheads) [1-n-n]; and the wooden parts of a quiver [1-y-n].

In the northeast corner of the structure were fragments of two wooden dishes [2-n-n], mutton vertebrae, and two ceramic vessels [2-y-n].

Total counted objects – 22
Total decorated – 10
Total zoomorphs – 5

Animal images – griffin, feline, bird, deer, 'horse'

Horse – griffin, feline
Sex – female: bird, deer, 'horse'
 male: tau-teke, horse, bird, deer
Age – adult: bird, deer, 'horse'

— Kurgan 3 —

This is a mound with an inner burial bit and larch structure. Outside the structure were two horse skeletons with iron bits [2-n-n].

In the pit there was ice. In the structure was an adult male skeleton. Around his skull were the following items including: wooden figures of two horses, an argali ram and a deer with pendants; and a wooden diadem with the image of two opposed felines [1-y-y]. Under the skull was a small fragment of thin cut felt with the gold sheet figure of a twisting deer sewn on it [1-y-y]. Around the neck were fragments of gold leaf and two appliqué-works made of birch-bark [1-y-y]. The appliqué depicted a stylised head lion biting a fish which was probably sewn to the garments.

Around the male skeleton were: fragments of a belt (buckles and leather) including a wooden buckle with the image of an 'elk' covered by sheet gold [1-y-y]; a wooden dagger sheath [1-y-n]; wooden imitation boar tusk (wood, painted in white colour); a bronze chekan-axe on a red painted wooden handle [1-y-n]; remains of a decorated leather appliqué-work in the shape of a fish [1-y-y]; a bronze mirror in a felt pouch [1-n-

n]; fragments of woollen fabric and fur clothes; and remains of arrows [1-?-?].

In the northeast corner of the structure were a crushed ceramic vessel [1-?-?] and fragments of a wooden dish [1-?-?] with mutton vertebrae.

Total counted objects – 13
Total decorated – 7
Total zoomorphs – 5

Animal images – horses, argali, deer, felines, lion, fish, elk

Horse – 0
Sex – male: horses, argali, deer, felines, lion, fish, elk
Age – adult: horses, argali, deer, felines, lion, fish, elk

Dating

The burials and objects of Ulandryk IV belong to the Pazyryk culture around 3rd century BC (Kubarev 1987: 132).

References

Kubarev 1987

U l a n d r y k V c e m e t e r y

Introduction

The cemetery Ulandryk V consists of three stone mounds of which two were excavated.

Location

Ulandryk V cemetery is 0.6 km north from Ulandryk III.

Burials and associated artefacts

— Kurgan 1 —

This is a mound with an inner burial pit and larch structure. Outside the structure was a horse skeleton with an iron bit and poorly preserved wooden ornaments of a harness executed as boar tusks [1-n-n].

In the structure was the skeleton of a man. Around his skull were fragments of gold leaf. Around the skeleton were a small bronze mirror [1-n-n], a small bronze chekan-axe [1-y-n], a bronze dagger [1-n-n] in a wooden sheath which was painted red [1-y-n], remains of a bow, the

wooden base of a quiver [1-?-?], and arrow shafts [1-n-n].

In the northeast corner of the structure were an iron knife [1-n-n], a ram vertebrae in fragments of a wooden dish and fragments of a red coloured ceramic vessel [1-?-?].

Total counted objects – 9

Total decorated – 2

Total zoomorphs – 0

Animal images – 0

Horse – 0

Sex – male: 0

Age – adult: 0

— Kurgan 2 —

This is a mound with an inner burial pit and larch structure.

In the structure were placed two adolescent skeletons with an infant. Under the skull of the first skeleton were fragmentary wooden figures of a 'horse' and the head of a 'deer' [1-y-y], while near the respective pelvises of the human remains were two arrow shafts [1-n-n].

Around second skeleton's skull were fragments of gold leaf, while under the pelvis was a poorly preserved comb [1-n-n].

On the pelvis of the infant was a wooden mirror, painted red [1-y-n].

In the northeast corner of the framework were a crushed ceramic vessel [1-?-?] and an iron knife [1-n-n], while in the southwest corner was a fragment of the second knife [1-?-?], mutton vertebrae, and fragments of narrow-neck vessel [1-?-?].

Total counted objects – 8

Total decorated – 2

Total zoomorphs – 1

Animal images – 'horse', 'deer'

Horse – n/a

Sex – ?

Age – adolescent: 'horse', 'deer'
infant: 0

Dating

The burials and objects belong to the Pazyryk culture.

References

Kubarev 1987

Verkh-Kaldzhin II cemetery

Introduction

The site comprises of a chain of five kurgans. During the summer of 1994 kurgan 1 was opened, while in 1995 the third Pazyryk tattooed body was found in kurgan 3 (Polos'mak 2000: 95).

Location

The cemetery is located near the Kaldzhin river near the left tributary of the Ak-Alakha river, in the Ukok Plateau, southern Gorno-Altai.

Burials and associated artefacts

— Kurgan 1 —

This is a small mound with a stone fence and an inner grave pit with wooden burial construction. Freezing inside the burial had preserved organic objects.

In the northwestern part of the burial were two horses. One horse had wooden bit pins with horse heads, wooden bridle plaques in shape of boar's tusks and 'heart' shapes [1-y-y], and a felt saddle [1-y-n] decorated with vegetative motifs. The second horse had wooden harness plaques [1-y-y] in the form of horses and griffins, and bit pins with the heads of griffins.

In the construction was the body of a male (40 years old) lying on a floor covered with black felt. He wore a red fur coat [1-n-n], trousers [1-?-?] and felt boots [1-?-?]. He wore a felt hat [1-y-y] which was decorated with wooden figures (birds, horses, camel) and a wooden neckpiece [1-y-y] with predator figures (feline?). His belt was ornamented with wooden plates [1-?-?]. Under the fur coat lay a iron knife [1-?-?], wooden mirror [1-?-?] and a miniature ivory comb [1-?-?]. Wooden arrows and one bone arrow were found [1-n-n], while only a wooden plate and a clasp remained of the quiver [1-?-?]. An iron chekan-axe [1-?-?] was attached to his belt. There was a wooden dish [1-?-?] with food and an iron knife [1-?-?], vessels of wood, horn and clay in felt holders. There was a second headpiece [1-n-n] rolled up and placed under the head of the

deceased as a pillow, while a third [1-?-?] was placed behind his back. A felt pouch [1-?-?] with clipped nails, seeds and knotted string was found under a corner of the timber frame.

Total counted objects – 19

Total decorated – 5

Total zoomorphs – 4

Animal images – horse, griffin, bird, camel, predator (feline?)

Horse – horse, griffin

Sex – male: horse, bird, camel, predator (feline?)

Age – 40 years: horse, bird, camel, predator (feline?)

Sex – male: ‘fantastic’ ungulate, predator, horse, deer

Age – 20-25 years: ‘fantastic’ ungulate, predator, horse, deer

Dating

Both burial constructions and contents belong to the Pazyryk culture. Kurgan 1 is dated to the final phase of Pazyryk culture (2nd century BC) from the type of iron dagger (Molodin 1996: 40).

References

Molodin 1996; Polos'mak 2000; Polos'mak & Molodin 2000

— Kurgan 3 —

This is a small mound ringed by a stone fence with an inner burial pit and timber construction. The burial pit was filled with ice. In the northern part was placed a horse with an ornamented wooden plate on its forehead and pendants of boar tusks [1-y-?].

In the construction was the body of a male (20-25 years) lying on felt who was well preserved by the ice. He had braided hair and a tattoo of a ‘fantastic’ ungulate around his left shoulder [1-y-y]. The ungulate was a composite animal combining the body of a deer, bird beak, and griffin heads on tips of antler tines and on its back. Around his neck was a wooden neckpiece [1-y-y] with figures of predator's heads. He wore trousers [1-?-?], a sheepskin coat [1-n-n], felt boots [1-?-?], and a felt headpiece [1-y-y] with flaps which was decorated with wooden figures of horse and deer. His belt [1-?-?] was decorated with wooden plaques and was fastened with an iron chekan-axe [1-?-?]. A wooden plate from a quiver [1-?-?] and five arrows [1-?-?] lay by the body. At his waist was a comb [1-?-?], a felt pouch [1-?-?] containing a bronze mirror [1-?-?] and a wooden dagger [1-?-?] in a sheath [1-?-?]. Additionally, there was a wooden dish with legs [1-?-?], an iron knife [1-?-?], a wooden vessel [1-?-?], a clay vessel [1-?-?] and a horn vessel [1-?-?].

Total counted objects – 21

Total decorated – 5

Total zoomorphs – 4

Animal images – ‘fantastic’ ungulate, predator, horse, deer

Horse – 0

Tables of quantitative analysis

Introduction

The following appendix contains the tables of tallies for the Pazyryk decorations from appendix 2. In my analysis I first looked for the total presence and absence of decorated and animal ornamented objects in each burial (table 2) to get a general overview of how much of the material culture was decorated and how much had zoomorphic images. This was then conducted again but only in examination of the presence of zoomorphic imagery in each burial in relation to the sex of human occupants (table 4), their age (table 6) and horse regalia (table 7).

In order to make sense of what items had animal imagery, the artefacts were grouped in appropriate categories based on function, i.e., horse equipment, coffin, vessels, furniture, implements, personal decoration, tattoos, mirrors and carpets (table 1a for detailed listing of items which make up each category). Basic statistical counts were made to find out the relative frequency of animal decorated objects according to the classes of objects (table 3). This was followed by an analysis of the relationship of single animal motifs (see table 1b for detail listing of single motifs) to object type (table 9) and finally by an examination of the relationships of single animal motifs to the sex of the deceased (table 5), social role (tables 10-11) and horse regalia (table 8).

Table 1a. Artefact categories according to function ('object type').

1. Horse equipment
 - cheek pieces
 - bridles
 - harnesses
 - saddles
 - saddles rugs
 - headdresses
 - whips
2. Coffin
 - log sarcophagus
 - stone cist chamber
3. Vessels
 - ceramic pots
 - wooden dishes with legs
 - wooden dishes
 - wooden bowls
 - wooden cups and/or mugs
 - vessels made from shaped horn
4. Furniture
 - tables
5. Weapons and implements
 - bows
 - arrows
 - gorytoi
 - chekan-axes
 - swords
 - knives
 - wooden slat shields
6. Personal effects
 - headdresses
 - headwear (caps)
 - headpieces
 - earrings
 - necklaces/torques
 - cloaks
 - jackets
 - caftans
 - shirts
 - belts with plaques
 - trousers
 - skirts
 - stocking boots
 - pouches
 - beads
 - buttons
7. Tattoos
8. Mirrors
 - iron
 - bronze
 - wooden handled
 - Chinese types
9. Carpets and wall hangings
 - pile carpets
 - felt carpets
 - felt wall hangings

Table 1b. Individual animal motifs.

Group A – ungulates

- maral
- elk
- saiga
- cervid/equid (species indeterminate)
- argali ram
- tau-teke
- caprid (species indeterminate)
- horse
- camels
- bull

Group B – boars and predators

- boars
- feline indeterminate ('snow leopard', panther)
- tiger
- lion
- winged and/or horned felines
- 'wolves' (wolves, canids)
- predator (species indeterminate)

Group C – other animals and creatures

- hare
- eagles
- swans/geese
- cocks
- birds (species indeterminate)
- fish
- fantastic creatures (beaked nose deer with bird headed tines, sphinxes, etc.)
- griffins
- humans (heads, figures)
- scenes of preying
- twisting animal motif
- animal in mouth of animal
- recumbent animals
- images of beasts on the body parts of the animal

Table 2. Quantities of decorated objects and zoomorphic decorated objects.

site	counted objects	decorated	%	objects w/animals	%
Ak-Alakha 1					
Kurgan 1	41	19	46.3	18	43.9
Kurgan 2	10	6	60.0	2	20.0
Ak-Alakha 3					
Kurgan 1	32	18	56.2	12	37.5
Ak-Alakha 5					
Kurgan 1	21	3	14.3	1	4.8
Kurgan 2	2	1	50.0	1	50.0
Kurgan 3	8	0	0.0	0	0.0
Kurgan 4	9	0	0.0	0	0.0
Kurgan 5	1	0	0.0	0	0.0
Alagell					
Kurgan 1	12	0	0.0	0	0.0
Barburgazy I					
Kurgan 1	2	0	0.0	0	0.0
Kurgan 2	3	0	0.0	0	0.0
Kurgan 3	8	4	50.0	1	12.5
Kurgan 4	6	2	33.3	2	33.3
Kurgan 5	1	0	0.0	0	0.0
Kurgan 6	3	0	0.0	0	0.0
Kurgan 7	4	0	0.0	0	0.0
Kurgan 8	4	0	0.0	0	0.0
Kurgan 10	5	2	40.0	2	40.0
Kurgan 11	6	2	33.3	0	0.0
Kurgan 12	1	0	0.0	0	0.0
Kurgan 13	5	1	20.0	0	0.0
Kurgan 14	6	1	16.7	1	16.7
Kurgan 15	18	2	11.1	1	5.6
Kurgan 17	6	1	16.7	1	16.7
Kurgan 18	14	4	28.6	2	14.3
Kurgan 21	12	4	33.3	0	0.0
Kurgan 22	16	4	25.0	1	6.2
Kurgan 23	9	4	44.4	3	33.3
Kurgan 25	19	9	47.4	1	5.3
Kurgan 26	17	3	17.6	3	17.6
Kurgan 27	3	0	0.0	0	0.0
Kurgan 28	4	0	0.0	0	0.0
Kurgan 29	8	2	25.0	1	12.5
Kurgan 30	13	5	38.5	1	7.7
Barburgazy II					
Kurgan 3	8	3	37.5	1	12.5
Bashadar					
Kurgan 1	7	3	42.9	0	0.0
Kurgan 2	51	21	41.2	6	11.8
Berel					
Kurgan 1	18	3	16.7	2	11.1
Kurgan 11	32	15	46.9	15	46.9
Kurgan 18	3	2	66.7	0	0.0
Bertek 1					
Kurgan 1	6	1	16.7	0	0.0
Bertek 10					
Kurgan 1	4	1	25.0	0	0.0
Bertek 27					
Kurgan 1	3	1	33.3	1	33.3
Borotal II					
Kurgan 1	2	0	0.0	0	0.0
Kurgan 2	7	1	14.3	0	0.0
Kurgan 7	5	1	20.0	1	20.0
Borotal III					
Kurgan 4	5	0	0.0	0	0.0
Kurgan 5	7	1	14.3	0	0.0
Kurgan 8	8	1	12.5	0	0.0
Kaldzhin 1					

Kurgan	5	1	20.0	0	0.0
Kaldzhin 6					
Kurgan 23	7	1	14.3	0	0.0
Kurgan 24	7	2	28.6	0	0.0
Kaldzhin 8					
Kurgan 2	2	0	0.0	0	0.0
Karatas 11					
Kurgan 2	4	0	0.0	0	0.0
Katanda 2					
Boishol Kurgan	52	11	21.2	3	5.8
Katon					
Kurgan 2	2	0	0.0	0	0.0
Kurgan 3	8	1	12.5	0	0.0
Kurgan 5	6	3	50.0	2	33.3
Kurgan 10	8	0	0.0	0	0.0
Kurgan 12	4	1	25.0	0	0.0
Kurgan 14	3	2	66.7	0	0.0
Kurgan 17	5	0	0.0	0	0.0
Kurgan 19	4	0	0.0	0	0.0
Kopal 2					
Kurgan 8	5	0	0.0	0	0.0
Kuturguntas 1					
Kurgan 1	16	4	25.0	2	12.5
Mahailu JV					
Kurgan 2	2	0	0.0	0	0.0
Kurgan 3	10	2	20.0	1	10.0
Kurgan 4	0	0	0.0	0	*DIV/0
Kurgan 5	5	2	40.0	0	0.0
Kurgan 6	0	0	*DIV/0	0	*DIV/0
Kurgan 7	3	1	33.3	0	0.0
Kurgan 8	8	2	25.0	0	0.0
Kurgan 9	4	1	25.0	1	25.0
Kurgan 10	3	1	33.3	1	33.3
Kurgan 11	7	1	14.3	0	0.0
Kurgan 12	3	0	0.0	0	0.0
Kurgan 13	22	2	9.1	0	0.0
Kurgan 14	2	0	0.0	0	0.0
Kurgan 15	2	1	50.0	0	0.0
Kurgan 16	8	3	37.5	2	25.0
Kurgan 17	1	1	100.0	0	0.0
Kurgan 18	18	7	38.9	2	11.1
Kurgan 19	1	0	0.0	0	0.0
Kurgan 20	3	2	66.7	1	33.3
Kurgan 21	10	3	30.0	0	0.0
Kurgan 22	4	0	0.0	0	0.0
Kurgan 23	8	0	0.0	0	0.0
Kurgan 24	3	1	33.3	0	0.0
Kurgan 25	9	3	33.3	0	0.0
Molnak 2					
Kurgan 1	6	1	16.7	1	16.7
Kurgan 2	8	1	16.7	1	16.7
Pazylyk					
Kurgan 1	36	32	88.9	24	66.7
Kurgan 2	77	44	57.1	29	37.7
Kurgan 3	32	18	56.2	7	21.9
Kurgan 4	25	11	44.0	6	24.0
Kurgan 5	26	19	69.2	9	34.6
Kurgan 6	5	1	20.0	0	0.0
Kurgan 7	2	1	50.0	1	50.0
Kurgan 8	2	1	50.0	0	0.0
Sepýstet cluster 12					
Kurgan K1	4	3	75.0	0	0.0
Kurgan K2	4	2	50.0	0	0.0
Tashanta I					
Kurgan 1	14	7	50.0	3	21.4
Kurgan 2	4	0	0.0	0	0.0
Tashanta II					
Kurgan 1	12	4	33.3	1	8.3

Kurgan 2	5	2	40.0	2	40.0
Kurgan 3	7	3	42.9	2	28.6
Kurgan 4	18	11	61.1	2	11.1
Tashanta III					
Kurgan 7	2	0	0.0	0	0.0
Tuekta					
Kurgan 1	22	16	81.8	10	45.5
Kurgan 2	9	9	100.0	9	100.0
Ulandryk I					
Kurgan 1	13	4	30.8	3	23.1
Kurgan 2	7	2	28.6	2	28.6
Kurgan 3	7	3	42.9	1	14.3
Kurgan 4	4	1	25.0	1	25.0
Kurgan 5	13	4	30.8	0	0.0
Kurgan 6	11	1	9.1	1	9.1
Kurgan 7	13	3	23.1	1	7.7
Kurgan 8	7	2	28.6	1	14.3
Kurgan 9	12	2	15.7	0	0.0
Kurgan 11	8	2	25.0	1	12.5
Kurgan 12	16	6	33.3	3	16.7
Kurgan 13	5	0	0.0	0	0.0
Kurgan 14	9	2	22.2	0	0.0
Kurgan 15	8	2	25.0	1	12.5
Ulandryk II					
Kurgan 1	4	1	25.0	0	0.0
Kurgan 2	4	1	25.0	1	25.0
Kurgan 3	4	0	0.0	0	0.0
Kurgan 4	3	0	0.0	0	0.0
Kurgan 5	6	2	25.0	1	12.5
Kurgan 6	16	0	0.0	0	0.0
Kurgan 7	6	4	66.7	1	16.7
Kurgan 8	4	1	25.0	1	25.0
Kurgan 9	6	3	50.0	1	16.7
Kurgan 11	9	2	22.2	0	0.0
Kurgan 12	8	5	62.5	1	12.5
Ulandryk III					
Kurgan 1	14	7	50.0	4	28.6
Kurgan 3	14	6	42.9	1	7.1
Kurgan 4	8	3	37.5	1	12.5
Kurgan 6	9	3	33.3	0	0.0
Kurgan 7	10	2	20.0	0	0.0
Ulandryk IV					
Kurgan 1	11	5	45.5	2	18.2
Kurgan 2	22	10	45.5	5	22.7
Kurgan 3	12	7	58.3	5	41.7
Ulandryk V					
Kurgan 1	9	2	22.2	0	0.0
Kurgan 2	6	2	25.0	1	12.5
Verkh-Kaldzhin II					
Kurgan 1	19	5	25.3	4	21.1
Kurgan 3	21	4	19.0	3	14.3
total	1447	506	35.0	249	17.2

Table 3. Quantities of zoomorphic objects per burial by object type.

site	horse	coffin	vessel/dish	furniture	weapon/tool	personal	tattoo	mirror	carpet
Ak-Alakha 1									
Kurgan 1	11	-	-	-	1	6	-	-	-
Kurgan 2	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-
Ak-Alakha 3									
Kurgan 1	3	1	3	-	1	2	1	1	-
Ak-Alakha 5									
Kurgan 1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kurgan 2	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Kurgan 3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kurgan 4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kurgan 5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Alagall									
Kurgan 1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Barburgazy I									
Kurgan 1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kurgan 2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kurgan 3	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Kurgan 4	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-
Kurgan 5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kurgan 6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kurgan 7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kurgan 8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kurgan 10	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-
Kurgan 11	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kurgan 12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kurgan 13	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kurgan 14	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kurgan 15	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Kurgan 17	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Kurgan 18	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-
Kurgan 21	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kurgan 22	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Kurgan 23	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-
Kurgan 25	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Kurgan 26	1	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-
Kurgan 27	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kurgan 28	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kurgan 29	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Kurgan 30	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Barburgazy II									
Kurgan 3	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Beshadar									
Kurgan 1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kurgan 2	2	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	-
Berel									
Kurgan 1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kurgan 11	14	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kurgan 18	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bertek 1									
Kurgan 1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bertek 10									
Kurgan 1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bertek 27									
Kurgan 1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Borotai II									
Kurgan 1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kurgan 2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kurgan 7	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Borotai III									
Kurgan 4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kurgan 5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kurgan 8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<aldzhin 1									

Kurgan 2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kurgan 3	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Kurgan 4	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-
Tashanta III									
Kurgan 7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tsekla									
Kurgan 1	8	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Kurgan 2	8	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ulandryk I									
Kurgan 1	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-
Kurgan 2	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-
Kurgan 3	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Kurgan 4	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Kurgan 5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kurgan 6	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Kurgan 7	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Kurgan 8	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Kurgan 9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kurgan 11	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Kurgan 12	1	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-
Kurgan 13	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kurgan 14	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kurgan 15	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Ulandryk II									
Kurgan 1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kurgan 2	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Kurgan 3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kurgan 4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kurgan 5	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Kurgan 6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kurgan 7	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Kurgan 8	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Kurgan 9	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Kurgan 11	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kurgan 12	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Ulandryk III									
Kurgan 1	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	1	-
Kurgan 3	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Kurgan 4	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Kurgan 6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kurgan 7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ulandryk IV									
Kurgan 1	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-
Kurgan 2	3	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-
Kurgan 3	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	-
Ulandryk V									
Kurgan 1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kurgan 2	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Verkh-Kaldzhin II									
Kurgan 1	2	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-
Kurgan 3	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	-
Totals	111	8	7	2	7	97	3	4	5

Table 4. Quantities of zoomorphic objects per burial associated with deceased's sex.

site	female			female			male			male		
	total count	decorated	%	total count	decorated	%	total count	decorated	%	total count	decorated	%
Ak-Alakha 1												
Kurgan 1	12	5	41.7	4	33.3	10	9	90.0	3	30.0	3	30.0
Kurgan 2	n/a	n/a		n/a		9	6	66.7	2	22.2		
Ak-Alakha 3												
Kurgan 1	20	15	75.0	9	45.0	n/a	n/a		n/a			
Ak-Alakha 5												
Kurgan 1	15	2	13.3	0	0.0	n/a	n/a		n/a			
Kurgan 2	?	?		?		?	?		?			
Kurgan 3	n/a	n/a		n/a		2	0	0.0	0	0.0		
Kurgan 4	2	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	0	0.0	0	0.0		
Kurgan 5	n/a	n/a		n/a		1	0	0.0	0	0.0		
Alagail												
Kurgan 1	?	?		?		?	?		?			
Barburgazy I												
Kurgan 1	?	?		?		?	?		?			
Kurgan 2	?	?		?		?	?		?			
Kurgan 3	?	?		?		?	?		?			
Kurgan 4	1	1	100.0	1	100.0	?	?		?			
Kurgan 5	n/a	n/a		n/a		1	0	0.0	0	0.0		
Kurgan 6	?	?		?		?	?		?			
Kurgan 7	?	?		?		?	?		?			
Kurgan 8	4	0	0.0	0	0.0	n/a	n/a		n/a			
Kurgan 10	4	2	50.0	2	50.0	n/a	n/a		n/a			
Kurgan 11	n/a	n/a		n/a		5	2	33.3	0	0.0		
Kurgan 12	?	?		?		?	?		?			
Kurgan 13	n/a	n/a		n/a		5	1	20.0	0	0.0		
Kurgan 14	?	?		?		?	?		?			
Kurgan 15	1	0	0.0	0	0.0	10	2	20.0	1	10.0		
Kurgan 17	0	1	10.7	1	18.7	n/a	n/a		n/a			
Kurgan 18	n/a	n/a		n/a		14	4	28.6	2	14.3		
Kurgan 21	n/a	n/a		n/a		12	4	33.3	0	0.0		
Kurgan 22	1	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	3	50.0	1	16.7		
Kurgan 23	1	1	100.0	1	100.0	3	2	66.7	2	66.7		
Kurgan 25	n/a	n/a		n/a		19	9	50.0	1	5.8		
Kurgan 26	3	0	0.0	0	0.0	7	2	28.6	2	28.6		
Kurgan 27	3	0	0.0	0	0.0	n/a	n/a		n/a			
Kurgan 28	4	0	0.0	0	0.0	n/a	n/a		n/a			
Kurgan 29	1	1	100.0	1	100.0	n/a	n/a		n/a			
Kurgan 30	n/a	n/a		n/a		12	4	33.3	1	8.3		
Barburgazy II												
Kurgan 3	?	?		?		?	?		?			
Bashadar												
Kurgan 1	n/a	n/a		n/a		6	2	33.3	0	0.0		
Kurgan 2	1	1	100.0	0	0.0	2	2	100.0	1	50.0		
Barel												
Kurgan 1	?	?		?		?	?		?			
Kurgan 11	?	?		?		1	1	100.0	1	100.0		
Kurgan 18	?	?		?		?	?		?			
Bertek 1												
Kurgan 1	n/a	n/a		n/a		5	1	20.0	0	0.0		
Bertek 10												
Kurgan 1	n/a	n/a		n/a		3	0	0.0	0	0.0		
Bertek 27												
Kurgan 1	n/a	n/a		n/a		2	1	50.0	1	50.0		
Borotai II												
Kurgan 1	?	?		?		?	?		?			
Kurgan 2	?	?		?		?	?		?			
Kurgan 7	?	?		?		?	?		?			
Borotai III												
Kurgan 4	?	?		?		?	?		?			
Kurgan 5	?	?		?		?	?		?			
Kurgan 8	?	?		?		?	?		?			
Kaldzhin 1												

Kurgan	?	?		?		?	?		?	
Kaldzhin 8										
Kurgan 23	?	?		?		?	?		?	
Kurgan 24	8	2	33.3	0	0.0	n/a	n/a		n/a	
Kaldzhin 8										
Kurgan 2	n/a	n/a		n/a		2	0	0.0	0	0.0
Karatas 11										
Kurgan 2	n/a	n/a		n/a		4	0	0.0	0	0.0
Katanda 2										
Bolshoi Kurgan	?	?		?		?	?		?	
Katon										
Kurgan 2	n/a	n/a		n/a		2	0	0.0	0	0.0
Kurgan 3	?	?		?		?	?		?	
Kurgan 5	?	?		?		?	?		?	
Kurgan 10	?	?		?		?	?		?	
Kurgan 12	?	?		?		?	?		?	
Kurgan 14	3	2	66.7	0	0.0	n/a	n/a		n/a	
Kurgan 17	?	?		?		?	?		?	
Kurgan 19	n/a	n/a		n/a		2	0	0.0	0	0.0
Kopal 2										
Kurgan 8	?	?		?		?	?		?	
Kuturguntas 1										
Kurgan 1	n/a	n/a		n/a		8	2	33.3	1	16.7
Maitali IV										
Kurgan 2	2	0	0.0	0	0.0	n/a	n/a		n/a	
Kurgan 3	2	0	0.0	0	0.0	5	1	20.0	1	20.0
Kurgan 4	?	?		?		?	?		?	
Kurgan 5	n/a	n/a		n/a		5	2	40.0	0	
Kurgan 6	0	0	0.0	0	0.0	n/a	n/a		n/a	
Kurgan 7	?	?		?		?	?		?	
Kurgan 8	?	?		?		5	2	40.0	0	0.0
Kurgan 9	n/a	n/a		n/a		3	1	33.3	1	
Kurgan 10	3	1	33.3	0	0.0	n/a	n/a		n/a	
Kurgan 11	?	?		?		3	1	33.3	0	0.0
Kurgan 12	n/a	n/a		n/a		3	0	0.0	0	
Kurgan 13	?	?		?		20	2	10.0	0	0.0
Kurgan 14	?	?		?		?	?		?	
Kurgan 15	?	?		?		?	?		?	
Kurgan 16	8	3	37.5	2	25.0	n/a	n/a		n/a	
Kurgan 17	0	0	0.0	0	0.0	?	?		?	
Kurgan 18	3	1	33.3	1	33.3	6	4	66.7	1	16.7
Kurgan 19	?	?		?		?	?		?	
Kurgan 20	?	?		?		?	?		?	
Kurgan 21	2	0	0.0	0	0.0	3	0	0.0	0	0.0
Kurgan 22	4	0	0.0	0	0.0	n/a	n/a		n/a	
Kurgan 23	n/a	n/a		n/a		7	0	0.0	0	
Kurgan 24	?	?		?		?	?		?	
Kurgan 25	0	0	0.0	0	0.0	5	3	60.0	0	0.0
Molnak 2										
Kurgan 1	n/a	n/a		n/a		8	1	16.7	1	16.7
Kurgan 2	n/a	n/a		n/a		6	1	16.7	1	16.7
Pazyryk										
Kurgan 1	?	?		?		?	?		?	
Kurgan 2	7	6	85.7	3	42.9	7	5	71.4	4	57.1
Kurgan 3	n/a	n/a		n/a		11	3	27.3	0	0.0
Kurgan 4	1	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0	0.0	0	0.0
Kurgan 5	?	?		?		?	?		?	
Kurgan 6	5	1	20.0	0	0.0	n/a	n/a		n/a	
Kurgan 7	?	?		?		?	?		?	
Kurgan 8	2	1	50.0	0	0.0	n/a	n/a		n/a	
Sebystel cluster 12										
Kurgan K1	n/a	n/a		n/a		4	3	75.0	0	0.0
Kurgan K2	?	?		?		?	?		?	
Tashanla I										
Kurgan 1	n/a	n/a		n/a		11	4	35.4	2	18.2
Kurgan 2	?	?		?		?	?		?	
Tashanla II										
Kurgan 1	?	?		?		?	?		?	

Kurgan 2	4	1	25.0	1	25.0	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Kurgan 3	6	2	33.3	1	16.7	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Kurgan 4	18	0	56.2	2	12.5	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Tashanta III										
Kurgan 7	?	?		?		?	?	?		
Tuakta										
Kurgan 1	n/a	n/a		n/a		14	10	71.4	2	14.9
Kurgan 2	1	1	100.0	1	100.0	n/a	n/a		n/a	
Ulandryk I										
Kurgan 1	?	?		?		?	?		?	
Kurgan 2	?	?		?		?	?		?	
Kurgan 3	?	?		?		?	?		?	
Kurgan 4	?	?		?		?	?		?	
Kurgan 5	n/a	n/a		n/a		13	4	30.8	0	0.0
Kurgan 6	?	?		?		?	?		?	
Kurgan 7	?	?		?		?	?		?	
Kurgan 8	?	?		?		?	?		?	
Kurgan 9	3	1	33.3	0	0.0	?	?		?	
Kurgan 11	?	?		?		?	?		?	
Kurgan 12	?	?		?		?	?		?	
Kurgan 13	?	?		?		?	?		?	
Kurgan 14	?	?		?		?	?		?	
Kurgan 15	7	1	14.3	1	14.3	n/a	n/a		n/a	
Ulandryk II										
Kurgan 1	3	1	33.3	0	0.0	n/a	n/a		n/a	
Kurgan 2	4	1	25.0	1	25.0	n/a	n/a		n/a	
Kurgan 3	3	0	0.0	0	0.0	n/a	n/a		n/a	
Kurgan 4	?	?		?		?	?		?	
Kurgan 5	7	2	28.6	1	14.3	n/a	n/a		n/a	
Kurgan 6	13	0	0.0	0	0.0	n/a	n/a		n/a	
Kurgan 7	?	?		?		5	4	80.0	1	20.0
Kurgan 8	?	?		?		?	?		?	
Kurgan 9	6	3	50.0	1	16.7	n/a	n/a		n/a	
Kurgan 11	?	?		?		?	?		?	
Kurgan 12	?	?		?		?	?		?	
Ulandryk III										
Kurgan 1	?	?		?		?	?		?	
Kurgan 3	?	?		?		?	?		?	
Kurgan 4	n/a	n/a		n/a		7	3	42.9	1	14.3
Kurgan 6	n/a	n/a		n/a		9	3	33.3	0	0.0
Kurgan 7	?	?		?		?	?		?	
Ulandryk IV										
Kurgan 1	?	?		?		?	?		?	
Kurgan 2	5	2	40.0	1	20.0	9	3	33.3	1	11.1
Kurgan 3	n/a	n/a		n/a		11	7	63.6	5	45.5
Ulandryk V										
Kurgan 1	n/a	n/a		n/a		8	2	25.0	0	0.0
Kurgan 2	?	?		?		?	?		?	
Verkh-Kaldzhin II										
Kurgan 1	n/a	n/a		n/a		17	2	11.8	2	11.8
Kurgan 3	n/a	n/a		n/a		20	3	15.0	3	15.0
Totals	205	70	34.1	35	17.1	377	125	33.2	45	11.9

Table 5a. Quantities of ungulate motifs per burial associated with deceased's sex.

These are not rows, burials and absence																					
marek		elk		horse		caprid/feruid (sp. indet.)		auroch		jav. icke		caprid (sp. indet.)		horse		camels		bull			
site	female	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	
Ak-Alakha. 1																					
Kurgan 1		1					1	1													
Kurgan 2																				1	
Ak-Alakha. 3																					
Kurgan 1	1						1		1												
Ak-Alakha. 5																					
Kurgan 1																					
Kurgan 2																					
Kurgan 3																					
Kurgan 4																					
Kurgan 5																					
Alagali																					
Kurgan 1																					
Barburgazy. I																					
Kurgan 1																					
Kurgan 2																					
Kurgan 3																					
Kurgan 4																					
Kurgan 5																					
Kurgan 6																					
Kurgan 7																					
Kurgan 8																					
Kurgan 10																					
Kurgan 11																					
Kurgan 12																					
Kurgan 13																					
Kurgan 14																					
Kurgan 15																					
Kurgan 17		1						1													
Kurgan 18			1							1						1					
Kurgan 21																					
Kurgan 22			1																		
Kurgan 23																					
Kurgan 25			1					1								1					
Kurgan 26																					
Kurgan 27																					
Kurgan 28																					
Kurgan 29		1																			
Kurgan 30									1												
Barburgazy. II																					
Kurgan 3																					
Bashadar																					
Kurgan 1																					
Kurgan 2					1					1											
Borai																					
Kurgan 1																					
Kurgan 11																					
Kurgan 18																					
Berlek. I																					
Kurgan 1																					
Berlek. 19																					
Kurgan 1																					
Berlek. 27																					
Kurgan 1																					
Borolai. II																					
Kurgan 1																					
Kurgan 2																					
Kurgan 7																					
Borolai. III																					
Kurgan 4																					
Kurgan 5																					
Kurgan 8																					
Keldzhin. I																					
Kurgan																					
Keldzhin. 6																					
Kurgan 23																					
Kurgan 24																					
Keldzhin. 8																					
Kurgan 2																					
Karatas. 11																					
Kurgan 2																					

Table 5b. Quantities of predator motifs per burial associated with deceased's sex.

These are not counts, but presence and absences														
	boars		feline (Indt.)		tiger		lion		winged/ horned felines		wolves		predator (sp. Indet.)	
site	female	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female	male
Ak-Alakha 1														
Kurgan 1	1		1	1							1			
Kurgan 2								1						
Ak-Alakha 3														
Kurgan 1			1											
Ak-Alakha 5														
Kurgan 1														
Kurgan 2														
Kurgan 3														
Kurgan 4														
Kurgan 5														
Alagail														
Kurgan 1														
Barburgazy I														
Kurgan 1														
Kurgan 2														
Kurgan 3														
Kurgan 4											1			
Kurgan 5														
Kurgan 6														
Kurgan 7														
Kurgan 8														
Kurgan 10													1	
Kurgan 11														
Kurgan 12														
Kurgan 13														
Kurgan 14														
Kurgan 15														
Kurgan 17													1	
Kurgan 18														
Kurgan 21														
Kurgan 22														
Kurgan 23														
Kurgan 25														
Kurgan 26												1		
Kurgan 27														
Kurgan 28														
Kurgan 29														
Kurgan 30														
Barburgazy II														
Kurgan 3														
Bashadar														
Kurgan 1														
Kurgan 2		1					1							
Berel														
Kurgan 1														
Kurgan 11														
Kurgan 18														
Bertek 1														
Kurgan 1														
Bertek 10														
Kurgan 1														
Bertek 27														
Kurgan 1														
Borotal II														
Kurgan 1														
Kurgan 2														
Kurgan 7														
Borotal III														

Table 5c. Quantities of other animal motifs per burial associated with deceased's sex.

all	These are not counted but presence and absence				swans/geese				cocks				birds (sp. indet.)				fish				griffin				fantastic creatures			
	female	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female	male
Ak-Alakha 1																												
Kurgan 1																												
Kurgan 2																												
Ak-Alakha 3																												
Kurgan 1																												
Ak-Alakha 5																												
Kurgan 1																												
Kurgan 2																												
Kurgan 3																												
Kurgan 4																												
Kurgan 5																												
Alagail																												
Kurgan 1																												
Barburgazy 1																												
Kurgan 1																												
Kurgan 2																												
Kurgan 3																												
Kurgan 4																												
Kurgan 5																												
Kurgan 6																												
Kurgan 7																												
Kurgan 8																												
Kurgan 10																												
Kurgan 11																												
Kurgan 12																												
Kurgan 13																												
Kurgan 14																												
Kurgan 15																												
Kurgan 17																												
Kurgan 18																												
Kurgan 21																												
Kurgan 22																												
Kurgan 23																												
Kurgan 25																												
Kurgan 26																												
Kurgan 27																												
Kurgan 28																												
Kurgan 29																												
Kurgan 30																												
Barburgazy II																												
Kurgan 3																												
Bezhadar																												
Kurgan 1																												
Kurgan 2																												
Berei																												
Kurgan 1																												
Kurgan 11																												
Kurgan 16																												
Berlek 1																												
Kurgan 1																												
Berlek 10																												
Kurgan 1																												
Berlek 27																												
Kurgan 1																												
Berotal II																												
Kurgan 1																												
Kurgan 2																												
Kurgan 7																												
Borotal III																												
Kurgan 4																												
Kurgan 5																												
Kurgan 6																												
Kaldzhin 1																												
Kurgan																												
Kaldzhin 6																												
Kurgan 23																												

Table 6. Quantities of decorated objects and zoomorphic decorated objects associated with deceased's age.

site	0-3 infant	%	4-11 child	%	12-18 adolescent	%	18-50 adult	%	50+ elder	%
Ak-Alakha I										
Kurgan 1							12	5	41.7	33.3
Kurgan 2			9	6	88.7	2	22.2		10	30.0
Ak-Alakha 3										
Kurgan 1							20	15	75.0	45.0
Ak-Alakha 5										
Kurgan 1							15	2	13.3	0
Kurgan 2	2	1	50.0	1	50.0					
Kurgan 3							2	0	0.0	0.0
Kurgan 4							4	0	0.0	0.0
Kurgan 5							1	0	0.0	0.0
Alagail										
Kurgan 1										
Barburgazy I										
Kurgan 1										
Kurgan 2										
Kurgan 3										
Kurgan 4			1	1	100	1	100	1	100	
Kurgan 5							1	0	0.0	0.0
Kurgan 6			3	0	0.0	0	0.0			
Kurgan 7										
Kurgan 8							4	0	0.0	0.0
Kurgan 10							4	2	50.0	50.0
Kurgan 11							6	2	33.3	0.0
Kurgan 12										
Kurgan 13							5	1	20.0	0.0
Kurgan 14			7	1	14.3	1	14.3			
Kurgan 15							17	2	11.8	5.9
Kurgan 17							6	1	16.7	18.7
Kurgan 18							14	4	28.6	14.3
Kurgan 21							12	4	33.3	0.0
Kurgan 22							12	4	33.3	8.3
Kurgan 23							8	3	37.5	37.5
Kurgan 25							18	8	50.0	5.6
Kurgan 26							15	2	13.3	19.9
Kurgan 27							3	0	0.0	0.0
Kurgan 28							4	0	0.0	0.0
Kurgan 29							6	2	33.3	18.7
Kurgan 30							12	4	33.3	8.3
Barburgazy II										
Kurgan 3	8	8	97.5	1	12.5					
Bashadar										
Kurgan 1							8	2	33.3	0.0
Kurgan 2							18	5	27.8	16.7
Barel										
Kurgan 1										
Kurgan 11							1	1	100	100
Kurgan 18										
Bartek 1										
Kurgan 1									5	1
Bartek 10										
Kurgan 1									3	0
Bartek 27										
Kurgan 1									2	1
Boretal II										
Kurgan 1							2	0	0.0	0.0
Kurgan 2										
Kurgan 7							5	1	20.0	10.0
Boretal III										
Kurgan 4			7	1	14.3	0	0.0			
Kurgan 5										
Kurgan 8										
Kaldzhin I										
Kurgan	5	1	20.0	0	0.0					
Kaldzhin 5										
Kurgan 23					7	0	0.0	0	0.0	
Kurgan 24							6	2	33.3	0.0
Kaldzhin 8										
Kurgan 2							2	0	0.0	0.0
Karabek 11										
Kurgan 2										
Karanda 2										
Kurgan										

Table 7. Quantities of decorated objects and zoomorphic decorated objects associated with horses.

site	horse total count	horse decorated	%	horse animal	%
Ak-Alakha 1					
Kurgan 1	11	11	100.0	11	100.0
Kurgan 2	1	0	0.0	0	0.0
Ak-Alakha 3					
Kurgan 1	12	3	25.0	3	25.0
Ak-Alakha 5					
Kurgan 1	6	1	16.7	1	16.7
Kurgan 2	n/a	n/a		n/a	
Kurgan 3	4	0		0	
Kurgan 4	2	0	0.0	0	0.0
Kurgan 5	0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Alegail					
Kurgan 1	2	0		0	
Barburgazy I					
Kurgan 1	n/a	n/a		n/a	
Kurgan 2	2	0	0.0	0	0.0
Kurgan 3	2	0	0.0	0	0.0
Kurgan 4	n/a	n/a		n/a	
Kurgan 5	n/a	n/a		n/a	
Kurgan 6	n/a	n/a		n/a	
Kurgan 7	1	0	0.0	0	0.0
Kurgan 8	n/a	n/a		n/a	
Kurgan 10	1	0	0.0	0	0.0
Kurgan 11	n/a	n/a		n/a	
Kurgan 12	n/a	n/a		n/a	
Kurgan 13	1	0	0.0	0	0.0
Kurgan 14	n/a	n/a		n/a	
Kurgan 15	1	0	0.0	0	0.0
Kurgan 17	n/a	n/a		n/a	
Kurgan 18	n/a	n/a		n/a	
Kurgan 21	n/a	n/a		n/a	
Kurgan 22	2	0	0.0	0	0.0
Kurgan 23	1	1	100.0	0	0.0
Kurgan 25	1	0	0.0	n/a	0.0
Kurgan 26	2	1	50.0	1	50.0
Kurgan 27	n/a	n/a		n/a	
Kurgan 28	n/a	n/a		n/a	
Kurgan 29	2	0	0.0	0	0.0
Kurgan 30	1	1	100.0	0	0.0
Barburgazy II					
Kurgan 3	n/a	n/a		n/a	
Bashadar					
Kurgan 1	1	1	100.0	0	0.0
Kurgan 2	29	3	10.3	3	10.3
Berel					
Kurgan 1	17	2	11.8	1	5.9
Kurgan 11	27	14	51.9	14	51.9
Kurgan 18	1	0	0.0	0	0.0
Bertek 1					
Kurgan 1	1	0	0.0	0	0.0
Bertek 10					
Kurgan 1	1	1	100.0	0	0.0
Bertek 27					
Kurgan 1	1	0	0.0	0	0.0
Berotai II					
Kurgan 1	n/a	n/a		n/a	
Kurgan 2	1	0	0.0	0	0.0
Kurgan 7	0	0		0	

Borotal III					
Kurgan 4	2	0	0.0	0	0.0
Kurgan 6	n/a	n/a		n/a	
Kurgan 8	n/a	n/a		n/a	
Kaldzhin 1					
Kurgan	n/a	n/a		n/a	
Kaldzhin 6					
Kurgan 23	n/a	n/a		n/a	
Kurgan 24	1	0	0.0	0	0.0
Kaldzhin 8					
Kurgan 2	n/a	n/a		n/a	
Karatay 11					
Kurgan 2	0	0		0	
Kalanda 2					
Bolshol Kurgan	47	7	14.9	1	2.1
Katon					
Kurgan 2	n/a	n/a		n/a	
Kurgan 3	n/a	n/a		n/a	
Kurgan 5	n/a	n/a		n/a	
Kurgan 10	2	0	0.0	0	0.0
Kurgan 12	n/a	n/a		n/a	
Kurgan 14	n/a	n/a		n/a	
Kurgan 17	2	0	0.0	0	0.0
Kurgan 19	2	0	0.0	0	0.0
Kopai 2					
Kurgan 8	n/a	n/a		n/a	
Kuturguntas 1					
Kurgan 1	10	2	20.0	1	10.0
Maitaly IV					
Kurgan 2	n/a	n/a		n/a	
Kurgan 3	n/a	n/a		n/a	
Kurgan 4	n/a	n/a		n/a	
Kurgan 5	n/a	n/a		n/a	
Kurgan 6	n/a	n/a		n/a	
Kurgan 7	n/a	n/a		n/a	
Kurgan 8	n/a	n/a		n/a	
Kurgan 9	1	0	0.0	0	0.0
Kurgan 10	n/a	n/a		n/a	
Kurgan 11	0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Kurgan 12	0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Kurgan 13	0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Kurgan 14	n/a	n/a		n/a	
Kurgan 15	n/a	n/a		n/a	
Kurgan 16	n/a	n/a		n/a	
Kurgan 17	n/a	n/a		n/a	
Kurgan 18	n/a	n/a		n/a	
Kurgan 19	n/a	n/a		n/a	
Kurgan 20	n/a	n/a		n/a	
Kurgan 21	n/a	n/a		n/a	
Kurgan 22	n/a	n/a		n/a	
Kurgan 23	1	0	0.0	0	0.0
Kurgan 24	n/a	n/a		n/a	
Kurgan 25	n/a	n/a		n/a	
Moinak 2					
Kurgan 1	n/a	n/a		n/a	
Kurgan 2	n/a	n/a		n/a	
Pazyryk					
Kurgan 1	29	29	100.0	22	75.9
Kurgan 2	7	5	71.4	4	57.1
Kurgan 3	21	15	71.4	7	33.3
Kurgan 4	17	10	58.8	6	35.3
Kurgan 5	16	16	100.0	7	43.8
Kurgan 6	0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Kurgan 7	n/a	n/a		n/a	

Kurgan 8	0	0	0	0.0
Subsist. cluster 12	n/a	n/a	n/a	
Kurgan K1	n/a	n/a	n/a	
Kurgan K2	n/a	n/a	n/a	
Tashan 1	3	3	0.0	0.0
Kurgan 1	n/a	n/a	1	0.0
Kurgan 2	1	1	100.0	100.0
Kurgan 3	1	1	100.0	100.0
Kurgan 4	2	2	100.0	0.0
Tashan III	n/a	n/a	n/a	
Kurgan 7	n/a	n/a	n/a	
Tuekia				
Kurgan 1	8	8	100.0	100.0
Kurgan 2	8	8	100.0	100.0
Uliandryk I	n/a	n/a	n/a	
Kurgan 1	n/a	n/a	n/a	
Kurgan 2	n/a	n/a	n/a	
Kurgan 3	n/a	n/a	n/a	
Kurgan 4	n/a	n/a	n/a	
Kurgan 5	n/a	n/a	n/a	
Kurgan 6	n/a	n/a	n/a	
Kurgan 7	n/a	n/a	n/a	
Kurgan 8	n/a	n/a	n/a	
Kurgan 9	1	0	0.0	0.0
Kurgan 11	1	1	100.0	0.0
Kurgan 12	3	1	33.3	0.0
Kurgan 13	n/a	n/a	n/a	
Kurgan 14	2	1	50.0	0.0
Kurgan 15	1	1	100.0	0.0
Uliandryk II				
Kurgan 1	1	0	0.0	0.0
Kurgan 2	n/a	n/a	0.0	0.0
Kurgan 3	1	0	0.0	0.0
Kurgan 4	n/a	n/a	n/a	0.0
Kurgan 5	1	0	0.0	0.0
Kurgan 6	3	0	0.0	0.0
Kurgan 7	n/a	n/a	n/a	0.0
Kurgan 8	n/a	n/a	n/a	0.0
Kurgan 9	n/a	n/a	n/a	0.0
Kurgan 10	n/a	n/a	n/a	0.0
Kurgan 11	2	0	0.0	0.0
Kurgan 12	n/a	n/a	n/a	0.0
Uliandryk III				
Kurgan 1	2	1	50.0	0.0
Kurgan 2	0	0	0.0	0.0
Kurgan 3	0	0	0.0	0.0
Kurgan 4	1	0	0.0	0.0
Kurgan 5	1	0	0.0	0.0
Kurgan 6	0	0	0.0	0.0
Kurgan 7	1	0	0.0	0.0
Kurgan 8	0	0	0.0	0.0
Kurgan 9	0	0	0.0	0.0
Kurgan 10	0	0	0.0	0.0
Kurgan 11	2	0	0.0	0.0
Kurgan 12	n/a	n/a	n/a	0.0
Uliandryk IV				
Kurgan 1	n/a	n/a	n/a	
Kurgan 2	4	3	75.0	75.0
Kurgan 3	2	0	0.0	0.0
Uliandryk V				
Kurgan 1	1	0	0.0	0.0
Kurgan 2	n/a	n/a	n/a	
Verkh-Kaldzhin II				
Kurgan 1	3	2	100.0	66.7
Kurgan 3	1	1	100.0	0.0
Totals	347	158	45.5	30.8

Table 8a. Quantities of ungulate motifs per burial associated with horses.

These are not counts, but presence and absence									
site	maral	elk	saiga	caprid/equid (sp. indet.)	argali	tsu-tse (sp. indet.)	caprid (sp. indet.)	horse	canis dull
Al-Akhda 1									
Kurgan 1						1			
Kurgan 2									
Al-Akhda 3									
Kurgan 1					1				
Al-Akhda 5									
Kurgan 1									
Kurgan 2									
Kurgan 3									
Kurgan 4									
Kurgan 5									
Alagall									
Kurgan 1									
Barbugazy 1									
Kurgan 1									
Kurgan 2									
Kurgan 3									
Kurgan 4									
Kurgan 5									
Kurgan 6									
Kurgan 7									
Kurgan 8									
Kurgan 10									
Kurgan 11									
Kurgan 12									
Kurgan 13									
Kurgan 14									
Kurgan 15									
Kurgan 17									
Kurgan 18									
Kurgan 21									
Kurgan 22									
Kurgan 23									
Kurgan 25									
Kurgan 26									
Kurgan 27									
Kurgan 28									
Kurgan 29									
Kurgan 30									
Barbugazy II									
Kurgan 3									
Bashtai									
Kurgan 1					1				
Kurgan 2									
Berej									
Kurgan 1				1					
Kurgan 11	1	1							
Kurgan 18					1				
Berej 1									
Kurgan 1									
Berej 10									
Kurgan 1									
Berej 27									
Kurgan 1									
Berej II									
Kurgan 1									
Kurgan 2									
Kurgan 7									

Table 8b. Quantities of predator motifs per burial associated with horses.

These are not counts, but presence and absence		feline		winged/		predator	
site	boars	(indet. snw l., pan)	tiger	lion	horned felines	'wolves'	(sp. indet.)
Ak-Alakha 1							
Kurgan 1						1	
Kurgan 2							
Ak-Alakha 3							
Kurgan 1					1		
Ak-Alakha 5							
Kurgan 1							
Kurgan 2							
Kurgan 3							
Kurgan 4							
Kurgan 5							
Alegail							
Kurgan 1							
Barburgazy I							
Kurgan 1							
Kurgan 2							
Kurgan 3							
Kurgan 4							
Kurgan 5							
Kurgan 6							
Kurgan 7							
Kurgan 8							
Kurgan 10							
Kurgan 11							
Kurgan 12							
Kurgan 13							
Kurgan 14							
Kurgan 15							
Kurgan 17							
Kurgan 18							
Kurgan 21							
Kurgan 22							
Kurgan 23							
Kurgan 25							
Kurgan 26							
Kurgan 27							
Kurgan 28							
Kurgan 29							
Kurgan 30							
Barburgazy II							
Kurgan 3							
Bashadar							
Kurgan 1							
Kurgan 2						1	
Berel							
Kurgan 1							
Kurgan 11		1	1	1			1
Kurgan 18							
Bartek 1							
Kurgan 1							
Bartek 10							
Kurgan 1							
Bartek 27							
Kurgan 1							
Borotai II							
Kurgan 1							
Kurgan 2							
Kurgan 7							
Borotai III							
Kurgan 4							
Kurgan 5							

Kurgan 6							
Kaldzhin 1							
Kurgan							
Kaldzhin 6							
Kurgan 23							
Kurgan 24							
Kaldzhin 8							
Kurgan 2							
Karatas 11							
Kurgan 2							
Katanda 2							
Boishoi Kurgan							
Katon							
Kurgan 2							
Kurgan 3							
Kurgan 5							
Kurgan 10							
Kurgan 12							
Kurgan 14							
Kurgan 17							
Kurgan 19							
Kopal 2							
Kurgan 6							
Kuturguntas 1							
Kurgan 1							
Maltaliy IV							
Kurgan 2							
Kurgan 3							
Kurgan 4							
Kurgan 5							
Kurgan 6							
Kurgan 7							
Kurgan 8							
Kurgan 9							
Kurgan 10							
Kurgan 11							
Kurgan 12							
Kurgan 13							
Kurgan 14							
Kurgan 15							
Kurgan 16							
Kurgan 17							
Kurgan 18							
Kurgan 19							
Kurgan 20							
Kurgan 21							
Kurgan 22							
Kurgan 23							
Kurgan 24							
Kurgan 25							
Molnak 2							
Kurgan 1							
Kurgan 2							
Pazyryk							
Kurgan 1		1		1	1		
Kurgan 2		1		1			1
Kurgan 3		1			1	1	
Kurgan 4		1			1	1	1
Kurgan 5		1		1	1		1
Kurgan 6							
Kurgan 7							
Kurgan 8							
Sebystei cluster 12							
Kurgan K1							
Kurgan K2							
Tashanla I							

Kurgan 1							
Kurgan 2							
Tashanta II							
Kurgan 1							
Kurgan 2							
Kurgan 3							
Kurgan 4							
Tashanta III							
Kurgan 7							
TusMa							
Kurgan 1		1	1		1	1	
Kurgan 2		1					
Ulandryk I							
Kurgan 1							
Kurgan 2							
Kurgan 3							
Kurgan 4							
Kurgan 5							
Kurgan 6							
Kurgan 7							
Kurgan 8							
Kurgan 9							
Kurgan 11							
Kurgan 12							
Kurgan 13							
Kurgan 14							
Kurgan 15							
Ulandryk II							
Kurgan 1							
Kurgan 2							
Kurgan 3							
Kurgan 4							
Kurgan 5							
Kurgan 6							
Kurgan 7							
Kurgan 8							
Kurgan 9							
Kurgan 11							
Kurgan 12							
Ulandryk III							
Kurgan 1							
Kurgan 3							
Kurgan 4							
Kurgan 6							
Kurgan 7							
Ulandryk IV							
Kurgan 1							
Kurgan 2		1					
Kurgan 3							
Ulandryk V							
Kurgan 1							
Kurgan 2							
Verkh-Kaldzhin II							
Kurgan 1							
Kurgan 3							
totals		0	9	2	4	6	4

Table 8c. Quantities of other animal motifs per burial associated with horses.

These are not counts, but presence and absence									
site	hare	eagles	swan/geese	cocks	birds (sp. indet.)	fish	griffin	'fantastic' creatures	human
Ak-Alakha 1									
Kurgan 1			1	1	1	1	1		
Kurgan 2									
Ak-Alakha 3									
Kurgan 1									
Ak-Alakha 5									
Kurgan 1							1		
Kurgan 2									
Kurgan 3									
Kurgan 4									
Kurgan 5									
Alagail									
Kurgan 1									
Barburgazy I									
Kurgan 1									
Kurgan 2									
Kurgan 3									
Kurgan 4									
Kurgan 5									
Kurgan 6									
Kurgan 7									
Kurgan 8									
Kurgan 10									
Kurgan 11									
Kurgan 12									
Kurgan 13									
Kurgan 14									
Kurgan 15									
Kurgan 17									
Kurgan 18									
Kurgan 21									
Kurgan 22									
Kurgan 23									
Kurgan 25									
Kurgan 26		1					1		
Kurgan 27									
Kurgan 28									
Kurgan 29									
Kurgan 30									
Barburgazy II									
Kurgan 3									
Bashadar									
Kurgan 1									
Kurgan 2					1		1		
Beral									
Kurgan 1							1		
Kurgan 11					1		1	1	
Kurgan 18									
Bertek 1									
Kurgan 1									
Bertek 10									
Kurgan 1									
Bertek 27									
Kurgan 1									
Borotai II									
Kurgan 1									
Kurgan 2									
Kurgan 7									
Borotai III									
Kurgan 4									
Kurgan 5									

Kurgan 8									
Kaldzhin 1									
Kurgan									
Kaldzhin 6									
Kurgan 23									
Kurgan 24									
Kaldzhin 8									
Kurgan 2									
Karatas 11									
Kurgan 2									
Katanda 2									
Bolshoi Kurgan									
Katon									
Kurgan 2									
Kurgan 3									
Kurgan 5									
Kurgan 10									
Kurgan 12									
Kurgan 14									
Kurgan 17									
Kurgan 19									
Kopal 2									
Kurgan 8									
Kuturgentas 1									
Kurgan 1									1
Maitalu IV									
Kurgan 2									
Kurgan 3									
Kurgan 4									
Kurgan 5									
Kurgan 6									
Kurgan 7									
Kurgan 8									
Kurgan 9									
Kurgan 10									
Kurgan 11									
Kurgan 12									
Kurgan 13									
Kurgan 14									
Kurgan 15									
Kurgan 16									
Kurgan 17									
Kurgan 18									
Kurgan 19									
Kurgan 20									
Kurgan 21									
Kurgan 22									
Kurgan 23									
Kurgan 24									
Kurgan 25									
Moinek 2									
Kurgan 1									
Kurgan 2									
Pazyryk									
Kurgan 1				1		1		1	1
Kurgan 2			1		1		1		
Kurgan 3	1		1		1		1		
Kurgan 4					1		1		
Kurgan 5					1		1		
Kurgan 6									
Kurgan 7									
Kurgan 8									
Sabystel cluster 12									
Kurgan K1									
Kurgan K2									
Tashanta I									

1	2	3	2	8	3	17	1	3
Kurgan 1								
Kurgan 2								
Tashanin II								
Kurgan 1								
Kurgan 2								
Kurgan 3								
Kurgan 4								
Kurgan 5								
Kurgan 6								
Kurgan 7								
Kurgan 8								
Kurgan 9								
Kurgan 10								
Kurgan 11								
Kurgan 12								
Kurgan 13								
Kurgan 14								
Kurgan 15								
Uandyk II								
Kurgan 1								
Kurgan 2								
Kurgan 3								
Kurgan 4								
Kurgan 5								
Kurgan 6								
Kurgan 7								
Kurgan 8								
Kurgan 9								
Kurgan 10								
Kurgan 11								
Kurgan 12								
Kurgan 13								
Kurgan 14								
Kurgan 15								
Uandyk I								
Kurgan 1								
Kurgan 2								
Kurgan 3								
Kurgan 4								
Kurgan 5								
Kurgan 6								
Kurgan 7								
Kurgan 8								
Kurgan 9								
Kurgan 10								
Kurgan 11								
Kurgan 12								
Kurgan 13								
Kurgan 14								
Kurgan 15								
Tuakia								
Kurgan 1								
Kurgan 2								
Kurgan 3								
Kurgan 4								
Kurgan 5								
Kurgan 6								
Kurgan 7								
Tashanin III								
Kurgan 1								
Kurgan 2								
Kurgan 3								
Kurgan 4								
Kurgan 5								
Kurgan 6								
Kurgan 7								
Kurgan 8								
Kurgan 9								
Kurgan 10								
Kurgan 11								
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Kurgan 85								
Kurgan 86								
Kurgan 87								
Kurgan 88								
Kurgan 89								
Kurgan 90								
Kurgan 91								
Kurgan 92								
Kurgan 93								
Kurgan 94								
Kurgan 95								
Kurgan 96								
Kurgan 97								
Kurgan 98								
Kurgan 99								
Kurgan 100								

Table 9. Quantities of animal motifs by object type.

animal image	horse	coffin	vessel/dish	furniture	weapon/tool	personal	tattoo	mirror	carpet/hang
deer (maral)									
elk									
saiga									
cervid (sp. indet.)									
argali									
tau-teke									
caprid (sp. indet.)									
horse									
camels									
bull									
boars									
feline (indt. sn.lep.panth.)									
tiger									
lion									
winged/horned felines									
'wolves'									
predator (sp. indet.)									
hare									
eagles									
swans/geese									
cocks									
birds (sp. indet.)									
fish									
griffin									
'fantastic' creatures									
human									
preying/tearing									
twisting									
in the mouths									
recumbent									
on haunches/body									

Table 10. Quantities of animal motifs associated with elite and commoner burials.

animal image	Elite	Commoners
deer(maral)		
elk		
saiga		
cervid (sp. indet.)		
argali		
tau-teke		
horse		
camels		
bull		
boars		
feline		
tiger		
lion		
winged/horned felines		
'wolves'		
predator (sp. indet.)		
hare		
eagles		
swans/geese		
cocks		
birds (sp. indet.)		
fish		
fantastic creatures		
griffin		
humans (heads, figures)		

Table 11. Correlation of animal motifs to adult burials with battle implements, 'warriors'.

	maral	elk	saiga	cervid	argali	ram	tau-leke	caprid	horse	camels	bull	bears	felines	tiger	lion	wing/norn	felines	wolves	predator	hare	eagles	swan/geese	cocks	birds	fish	creatures	griffin	humans
Adult males																												
Ak-Alakha 1 k1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Barburgazy I k13	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Barburgazy I k18	Y	—	—	—	Y	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Barburgazy I k21	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Barburgazy I k22	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Barburgazy I k23	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Barburgazy I k25	Y	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Y	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Barburgazy I k30	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Bashadar k1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Bertek 1 k1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Bertek 10 k 1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Kalon k2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Kurgunias 1 k1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Y	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Maltalu IV k2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Maltalu IV k5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Maltalu IV k8	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Maltalu IV k11	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Maltalu IV k13	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Maltalu IV k18	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Maltalu IV k21	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Maltalu IV k23	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Maltalu IV k25	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Pazyryk k2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Tashanta I k1	Y	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Y	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Ulandryk I k5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Ulandryk I k7	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Y	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Ulandryk II k7	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Ulandryk III k4	Y	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Ulandryk III k7	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Ulandryk IV k2	Y	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Y	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Ulandryk IV k3	Y	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Y	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Ulandryk V k1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Verkh-Kaldzhin II k1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Y	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Verkh-Kaldzhin II k3	Y	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Y	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Y	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
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Ak-Alakha 1 k1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Ak-Alakha 5 k4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Ulandryk II k6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	

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