

**ROUTES BETWEEN THE SEAS:
BALTIC-BUG-BOH-PONT
FROM THE 3RD TO THE MIDDLE
OF THE 1ST MILLENNIUM BC**

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BALTIC-PONTIC STUDIES

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Editor's Foreword

As regards the identification of the early forms of Europe's long-distance routes, the area lying between the Baltic and Black seas can be said to be one of relative neglect. Specifically, little research has been devoted to the development stages of the area's socio-cultural map, i.e. to neighbourly forays, itineraries, routes (of varied continuity, range and transport technique), stable segments of roads leading to water crossings, networks of fords and the communication channels running along watersheds. The foremost issue, at present one of great difficulty with respect to a study embracing the whole region in question, is the cultural context of these innovations and the related mechanisms that saw their creation in regard to the socio-economic basis and ritual-epistemological nature of ancient peoples in these regions.

The study by Marija Gimbutas [Gimbutas 1965] of 'amber routes', joining the west and east of Europe, may be considered the first attempt to tackle the issue of the region's early communication channels and was accordingly referred to in the analyses of the distribution of stone 'fluted maces', regarded as hypothetical markers of Baltic-Pontic routes [Koško 2001; 2002]. Generally, this conceptual leaven can be said to have provided broader intellectual stimuli for the international academic community of 'Archaeology Bimaris'. The turning point in the nascent study of ancient routes has been thus given a clear framework: an inter-university and interdisciplinary discussion (see the Poznań-Obrzycko symposium *Routes Between the Seas: Baltic-Bug-Boh (Southern Bug)-Pont* held in October 2008).

The papers included in this volume are a partial record of the discussion. The intentional selectiveness here is seen therefore in the conscious limitation of the scope of papers ('piecemeal' treatment of linguistic or ethnological and anthropological analyses). Moreover, there is a special focus on one of the inter-regional routes, namely the Baltic-Bug-Boh (Southern Bug)-Pont, or more specifically, its early evidence (generally speaking, prior to – widely known to the academia – its use in the times of Goth migrations).

Editorial comment

1. All dates in the B-PS are calibrated [BC; see: Radiocarbon vol. 28, 1986, and the next volumes]. Deviations from this rule will be point out in notes [bc].
2. The names of the archaeological cultures and sites are standarized to the English literature on the subject (e.g. M. Gimbutas, J. P. Mallory). In the case of a new term, the author's original name has been retained.
3. The spelling of names of localities having the rank of administrative centres follows official, state, English language cartographic publications (e.g. *Ukraine, scale 1 : 2 000 000*, Kiev: Mapa LTD, edition of 1996; *Rèspublika BELARUS', REVIEW-TOPOGRAPHIC MAP*, scale 1:1 000 000, Minsk: BYELORUSSIAN CARTOGRAPHIC AN GEODETIC ENTERPISE, edition 1993).
4. As far as names of administrative units in Polish, Ukrainian, Belarusian and English are concerned, a convention has been adopted that województwo = oblast = region and powiat = raion = district.

Lubov S. Klochko

AMBER IN GARMENTS OF POPULATIONS OF SCYTHIA (WAYS AND FORMS OF RECEPTION)

Amber adornments represent one of the ethno-local features of costumes of autochthonic populations of the Forest-Steppe Right-bank Dnieper area. The immigrant tribes of Scythian nomads, having occupied the territory of the Northern Caucasus, adopted the “amber fashion”. Exploration of that decorative material probably occurred on the Baltic Sea shore. The so-called “amber routes” emerged as early as in the Bronze Age. The main artery by which the Baltic amber arrived to the Mediterranean, in particular, to Asia Minor, was the Southern Bug (Bug-Boh). Another way, by the Vistula, went further eastward across the Dnieper and further on by the Don and on to the Caucasus.

Archeological objects – remainders of headgear, clothes, footwear, as well as decorative means, including patchwork, embroidery, removable or on-lay decorations – are the most informative sources for studying the garments of tribes that populated the Scythian lands in 1000 BC. Adornments play an important role in the costume, as both selected categories of adornments and their combinations reflect a whole spectrum of social and kinship relations in society. Moreover, decorative elements served as certain markers of ethno-local peculiarities of the costumes. Surveys of the history of costumes of Scythian tribes demonstrated that in the costume complexes of the population of Forest-Steppe areas such markers are presented by pins, a type of earring (specifically, ones with nail-shaped tops) and necklaces of semi-precious stones [Klochko L.S. 2008: 220]. Although after a certain period the local populations borrowed new aesthetic principles of costume decoration and some adornment patterns from the nomad immigrants and Hellenic people, they still kept pins, ear-rings and necklaces as determining markers (indicators). The finds of necklaces (beads) attract special attention among the above three categories. Even a casual look at the composition of costume complexes, reflected in

removable adornments (jewellery) shows that 70% of Scythian women wore necklaces, predominantly made of a glass-like material. That is true, however, for the 5th – 4th centuries BC. In times of the Ancient World that indicator is also high, but only in the Forest-steppe Right-Bank area.

There, the objects made of gemstones: topaz, carnelian, agate, rock crystal, and amber – became popular. The latter, amber, is of particular interest because in that period as it also constituted a typical feature of garments in the Central and Northern Caucasus, a region where nomad arrivals, Scythians, comprised a significant proportion of the population. Therefore, there are reasons to identify two “amber fashion” centres in the territories traditionally linked to Scythians. These centres had existed for a certain period of time in the 7th – 5th centuries BC. Were there any connections between these centres, and if so, what kind of connections? What were the sources and ways by which the raw materials or ready-made objects (jewellery, adornments) arrived? What was the role of amber décor in the garments? Such questions arise in the process of studying amber ornaments used in the costume complexes on the territory of Scythia.

From the dawn of civilisation that resinous substance is known to have attracted people with its beauty and physical features, the proof of which can be found in archeological materials and written documents. Amber artefacts appear among the finds that date back to Paleolithic traces of human creativity where gemstones were used for the decoration of men’s and women’s clothes. Already in the Bronze Age, people knew how to colour amber and used it to make a variety of adornments of various shapes, which worked to satisfy people’s aesthetic tastes and also served as charms and mascots. As for written documents, the oldest, a plaque with cuneiform scriptures, dates back to the 10th century BC. Amber was mentioned already in antiquity in the works of Homer, Sophocles, Aeschylus, Aristotle, and Thales of Miletus [Savkevich 1970: 11-14]. Across millenia the beauty of amber and its properties became part of the literature where scribes studied legends that offered poetical versions of the emergence of the “sun stone” or “Heliades’ tears” [Srebrodolsky 1988: 89].

Deposits of amber – succinite, fossilized pine (*Pinus succinifera*) resin were found in a number of regions. Geologically, the Baltic succinite is the most common. Identical (in terms of composition) gemstones also occur in the territory of Ukraine (near Kiev, Kharkiv, in the Volhynia district) [Srebrodolsky 1988: 11]. Amber-deposit rocks lie at a different depth – the further from the Baltic Sea, the deeper the deposits are located. Therefore, since the earliest times, amber has been extracted on the Baltic Sea shore, from the Rügen Island to the Western Dvina River. Exploration of the grand Klesove deposit in the Volhynia area has started relatively recently, for succinite lies there in rather deep deposits. Hence, apparently it was the Baltic amber that enjoyed demand in the Mediterranean countries and other regions of Europe. Experts speak about several ways of bringing these

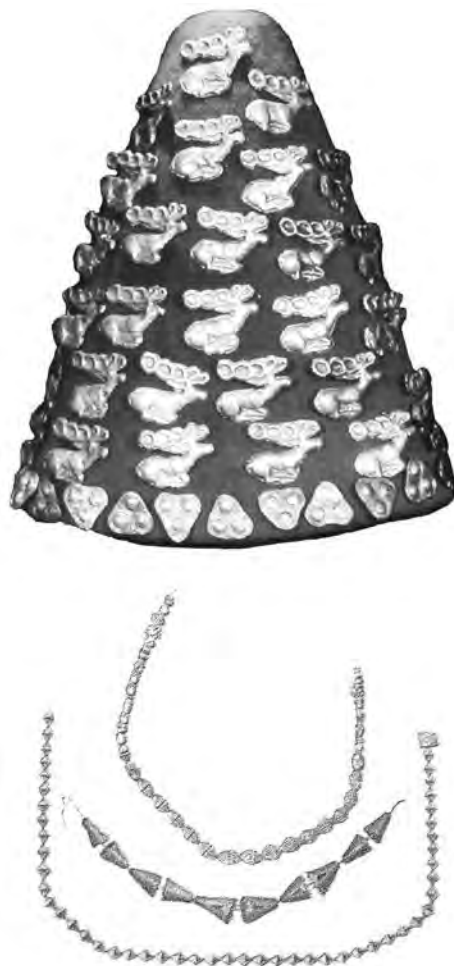


Fig. 1. Headgear and necklace from the costume of a woman buried in barrow 100 near v. Synyavka (Cherkassy district)

gemstones from their excavation regions. The amber was transported by the rivers that linked the Baltic Sea basins with the Black Sea and the Mediterranean. Therefore, one of the “amber routes” emerged in early 2000 BC, or possibly even in 3000 BC. The main artery through which the Baltic amber came to the Mediterranean was, probably, the Southern Bug (“Bug-Boh”). Due to that route the population of Asia Minor satisfied its demand for amber as sacral material, one with an aesthetic priority [Klochko V.I. 2008: 247].

Archeological finds of amber objects have repeatedly attracted researchers' attention. A monograph by Z. Bukowski can be mentioned as a summarising work [Bukowski 2002] where pieces of jewellery originating from the Baltic amber excavation region were analysed (found in the monuments dated from the Neolith to the Early Iron Age). The scholar's key objective was to study the materials that came from the area between the Vistula and Oder rivers – amber though was not in great demand there in the Bronze Age. Later on, the region becomes a linking centre on one of the “amber” ways [Bukowski 2002: 131].

Analysis of amber necklace strings demonstrated that their elements (beads) were made of selected natural pieces of raw material (amber). By “correcting” them, the makers obtained artefacts of various forms. Holes in the beads were made with sizzling-hot sharpened rods. Such operations of processing amber “pebbles” were common and used by craftsmen in various regions. Generally speaking, making amber objects does not involve technologically difficult methods and this factor contributed to the wide spread of the decorative material.

As mentioned above, amber adornments comprised a typical detail of women's garments among the Forest-steppe Right-Bank area. This is proved by early Scythian finds made in women's tombs.

The most remarkable complexes were found in b.100 near the village of Synyavka and b.35 near the village of Bobrytsya (the Cherkassy district). These graves stand out due to the objects found in them, including golden ornament of headgear, nail-like ear-rings and pins, as well as neck adornments made of gemstones and glass-like material. Hence, b. 100 contained a necklace of carnelian, agate and glass (26 objects), as well as of amber (a string comprising 84 octahedron beads) (Fig. 1) [Bobrinsky 1887, Smela I: 138, Table XVII, 10].

The costume of one of the women buried in Barrow No. 35 contained two strings of necklace: the upper one contained 32 pieces of topaz, carnelian, agate, rock crystal and peridot; the lower string consisted of 40 pieces of gemstones of various colours, including two large amber beads (shaped as irregular cut pyramids) [Bobrinsky 1887, Smela I: 112, Table XVIII, T.II, Table XXI, 1]. The costume of another woman buried in that grave was decorated with bronze nail-like ear-rings and pins. A dish had been placed at the dead woman's left hand; under the dish there was a long string which contained, alongside with black and white beads made of glass-like material, 125 small amber round beads [Bobrinsky 1887, Smela I: 112, Table XVIII, 7; T.II, Table XXI, 1] (Fig. 2, 2a).

Field reports contain references to amber objects unearthed among the finds made in the Perepyatykha barrow. The document referred to amber beads and a fragment of a plate that could possibly be used as an insertion [Skoryi 1990: 34, Fig: 5, 18]. That barrow was the “burial-vault of one of powerful Scythian chiefs” buried with accompanying persons, which included Iranian Scythians and representatives of local tribes [Skoryi 1990: 94].



Fig. 2. Headgear and necklace from the costume of a woman buried in barrow 35 near v. Bobrytsya (Cherkassy district)

Amber adornments were also found in graves of women which did not belong to high social circles, though they had golden adornments in their costumes (barrow No. 25 near v. Kazarovka, Medvyn, excavations of 1906) [Kovpanenko 1981: 26, 47, 119].

Since the Scythian ancient times to our present day, the Repyakhuvata Mohyla barrow contained remnants of a forehead band (v. Matusiv of the Cherkassy di-

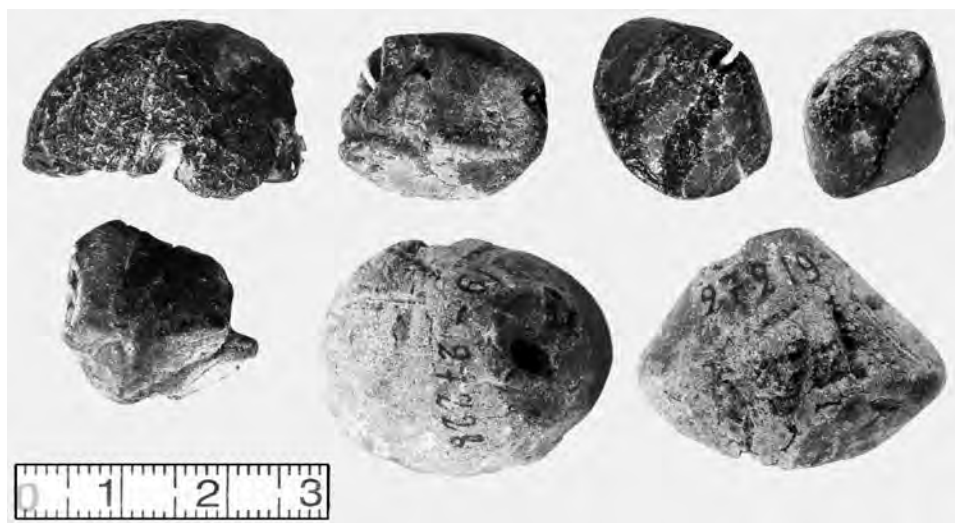


Fig. 3. Amber necklace from barrow No. 33 near v. Gulyai-Gorod

strict) [Ilyinskaya *et al.* 1979: 35]. The report noted that apparently, there had been a band on the dead woman's forehead, of which two rows of beads were left: 39 cylinder-shaped light-blue beads of opaque glass, and 32 globular amber beads (size: 0.4 – 0.7 cm). The adornments (beads) were small, and arranged as if in a simple ornament, i.e., sewn to a textile ribbon in two rows at its top and bottom edges, they would suffice to decorate a fragment of headgear from one temple to the other. The ribbon, apparently, was narrow (3-5 cm), for the necklace strings, sewn on a wide space, would otherwise lose the decorative effect. The woman's headgear in this complex also comprised golden ear-rings with semi-sphere plaquettes and two bronze nail-like pins. It should be noted that a servant boy (adolescent) was buried at the woman's feet, which was probably an indication of the dead woman's special status.

Amber beads that had been parts of neck and wrist adornments were found among decorative details of costumes in women's graves in the barrows at the Tyasmyn River, near the village of Zhabotyń (No. 524), Gulyai-Horod (No. 33, 38, 40, 330), Zhuravka (No. 406, 407, 432, 447).

Let us turn to the finds made in the barrows, which were studied near the village of Gulyai-Horod (Cherkassy region). Garments of the woman buried in barrow No. 33 had been decorated with a necklace. A small string consisted of cornelian (globular), geshire, and amber beads. The latter were distinguished by their number (they comprised most of the beads in the string), as well as diversity of forms and colours. Some of the beads can be conditionally described as truncated

– bi-conical (3 objects of different sizes: the largest one ($d = 35$ mm, $h = 28$ mm) had a rather large hole ($d = 5 \times 3$ mm); another one ($d = 18$ mm, $h = 16$ mm, with a hole $d = 2$ mm) in the upper part was decorated with slightly polished facets that had trapeze-like contours; the smallest of the beads was oval in projection ($d = 16 \times 12$ mm, $h = 9$ mm). The string also contained an unprocessed piece (18×19 mm), a parallelepiped bead (23×18 mm, $h = 10$ mm) with a lengthwise hole in the side edge. These beads were almost of the same – light-brown – colour. Only a large disk-like bead was of a different – dark honey – colour (a fragment thereof was preserved: $d = 34$ mm, $h = 18$ mm (at the hole) and $h = 6$ mm at the edge, the hole $d = 4$ mm). The string was assembled from the ornaments that had been probably made at various times. This assumption is supported by the varying diameters of holes in the beads (Fig. 3). The burial was made in a barrow 1.4 m high where the dead woman's garments were completed with two iron bangles, one on each of her wrists. A stone dish was the most interesting among the accompanying objects. Today there is no unanimous view as to their purpose. According to V.A. Illyinskaya, they were “dressing-table” objects. However, I share the view expressed by B.A. Shramko who following B.N. Grakov and K.F. Smirnov, believed the dishes were used as portable altars [Shramko 1987: 102].

The beads (three pieces) made of unprocessed pieces of amber were a constituent part of the string of adornments in the costume of a woman buried in b. No. 38. Importantly, the dead woman's belongings also contained a stone dish with small pieces of red and yellow paint on it.

A selection of beads comes from barrow No. 40, in which three dead persons had been interred [Illyinskaya 1975: 15]. A short string of multi-colour minor gemstones – cornelian, rosy and brown peridot, glass-like substance, and amber – had belonged to the woman. The NHMU reserves contained 4 amber beads: a translucent dark-brown one, irregular cylinder-shaped ($d = 24$ mm, $h = 17$ mm, diameter of the hole = 2 mm); a light-brown bead with white crust on the surface ($d = 17$ mm, $h = 5$ mm, diameter of the hole = 3 mm); an almost black one, close to an oval shape with well-accentuated facets (length = 17 mm, width = 15 mm, height = 5 mm); and a parallel piped bead (25×22 mm, $h = 7$ mm, d of the hole = 2 mm), light-brown with orange tinge (Fig. 4).

The dead woman's costume from barrow No. 330 included a string of beads made of glass-like substance, faience, amber, as well as of cockle-shells and fruit stones [Illyinskaya 1975: 17]. The amber elements – three opaque light-brown beads – probably had formed the centre of the neck adornment. This assumption appears particularly logical for a large bead, the shape of which in projection can be defined as a rectangular trapeze (size: lower and upper bases = 28 and 16 mm, respectively, the sides = 20 and 25 mm, height = 7 mm). The hole in the bead had been made diagonally, probably, on purpose, to “direct” its triangular (wedge-like) edge. Other beads are also distinguished by their pyramidal shapes. Possibly, this scheme of pla-



Fig. 4. Beads from barrow No. 40 near v. Gulyai-Gorod

cing the beads was caused by the meaning borne by the neck adornment. Its functional meaning, as a guarding object was emphasized by the selection of charms on the string, which included an arrow-head (Fig. 5). The same function was served by the iron bangles on each of the arms, and two iron pins crossed on the woman's chest.

An amber necklace was among women's adornments found in the barrows near the villages of Zhabotyń (No. 524) and Zhurivka (No. 406, 407, 432, 447) [Illyinskaya 1975: 20, 22, 24–26]. An overview of the accompanying objects from the graves revealed the presence of stone dishes in almost all of the complexes (except the robbed barrows No. 432). The buried women's garments contained noteworthy typical details, pins: bronze, silver, iron; usually two in each of the costumes, except in barrows No. 407 (Zhurivka) and 524 (Zhabotyń) – only one pin was found in each of the two barrows. The costume of a woman buried in b. No. 407 contained headgear decorations with golden plates in the form of triangles made or minor circles, and with a figurine of a deer. Besides, the costume contained bronze nail-like ear-rings, a wire bracelet, strings of beads made of glass-like substance, amber, glass and small glass beads. Barrow 432 contained only some preserved decorative items,



Fig. 5. A string of beads from barrow No. 330 near v. Gulyai-Gorod



Fig. 6. Amber adornments from barrow No. 432 near v. Zhurovka

a string of beads among them. It included faience, bone, and amber beads. The latter were only two pieces: a disk-like hark-honey bead ($d = 23 \text{ mm}$; $h = 12 \text{ mm}$) and an oval-shaped, flat bead ($28 \times 18 \text{ mm}$; $h = 8 \text{ mm}$) (Fig. 6).

The grave in barrows No. 447 should be recognized as the richest one. The woman's garments contained golden decorative elements: two nail-like ear-rings, plates of different shapes – possibly, headgear décor (50 semi-spheres and 50 triangles), fluted beads (13 pieces), as well as a string of 26 stone beads made of rock crystal, cornelian, glass-like substance, and two amber beads: a small globular one ($d = 11$ mm) and a big pyramidal one.

The collection of the National History Museum of Ukraine (hereinafter, NHMU) contains a string of 67 elements: bone, glass, glass-like substance, and most of all, amber beads (17 pieces). According to the documents, the string from the collection made by O. Bobrynsky came from the Kaniv district (Inventory book, B 40-293). Therefore, 17 beads had been made of pieces of opaque brown (slightly tinged with orange) amber, probably, by the same craftsman. This is proven by a certain stylistic unity of all the pieces of jewellery. They display a clearly visible trace of processing raw materials where various contours of the “intermediate products” dictated the choice of shapes and location of facets. All of the beads regardless of their size have the same, rather large, hole (3 mm), probably made with the same tool. The pieces of jewellery deserve a more detailed account.

The largest was a pyramidal bead (length = 26 mm, width = 15 mm, height = 15 mm), another small bead also resembled a miniature pyramid (length = 13 mm, base width = 10 mm, height = 10 mm) and there was a pyramid-like bead with a hole on the side (possibly the item was re-used). There were several multi-faceted beads (they were approximately the same size: 18x20 mm, $h = 13$ mm; 20x20 mm, $h = 12$ mm; 18x20 mm, $h = 16$ mm), three beads were parallel piped (20x20 mm, $h = 11$ mm; 16x14 mm, $h = 12$ mm; 16x14 mm, $h = 8$ mm), some could be defined as trapeze-like (22x15 mm, $h = 9$ mm; length = 13 mm, $h = 10$ and 7 mm, height = 12 mm; length = 20 mm, width = 16 and 10 mm, height = 12 mm) and one bead was cylinder-like, though it also displayed traces of faceting (length = 15 mm, $h = 10$ mm).

Also there were several small beads, irregular-shaped but faceted (15x15 mm, $h = 9$ mm), though in some of the pieces the facets were barely visible: i.e., a bead 16 mm long, 12 mm wide, and 10 mm thick; another was 12 mm long, with its widest part at 12 mm, a narrow tip = 6 mm, and height = 7 mm.

As we can see, in terms of sizes and shapes the amber beads were harmoniously linked with each other and with other decorative elements. All of the components formed a neck piece of jewellery, in which the main aesthetic and meaningful emphasis was placed on the amber beads (Fig. 7). As mentioned above, the faceted pieces of jewellery – probably also made in the same workshop – belonged to the costume of a woman who had belonged to the aristocratic circle of society (i.e., the woman buried in barrow No. 100 near v. Syniavka). Possibly, that method of finishing individual pieces of amber had been practiced by local craftsmen who had used the raw materials brought from the Baltic shore areas.



Fig. 7. A string of beads from the finds of O. Bobrynsky in the Kaniv district

This assumption was brought forth by comparison of “faceted beads” with these found in the territories where there had been long traditions of excavation and usage of amber, i.e., near the deposits in the Baltic area. Some of the forms are alike: bi-conical, pyramidal, disk-like, cylinder – such beads comprise the strings found in the territory of Poland and Germany, as reported by the well-known Polish researcher Z. Bukowski [Bukowski 2002: 73, ryc. 55; 81, ryc. 59; 92, ryc. 64; 93, ryc. 65]. However, his monograph contains no reference to such complex shapes as for instance, octahedron ones. Interestingly, in the Bronze Age, Western European tribes were



Fig. 8. Amber bead (spindle-top) from the finds of O. Bobrynsky

more likely to produce amber adornment objects of complex geometrical shapes, while in later periods, as archeological monuments demonstrate, versions of globular beads and truncate-conical objects dominate [Bukowski 2002: 88; ryc.61-63, 73].

The NHMU collection contains individual amber finds from the excavations performed by O. Bobrynsky, which originate from the Middle Dnieper region. For instance, there are noteworthy large beads that resemble miniature spindle-tops. Possibly, that was the way in which these beads were used. One of the finds, light-brown with orange tinge, was disk-like and flat ($d = 31\text{mm}$, $h = 10\text{ mm}$, d of the hole = 3 mm). Another stands out due to its truncated-conical shape (whole $d = 30\text{ mm}$, d at the top = 24 mm , d at the bottom = 27 mm , $h = 14\text{ mm}$), in particular, due to the large diameter of the hole (7 mm) (Fig. 8). Probably, these items were really made as spindle-tops or their imitations. A similar artifact was found in the territory of Slovakia: a large truncated-biconical bead with a large hole belongs to the Pilin culture (dated to BB/2 – BC/1). The bead, placed on a pin, resembles a spindle with

a spindle-top [Bukowski 2002: 71, ryc. 54, 18]. Similar objects were found in the territory of Poland such as a truncated-biconical pendant from Gorszewice (gr. N 22) that has similar dimensions: total d = 30 mm, h = 18 mm, d of the hole = 10 mm; a similar object from Gorszewice (gr. N 16): total d = 24 mm, h = 10 mm, d of the hole = 8 mm. The materials are dated as HaC/D1 [Bukowski 2002: 100, ryc. 74, 1; 103, ryc. 80c]. Importantly, such amber objects, and also the ring-like ones with metal “pincers” attached, were found in the territory of the Lusatian and Pomeranian cultures, which demonstrate the usage of workbench tools for grinding the form.

The Ancient World knew about the ability of amber to “electrify” matter (Thales of Miletos). Some researchers allowed for an assumption that that *electron* (i.e., amber) spindle tops had been used in the spindling process for the purpose of cleaning wool. In my view, amber spindle tops were not widespread in practical use because of their rather light weight, which was not sufficient to ensure the spindle functions [Havryliuk 1987: 116-130]. Moreover, amber was an expensive material. Amber spindle tops had the meaning of sacral objects in that they raised the status of a woman as a person holding the thread of life of a family or kin in her hand. Probably, this idea is the source of the custom of putting various spinning tools – spindle tops, spindles and their imitations – into the grave [Yakovenko 2001: 12-14].

Amber adornments were not widespread among the Dnieper Forest-steppe Left-Bank tribes (for instance, in the Sula River area). Individual beads were found in several complexes of the 5th century BC. Specifically, in barrow No. 3 in the Staikyn Verkh ravine, a woman had been buried dressed in a costume that included various categories of decorative elements, including golden ear-rings, a necklace, application plates, bronze pins, bracelets, as well as a string of 22 gemstones: rock crystal, cornelian, amber and glass-like mass [Illyinskaya 1968: 29, Table VIII, 11-13]. Individual amber beads were found in robbed barrows No. 6 and “B” near v. Basivka [Illyinskaya 1968: 40, Table VIII, 11-13; XXX, 4].

Analysing the materials of archeological studies of the Belsk town settlement, the well-known Scythologist B.A. Shramko took note of the insignificant number of gemstone necklaces, particularly amber beads, among the finds that reflected the town dwellers’ culture. Meanwhile, in this scholar’s opinion, the trading route by which amber had been brought from the Baltic area to the Caucasus went through Belsk [Shramko 1983: 102, 152, 181]. That transportation direction was analysed in detail by M.Gimbutas, who noted that it had been formed in the Bronze Age: by the Vistula, then further eastwards across the Dnieper, then across the Don and up to the Caucasus [Gimbutas 1965: 49, Fig.15].

The costumes of women in the Forest-steppe regions in the 4th century BC preserved some ethno-local features noticeable against the background of influence of the Greek and Scythian style. However, now any jewellery made of amber (and generally of any other gemstones) should be excluded from the list of the distinguishing “marker” elements. An amber necklace was found in only one grave, in

barrow 20 near v. Kholodnyi Yar [Petrenko 1967: 34]. Possibly, that was caused by the loss of access to the source of amber imports. As a result, the composition of neck adornments and decoration of various costume elements changed, and a key role began to be played by strings of glass-like and gold beads.

Summing up the materials containing information about amber in women's garments in the population of the Forest-steppe Right-Bank Scythia in ancient times, the conclusion can be made that the gemstone, as well as other elements like pins and nail-like ear-rings, had been an ethnographic feature of costumes worn by the region's dwellers. Furthermore, the dominating factor had been probably, not aesthetical requirements, but ideas about the amber's protective power, which probably made it a universal method of protection from the forces of evil. It should also be noted that the quantity and quality of amber reflected its owner's social status. Amber adornments in graves containing stone dishes where altars stressed the high social status of women in their social groups (one hypothesis is that the eldest women in a family (kin) served the functions of a priestess). The use of amber by the autochthonous population of the Right-Bank Dnieper area in the Scythian times was a continuation of a tradition that had been formed in these lands in the Bronze Age. Amber was a component of men's costume complexes of the Middle Dnieper tribes and women's costumes of the Komarov – Trzcinec communities [Artemenko 1961: 53–54; Berezanskaya, Kločko 1998: 13].

Deposits of the Baltic region are believed to be the main source of imports of that decorative material [Klochko V.I. 2008: 239]. According to most archeologists, the results of studies performed in the Right-Bank Dnieper area prove an “uninterrupted cultural development from the Late Bronze epoch to the early Slavic time, which covers the period of about 15 hundred years” [Illyinskya, Terenozhkin 1983: 229]. Possibly, the “amber route” that had ensured imports of the gemstone to the Bronze Age tribes continued to function during the Scythian period at this time. However, later on, probably in the 4th century BC, some developments (e.g., military activity of Celtic tribes) resulted in a closure of access to excavation or transportation of the raw material.

Some researchers suggested that in addition to the Baltic amber, amber from the Klesove and Kyiv deposits had been used for making jewellery on the territory of Scythia and also for trading with other regions [Petrenko 2006: 94]. The authors provided no arguments *per se*, as their versions are based on geological data. As far as the Klesove deposit is concerned, as mentioned above, there could have been difficulties in performing extraction there. However, it shouldn't be excluded completely from the list of possible sources of obtaining amber (at least for the local population's own needs). When digging for flints or copper ore, the region's dwellers would take off significant layers of soil and find deposits of amber. The Kiev amber is a product of the accidental washing-out of relict resin, i.e., that source was not one of a permanent nature [Srebrodolsky 1988: 18]. In my view, if amber



Fig. 9. Reconstruction of a neck adornment, based on materials from barrow No.1 near Krasnoye Znamya *khutor* in the Stavropol district (Krasnoye Znamya burial site)

were excavated in Scythia in a quantity sufficient for trading it, this fact would not have been ignored by Herodotus. Meanwhile, his “Melpomene” bears no facts in this regard. Instead, the “father of history” wrote: “As for the extreme lands of Europe, located in the West, I cannot give any certain information, for I do not believe that there is a river that flows to the North Sea and is called by Barbarians the Eridanus, from where they say amber is brought . . . Notwithstanding, tin as well as amber, comes to us from the extreme lands of Europe” [Herodotus III, 115].

Let us look at another centre of “amber fashion”, which emerged at the Northern Caucasus precisely at the time of the arrival of the Scythians. This was noted

by A.A. Jessen, whose research was published in 1940. Analysing the finds from the Mozdok burial site and other monuments of the Northern Caucasus region, this researcher concluded that amber adornments (alongside the kauri shells) became, at the early Scythian stage, “typical indicators of enhancing connections of the Northern Caucasus with the surrounding countries” [Jessen 1940: 48]. According to A.A. Jessen, the amber’s sources of origin remained unknown, but there were no reasons to consider that decorative materials were Baltic ones [Jessen 1940: 48]. Summing up his work, the researcher stresses that it was possible to assume “relations of exchange nature between the territories of Ukraine and the Pre-Caucasian area” [Jessen 1940: 50].

The study of early Scythian burial sites (Krasnoe Znamya, Novozavedenskaya II, Nartan) contributed substantially to the knowledge of the dissemination of amber in the region. V.G. Petrenko paid a lot of attention to this theme and gave a detailed review of amber beads from the graves of the Krasnoe Znamya burial site. Amber adornments constituted elements of women’s as well as men’s costumes. As for the latter, the most interesting ones are the finds from the southern part of the grave in barrow No. 1. First and foremost, these include 14 tetragonal plates, these-called “separators” or “dividers”: length = 1.8-3 cm, width = 1.1-2 cm, height = 0.4-0.6 cm, with three parallel channels of holes, as well as a shaped bead of the same kind: length 3 cm, width = 1.1-1.8 cm, height = 0.5-0.8 cm [Petrenko 2006: 29, 93, cat. 94, 95] (Fig. 9). Decorative “separator” plates were used for shaping the neck adornments made of small beads, an interesting artistic “invention” that helped make jewellery with a varied harmony of elements. Several strings would be joined together with the help of the plates which at the same time divided the strings into certain segments. Similar methods of making necklaces were registered with the help of finds in the Baltic region [Bukowski 2002: 20, ryc. 5:25; ryc. 10:51, ryc. 36]. Separators could be also made of bone [Bukowski 2002: 122, ryc. 97]. They were used not only as decorations for costumes but also for bridles. As far as the latter are concerned, amber separators occurred among horse harness details in the Northern Caucasus. It should be noted here that such amber separators emerged in the early Scythian age [Petrenko 2006: 94].

Therefore it would seem that the idea to use amber separators emerged in the areas of dissemination of amber in the territory of Europe. However, we can observe its implementation in other regions as well. For making the separator plates, flat pieces of amber were used where two or three channels of holes were made in the semi-processed pieces. Such objects enjoyed popularity and demand in the Northern Caucasus, hence it is assumed that gemstone workshops were located in the Caucasus too.

All the barrows of the Krasnoe Znamya burial site contained beads of various forms: irregular-cylinder (length = 8-19 cm, d = 0.45-0.6 cm), truncated-biconical (h = 0.8 cm, d = 1.3 cm), globular-biconical (h = 0.7 cm, d = 1.2 cm), wheele-like

(h = 0.4 cm, d = 1.3 cm), pad-like (length = 0.9 cm, d = 0.4 cm), pentagonal prism (length = 1.3 cm, section = 0.5- 0.8 cm), column with corrugated surface (length = 2.5 cm) [Petrenko 2006: 93]. These types of beads are similar to these coming from the Novozavedensky II and Nartan burial sites. Some typical features of the adornments allow making comparisons between the finds of the Northern Caucasus, the Middle Dnieper area, and Central Europe. Some types of beads allow making assumptions about their origin, first of all, for shaped beads (column with corrugated surface). Among the finds of the Lusatian culture we can see pieces of jewellery made in the form of thin tubes covered with fine lines. Probably that technology of décor was developed in the territory of the Lusatian culture [Bukowski 2002: 20, ryc. 5:25; ryc. 10:51, ryc. 36]. Other types of beads probably also arrived to Scythian garments from the Baltic region. The Middle Dnieper region probably played an intermediary role in dissemination of amber, both for raw materials and ready-made products. It is possible that the Scythian nomads borrowed the habit of decorating their costumes with amber from the population of that very part of Scythia.

Refined artefacts with amber, found in the Kelermes barrows, demonstrate another method of using that decorative material. A special example is the golden plate on a forehead band from barrow 1/III. That was a plated ribbon (66.8 cm x 3.7 cm) that twined round the helmet. The semantic and compositional centre of the band was represented by an amber inset (Fig. 10), a round translucent gem placed in a socket made by a fine golden stripe [Galanina 1997: cat. 15; Table 28, 29]. The motifs that form the forehead band décor are the solar symbols. Apparently, amber was linked in the minds of Scythians with the Sun cult. The use of amber as the compositional centre of a diadem stresses its determining function in the costume. L.K. Galanina noted that the making of the diadem had displayed skills of Ionian craftsmen. The Kelermes barrows, in addition to the diadem, produced several other objects decorated with amber with the use of the inlay technique. Hence, rectangular and triangular sockets were made on the convex surface of the “throne details”, placed on the edge where red amber would be in-laid in the sockets in the so-called “cloisonné inlay” [Galanina 1997: 118, cat. 35, 36]. Another method of using the gems was to fasten them in sockets (“champlevé”). That method was used for making the décor on a gorytus clasp [Galanina 1997: 112, cat. 34; Table 32, 32]. These versions of inlay technique were typical for the South-Western Asian engraving “*torevt*” goldsmiths. According to some scholars, such examples confirm the hypothesis about the emergence in South-Western Asia of workshops that served the needs of the Scythian aristocracy [Galanina 1997: 114].

The number of pieces of jewellery found in the costume complexes of the tribes that grew in the vast spaces of the Northern Pontic region in the 5th – 4th centuries BC is small. Therefore, at that time steppe Scythians made almost no use of amber for decorative purposes. However, this gem served as the centre of the composition in a ritual vessel from the Bratolyubovka barrow. Hence, in the consciousness of

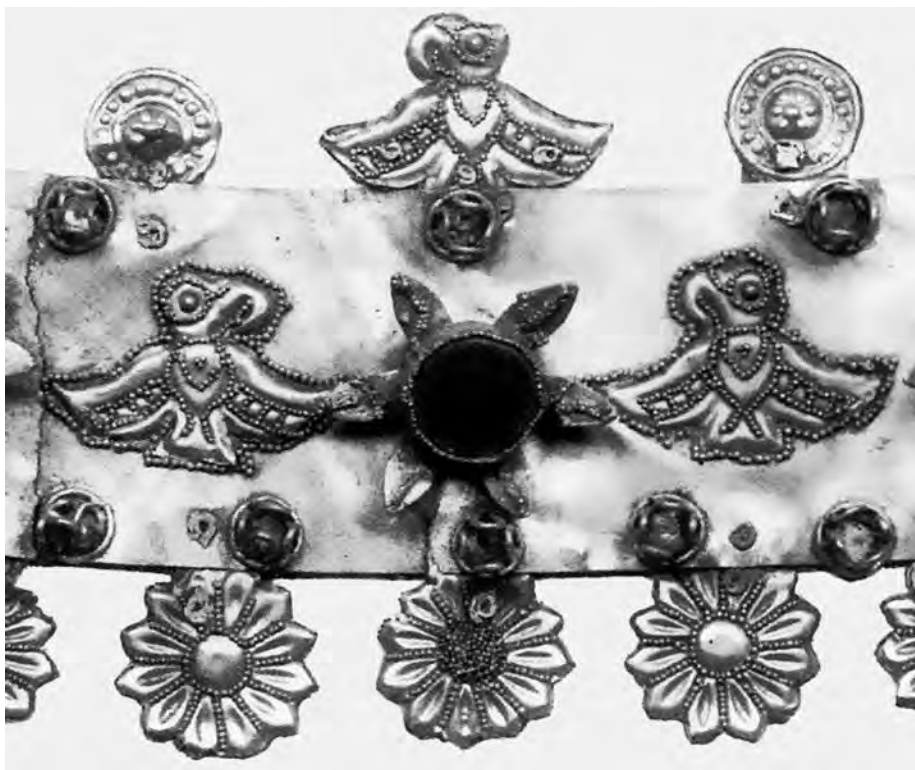


Fig. 10. Decoration of the forehead band from barrow 1/III of the Kelermes burial site

Scythians, amber preserved the meaning of a solar symbol [Bessonova 2007: 42–49] (Fig. 11). The scarcity of amber objects in the garments of Scythians of that time could be probably explained by the same reason that caused a similar phenomenon in the population of Forest-steppe Scythia, i.e., the disruption of communications with the sources of extraction of this decorative material.

Among the finds of the Steppe region, special attention has been attracted by a ring found in a woman's grave in the Malyi Chortomlyk barrow: an amber bead had been placed on a shaft that links both ends of the hoop [Mozolevsky 1987: 71-72, Fig. 6, 13] (Fig.12). Remnants of pendants (1 – 2 pieces) as parts of strings of beads made of glass-like matter were recorded in some other steppe monuments. However, the general number of amber adornments in the nomads' garments is small.

The “amber route” was restored only during the Sarmatian times. That was reflected in the emergence of adornments in the Sarmatian costumes and in dissemination of amber in the ancient cities of the Northern Pontic area.



Fig. 11. Golden phiale with an amber inset (Bratolyubovka barrow, Kherson district)

As mentioned above, the scribes of the ancient world wrote at length about “electron” (as Hellines called amber). Already in the time of Homerus that decorative material was also used for ornating walls (King Menelaus’s rooms), and for making jewellery. The latter had verses of the “Odyssey” devoted to them, which told about a gold-set amber necklace for the parents of Eumaeus. We can also read about a necklace of golden and amber beads given to Penelope by one of her suitors [Homer VI, 18].

Meanwhile, Greeks, immigrants to the Northern Pontic area, started wearing jewellery made of that material only in the 1st century BC. In earlier times, even the dwellers of Olbia, Thyros (cities located close to the main arteries of amber supply, the Dnieper and Bug rivers) preferred objects made of glass and faience. While studying these kind of adornments (strings of amber beads), E.M. Alekseyeva noted that although that decorative material had been expensive, in the 1st-3rd century BC, it was really in fashion [Alekseyeva 1978: 22]. Finds in the Northern Pontic burial sites point to a high level of gemstone finishing. The craftsmen made shaped pendants in the shapes of “*lunnitsa*” (crescent), astragalus, or a ram’s head. In addition, a variety of beads enjoyed high demand: globular, elongated, cylinder,



Fig. 12. Ring with an amber from the Malyi Chortomlyk barrow (Dnipropetrovsk district)

truncated cone, etc (44 types, after E.M. Alekseyeva). It can be assumed that the “amber routes” from the Baltic Sea to the Bug and Dniester rivers had been restored. That amber was referred to as “Scythian”. For instance, Diodorus wrote about transportation of the gemstone from Scythia [Diodor V, 23]. Also, Plinius wrote that white and yellow amber was extracted in Scythia [Plinius 1819: 332].

Within the specified theme it is impossible to ignore a string of beads from the NHMU collection, which, according to the records, was passed over to the museum in 1897 by the Emperor’s Archeological Commission. According to the same source – according to the documentation of the museum’s reserves the necklace had come from Kerch, but it is unknown how it made its way to the antiques collection of V. Khvoika (Fig. 13). Exhibits from private collections always raise questions. In this case it should be determined, first of all, whether that string of beads was a whole chain, when it had been made and the location where that piece of jewellery was found. Hence, the string of beads appears to be a harmoniously made neck adornment, in which the beads had been carefully matched by shape and size. Meanwhile, a detailed study of the beads suggests that they were not probably made in one workshop. That assumption is based on the differing diameters of the holes: some of them were 5 mm in diameter. The large bead placed in the centre (a tri-faceted irregular-shaped bead, length = 35 mm, width = 34 and 19 mm) that hole was technologically justified, but in much smaller objects the channels were



Fig. 13. Amber necklace from V. Khvoika's collection

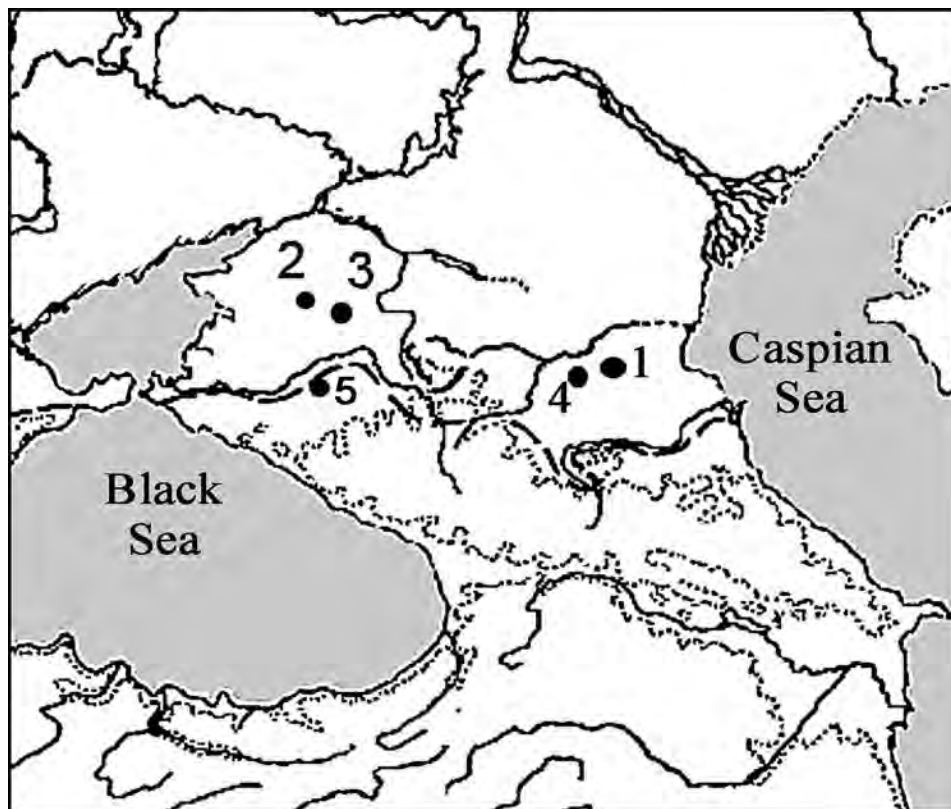
made with the same tool, a rather thick shaft. The holes of most of the beads were 2 mm and 3 mm and importantly, this did not depend on a specific bead's size. For instance, the large tri-faceted bead (length = 32 mm, width = 31 and 17 mm), the diameter of the hole was = 2 mm, while in a small quadrangular bead (13x10 mm) the hole was = 3 mm. Colours and shapes of the beads catch the eye: a row of dark-brown translucent beads are covered with a whitish crust.

As for the shapes, some of the pieces of jewellery are distinguished by their prehistoric appearance, while others were rather "stylish" and made quite skillfully. Several are parallel piped-shaped (18x18 mm, h = 9 mm; 13x10, h = 10 mm; 14x14 mm, h = 12 mm; 10x10, h = 9 mm; 19x20, 10), the tri-faceted ones also stand out (length = 17 mm, h = 13 mm; length = 18 mm, h = 13 mm; length = 24 mm, h = 14 mm); attention is drawn to cylinder-shapes and flattened-cylinder beads: 15 pieces (length = 16 mm, height 12,7 mm; length = 17 mm, height 9 mm; length = 14 mm, height 7 mm; length = 15 mm, height 11 mm), there are beads shaped as tiny truncated pyramids (length = 12 mm, h = 8 mm) and one like a rhombus (length = 14 mm, h = 7 mm, length = 18 mm, height = 7 mm; h = 10 mm).



Map 1. Archeological monuments containing amber adornments, on the territory of Ukraine: 1. Synyavka Ta Bobrytsya; 2. Matusiv; 3. Zhabotyn; 4. Gulyai-Horod; 5. Zhuravka; 6. Kholodnyi Yar; 8. Perepyatykha; 9. Kazarovka; 10. Medvyn; 11. Aksiutyni; 12. Basivka; 13. Malyi Chortomlyk; 14. Melitopol barrow; 15. Bratolyubovka barrow

The list of shapes and sizes is needed for comparison with these listed in the study by E.M. Alekseyeva. Most of the jewellery from among these listed have similarities among the objects found in the territory of Olbia and Panticapaeum. Hence, E.M. Alekseyeva noted that the majority of the beads found in antique cities are distinguished by their irregular shape. No information about their dates is available. Meanwhile, some of the types: truncated pyramid-shaped, parallel piped, cylinder and flattened cylinder – date back to 1st – 2nd century AD [Alekseyeva 1978: 23-26]. That was the time when, most probably the amber dissemination transportation routes were restored. According to E.M. Alekseyeva, "... objects both made of amber processed in the Mediterranean and of these processed in the north-east, probably, in western European provincial cities, arrived" to the territory of the Northern Pon-



Map 2. Archeological monuments containing amber adornments, on the territory of the Northern Caucasus: 1. Mozdok burial site; 2. Krasnoye Znamya barrow; 3. Novozavedenskaya II burial site; 4. Nartan burial site; 5. Kelermes burial site

tic area [Alekseyeva 1978: 23-26]. The researcher noted that the assumption about amber processing in the Northern Pontic area was hard to prove. However, she argued that the possibility should not be dropped altogether, for in that territory, in ancient cities, there had been workshops in which complex jewellery skills had been used. Amber is known not to require such techniques. Probably, Sarmatians received their amber objects from these workshops. However, that is a theme for another study.

Therefore, as we can see, some questions asked at the beginning of this article have already been answered. Centres of “amber fashion” in the spaces that have been traditionally linked with the Scythian culture had existed within the 7th – 5th centuries BC. In a women’s costume of the Forest-steppe Right-Bank Dnieper population a necklace combined with golden adornments emphasized high social

status of its owner and was away to single her out in the social group to which she belonged. Moreover, amber became an ethno-local marker (together with nail-like ear-rings and pins). The autochthonous tribes of the Middle Dnieper area contributed to the introduction of the “amber fashion” within the aristocratic circles of nomad Scythians when the latter dwelled in the lands of the Northern Caucasus (Fig. 14, 15). The gemstones became elements of (mainly) men’s costumes due to one of the “amber routes”, which included the rivers of Vistula, Bug, Prypiat, Dnieper, Don, and Kuban. Borrowing prestigious elements is a typical trace of a nomad culture. The reduction of imports of amber adornments did not change the attitude to that decorative material in the 4th century BC as to a solar symbol.

Translated by Inna Pidluska

ABBREVIATIONS

- AA – Archäologischer Anzeiger. Berlin
ActaArch – Acta Archaeologica. Copenhagen
ActaArchHung – Acta Archeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae. Budapest
- AAS – Anatolian Archaeological Studies. Tokio
AJA – American Journal of Archaeology. New York
AoF – Altorientalische Forschungen. Berlin
AnSt – Anatolian Studies. London
APŚ – Archeologia Polski Środkowoschodniej. Lublin
ARM 4 – Dossin G., Lettres. Textes cunéiformes, vol XXV. Musée du Louvre, Département des Antiquités Orientales, 1951. Paris
- AVL – Arkheologia Vostochno-Evropeiskoi Lesostepi. Voronezh
BAR IS – British Archeological Raports. International Series. Oxford
BICS – Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London. London
- BPS – Baltic-Pontic Studies. Poznań
BSA – The Annual of the British School at Athens. London
CAD – Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, I.J. Gelb, B. Landsberger, A.L. Oppenheim, E. Reiner (Eds), 1964 - . Chicago
- JBS – Journal of Baltic Studies. Abingdon
JCH – Journal of Cultural Heritage. Amsterdam
JCS – Journal of Cuneiform Studies. Chicago
JESHO – Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient. Leiden
- JIES – The Journal of Indo-European Studies. Waschington D.C.
JRAI – Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute. London
JRGZM – Jahrbuch der Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz. Mayence
- KSIA – Kratkiye soobscheniya Instituta Arkheologii. Moskva
KSIIMK – Kratkiye soobscheniya Instituta Materialnoy Kultury. Moskva
MDP 22 – Scheil V., Actes juridiques susiens. Mémoires de la mission archéologique de Perse, Vol XXII, 1930. Paris
- MIA – Materialy i issledovaniya po Arkheologii SSSR. Moskva-Leningrad
- NA IA NANU – Nauchniy Arkhiv Instytutu Arkheologii Natsionalnoy Akademii Nauk Ukrainy. Kiev

- NHMU – National History Museum of Ukraine. Kiev
 OJA – Oxford Journal of Archaeology. Oxford
 PBS 8/2 – E. Chiera, *Old Babylonian Contracts*, 1922. Philadelphia
 Posiedzenia P.I.G. – Posiedzenia Państwowego Instytutu Geologii. Warszawa
 PPS – Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society. London
 PZ – *Prähistorische Zeitschrift*. Berlin
 RA – *Rossiyska Arkheologiya*. Moskva
 RA 36 – *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archeologie orientale*, 1938. Paris
 Riftin – A.P. Riftin, *Staro-vavilonskie iuridicheskie i administrativnye dokumenty v sobraniakh SSSR*, 1937. Moskva
 SA – *Sovetska (Sovetskaja) Arkheologiya*. Moskva
 UET V – H.H. Figulla, Martin W.J., *Letters and Documents of the Old Babylonian Period. Ur Excavation Texts*, 1953. London
 VDI – *Viestnik Drevney Istorii*. Moskva
 WA – *Wiadomości Archeologiczne*. Warszawa
 ZA – *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*. München

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