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THE GALICH TREASURE AS A SET OF SHAMAN ARTICLES

In memory of the first investigators of the Galich treasure A.A. Spitsyn, A.M. Tallgren and V.A. Gorodtsov

Abstract

In the present article the famous Galich treasure is considered as a set of shamanistic artefacts. According to the authors' point of view, the complex as a whole is connected with the Seima-Turbino culture as a specific phenomenon. The anthropomorphic and zoomorphic cast artefacts discovered at Galich originated in the Baikal association of iconographic elements of the Seima-Turbino figurative tradition clearly showing the stereotypes of world-view typical of the inhabitants of the taiga.

Keywords: Bronze Age, the Galich treasure, Seima-Turbino phenomenon, zoomorphic cast artefacts, shamanism.

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INTRODUCTION

The Galich treasure belongs to the unique assemblages that have long since become commonplace in Russian and European archaeology, while continuing to attract the close attention of researchers. It remains an enigma against the background of the surrounding context of East European of the Bronze Age. For the authors it has proved to be an edifying example of how important and fruitful results can be obtained if old collections are considered in their entirety and not as a separate, though remarkable, artefacts.

Both the treasure and some of the finds that it comprised were the subject of numerous publications. Nevertheless, discussions were confined in practice to two problems (except perhaps on the part of the most impressive finds): the cultural, or cultural and chronological attribution of the assemblage; and its relation to the Turovskoe (or Galich) settlement. We regard these points below, but we should formulate our basic goal rather as a consideration of problems that have not received

due attention previously. These are as follows: was the treasure an integral or random group of artefacts; should it be regarded as a treasure in the traditional meaning of the term or possibly as a set of grave goods; the morphological, stylistic, and, as far as possible, semantic analysis of the items composing the treasure, especially those of ritual and religious character; the social position of its ancient owner; and, finally, a reconstruction of the world-view ruling the Bronze Age society that deposited the Galich treasure.

A discussion of the problems should begin with the earliest publications on the subjects by the prominent Russian and European archaeologists A.A. Spitsyn, A.M. Tallgren, and V.A. Gorodtsov. It was their works published in the early 20th c. that stimulated detailed investigations of the Galich treasure for the rest of the century. Their predecessors should also be mentioned (Pavel 1837; Svin'in 1837; Aspelin 1875: 84-86; 1877: Fig. 299-303; Ukazatel 1893). Subsequent generations of investigators more often addressed not the early work by Spitsyn (1903), but those by Tallgren

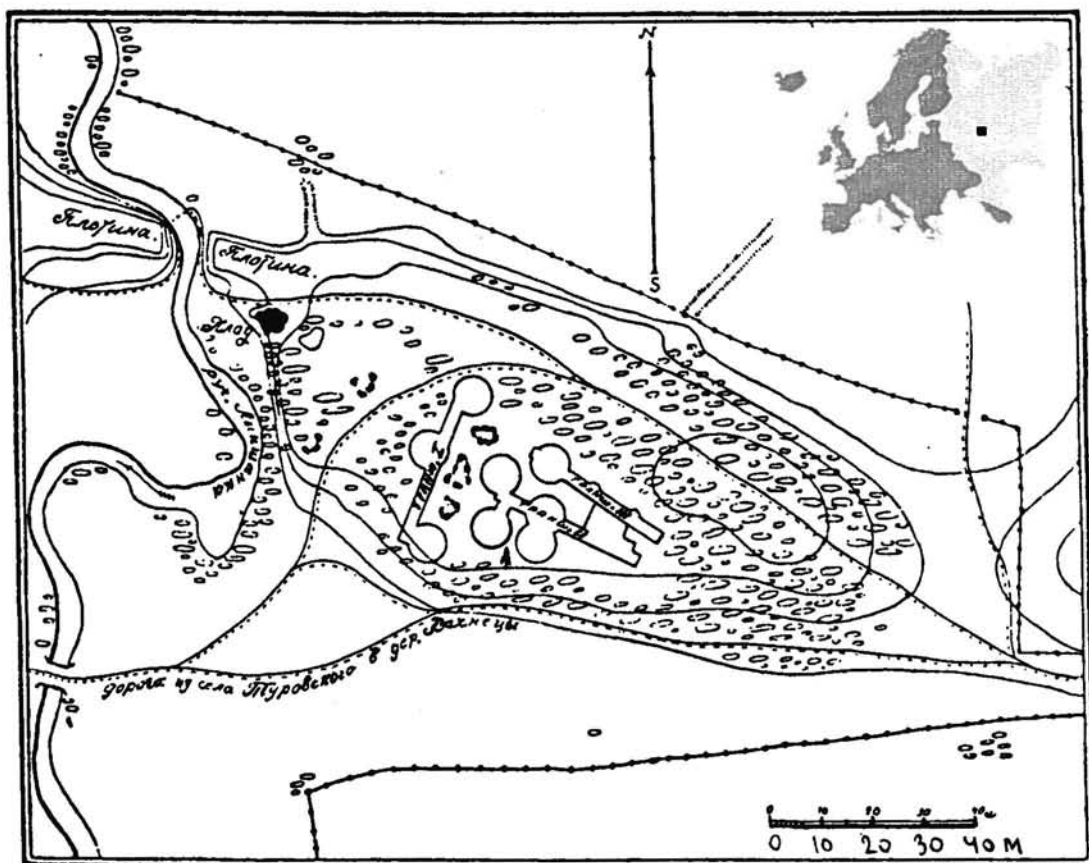


Fig. 1. Site plan of the Turovskoe settlement and the Galich treasure drawn from nature by A.V. Gorodtsov (1928: Fig. 32).

(1911:25-93, Figs. 3-9; 1925a; 1925b:10-18; 1926a:140-142, Fig. 77/1-18, Fig. 78/15; 1928:64-71, Figs. 1-4, 12; 1929:5; 1930:131, 161; 1931:178, Fig. 8; 1937a:18, 44; 1937b:112-114, Fig. 1/4) and Gorodtsov (1928). Though highly valuing A.M. Tallgren's and V.A. Gorodtsov's works, we nevertheless turn our attention to the earliest publication by A.A. Spitsyn as it contains the fullest record and description of the artefacts from the Galich treasure. This work is the most important and in fact invaluable source for the goals set in our investigation.

THE COMPOSITION AND SUBSEQUENT HISTORY OF THE GALICH TREASURE

The history of discovery of the treasure and its subsequent stages are recorded in detail by Spitsyn, and without any exaggeration can be considered a detective story (Spitsyn 1903:104-

108), which was repeated by Gorodtsov (1928:13-16). The material from the excavations of the Turovskoe settlement was for a long time regarded as a cultural match to the treasure, and as such was exhaustively published by A.M. Tallgren (1911:30-44), V.A. Gorodtsov (1928:16-49), and A.Kh. Khalikov (1969:202-205).

The Galich treasure was discovered on March 23, 1836 by the peasants of the Turovskoe village (present-day Kostroma region, Galich district) while repairing a water-mill dam on the Lykshanka rivulet flowing into Lake Galichskoe (Fig. 1). According to the eye-witnesses, the metal objects of the treasure were apparently deposited in a large clay vessel which was broken with iron crowbar. The objects were partly scattered, and partly thrown into the river by the peasants. N. I. Cheleeva, the owner of the water-mill and the village, preserved the surviving artefacts in her house. A number of preserved potsherds were



Fig. 2. The Galich treasure: P.P. Svin'in collection (Spitsyn 1903: Table XXIX).

published (Fig. 2:2, 3, 6, 14, 17; Fig. 3:4, 8), but they cannot belong to the single vessel in which the treasure was allegedly discovered.

N.I. Cheleeva, her spouse, General I.N. Cheleev, and their nephew D.S. Bestuzhev disposed of the collection, which was finally divided into three parts. Bestuzhev donated his part (Fig. 3) to Bishop Pavel of Kostroma, who in the same year (1836) transferred it to the Society of History and Antiquities of Moscow University, after which the artefacts entered the collection of the Russian (present-day State Historical) Museum in Moscow. This part of the treasure is well preserved (Studzitskaya 1981a:24-25). It consisted of at least eight objects: the well-known Galich dagger (Fig. 3:1, 10); an idol (Fig. 3:5, 6); a mask (Fig. 3:7); a pangolin-shaped figure (Fig. 3:9); a bracelet of circular section with overlapping tapering ends (Fig. 3:3); a massive long bead with relief surface (Fig. 3:2). Several silver artefacts have been lost.

Another part of the collection was sent by Bestuzhev to Moscow, where P.P. Svin'in, a member of the Kostroma Committee for statistics, became interested in the objects and was fortunate to make draft drawings of them (Fig. 2). The drawings then were discovered by A.A. Spitsyn in the archives of the Imperial Archaeological Commission. This part of the treasure included at least 19 metal artefacts, most of them now lost. Only an idol has survived (Fig. 2:5). It was transferred to the State Hermitage from S.G. Stroganov's collection (Miklyaev 1974:157). In addition, the "Svin'in collection" comprised a shaft-hole axe (Fig. 2:4); a mask (Fig. 2:19); a hilt (probably of another knife) (Fig. 2:8); a flat loop-like pendant in the shape of a pair of bird or reptile heads (Fig. 2:7); a loop-like pendant with zoomorphic ends (Fig. 2:20); a figurine of an animal (desman or rat) (Fig. 2:18); a flat object with bifurcating end resembling a snake's tongue (Fig. 2:22); a bracelet

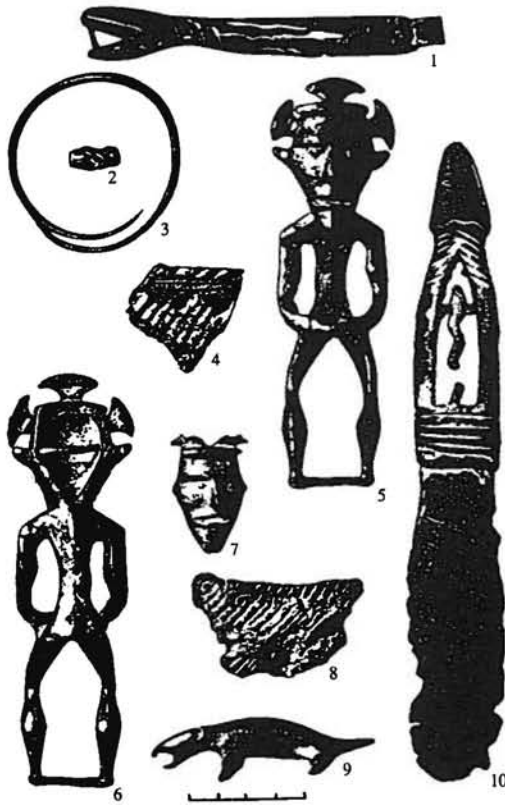


Fig. 3. The Galich treasure: Bishop Pavel collection, The State Historical museum, No. 54/II, K 98 (Spitsyn 1903: Table XXX; Tallgren 1926a: Table 90).

of circular section with overlapping twisted ends (Fig. 2:13); a large twin spiral pendant (Fig. 2:16); a small lancet with curved point (Fig. 2:21); a large lancet (according to A.A. Spitsyn) with two curved points (Fig. 2:1); a heavy plaque-pendant perforated at the edge (Fig. 2:15); small hemispherical plaques of silver (Fig. 2:9); small long beads of silver with broadening ends (Fig. 2:11); long spiral beads of silver (Fig. 2:10). In addition to this, a stone object was present (Fig. 2:12).

The third part of the treasure was preserved initially in the scientific archive commission as General I.N. Cheleev's donation, after which it was transferred to the Kostroma museum. Now it is obviously lost. At least 29 metal artefacts formed this part of the assemblage: a hilt shaped as a torso with its face hidden by a mask (Fig. 4:7); two small lancets (Fig. 4:6, 8); a large lancet with two curved points (Fig. 4:15); ten heavy plaque-pendants (Fig. 4:1-5, 10-12); five thin grooved

bracelets, one of them intact (Fig. 4:9, 13, 14). Moreover, A.A. Spitsyn (1903:109) mentioned three silver hemispherical plaques, small flat circular plaques, small cylindrical beads, long spiral beads, and yet another copper axe.

Thus, according to A.A. Spitsyn, the Galich treasure numbered at least 56 metal objects. Even without taking into account the items that were immediately lost, the assemblage actually comprised far more artefacts, primarily small silver ornaments. (Where Spitsyn refers to "several", or "many" items, we note only two objects).

ON THE PROBLEM OF THE CULTURAL AND CHRONOLOGICAL ATTRIBUTION OF THE GALICH TREASURE - IN THE LOOKING GLASS OF HISTORIOGRAPHY

The problem formulated here definitely requires a special historiographic review. Presented below is only a brief essay. In the early publications by J.R. Aspelin the treasure had already been ascribed to the Northern Bronze Age of Russian territory of Eastern Europe, that period being regarded as a continuation of the Uralic and Altai Bronze Age. The conclusion was drawn from the hypothesis of a motherland of the Finno-Ugrian tribes on the River Yenisei (Aspelin 1875; 1877). Also A.A. Spitsyn's conception of the treasure was at first too general (Spitsyn 1903:109-110). Yet it is important that he had pointed out its connections with the finds from Korshunovo dating from the Eastern Copper Age. V.A. Gorodtsov followed his theory and considered the peoples of the north and central areas of Eastern Europe as innately incapable of generating any significant cultural and technological ideas, or of creating any developed cultural forms (Chernykh & Kuzminykh 1991). He interpreted the Galich treasure as a result of the contacts between the Siberian cultural trend and a Central Asiatic one (Finnic culture), while also tracing indications of developed religious beliefs (Gorodtsov 1910:278). After the excavations of the Turovskoe site undertaken in 1924 the scholar came to the conclusion of the existence of interrelations between the treasure and the settlement. Both were ascribed to the Galich culture spread across the left bank of the Volga in the Kostroma region and culturally connected with the Urals (Gorodtsov 1928:50-51). Being convinced that iron, copper-

bronze, and stone artefacts were coeval at the excavated site, Gorodtsov dated the treasure and the settlement back to the 8th c. BC.

A.M. Tallgren participated in the field work at the Turovskoe dwelling site in 1909. He came to the conclusion that there was a relation between the Galich treasure and one of the pottery assemblages discovered at the settlement which was similar to that of the cemeteries of Fat'yanovo type located in the northern part of the Russian plain (Tallgren 1911:49). Tallgren supported the Fat'yanovo cultural attribution of the treasure until the mid 1920s (Tallgren 1915:81; 1916: Fig. 4; 1920:12; 1924: 2-6). Later on he stated its connections with the Galich culture (Tallgren 1925a:336; 1926a:140, 141; 1937b:114), or with the Northern Bronze Age in the Russian territory of Eastern Europe (Tallgren 1937a:18, 44). Unlike Gorodtsov, Tallgren considered the Galich culture not as a local one limited to the left bank of the Volga, but spread over the central and northern regions of the Russian plain. He viewed it as an analogy of so-called Fat'yanovo-type, or Chirki antiquities. Another essential difference is that Tallgren regarded the treasure to be within a cultural and chronological system, namely: Galich – Seima – Turbino – Borodino, 1600-1300 BC (Tallgren 1925a:341), Abashevo – Galich – Seima – Turbino (Tallgren 1929:16), or Galich – Seima – Turbino – Korshunovo – Ust'-Sysolsk – Volkhov, 1300-1100 BC (Tallgren 1937a:18). Tallgren had formulated the cultural and chronological uniformity of the major part of these sites.

In Soviet archaeology of the late 1920s and early 1930s assumptions regarding the Abashevo cultural attribution of the Galich treasure were formulated with regard to the discovery of corresponding sites on the Upper Volga and the Verkhny Kizil treasure in the South Transurals. This idea was expressed quite plainly (Bortvin 1928:127-131), or with certain reservations (Tret'yakov 1934:133). The overall relationship of the Galich treasure with the Turovskoe settlement was questioned. This opinion dominated in the 1950s and 1960s (Efimenko & Tret'yakov 1961:91; Salmikov 1962:65; 1967:45, 46; Kiselev 1965:51), although Gorodtsov's concept of the attribution of the treasure to the Galich culture was still supported (Bryusov 1952:179). K.V. Salmikov most actively stood for the hypothesis of the interpretation of the treasure as belonging

to the Abashevo culture. A different view was actively developed by A.Kh. Khalikov (1969:203-206), who considered the complex as a treasure left by the group occupying the Turovskoe settlement and characterized by pottery of the Chirki-Seima type. Twenty years later he repeated his basic argumentation (Khalikov 1987:138). At present O.V. Kuzmina (2000:100) and A.N. Nikitin (2000:148) are the most active defenders of the idea on the treasure's connection with the Abashevo culture. A.D. Pryakhin is more cautious in assuming that so-called treasures of Galich type might be "a result of Abashevo-type metal spread over territories situated to the north" (Pryakhin & Khalikov 1987:128).

In past decades Seima-Turbino (ST) antiquities have evoked vivid interest, especially the hypothesis on the formation in North Eurasia of the ST transcultural phenomenon (Chernykh &

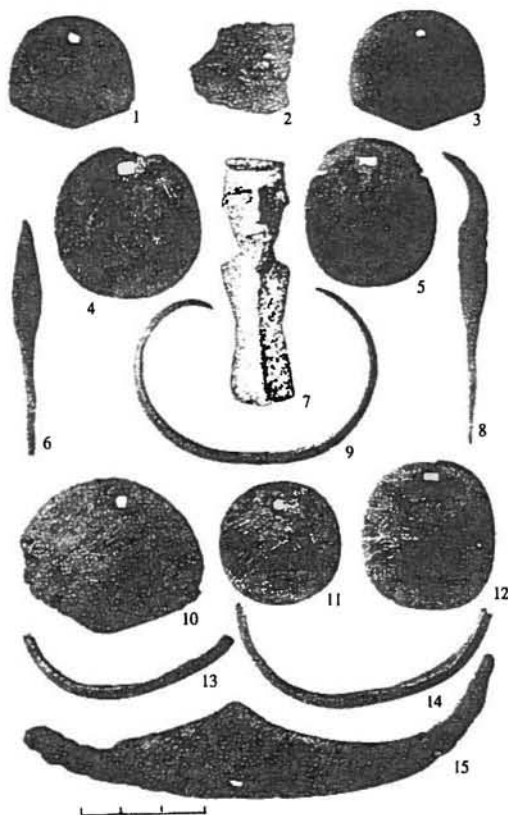


Fig. 4. The Galich treasure: General I.N. Cheleev's collection in the Kostroma Scientific Archive Commission (Spitsyn 1903: Table XXXI; Tallgren 1926a: Table 91).

Kuzminykh 1987; 1989). It was also suggested that the Galich treasure might have originated from a destroyed cemetery of ST type (Denisov *et al.* 1988:52). The authors of the present paper also attribute it to the ST phenomenon.

We do not share the conviction of A.M. Tallgren, V.A. Gorodtsov, and A.Kh. Khalikov as to the connection of the treasure with the settlement or one of the pottery groups that existed there. The cultural deposit of the Turovskoe site is not homogeneous. In claiming a Galich culture Gorodtsov actually united three asynchronous groups of pottery: comb-pit decorated (Late Neolithic), Fat'yanovo-type (Bronze Age), with textile imprinted (Early Iron Age as indicated by the presence of iron tools). It was the second group, together with the treasure, that Tallgren had at first equated with the Fat'yanovo culture, and then with the Galich culture. Then the same material was assigned to the Chirki-Seima culture by A.Kh. Khalikov. But according to Gorodtsov's plan (Fig. 1) the treasure does not display any stratigraphic connection with the stratified settlement. The site has not survived (Koltsov 1971:63; Komarov 1999:29). Even if the treasure did originate from the habitation deposit, the problem of its cultural attribution cannot be solved in the inflexible way as was done by our precursors. There exists an indirect link between the treasure and the settlement, as will be discussed below.

A TREASURE OR SOMETHING DIFFERENT?

None of the scholars who studied the Galich treasure questioned its integrity; J.R. Aspelin was the first to perceive it as a whole association, a treasure, or a hoard, though of singular composition. It was also always dated from the Bronze Age. We have come to the conclusion that the finds under discussion did not correspond to the terms "hoard", or "treasure" in their traditional meaning. It is well known that numerous Late Bronze Age treasures were concealed in the steppe and forest-steppe zone of Eastern Europe, most of them representing the production of smiths' clans or metallurgist communities. These assemblages always were composed of tools or raw material, the morphology of the tools mostly indicates some single culture as their source. The Galich treasure is quite different. It should be regarded as a kind of "pagan vestry": the religious and symbolic

function of most of the objects instantly impressed their first investigators. This fact alone does not permit a view of the treasure as a set of manufactured artefacts, or raw material owned by a metal founder, or as the remains of a workshop. The syncretism clearly observed in the objects makes it complicated a task to attest the treasure to a certain culture, and prolonged discussions of its cultural origin seem quite natural.

The authors are convinced that the Galich treasure represents the association of items that once accompanied a shaman's burial, or a cenotaph containing ritual garments and the equipment for shaman ritual practices. The latter could have comprised a vessel with the entire set inside, although Spitsyn considered the information that the treasure had been placed in the pot improbable. The treasure could have been interred as the result of some secondary procedures as well. We should point out some examples from Siberian rites executed in connections with shaman burials performed on trees, on ramps, or in temporary graves. The absence of skeletal or tissue remains should cause no confusion, since V.A. Gorodtsov demonstrated (1928:21) that in local geological conditions organic matter could survive only within ash and charcoal layers, or in the hearths of dwellings.

Ethnographic studies picture shaman burials mainly placed in isolated locations beyond the tribal and family cemeteries, whilst ceremonial cloths were put in another place. Indirect data also exist to the effect that the graves of a ST cemetery might be identified with the cultural deposit of the Turovskoe settlement (equally of Neolithic or Fat'yanovo type), as at the Seima dune. This thought was provoked by the discovery of a bronze flat knife of ST type in sunken dwelling 15 (Gorodtsov 1928:32, Table I, 1). Knives of this type are extremely rare beyond ST necropolises (Chernykh & Kuzminykh 1989:91; Kuznetsov 2000:78). Possibly, a small ST cemetery was situated on the hill, but this assumption cannot be checked at present by any wide-scale excavations (Komarov 1999:29).

THE GALICH METAL AND SEIMA-TURBINO PHENOMENON

The cultural and morphological singularity of the Galich collection became clear long ago. Three

assemblages of artefacts easily identified with East European cultures can be distinguished among the artefacts in question. But a further component seems to be of unclear origin. We should point out the following culturally determined artefacts: a large twin spiral pendant (Fig. 2:16), similar to the antiquities of European corded-ware cultures (Salnikov 1967: Fig. 2/24; Krainov 1972: Fig. 53/12, 13) and to those of Volsk-Lbishche type dated to the turn of the Middle and Late Bronze Ages (Bogdanov 1998: Fig. 11/3; Vasil'ev, Kuznetsov 2000: Fig. 12/6); two shaft-hole axes (Fig. 2:4); two bracelets of round section (Fig. 2:13, Fig. 3:3) and five thin grooved ones (Fig. 4:9, 13, 14); a dagger with snake-shaped hilt and a flat blade termed by the first investigators as an "offering knife" (Fig. 3:1, 10). A series of minor silver ornaments (Fig. 2:9-11), are typical mostly of Abashevo antiquities, but are known among the Seima-Turbino ones as well (see the review in Chernykh & Kuzminykh 1989:125, 128, 132; Kuzmina 2000: Fig. 3). This kind of "princely" weapon has been found only in ST-type monuments (Chernykh & Kuzminykh 1989:108-110). The present authors consider this dagger to be the artefact of key significance for the cultural attribution of the treasure as a whole.

The remainder, with perhaps the exception of small straight lancet-knives (Fig. 4:6) and plaques-pendants perforated at the edge, seem to constitute not easily identified and culturally determined types. At the first place the anthropomorphic idols should be pointed out, as well as masks, figurines representing animals and reptiles, and lancets with curved points. If regarded as the components of shaman garments and ritual practices, they turn out to be well-known categories. Certainly, the treasure is the only association of ritual and religious metal artefacts among the Bronze Age antiquities of North Eurasia that is fully represented, as no analogous assemblages are known. Nevertheless separate analogies and correspondences existing, originating from archaeological sites, rock-paintings, rock-engravings, and ethnographic material from East and West Siberia. Scholars have failed to demonstrate similar finds among East European antiquities, and the only exception discovered so far is the figurine of an idol from Bor-Lenva cemetery on the River Kama (Denisov *et al.* 1988: Fig. 2). This find displays iconographic similarity with the Galich figurines,

this fact being evaluated by the authors as highly important.

We do not share the tendency of some archaeologists who trace Abashevo origins in separate pieces of the Galich religious cast objects (Salnikov 1967:46; Kuzmina 2000:100; Nikitin 2000:148). We are convinced that not only the strictly ritual and religious set of items, but also the treasure as a whole, are closely connected with the strikingly rich and specific ST phenomenon (Fig. 5). The artefacts of different – Abashevo or Fat'yanovo types – present in the assemblages do not contradict this point. It has already been stressed (Chernykh & Kuzminykh 1987; 1989) that in the course of their fast migration the ST groups actively incorporated numerous elements of other cultures of alien origin. Thus, having crossed the Urals and found themselves in the zone of taiga and mixed forests of the East European plain, the bearers of ST culture incorporated into their tribal structures groups of Abashevo population (some of them rather numerous). They also made wide use of arsenic copper, copper-silver alloys, and silver produced in the Abashevo metallurgical centre of the Trans-Ural area. The incorporation of representatives of Fat'yanovo tribes seems quite possible, all the more so as the taiga regions on the left bank of the Volga was the locus of active interrelations of the Fat'yanovo and Balanovo population with late Volosovo tribes (Gurina 1963; Gadzyatskaya 1992; Voronin 1998; Solov'ev 2000). The final stages of this process might develop with participation of Seima-Turbino groups, and some other tribes of West Siberian descent involved in the migration. These could be, for instance, the bearers of the Krotovo pottery tradition singled out among the Chirki antiquities on the Middle Volga (Chernykh & Kuzminykh 1989:276; Solov'ev 2000:26). A number of sites of ST type have been revealed on the Volga left bank: Nikolskoe, Kargulino, and recently investigated Yurino cemetery (Solov'ev 2001).

The analysis of the Galich treasure within the system of ST-type monuments does not contradict to spectroanalytical studies of metal carried out on few preserved items (Chernykh 1970:Table XII; Chernykh & Kuzminykh 1989:297, 298). It was established that the copper from Tashkazgan deposits was used for casting the hilt and the blade of the dagger (Fig. 3:1, 10), bracelet (Fig. 3:3), and

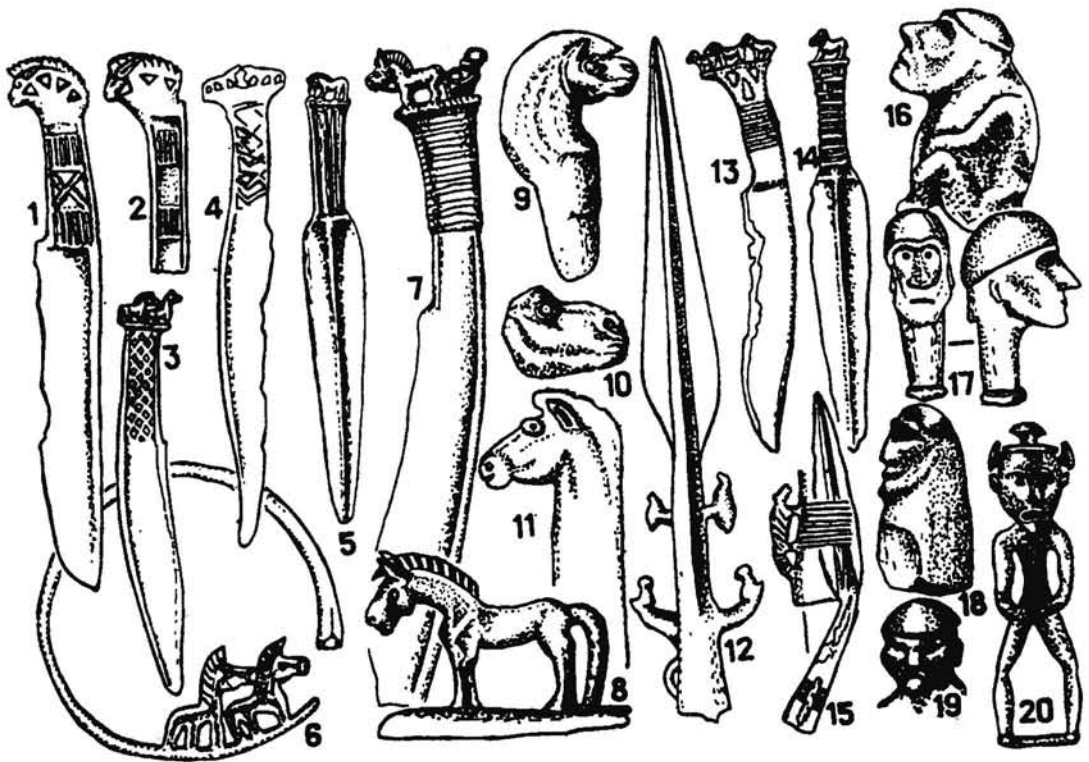


Fig. 5. The Seima-Turbino figurative tradition: minor plastics (Pyatkin & Miklashevich 1990: Fig. 1). Place of origin: 1, 2 – the Altai; 3, 13, 20 – Eastern Europe; 4, 11 – Eastern Kazakhstan; 7, 9, 10, 15, 17, 19 – the Irtysh basin; 6, 12, 18 – Central Kazakhstan; 16 – Northern Kazakhstan; 5, 14 – Kirghizia; 8 – the Minusinsk depression. Material: 1-5, 7, 8, 12-15, 19, 20 – bronze; 6 – gold; 9-11, 16-18 – stone. Not to scale.

guise (Fig. 3:7), while from the copper produced from the Uralic copper sands both idols (Fig. 2:5, Fig. 3:5, 6) and a pangolin-like figure (Fig. 3:9) were cast. A similar combination of metallurgically “pure” and arsenic copper, on the one hand, and silver ornaments (mentioned by Spitsyn), on the other, are indeed more characteristic of Abashevo assemblages. Nevertheless, we should refer to Spitsyn, the eye-witness of the treasure part preserved in Kostroma, who accounted for several articles forged of “some amber-coloured fragile alloy”, viz. a lancet-knife (Fig. 4:6), a large lancet (Fig. 4:15), two plaques-pendants (Fig. 4:2, 10), and all the grooved bracelets (Fig. 4:9, 13, 14). The scholar distinguished them from the objects made of red copper (Spitsyn 1903:108). According to our experience, the term “amber-coloured copper” is applied to the artefacts produced of tin and/or tin-arsenic bronzes. Thus, the chemical composition of copper and

bronzes entirely corresponds to that revealed at other Seima-Turbino sites (Chernykh & Kuzminykh 1989: Table 10, Fig. 90).

The essential achievements of the past decades in studies of genesis, iconography, and semantics of ancient figurative art, in particular that of North and Central Asia, constitute one more argument against the Abashevo attribution of the Galich treasure. In plastic arts and rock-paintings the Seima-Turbino figurative tradition had been singled out (Pyatkin & Miklashevich 1990) and it became a subject of lively scientific discussion (Kozhin 1993; Samashev & Zhumabekova 1993; Novozhenov 1994; Savinov 2000; Parzinger 2000; Kovtun 2001). A number of images depicted in the religious cast pieces from Galich were adequately analysed within the said tradition, but as specimens of Abashevo art. At the same time, the analysis of the Galich metal sculptures has led the authors to the conclusion, that the

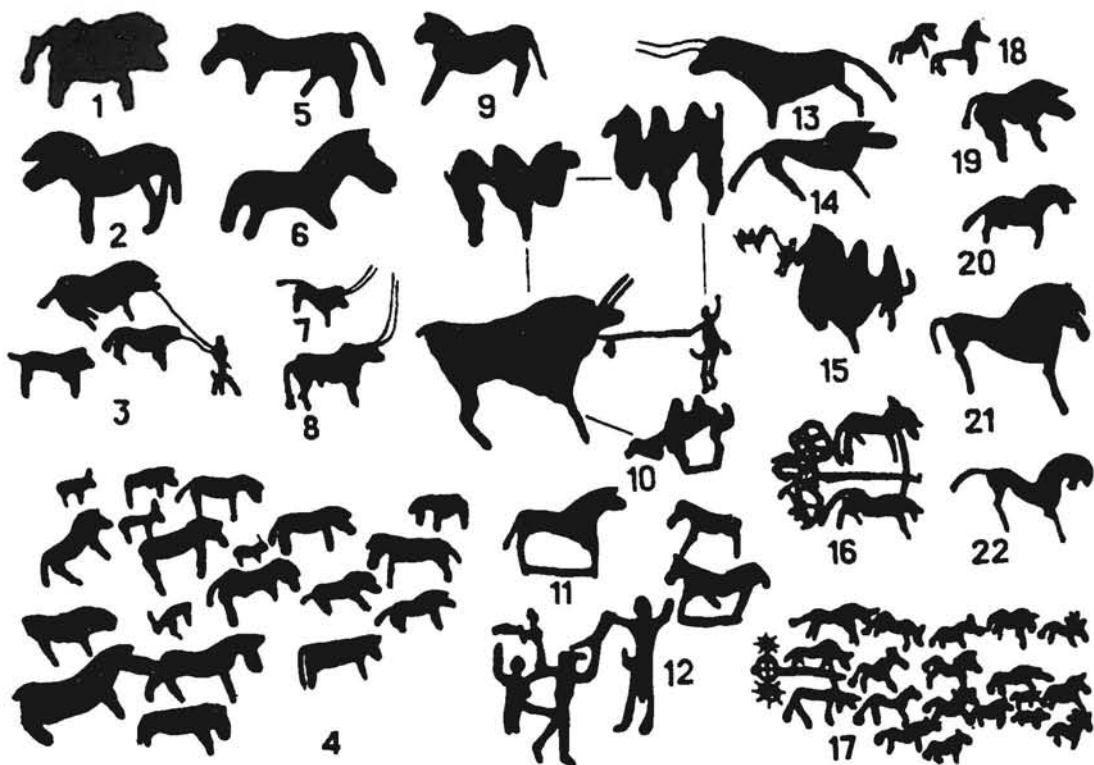


Fig. 6. The Seima-Turbino figurative tradition: rock-paintings and rock-engravings (Pyatkin & Miklashevich 1990: Fig. 2): 1, 5, 7, 8, 11, 12, 16, 18, 20 – Eastern Kazakhstan; 2-4, 9, 10, 13-15, 21, 22 – Central Kazakstan; 6, 17 – the High Altai; 19 – Kirghizia. Not to scale.

ST figurative tradition was not confined to a limited set of images and subjects. Unlike the majority of scholars, we reveal within it two iconographic traditions.

In the course of investigations of rock-paintings and carvings B.N. Pyatkin and E.A. Miklashevich (1990:151) had singled out a set of ST art images: a horse, oxen, Bactrian camels, and possibly rams and anthropomorphic figures (the latter include the Galich idols) (Fig. 6). But there exists another series of ST art images and subjects in addition to those enumerated above: the images of snake, elk, bear, “pangolins”, and some other zoomorphic beings of special significance, and anthropomorphic figures of the Galich type. Both sets identified within the ST figurative tradition represent two interrelated, yet independent iconographic associations. The first one, which we term the Altai type, was described by B.N. Pyatkin and E.A. Miklashevich as ST figurative tradition

spread mainly in the mountains, steppes, and semi-deserts of Central Asia. It was created by the initial ST population groups located in the foothills and mountainous regions of the Altai and Tien Shan (Chernykh & Kuzminykh 1987; 1989). The repertoire of images and principally novel shapes of socketed weapons permit us to determine them as stock-breeders (mainly horse-breeders) and metallurgists. They had contributed to the ST phenomenon celts, spade-celts, flat axes, spearheads with trident midribs, knives with curved backs – all created according to the technology of thin-walled casting, and the improvement of tools and weapons with midribs.

The second iconographic association is termed the Baikal one, and the images of a quite different taiga world are comprised here (Fig. 7). Taking into account separate images and subjects, such as snake, elk, bear and so forth, it seems to be undifferentiated, as it covers the whole Boreal

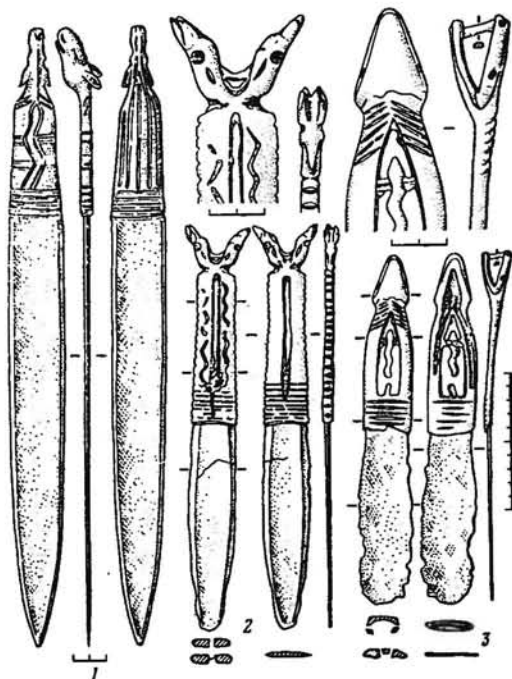


Fig. 7. The Seima-Turbino figurative tradition: the Baikal iconographic association of elements (Chernykh & Kuzminykh 1989: Fig. 62): 1 – Seima; 2 – Perm; 3 – the Galich treasure.

zone of North Eurasia. Nevertheless, this association of elements is best expressed in East Siberia, and first of all in the territories adjacent to the River Angara and the Baikal. It had emerged amid the non-settled groups of hunters and fishers, well studied by A.P. Okladnikov (1950; 1955; 1970) northward from the Sayan-Altai mountain system. The tribes of the Glazkovo and Shivera cultures manufactured perfectly processed items of flint, nephrite and bone, and were familiar with casting bronze. They produced simply shaped double-edged blades. These groups of taiga hunters and fishers constituted the second – Sayan – component of the ST-type cultures.

The natural amalgamation of the Sayan and Altai components that brought into being the homogeneous initial ST culture took place probably in forest-steppe foothills northward of the Altai (Chernykh & Kuzminykh 1989:270). It was a symbiosis of different cultural traditions, and, no doubt, different stereotypes in world-view that determined specific features of the ST figurative tradition. This also may explain the survival of the

both initial iconographic associations during the relatively short history of ST cultural phenomenon (the 17th – the 16th/15th cc. BC according to traditional chronology). It should be underlined that the images typical of the Altai association of elements (a horse, an ox, a tiger) are depicted on the dagger-knives with a single edge and curved back, the spade-celt, and the spearhead with a trident midrib (Chernykh & Kuzminykh 1989: Figs. 22/4, 31/1, 66, 67). These pieces of weaponry and tools were brought to the ST culture by the socially dominating clans of metallurgists and horse-breeders. The images of the Baikal association, such as snake and elk, were portrayed on the double-edged dagger blades (Chernykh & Kuzminykh 1989: Fig. 62) derived from the Glazkovo culture prototypes. These daggers and the anthropomorphic and zoomorphic images from the Galich treasure and Bor-Lenva display the connections of the ST phenomenon with its Sayan component developed by taiga clans of hunters and fishers (Fig. 8).

In the present work the ritual and religious set of the Galich treasure is viewed not only as an integral part of the Baikal association of iconographic elements within the ST figurative tradition, but also as a key to the interpretation of the semantics of the subjects and images of the Galich zoo- and anthropomorphic cast pieces.

THE GALICH ZOOMORPHIC CAST PIECES

The image of the snake and the way to the Nether World

The unique Galich dagger (for description see: Chernykh & Kuzminykh 1989: 110, Fig. 62/3) bears the image of a snake in manifold exaggerated form (Fig. 6). The basic image is that of a snake depicted on the hilt, shown with its mouth open and with a vertical bar placed inside, the latter imitating the poisonous sting. Inside the hilt opening a figurine of a creeping snake is soldered, its body near the head is ornamented with a snake-shaped zigzag motif and oblique carved lines. The hilt of another Galich dagger (Fig. 2:8) shows similar semantic features. It is surmounted with a snake's head (sometimes interpreted as that of a lizard) represented with its mouth open and tongue bisected. It is worth to note that the other daggers from the Perm vicinity and Seima

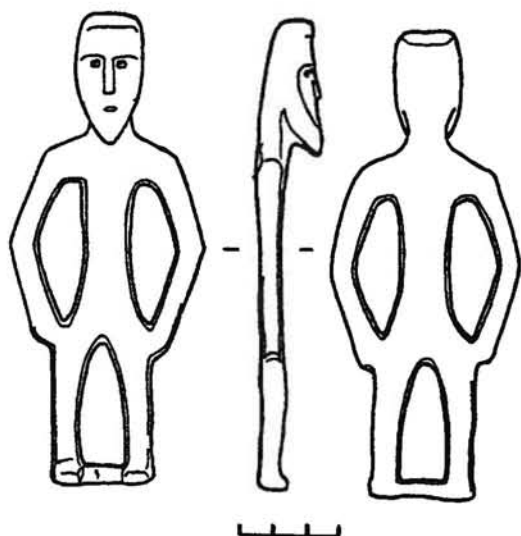


Fig. 8. The copper idol from Bor-Lenva (Denisov et al. 1988: Fig.2).

(Studzitskaya 1969: Fig. 1; Bader 1970: Fig. 50; Chernykh & Kuzminykh 1989: Fig. 62/1, 2) with flat blades and hilts shaped as elk figures are also ornamented with snake images. They are decisively of significance, and most probably, should be interpreted as “a common system of world-view” (Baiburin 1981:215), the element being included into some kind of zoological code (Toporov 1972:93) typifying a certain – chthonic – zone of the universe.

In order to decipher the semantics of the Galich (and ST as a whole) cast pieces decorated with snake images, as well as anthropomorphic ones (discussed below), we may adduce some coeval pieces of visual art from the Baikal and Angara regions. We suppose this territory to be the centre of formation of the Baikal iconographic association of elements brought to Eastern Europe by the taiga inhabitants. Special attention should be paid to the rock-paintings in the Sagan-Zaba and Aya bays on Lake Baikal (Okladnikov 1974:71, 84) (Fig. 9). Monumental anthropomorphic figures are portrayed there, shown en face; the ancient artists stressed their strong shoulders and slender waists. Proceeding from the manner of rendering the headgear and drawings of “tambourines” A.P. Okladnikov interpreted these figures to be images of shamans. The main figure of a shaman from Aya Bay is accompanied by a draw-

ing of a snake. Similar anthropomorphic images can be pointed out among the Angara rock-paintings and those in the Bratskaya Kada region (Okladnikov 1966: Table 93). Some of them are distinguished by the figure of a snake carved on their chests.

According to Okladnikov, the Baikal rock-paintings and carvings represent the most wide and expressive range of ideas related to shamanistic functions and its specific endowment ever accounted for in North Asia. The snake is the central subject of these representations; it came into being during the Bronze Age, its origins being traced to as early as the Glazkovo culture (the 3rd – early 2nd mill. BC). A.P. Okladnikov surmised, strongly stressing this point, that the complex shaman set of articles had entirely developed all the basic features known from East Siberian ethnographic material, the discussed set being closely linked to snake worship.

A strong connection between shamanistic ideas and snake worship dating back to the Bronze Age is clearly evidenced by so-called shaman burials accompanied by snake figurines known from East and West Siberia (Studzitskaya 1981b:44; Vadetskaya 1980: Table 35, 32, 43, 76, 48, 98; Lipsky 1970: Figs. 2, 3; Maksimenkov 1980: Table 23; Molodin 1985: Fig. 27/1-3, 4). Most of the snake images were yielded by burials. To a certain extent this evidences their semantic proximity, while the fact that they were placed in male graves confirms once more the interpretation of the snake as a widespread symbol of male

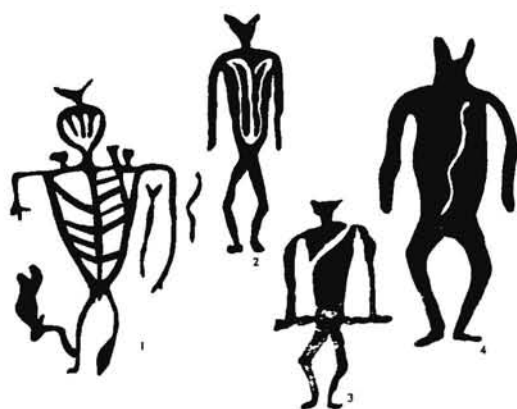


Fig. 9. The Baikal rock-paintings and rock-engravings (Okladnikov 1974); 1 – Aya bay; 2-4 – Sagan-Zaba bay. Not to scale.

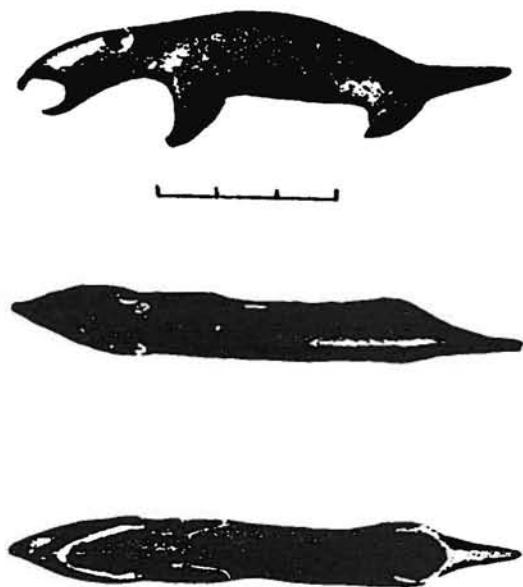


Fig. 10. The Galich "pangolin" (Tallgren 1931: Fig. 8).

commencement (deity) in mythology and religions (Antonova 1983:14, 20; Golan 1994:83).

As ethnography testifies, the image of snake is strongly related in the ideological system of Siberian aboriginal peoples to the notion of "the Nether World". It is clearly expressed in shaman rites and attributes. According to A.K. Baiburin (1981), the latter have a strictly determined meaning in the entire system of cosmological concepts. The connection of the snake image to the chthonic world is already well pronounced in the Bronze Age material, although it displays polysemantic features as well. The snake is one of the central subjects of shaman art. It is the principal spirit assisting the shaman. Images of snakes are widely represented in shaman costume (Ivanov 1954: 144, Fig. 41). They are often included in the shaman dress of the Sayan-Altai peoples as pendants (Ivanov 1954:161, 187, 189, 212, 301-308, Figs. 56, 88, 90 and other). S.V. Ivanov considered them to be the earliest attributes of shaman costume. A similar conclusion was reached by V.M. Kulemzin (1976:135) while studying the Khanty tribes in the Vasyugan and Vakh river basins. The scholar presumed snake-shaped plait pendants and bird features to be the earliest elements of shaman dress.

Snakes were also depicted in other attributes of shaman rituals – rattles and tambourines. In some cases their heads are shown raised and their mouths open (Kulemzin 1976:91). Sometimes the figurines of snakes were placed inside the tambourine while performing the shaman rite to represent the assistant spirits devouring evil ones (Kulemzin 1976: Fig. 9). Snake images depicted on rattles and tambourines were often associated with their protective function.

Resuming our discussion of figurines and drawings of snakes found on the daggers from Galich, Seima, and Perm we should once more point out the expressively rendered snake images as signs determining the Nether World.

Other beings from the chthonic world

The Galich treasure also comprises a unique hollow sculpture of an animal with a strong short tail, broad paws (or flippers) and a blunt beak-shaped muzzle with open mouth and eyes formed as openings (Fig. 3:9). This fantastical image is easily identified as a predecessor of the "pangolin" image, popular in the Perm animal style. Despite a great number of ideas on the characteristics of this image, all scholars principally agree on its interpretation as an incarnation of the Nether (underground or other) World and its master (Gribova 1975:11-13). A.M. Tallgren found it difficult to distinguish stylized and natural features in the Galich "pangolin", he considered it rather as a kind of rodent than a beaver, possibly a rat (Tallgren 1931:178) (Fig. 10). The palaeozoologist E.E. Antipina, to whom we express our gratitude for her valuable consultation, is inclined to identify this figurine as a fish-like being rather than as an otter, beaver etc. It is clear, however, that we are dealing with an inhabitant of the Nether World, obviously connected with shaman garments and attributes. The images and metallic figurines of fantastical animals were often placed on shaman dress used by the Tungus, the Manchurs (Ivanov 1954:184; 1970: Fig. 209), and the Yakuts (Pekarsky & Vasil'ev 1910: Fig. 15).

Moreover, in the Galich collection we should mention a hollow sculpture of a being (Fig. 2:18) with a long thick tail, paws pressed to the body, and short muzzle, two eyes being slightly shown. It likely resembles a *desman*, an animal living in

pools of water and having strong tail; the rat is less probable as it does not have thick tail. There are also a flat loop-shaped pendant showing two heavy animal heads symmetrically arranged, with mouths open and eyes rendered bold (Fig. 2:7) which V.A. Gorodtsov (1928:14) thought to depict schematized reptiles or birds; another loop-shaped pendant with zoomorphic ends (Fig. 2:20), one of them bifurcating in the manner of the snake's tongue, the second showing the contour of an animal head. There is also a flat object with a broadened end also resembling a snake's tongue (Fig. 2:22). These artefacts were probably used as pendants attached to a shaman costume and depicting to a certain extent the beings related to the Nether World.

THE GALICH ANTHROPOMORPHIC CASTINGS

The idols and masks: performance of shaman rite

1) The Galich idols as masked personages

According to A.P. Okladnikov (1973:23), "the Seima bronzes mark the road leading to the sculptures of the famous Galich treasure". The idols from the treasure are not exact copies of each other, but they look very similar, despite differences in size (164 mm and 144 mm in height) and details (Fig. 11). The figurines are shown in the same position of dance or shaman ritual performance, with knees bent, and feet joined with a bar. Their "faces" are the key details, a kind of the semantic code of both sculptures. The way they are modelled, the ascetic manner of how their features are rendered, and their disproportionately large size indicate masks rather than the appearance of a certain individual, all the more so in view of the fact that the backs of the "faces" are concave. Thus, the Galich idols are shown performing in role masks disguising the face. A relief bar placed above the forehead represents probably a detail of headgear—a fur cap-trimming or a brow-band. The same detail is also typical of the separate Galich masks. These aspects of modelling anthropomorphic figures follow the patterns worked out in different territories of Eurasia in stone and bronze anthropomorphic sculpture as early as the Neo-Eneolithic (the

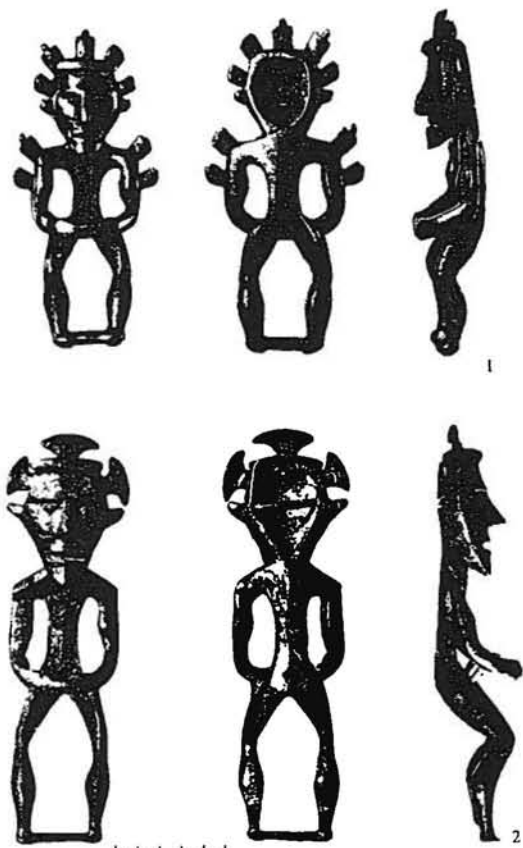


Fig. 11. The Galich idols: 1 – The State Hermitage, St. Petersburg; 2 – The State Historical museum, Moscow (Tallgren 1925a: Figs. 1, 2).

famous mask from Sakhtysh, the idols from Usvyaty, Gorbunovo, Shigir etc.).

The idol preserved in the State Historic Museum is shown wearing headgear surmounted with three projecting crescent fans, and the idol from the Hermitage has three vertical protuberances. It is supplied with pairs of similar protuberances at its temples, shoulders, and forearms. We do not exclude the possibility that both figurines are depicted wearing ornaments of bird feathers attached to the head-dress or brow-band, and also to the back of the head (in the case of the Hermitage sculpture to the sleeves as well). As for the first idol, the crescents may not signify bunches of feathers. We should point out the large lancets with curved backs (Fig. 2:1, 4, 15) and their shape practically similar to the projections. Perhaps these lancets were inserted into shaman headgear?

2) The Galich idols and the Kazbek treasure

In the 1920s and 1930s A.M. Tallgren steadily put forward the idea of the Near Eastern and Anatolian origins of the Galich idols (Tallgren 1925a:336-338; 1930: 131, 161; 1937b:114). He followed the thesis *ex Oriente lux*, as did also V.A. Gorodtsov (1910), but tracing not Siberian or Central Asiatic cultural trends, but a Caucasian one. The well-known statuettes from the Kazbek treasure had enabled Tallgren to link the Near Eastern solar deity of Shamash via the Caucasus to the Galich idols found in the northeast of the European Russia, and to show a backward relation to the Caucasian figurines from the Kazbek treasure of the Kobam culture. He regarded the Kazbek association of elements as a "grandson" of Galich.

In the same period A.M. Tallgren discussed another possible origin of the Galich idols – South Siberia and the Baikal region. He pointed out the rock-paintings near Minusinsk depicting anthropomorphic figures shown in shaman head-dresses, and the burial containing a skeleton with metal diadem on the forehead discovered near Irkutsk (Tallgren 1925a: Figs. 16, 17). Unfortunately, this profound insight was overshadowed by the Caucasian-Anatolian concept that Tallgren thought to reflect adequately ancient Near Eastern idea of a solar god riding a chariot with reins in hand (Tallgren 1925a: Fig. 19). We think the Kazbek figurines, on the one hand, and the Galich idols, on the other, belong to absolutely different iconographic associations displaying no relation with each other.

3) The Galich idols and the Rostovka skier

The sculpture group surmounting the bronze dagger hilt from Rostovka consists of a horse and a skier holding a halter (Fig. 12). V.I. Matyushchenko (1970:103-105) has strongly stressed that manner in which the skier was modelled was quite the same and typical of the Galich idols. His opinion was confirmed by P.M. Kozhin (1993:33, 34), B.N. Pyatkin and E.A. Miklashevich (1990: Fig. 1/20). The sculptures in fact have such details in common as broad shoulders, slender waists, generally shown fists, and bent knees. Nevertheless, the figurines display an absolutely different manner of execution, and we

cannot agree with the above authors in their attempts to ascribe the skier and the idols to the same iconographic association, and, moreover, to identify the disguised personages as skiers.

One should keep in mind that the Rostovka skier is shown in expressed motion. All features of male face are distinctly pronounced: eyes, nose, mouth, ears, and chin. The man is firmly standing on short skis, his bent legs are set widely apart. One hand is holding the rein, another is slightly bent and raised. His prominent cheek-bones, slanting eyes, flattened face clearly correspond to the Mongoloid anthropological type. He wears tight clothes making his shoulder-blades visible, and a round cap with a small slit at the back. The figurine is a round sculpture in proper sense of the term.

The Galich figurines, on the contrary, are shown statically in spite of their dancing position (implying the performance of a shaman ritual). We may only guess them to be male, as their faces are disguised with masks. It is impossible to see the real features and anthropological appearance of these "shamans". The similarity of the headgear from Rostovka and Galich is very conditional. There is modelling, but the former is a clearly shaped deep round cap, whilst the latter are only the bases for complicated shaman caps. Or they show felt or leather bands covered with textile or fur, with attached feathers or metal plaques. The Galich idols and maskoids are not sculptures proper: firstly, they are flat, and secondly, their heads are substituted with masks.

4) The Galich idols and stone sculpture from the Ob' and the Irtysh interfluvium

With regard to some features the Galich idols are not alien to the anthropomorphic castings, drawings, and sculptures of the Altai iconographic association of elements of the ST figurative tradition. The stone anthropomorphic sculptures from the interfluvium of the Ob' and Irtysh rivers' interfluvium (Moshinskaya 1976; Pyatkin & Miklashevich 1990; Kiryushin 1991; 1996; Kiryushin & Ivanov 2001) represent a stylistically homogeneous group, displaying essential differences in comparison with the Galich copper idols. Similarities may be observed only in the manner of the execution of features and the inevitable detail common to both groups – headgear shaped

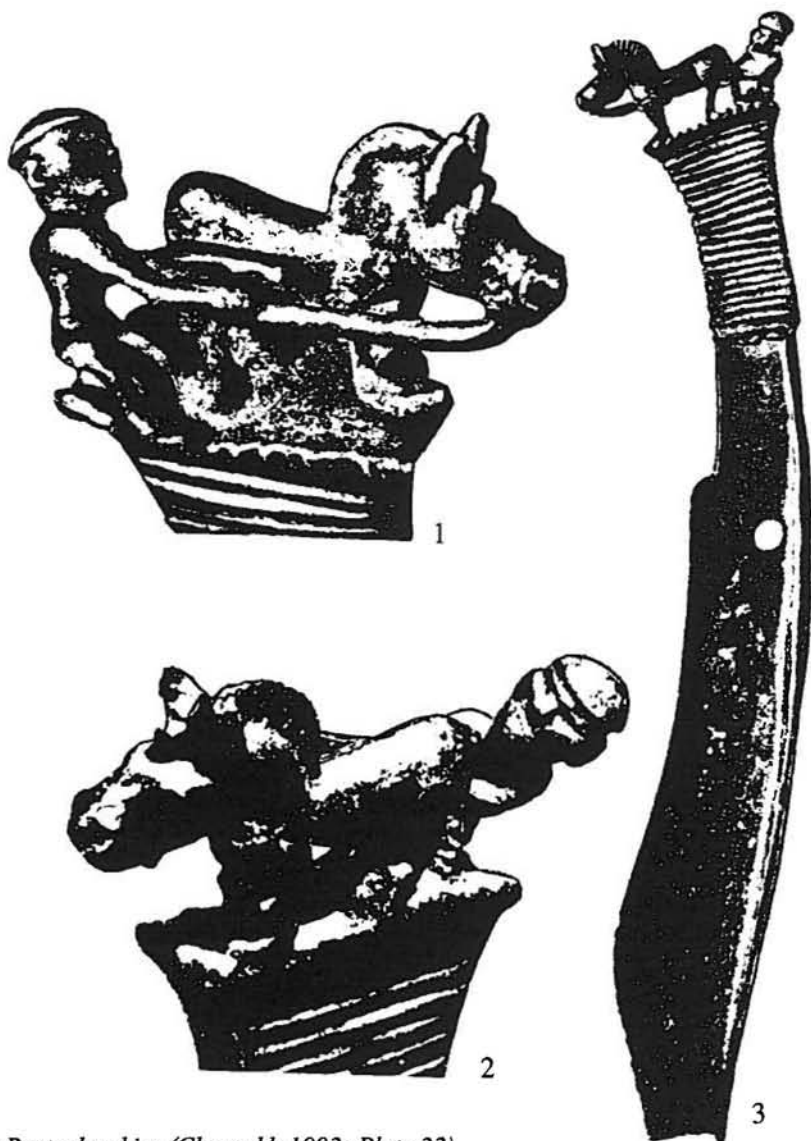


Fig. 12. The Rostovka skier (Chernykh 1992: Plate 22).

as a tight round cap, sometimes with a slit at the back. As a whole, the Galich idols and masks constitute a specific group of religious metal plastic art that has closer analogies among the rock-paintings and rock-engravings of the Baikal and Angara region.

5) The mask taken off

We should draw once more the reader's attention to the shape of the Galich idols' headgear. One of them is supplied with three crescents, or inlays

(Fig. 5:2), another with three vertical projections (Fig. 5:1). Undoubtedly, these details have some religious significance, as was noted by the first investigators of the treasure (Tallgren 1925a:313-318; Gorodtsov 1928:49). A number of ethnographic and archaeological items of evidence exist concerning the sacral meaning of headgear similar to the first one (Kulemzin 1976:78; Chindina 1999:191; Devlet 1980b; 1999). M.A. Devlet analysed the images of guises and came to the conclusion that the more elaborate head-gear was shown and the more pretentious its appearance the

higher the social status of the ancestral spirit that it symbolized (Devlet 1996:131, 132).

The second idol's head-dress should be interpreted as a simplified and schematized image of the cap decorated with feathers. Numerous archaeological and ethnographic data confirm this idea (Prokof'eva 1971:99; Devlet 1976:19-21; Studzitskaya 1987:78; Kubarev 1988: Table 3, 4, 9-14, 16; Chindina 1999: Fig. 1/7, 11). Mostly three feathers were shown. General pattern of head-dress supplied with cogs or protuberances, like that of the second Galich idol, came into being in primitive art of North and Central Asia in the Bronze Age. Often the so-called "ray style" is viewed as an aspect of solar symbolism, L.A. Chindina (1999:193) considers that it also implied feathers attached to head-gear. In relation to this point the thesis by E.A. Okladnikova (1984:37) is worth mentioning. This scholar presumes the emergence of zoomorphic (terato- and ornithomorphic) ritual costume to be closely connected with the process of the formation of shamanistic ideas.

Maskoids

1) Maskoids: scalp-masks

Two small anthropomorphic masks of the Galich treasure are cast in the same stylistic manner as the idol masks. One of the small masks is shown with head-gear surmounted with two miniature figurines of bears placed antithetically (Fig. 3:7), another one has a projection resembling the tongue of a flame (Fig. 2:19). Both masks have concave backs, and on the mask preserved in the State Historical museum small holes can be seen in its forehead. According to A.D. Avdeev (1957:267) the characteristic details of the mask, viz. the eye and mouth openings, are observed only on the smallest of the Galich masks (48 to 32 mm), with the bear statuettes. The second one surmounted with a flame-tongue or a bunch of feathers represents a maskoid proper, as it has preserved only the general image of a mask (judging from Svin'in's drawing).

The ST cultural sphere was involved into the process of the formation of shamanistic ideas, which can be proved both by the idol figurines and the maskoids of the Galich treasure. This well corresponds to the process of wide spread of

guises' images in rock-paintings and rock-engravings of North and Central Asia dated from the Bronze Age, and evidenced by the archaeological material (Leont'ev 1978; Devlet 1980a; 1999; Kubarev 1988; Kovtun 2001). The burial of shaman discovered in Shumilikha contained a bone mask with the thoroughly executed and detailed image of a human face. Its size (110 to 95 mm) suggests that it was rather a maskoid, i.e. a diminished copy of a mask not suitable for practical wearing (Avdeev 1957:266, 267). Usually such maskoids were sewn on the shaman's clothes on the chest or at the waist. The holes the Galich maskoids had in their upper part suggest that they were apparently sewn on the clothes.

2) Maskoids and shaman mythological and ritual practices

The ethnologists held that maskoids and masks were the incarnations of a shaman-ancestor, a shaman-spirit (Ivanov 1975:25, 27; Gracheva 1990:76). According to the ethnographic material, masks (guises), head-dresses, and maskoids were important components of the religious art of Siberian peoples from the late 18th to the early 20th century (Ivanov 1975). Metal masks were manufactured by smiths, mainly from red copper. It is known that copper was thought to have high semantic status; in ritual practice it represented an opposition to iron (Balakin 1998:137). It was copper that was used by some Siberian peoples, such as the Selkups and the Kets, for producing the images of the most powerful spirits – the shaman's assistants.

The very shape of the head-gear of the Galich maskoids, and the flame-tongue in particular, may be regarded as additional arguments for the relation of the religious and ritual set of the treasure to "the Nether World" (Fig. 13). The close semantic association between metal and fire is well known; in the mythological world-view it is viewed as "the fiery Nether World", that may be "indirectly interpreted as a metallic one" (Balakin 1998:44). In the ethnography and folklore of the Siberian peoples the Nether World is often marked by metal – gold or copper. In the epics of the Yakuts and the Altai peoples the epithet "copper" is usually applied to chthonic beings (L'vova *et al.* 1988:96). M.D. Khlobystina (1987:37) stressed the association between the fire element and the

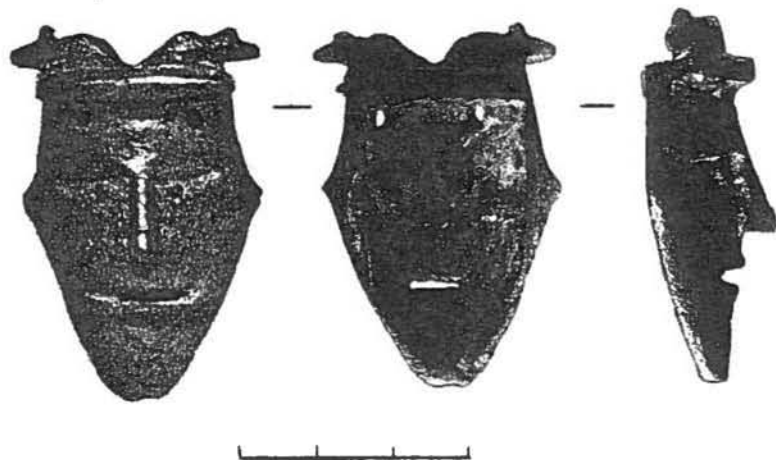


Fig. 13. The Galich maskoid (Tallgren 1925a: Fig. 3).

world of the dead acknowledged in primitive and traditional cultures.

The relation between the formation of shaman world-view and the maskoid surmounted with two bear figurines seems obvious. Head-gear was the central element of shaman costume, often being adorned with features of animals: deer, elk, Siberian deer, bear (Prokof'eva 1971:8, 99). The environmental background of the shaman world-view caused the concentration of archaic consciousness on the interrelation between man and beast (Kalinina 1999:210). Many Siberian peoples regard the bear to be the main assistant of the shaman during his ritual descent to the Nether World (Leont'ev 1978:114, 115). Bear worship was the most popular subject in ancient art of West Siberia, in the south taiga and forest-steppe zones in particular. According to the ideas of taiga hunters it was the bear that symbolized the male subdivision of the primitive community, active masculine energy. This animal was closely connected with cosmogony (Okladnikov 1959:325-336) and simultaneously with the Nether World.

Masks and maskoids: the same destiny

Masks and maskoids are widely known in North and Central Asiatic ethnography, especially among the Evenks living to the north and east of Lake Baikal (Graheva 1990:72, 73). The masks were made of wood or metal and suspended from the shaman's dress together with other images. After the shaman's death his paraphernalia were

usually buried with him or separately. Other peoples of East Siberia, mainly those living not far from Lake Baikal also made masks representing their dead ancestors. S.V. Ivanov's (1970:94) point of view of the ancient origin of the discussed objects among the aboriginal population is entirely confirmed by the archaeological material.

Anthropomorphic figurine - tambourine, rattle or staff

One more artefact from the Galich treasure displays specific anthropomorphic features: it is a kind of handle surmounted with a mask (Fig. 4:7). Stylistically it is close to the mask worn by one of the idols: its elongated body, pointed chin, projections at eye level, tight cap or head-band are the same. According to A.A. Spitsyn (1903:108), its back was also concave. Looking at the drawing, it seems that the lower end has broken off, but the handle is fully preserved. Spitsyn recorded the traces of a modern split and an extension. Evidently, the handle ended in a rod or a thin tang that served to attach it to some object.

That object might, for instance, be a shaman tambourine. S.V. Ivanov (1976:219-221) underlined that anthropomorphic handles were typical of the tambourines of the aboriginal peoples in North and Central Asia; he also presumed such handles to mirror developed shamanistic ancestor worship. Large series of similar tambourines were published by E.D. Prokof'eva (1961: Table 22, 23, VI) and S.V. Ivanov (1979: Figs. 35-37,

41, 88, 89, 94-107, 116-120, 128, 129, 158). The artefact in question could be attached to the handle of a tambourine rattle as well. Anthropomorphic rattles are well known in Siberian ethnography, for example, among the Evenks (Ivanov 1954: Figs. 68, 69; 1970: Fig. 143). The rattle-handle in the shape of a human head was considered the image of the spirit – the rattle's "master" (Ivanov 1970:163). And finally, the Galich anthropomorphic figurine could have been at the end of a shaman's staff. Among the Kets, the staff was an indispensable instrument for performing the shaman ritual and it symbolized the legendary world (shaman) tree (Alekseenko 1967:187).

OTHER ATTRIBUTES OF SHAMAN MYTHOLOGICAL AND RITUAL PRACTICES

Axes and their magic status

Taking into account religious and ritual meaning of the Galich assemblage, two copper axes do not seem to be random features. We should bear in mind that in antiquity the axe was regarded as a weapon of princely rank; it was also endowed with specific magic abilities; and together with dagger and arrowhead was used in performing corresponding mythological and ritual activities (Nikulina 1999:219; Skakov 1998:44-47). In early state societies the axe represented the insignia of supreme power, royal or priestly, a symbol of force and divine power. This thesis is clearly supported by numerous archaeological finds. Thus, in the Okunevo culture (Maksimov 1976:59) stone axes were discovered only in the graves of socially advanced members of the community, and the investigator is inclined to identify the burials under discussion as those of cult ministers.

Lancet-knives

It is of importance that in the Galich treasure the ordinary types of knives characteristic of the epoch are absent; a whole series of specialized miniature lancet-knives are represented instead (Fig. 2:21; 4:6, 8). V.A.Gorodtsov attributed to this group also the object (Fig. 4:15) which we consider to be an inlay for shaman head-gear (see 10.1.1.). The Galich knives differ distinctly from the Late Bronze Age lancets in a singular detail:

two of three tools are curved at their points. This is a significant feature determining their position among the ritual artefacts that the treasure comprises. V.A. Gorodtsov (1928:16) and A.M. Tallgren (1937b:112) termed the tools as priestly or offering knives. Gorodtsov referred to the opinion of S.K. Kuznetsov – a well-known ethnologist and archaeologist active at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries and a specialist in Siberian ethnography — who presumed that the points of the knives had been curved to prevent damage to animal entrails being pulled apart in the process of divination. It was probably not the only function of the lancet-knives in shaman practice, yet the most important thing is that they are not random items in the Galich treasure.

Jingling ornaments

The treasure included a significant series of ornaments (Fig. 2: 9-11, 13, 15, 16; Fig. 3:2, 3; Fig. 4:1-5, 9-14) that in the context of a shaman set does not seem simply logical, but, moreover, binding. The shaman costumes of the Evenks, Kets, Selkups, Nganasans, Buryats, and other Siberian peoples are richly supplied with suspended zoo- and anthropomorphic figurines of different spirits, and a literal mass of various ornaments (Ivanov 1954; 1970; 1979). Quite utilitarian objects could be turned into sacred ones, as is known from the ethnographic data (Ozheredov 1999). Evidently, for shaman practices not only specific objects of religious function could be used, different in their shape or material from utilitarian ones. The characteristic way of attaching the plaques-pendants sewn on the cloth or breastplate stresses their main function: to jingle. This could be achieved also by wearing bracelets, strings of various silver beads, pendants of all kinds. In ethnographic records magic function of jingling pendants is determined so as to serve for frightening off evil spirits; the pendants' chinking and clanging was also interpreted as the spirits' language able to bring luck and well-being to the owner of the costume (Okladnikova 1995:177).

SHAMANISM AND THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF SEIMA-TURBINO SOCIETY

The shamanistic world-view corresponded in the best possible way to the mode of life and social

interests of the ST tribes. The warlike features of shaman's image have been repeatedly discussed (Motov 1996). All spheres of the shaman's behaviour are characterized by dualism – religious and magic performance, on the one hand, and clearly expressed aggressiveness, on the other. The shaman always struggles, either with hostile spirits, or with the shamans of alien tribes. Struggle is his mode of life.

According to Yu.A. Motov (1996:35), the shaman's warlike appearance, mode of acting, and weapons were by no means occasional. These elements existed in close interrelation and were rooted in the remote past, "when the owner of the shaman equipment was primarily a warrior". The culture of the military elite evidently came into being as early as the Early Bronze Age (Maikop, Novosvobodnaya, etc.) and survived until the Scythian era. It was then revived in the Early Middle Ages. To some extent, the shaman's image represented that of a warrior of far-off times, related to "the black shamans" who were the servants of the deity of death (Potapov 1978). Shamanism as a system of world-view met all the requirements of the social structure of the ST groups, since it corresponded to their aggressive martial character and mobile way of life.

ON THE PROBLEM OF THE ORIGIN OF SHAMANISM IN THE BRONZE AGE

The analysis of ritual and religious set of the Galich treasure has enabled us to surmise its close correspondence to the warlike culture of the ST population and the aggressive qualities of their social groups. These features most probably originated from the Sayan component of the ST transcultural phenomenon: the Glazkovo and related cultures of the Baikal and Angara regions. A.P. Okladnikov (1970:191, 192) underlined the genetic links between the culture of modern Tungus-speaking peoples and the Yukagirs with that of the Neolithic and Early Metal Period tribes of East Siberian hunters and fishers, traced clearly in their economy, mobile and half-settled mode of life, arts, and mythology. Okladnikov (1973:24) also came to a general conclusion regarding "the early beginning of shamanism in its specific forms that have been preserved till now in the ethnography of Siberian peoples of the 18th-20th cc.". We should refer to the scholar's other insight of spe-

cial significance in the context of the theme under discussion, namely that "the most important contributions to the world-view and cult of Siberian shamanism were made by the Bronze Age tribes".

At present, the majority of investigators, including ethnologists, share the position of A.P. Okladnikov regarding the formation of shamanism in North Asia. Considering shamanism to be a specific phenomenon in the development of religious beliefs, they concentrate on its emergence among the tribes that subsisted on hunting and fishing, and those whose economy was based on hunting, fishing, and stock-breeding (Basilov 1977:4; Kuzmin 1992:125, 126).

Despite the repeated attempts of A.M. Tallgren (1925a; 1930) to link the origin of the anthropomorphic idols and maskoids to the Caucasus and Asia Minor (the Koban culture and the Hittites), the most convincing ethnographic and archaeological correspondences have been traced between the Galich ritual set and the culture of the North Asiatic peoples. The assemblage clearly demonstrates the stereotype of world-outlook characteristic of the taiga tribes. Some isolated features, first of all in modelling the head-gear of the Galich anthropomorphic figurines, give grounds to compare them with the traditions of the Altai cultural component (Elunino and Krotovo cultural circle). Generally speaking, the religious and ritual association of the Galich treasure appears to be isolated against the background of East European cultures, sites, and the figurative traditions of the local tribes.

Summing up, we conclude that the assemblage in question represents a set of attributes clearly mirroring a conception of the structure of the universe typical of shamanism. And though they do not provide an exhaustive picture, they nonetheless permit to consider presumably the Galich treasure as a set of shaman equipment. We presume all the artefacts comprised, and especially those depicting the beings from the chthonic world, to have belonged to shamans (or some persons executing their functions) who specialized in performing the rites of descent to the "dark" Nether World.

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ABBREVIATIONS

- AEAE Arkheologiya, etnografiya i antropologiya Evrazii. Novosibirsk.
- AEB Arkheologiya i etnografiya Bashkirii. Ufa.
- AI Arkheologicheskie izyskaniya. St.Peterburg.
- EO Etnograficheskoe obozrenie. Moskva.
- ESA Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua. Helsinki.
- FM Finskt Museum. Helsinki.
- FUF Finnisch-Ugrische Forschungen. Helsinki.
- IGAIMK Izvestiya Gosudarstvennoy Akademii istorii materialnoy kultury. Moskva – Leningrad.
- IIS Iz istorii Sibiri. Tomsk.
- KSIA Kratie soobshcheniya Instituta arkheologii AN SSSR. Moskva.
- KSIIIMK Kratie soobshcheniya Instituta istorii materialnoy kultury AN SSSR. Moskva – Leningrad.
- MIA Materialy i issledovaniya po arkheologii SSSR. Moskva – Leningrad.
- PIFK Problemy istorii, filologii, kultury. Moskva – Magnitogorsk.
- SA Sovetskaya Arkheologiya. Moskva.
- SKST Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran Toimituksia. Helsinki.
- SMAE Sbornik Muzeya antropologii i etnografii im. Petra Velikogo. Leningrad.
- SMYA Suomen Muinaismuistoyhdistyksen Aikakauskirja – Finska Fornminnesföreningens Tidskrift. Helsinki.
- SO Studia Orientalia. Helsinki.
- SO RAN Sibirskoe Otdelenie Rossiyskoy Akademii Nauk.
- TAS Tverskoy arkheologicheskoy sbornik. Tver'.
- TIE Trudy Instituta etnografii AN SSSR. Moskva – Leningrad.
- TMAE Trudy Mariyskoy arkheologicheskoy ekspeditsii. Yoshkar-Ola.

TSA RANION Trudy seksii arkeologii
Rossiyskoy Assotsiatsii nauchno-
issledovatel'skikh institutov
obshchestvennykh nauk. Moskva.
VDI Vestnik drevney istorii. Moskva.

ZORSA

Zapiski Otdeleniya russkoy
slavyanskoy arkeologii Russkogo
arkheologicheskogo obshchestva.
St.Peterburg – Petrograd