

The Copper Idols from Galich and Their Relatives.

By

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In the famous treasure discovered in the thirties at Galich, in the Government of Kostroma, north of the Volga in Central Russia¹, there are, among other objects, two whole and fragments of three other copper² idols or human images. Reproductions of these will be found in Figs. 1—5. The first four seem to have formed part of the treasure itself, while the fifth was apparently discovered, together with a number of other objects, during an experimental excavation undertaken immediately afterwards on the same site³. The statuette shown in Fig. 4 has come down to us solely in the form of the old drawing here reproduced. The originals to Figs. 2—3 are preserved in the Historical Museum at Moscow, that to Fig. 5 in the Museum at Kostroma and that to Fig. 1 in the Hermitage at Petrograd, transferred there after the revolution from

¹ A. Spicyn, Галичский кладъ. Записки русск. отд. русск. археолог. общества (= ЗРОРАО) V: 1, pp. 104—110 + Pl. XXIX, XXX, XXXI. — A. M. Tallgren, *Der Schatz von Galitsch und die sog. Fatjanower Kultur an der oberen Wolga. Suomen Muinaismuistoyhdistyksen Aikakauskirja* (= SMYA) XXV: 1, p. 25 sqq.

² The objects are unanalysed; they can be of pure copper or of some copper alloy. A bar of copper discovered by the writer in a dwelling-cavity of the Copper Age in the immediate vicinity of the site of the find and reproduced here, Fig. 6, from SMYA XXV: 1, p. 38, Fig. 18, was subjected to analysis in 1925 by M. Kampan, M. Sc., of the National Museum at Helsingfors. According to this analysis the bar contains 97.42 % copper, 0.02 % iron, 1.69 % zinc, traces of tin, other impurities 0.87 %.

³ See work first mentioned, p. 108.

Count Stroganov's former private collection.¹ These idols and their relatives form the subject of this investigation. With regards to the treasure and the culture of which they form a part, the reader is referred to the writer's earlier publications.²

I.

1. The first idol, Fig. 1, with crooked legs, measures 135 mm. from head to toe. The trunk is flat as a board, the arms and legs

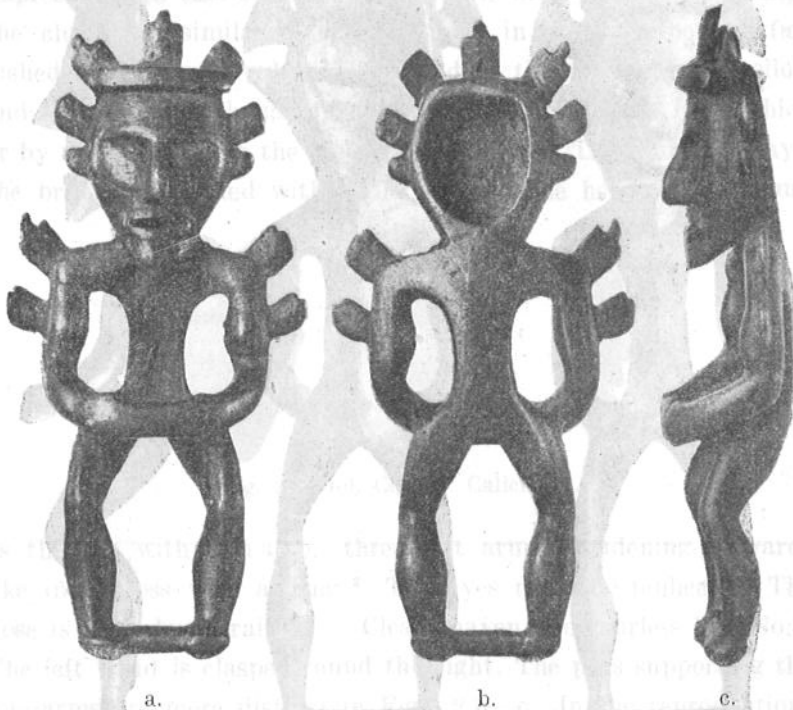


Fig. 1. Idol. Copper. Calich. $\frac{2}{3}$.

rounded, whereby an attempt seems to have been made to indicate the muscles. The head is disproportionately large, open behind,

¹ Reproduced for the first time in Aspelin's *Antiquités*, Fig. 304, in which the discovery, probably owing to inaccurate information, by Count Stroganov, is reported as having been made at Perm. Cf. the original drawing of the same object made in the thirties immediately after the find. Spicyn, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXIX.

² Most recently: *Finski Museum (= FM) 1924*, p. I seqq.: *Fatjanovskulturen i Centralryssland*.

hollow, the face flat with a large hooked protruding nose. The mouth is wide, half-open, the chin narrows to a point and is beardless and open from beneath. The brow is bedecked with a diadem (note specially the picture in profile). The ears are large, stubby (cf. profile). Further, the head is adorned with five and

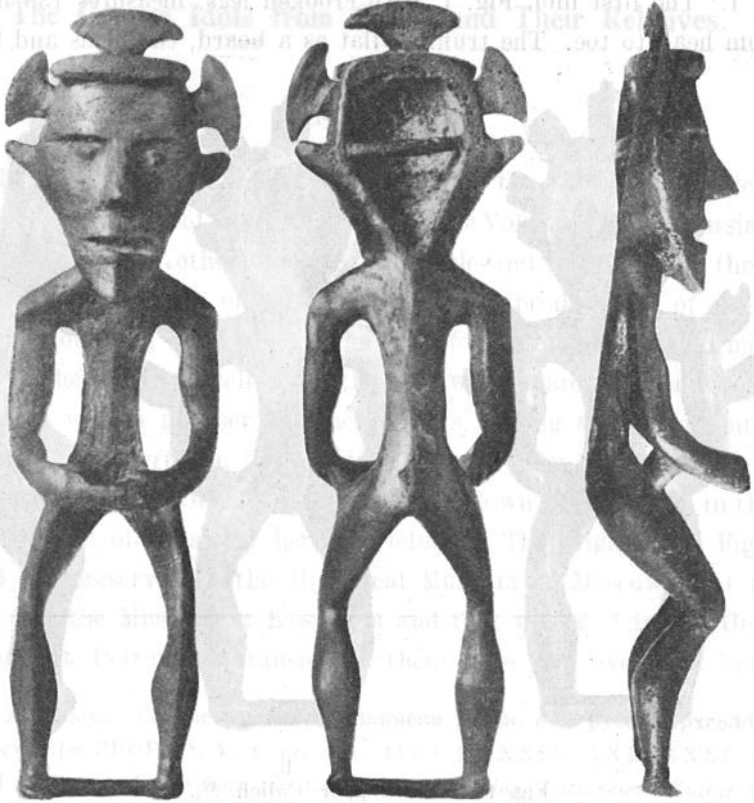


Fig. 2. Idol. Copper. Galich. $\frac{2}{3}$

each arm with two »rays», some of which exhibit stumps left in moulding. On the shoulders, between the head and the first rays, there is a hole on each side with no rays attached (fault in moulding?). The shoulders are broad, the arms bent and connected with no indication of hands over the stomach. A peg formed in casting supports the fore-arms, connecting them with the legs (see Fig. 1 b). There are no signs of external genital organs. The body bears no

traces of clothing, unless a V-shaped line on the shins, about 13 mm. from the ground (Fig. 1 c) can be taken to indicate boots (cf. p. 324). The feet are clumsy and connected by a cross-piece.

2. The second idol, Fig. 2, is similar in the main to the first, though somewhat longer, about 154 mm. Compared with No:1, the trunk, legs and arms are slightly more slender and the shoulders not so broad, for which reason the idol gives a more youthful, boyish impression. In this case also the head is disproportionately large, the chin, and similarly the trunk both in front and behind, furnished with narrow ridges. The head of this image also is hollow and open behind, though furnished with a cross-piece from which or by means of which the idol can be strung.¹ The arms lack rays; the brow is bedecked with a diadem and the head ringed round

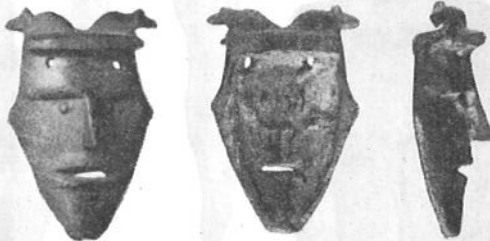


Fig. 3. Idol. Copper. Calich. $\frac{2}{3}$.

as though with a halo: three flat arms broadening outwards like in a cross with a ring.² The eyes resemble pinheads. The nose is large but straight. — Clean-shaven and hairless like No:1. The left hand is clasped round the right. The pegs supporting the fore-arms are more distinct in Figs. 2 b—c. In the reproductions I have been able to study there were no traces of boots. This is a detail to which, unfortunately, I paid no attention when, in the summer of 1924, I saw the original in Moscow.

3. The head of an idol, Fig. 3, 57 mm. long, similar in form

¹ Fig. 1 can have been borne on a chain passing under one arm. I have not observed any marks of friction. The Galich treasure includes also a few flat, broad circular links of a chain. Spicyn, *op. cit.*, p. 109. Cf. Fig. 9.

² Cf. Montelius, *Das Sonnenrad und das christliche Kreuz*. *Mannus* I (1909), p. 53 *seqq.*, especially pp. 58—59.

(cf. the attempts at ears) to the preceding figures, with large though thin nose; eyes and mouth as in No:2, cleft chin, clean-shaven. Diadem. In place of rays over the brow, two heraldically-placed conventionalized heads of animals (?) inclined outwards. Two holes in the forehead; the head open behind, hollow. No cross-piece.

4. Head of an idol, Fig. 4, as the original has disappeared, the reproduction given here is that of a drawing that has been preserved (Spicyn, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXIX: 19). The drawing is doubt-



Fig. 4. $\frac{2}{3}$?



Fig. 5. $\frac{2}{3}$.

Idols. Copper. Galich.

lessly somewhat conventional, but a comparison with the other illustrations, *loc. cit.*, and the remaining originals shows that the drawings are trustworthy in all essentials. The brow bears a diadem and the head is adorned with a tuft resembling a bunch of feathers. The drawing does not allow of a detailed examination of the form of the eyes and nose, nor of the back of the head. — I wonder whether the decoration adorning the head might not be regarded as reproducing a peaked cap, similar to those in, e.g., Chantre, *Mission en Cappadoce*, Pl. XXIV, Figs. 4—7, etc.

5. Fragment of an idol, Fig. 5: torso with head. The nether limbs, possibly also arms, broken off. The trunk showing a low ridge as in Fig. 2. The face a pointed oval with protruding (broken-off?) ears. The nose large, thin, almost straight, eyebrows set



Fig. 6. Bar. Copper Galich. $\frac{2}{3}$.

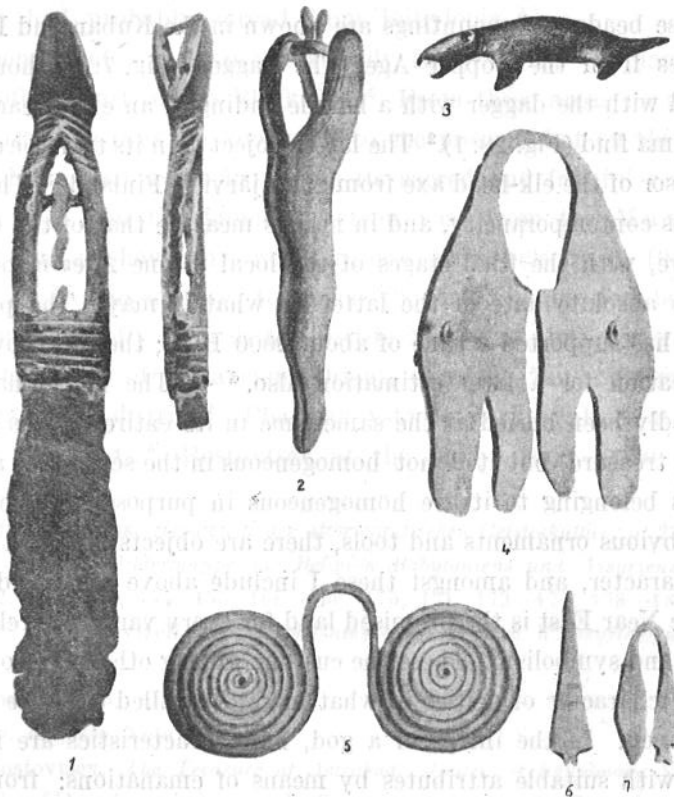


Fig. 7. Implements belonging to the Galich treasure. $\frac{3}{5}$.

high, rounded. Diadem. No cross-piece behind the head. The head seems to have been less disproportionate than in the others. A closer study of this object in the Museum at Kostroma might possibly be worth the labour. Present political conditions prevent me, however, from carrying out this investigation.

In addition to the idols enumerated above, the Galich treasure includes, among other objects, a plastic, four-footed animal open below (Fig. 7: 3), a dagger with a handle ending in the open head of a snake (Fig. 7: 1), and a similar handle with a forked tongue in the snake's mouth (Fig. 7: 2); further, one whole and fragments of other U-shaped discs¹ with ends formed like the heads of animals, all of copper or bronze (Fig. 7: 4, 6, 7), and small beads and half-spherical mountings with holes in their centres, of silver. Analogies to these beads and mountings are known in the Kuban and Donets cultures from the Copper Age. The dagger, Fig. 7: 1, should be classed with the dagger with a handle ending in an elk's head from the Seima find (Fig. 20: 1).² The latter object is in its turn the closest precursor of the elk-head axe from Säkkijärvi in Finland.³ Through this, its contemporaneity, and in no less measure that of the Galich treasure, with the final stages of the local »Stone Age» is proved, let the absolute date of the latter be what it may. The present writer has supported a time of about 2000 B. C.; there is, however, justification for a later estimation also.⁴ — The hoard has undoubtedly been buried at the same time in its entirety; it is a real buried treasure, but it is not homogeneous in the sense that all the objects belonging to it are homogeneous in purpose. Side by side with obvious ornaments and tools, there are objects of a mythological character, and amongst these I include above all the idols.

The Near East is the promised land for every variety of religious beliefs and symbolism. There the custom, among others, of portraying the character of deities in what might be called concrete form, is common. In the image of a god, his characteristics are reproduced with suitable attributes by means of emanations: from the body of the god emanate e. g., rays, ears of corn, streams or rivers,

¹ The originals to Fig. 7: 6, 7 can also have been tweezers. Cf. Montelius, *La Grèce préclassique*, Pl. 17: 18 from Thessaly.

² *FM* 1915, pp. 74—75.

³ *Suomen Museo* (= *SM*) 1907, p. 67 and *FM* 1915, p. 75.

⁴ *FM* 1924, pp. 29—30. *SMYA* XXV: 1, pp. 25—93, 200 *seqq.*, 215. XXXII: 2, pp. 22—23. Cf. following, p. 349.

symbolizing gifts of warmth, light, corn, water.¹ This custom dates backward to at least 2000—3000 B. C., appearing, for example, in the well-known stone stele from a time about 1900 B. C., where the King Hammurapi is portrayed receiving the tablets of the law from the sun-god Shamash, from whose shoulders rays proceed.² In the course of the following centuries Shamash is continually portrayed in like manner or still more richly adorned with rays (Figs. 14 a—b), e. g., in the Hittite area, whither the custom had probably spread from Babylonia.³

Oriental influences spread already early to the Caspian Sea⁴ and Kuban, east of the Black Sea.⁵ From these areas no images of deities with rays are known up to the present; but on the other hand, Near East symbolism with its sacred and fruitful rivers is known, e. g., on the famous electron vase from the M a y k o p k u r g a n, as shown in a rarely interesting article by B. Pharmakovski.⁶ Kuban culture, to which the find in question belongs, was turned chiefly towards the Hittite Near East, but also towards the other parts of the ancient Orient, of which Maykop forms the most northern district.⁷ Pharmakovski dates this culture at about 2000—1500 B. C.⁸, Rostovtsev at the period 3000—2000 B. C.⁹

¹ Alfr. Jeremias, *Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisteskultur*, p. 234 seqq. — M. Jastrow, *Bildermappe zur Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, Figs. 51, 132, 140, 141, 144, 155, 166—168, 170, 171, 173—174, 178—181, 191, etc. — M. Rostovtzeff, *La stèle d'Untas nap Gal. Rev. d'Assyriologie* XVII (1920) No. II.

² Jastrow, *op. cit.*, Fig. 6.

³ *op. cit.*, see Note 1 above.

⁴ Rostovtsev, *The Treasure of Astrabad. Journ. of Egyptology* VI: 1.

⁵ Id., *L'âge du cuivre dans le Caucase septentrional. Rev. Arch.* 1920, p. 1 seqq.

⁶ Pharmakovski, Архаический периодъ. Матер. по археол. России 34- (1914), p. 50 seqq., esp. pp. 64—67. Stream and river symbolism was originally Babylonian, but spread already early to Asia Minor, *loc. cit.*, p. 67.

⁷ Rostovtsev, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

⁸ Pharmakovski, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

⁹ Rostovtsev, *op. cit.*, p. 14 seq., 37.

From here cultural influences have spread into Central Russia, where traces of it can be observed, e.g. in the Galich treasure now under discussion: in the metals, at least in the silver.¹ One is therefore justified in seeking parallels also to the idols in the ancient Orient. In doing this, I have connected the «rays» in the



Fig. 8. Map showing the situation of the localities mentioned in this article.

idol, Fig. 1, with the Shamash images.² There is, however, no question of direct imitation, as Shamash is depicted, so far as

¹ *SMYA* XXV: 1, pp. 53—54.

² *FM* 1924, p. 27.

is known to me, most often as clad in a long tunic.¹ But I believe that traits are to be found in the Galich images from possibly several different sun-gods, and even perhaps from different deities, known in the ancient Near East.

I have assumed that in the Galich treasure we are confronted by Indo-European antiquities.² I should be most inclined therefore to seek analogies among the Indo-Iranian peoples, but the prehistoric remains from their countries are up to the present extremely little known. One or two facts might however be mentioned. In the much later Mithra cult, which spread in the beginnings of our own era over the Roman Empire also, the ancient Iranian sun and sky god Mithra is the highest deity. This god was not only a god of the sky, but also the god of fruitfulness, as the genial Belgian Fr. Cumont, remarks: »Mithra donne l'accroissement, il donne l'abondance, il donne les troupeaux, il donne la progéniture et la vie.»³ We can apply also to the Aryan-Indian sun-god Sūrya.⁴ This deity is often depicted naked⁵, or almost naked, and in the Konarka temple dedicated to him⁶ from about the year 1300 A. D., there are sculptures, the leit-motiv of which are love-scenes. The sun-god of the Aryans has thus been of a generative and in certain cases phallic character; however, from the Aryan countries we know of no representations, analogous to the Galich statuettes.

But we know that there are prehistoric copper or bronze figures from the Caucasus and Asia Minor possessing on the one hand analogous traits with the Galich idols, though lacking the rays displayed by these, and on the other hand with peculiarities and

¹ Cf. however Jastrov, *op. cit.*, Fig. 140, 141.

² *SMYA* XXXII: 2, p. 21. — *FM* 1924, pp. 25—26.

³ Franz Cumont, *Les mystères de Mithra*, p. 3. Paris 1902.

⁴ R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaisnavism, Saivism and Minor Religious Systems*. Strassburg 1913. (Quoted from Cohn, *op. cit.* on this page, note 6).

⁵ Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 151: he sometimes wears boots; this is remarkable and denotes Persian influence.

⁶ William Cohn, *Indische Plastik* (1921), Pl. 61 *seqq.*, p. 70.

characteristics found in a wide hierarchy of ancient Oriental deities; we might therefore see what assistance they can possibly give towards a comprehension of the Galich idols.

II.

From the intermediate period between the Bronze and Iron Ages in the Caucasus we are acquainted with small human images of copper (poss. bronze), which, as the eyelets to which chains are frequently attached prove, have been used as pendants. These images have crooked legs, and feet often connected by a bar, as in the case of the Galich idols. The costume consists of a metal belt round the waist, boots (?), and deep-set headwear (? or diadem). I shall return soon to this question of the dress.

The Caucasian idols in question belong to the large curious treasure found near the K a z b e k estate and the Stepan Zminda church, between Vladikavkaz and Tiflis, on the Kazbek River, which flows into Terek. The find was made in the seventies and the objects composing it are preserved in different museums, the largest part in the Historical Museum at Moscow, a part at Tiflis, a part in Paris, another part in the Hermitage. When the discovery was made the objects were enclosed in one silver¹ and in three copper vessels, some of which were bound round with heavy bronze chains. To the treasure² belong, among other objects, 22 brooches of Bismantova type, buckles for belts of Koban type, bracelets³, a number of curious pendants, e. g. plastic images of elks in bronze, flat re-

¹ Perrot-Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité* III, p. 792. — Fr. Poulsen, *Der Orient und die frühgriechische Kunst* (1912), p. 87. — J. Smirnov, *Восточное серебро* (1910), Pl. III.

² Regarding the discovery, see P. S. Uvarova in *Матер. по археол. Кавказа* (= *МАК*) VIII, pp. 139—151. Id., *Museum Caucasicum* V. *Археология*, pp. 11—19. — E. Chantre, *Recherches anthropologiques dans le Caucase* II, p. 131 *seqq.* + Atlas Pl. LV—LXI.

³ Among others, a bracelet with sharpened ends as at Galich, *FM* 1924 Fig. 2: II. — ornamentation totally dissimilar however, Chantre, *op. cit.*, Pl. LXI: 2.

cumbent images of hunting dogs¹, plastic animals, ornaments, etc. Iron has been known; thus, e. g., the bells (Fig. 10) have iron clappers. There are also fragments of iron swords or daggers. The treasure has probably been buried in the first part of the first millenium B. C.

Certain objects in the find are of the greatest interest in the study of the Galich idols. The treasure includes 5² idols, similar to our Figs. 9 a, b, c. They are all of a pronounced phallic character,

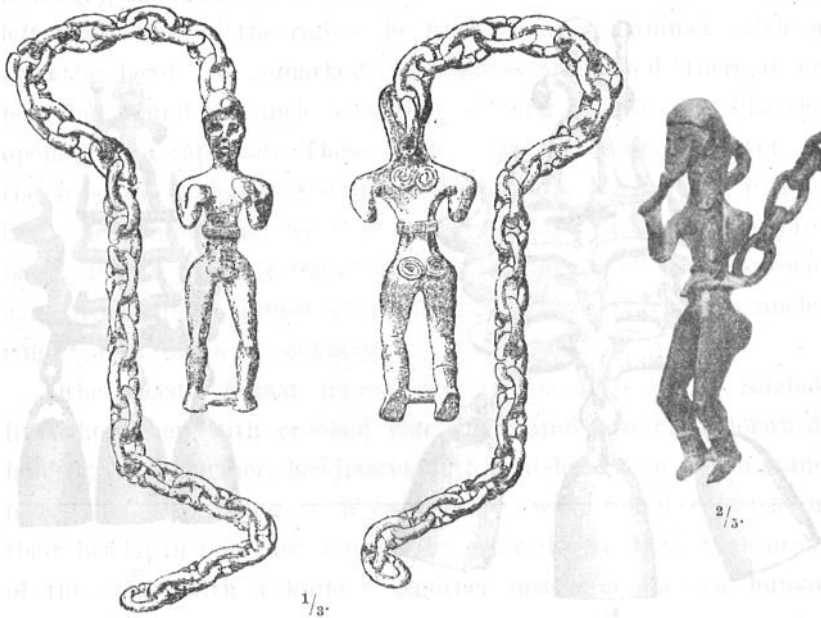


Fig. 9. a - b Idol, full face and behind. c Idol, profile. Kazbek.

¹ Cf. the very interesting paper on this subject by A. A. Miller, *Изображения собаки в древностях Кавказа*. Изв. Росс. Академии истории материальной культуры II (1922), p. 287 *seqq.*, especially pp. 302—304.

² *МАК VIII*, p. 146, Fig. 125 = Pl. LXXI: 8; from behind = Chantre, *loc. cit.* II, p. 71 = Fig. 9 c in this account. A similar object, *МАК VIII*, p. 146. — A third, *loc. cit.*, p. 148, Fig. 127 = Chantre, Pl. LX: 1. Fig. 9 a—b here. — Two much smaller ones, *МАК VIII*, p. 148, Fig. 128 = Chantre, Pl. LX: 3. The 3 larger figures are of precisely the same size as the Galich idol, Fig. 1. — Chantre gives partly misleading information regarding the find: Gori burial-ground. All of these idols belong to the Kazbek find. Cf. *МАК VIII*, p. 147 and Notes, *op. cit.*, p. 8 and 144.

possibly hermafroditas (?), true sexual pleonasts. In Fig. 9 c the breasts and kneecaps resemble small bronze warts. Both the back and posteriors bear double spirals, facing in opposite directions.¹ The metal ring as a belt is known both in Mycenaean culture and in Armenia.² — The size of the head is in proportion to the body. Whether the headdress is a bonnet or a diadem I would hardly dare to decide. The feet would seem, in 3 cases, to be shod with boots. Cf. however p. 325 in the following. The three larger images

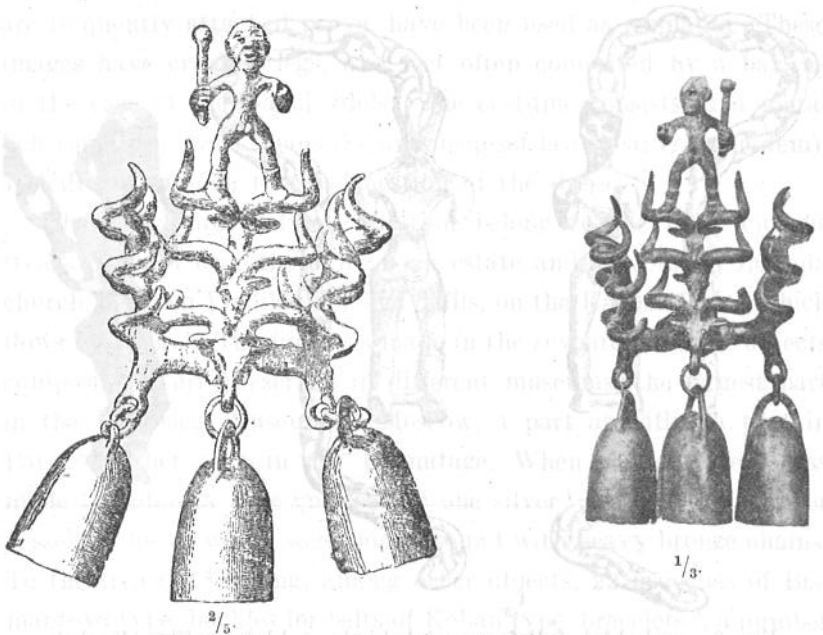


Fig 10. Standard-heads(?) with idols. Kazbek.

hold drinking-horns in one hand³ (Fig. 9 a, c). Also in the other hand there seems originally to have been some object now vanished. All the attributes denote a god of fruitfulness.

A great resemblance to these idols is shown by certain other

¹ Dr. Uno Holmberg points out that Life and Death were depicted in this manner among several peoples.

² Pharmakovski, *loc. cit.*, p. 40 with bibliographical notes.

³ A few examples of real drinking-horns of this time are known from the Caucasus, *MAK VIII*, p. 349.

idols in the same find. The hoard includes namely a number of head-pieces with apertures for staves or poles (standards?¹, head-pieces for chariot, tent or baldakin poles?). Some of these show, placed one above the other, three rows of bulls-heads each containing three heads with outward curling horns. Bells hang from those lowest down. On the highest head, between the bulls-horns, stands, in three cases², a naked, strongly phallic figure (Fig. 10) with crooked legs and a large clean-shaven skull with a wide, half-open mouth and cleft beard (?); the arms are bent forward, and in one hand (now in the left hand, now in the right) the figure holds a hammer with a symmetric head. As remarked, the figures are naked, there is no belt, but round the ankle a circular swelling can be seen, like the opening of a top-boot. These hardly represent boots, however, as the toes are depicted. Countess Uvarova, in *MAK VIII*, p. 145, is of the opinion that we have here a fault in casting. More probable, to my mind, is the idea that these are ankle-rings, known, e. g., from Hittite almost naked figures.³ The Aryans wore ankle-rings⁴ as a token of nobility.

Other plastic human figures also are included in the Kazbek find, horsemen with crooked legs and hands stretched forward, holding reins; further, headpieces with goat-heads, on which stand naked men struggling with each other, with round calottes on their heads; in one case a figure is engaged in cutting the throat of the other with a knife.⁵ Another headpiece lacking human

¹ On this subject see the article by Fr. Sarre in *Klio III* (1903), p. 333 *seq.*: *Die altorientalischen Feldzeichen, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung eines unveröff. Stückes.*

² In Paris, Moscow, Tiflis and the Hermitage. Cf. *MAK VIII*, p. 144, 150, 151, Pl. LXX: 1 = Chantre, *loc. cit.* II, p. 71 + Atlas LVII: 1—3. — For the deep symbolic significance of the bull among the Hittites and in Maikop, cf. Pharmakovski, *loc. cit.*, p. 56. It was the animal of the sky and sun god. Sarre in *Klio III*, p. 344.

³ Otto Weber, *Die Kunst der Hethiter (Orbis pictus 9)*, Pl. 8—9.

⁴ G. Hüsing, *Völkerschichten in Iran. Wiener Anthrop. Mitteilungen XXXXVI 1916*, H. VI, pp. 199—250.

⁵ *MAK VIII*, Pl. LXXI: 6.

images has two heraldic snake's (?) heads bent outwards, reminding one of the Galich idol, Fig. 3. A similar object from Rutkha in the Caucasus is reproduced in *MAK* VIII, Pl. LXXXIV: 4.

For the Rutkha object — as for most of the Kazbek objects — analogies are to be found in other contemporaneous finds in the Caucasus, at Ossetia, e. g., in the Koban cemetery — belt buckles, brooches, plastic animals¹, etc. — though the latter is probably of slightly greater age (1300—1000 B. C.). The Kazbek treasure dating from a period after 1000 B. C. displays thus characteristics belonging to an earlier local culture, and is nothing new or alien to the Caucasus.² Of course there are in it also new elements, but

¹ The idols at Koban vary, however. For the various kinds of idols at Koban, see *MAK* VIII, p. 63.

² This Caucasian culture makes itself strongly felt during the same period also in the contemporaneous cultures of Italy and South-east Europe. That these regions were in touch with the Caucasus, is fully proved by the brooches. Cf. also Chr. Blinkenberg's particularly interesting article »*Jaernets Hjemstavn, Aarboger* 1923, pp. 139—152. This seems to show with extreme probability that iron was first discovered in the NE part of the Hittite area, on the southeastern shore of *Pontus Euxinus* somewhere about the year 1300 B. C. and that the Hittites played a part in the discovery. Their thunder-god Teshub (later Juppiter Dolichenus) is in some way associated with the use of iron, perhaps as protector of the iron mines and perhaps also as their owner. The supply and preparation of iron seems at one time to have been a regal monopoly. This would afford an excellent explanation of the Oriental nature of the cultures of Europe in the early Iron Age, and likewise for the appearance of European elements (Bismantova brooch) in the Caucasus and Asia Minor. Comparisons — *mutatis mutandis* — can also be made between the Kazbek idols and certain Italian figures, viz., the figures from Cupra marittima (Hoernes, *Urgesch. d. bild. Kunst*², p. 497: 7), and Vetulonia, I:o circolo delle Pelliccie, tombe 2 (Hoernes, *loc. cit.*, p. 451: 12). The former has crooked legs, bears a belt of metal, a bonnet, axe in hand. The object is small in size. — The Vetulonia figure has a headdress with a wreath of rays. — I would further point out the *Strettweg* chariot from Steiermark (Hoernes, *loc. cit.*, p. 509): Die vier Figuren in den beiden vorderen Reihen zeigen die merkwürdige Geschlechtlosigkeit (as in the Galich idols, A.M.T.) . . . Es gibt hier auch androgyne Figuren (as at Kazbek, A.M.T.). — Die Frauenfiguren enthalten ösen am Hinterkopfe, in welche einst Ringe eingehängt waren» (as at Kazbek, A.M.T.).

one can trace the local relationships of some implements in the treasure Kazbek backwards in time right down to the Kuban Copper Age and to the South Russian steppe-cultures of the same date.¹ The proofs of this are, among other facts, the baldakin-poles from Maykop kurgan, Pharmakovski, *loc. cit.*, p. 53, Fig. 27, and the object from Kazbek, *MAK* VIII, Pl. LXIX: 3, and lastly the hammer-pins of copper and bone north and east of the Black Sea, which strongly remind one of the hammers in the hands of some of the Kazbek idols.

A hammer(?) from the Kazbek find is reproduced in Fig. 11 on a scale of one third of the original size according to *MAK* VIII, Pl. LXX: 2. According to the context, *loc. cit.*, 145—146, there are traces of a wooden shaft in the aperture. Several halves of analogous objects are also included in the Kazbek treasure, and from these their ritual character appears without a shadow of doubt: round hollow club-heads (?) with openwork ornamentation, in certain cases surmounted by a rider, sometimes by a man, sometimes by a bull (*MAK* VIII, Pl. LXXI: 3). These objects have possibly been supplementary to the original, unornamented simpler hammers (cf. Fig. 11) or ornaments for harness.

¹ The establishment of this fact is of consequence, as the districts in question were in communication with Central Russia during the time of the Galich treasure. A copper idol from Kuban, Tifliskaya stantsia, is also known. It was found in a catacomb grave (tombe N:o 20) which had been plundered in olden times. The date of the idol (*Отчетъ* 1902, p. 73) cannot therefore be established. — Other human statuettes from Terek, Argunsk, s. *Труды* 3-го арх. съѣзда I, p. 142, Pl. V: 5.



Fig. 11. Hammer-head. Copper. Kazbek. $\frac{1}{3}$.



Fig. 12. Bone-pin with hammer-formed head. South Russia. $\frac{1}{1}$.

Fig. 12 shows a hammer-pin of a type common in the Ukraine¹ and Kuban² graves of the Copper Age.³ Most common are the pins of bone, often also of copper. Cases occur where the hammer or cross-piece has been reduplicated two or three times⁴ (as the bull's-heads in Fig. 10 from Kazbek). The pin is often ornamented.⁵ These ornaments and the size and thickness of the pins make it difficult to assume that the »pins» are real pins. The circumstances connected with the finds give no certain clue as to their significance. I presume that in the majority of cases they have been of a mythological character (the double-axe ?), though later the pins can have been employed also as implements. In this connection only the pins themselves are of importance to us, as with their help we can trace the connection between the Kazbek civilization and an earlier local form of culture. —

But in the Kazbek and the contemporaneous Caucasian-Armenian finds there are to be found, besides these local and northern elements, analogies with the south also, with the Hittite area, as Pharmakovski has shown in his brilliant study, and these relations already existed in the time of the Kuban Copper Age culture.⁶ In the mighty Mitanni kingdom in the Armenian mountains, which was under Hittite influence⁷, the chief god was the thunder-

¹ e. g. Извѣстія арх. комиссіи 19, p. 87 from the Tauria = our Fig. 12. I know of about 30 such »pins» from South Russia.

² Отчетъ 1895, p. 30, 134; 1897, p. 17, 22; 1904 p. 133/134, etc.

³ Jackowica and Novosjolka near Kiev. Cf. *Mannus* II, p. 79.

⁴ Отчетъ 1895, Fig. 79; 1896, Fig. 267 etc.

⁵ E. g., Отчетъ 1904, Fig. 247.

⁶ Pharmakovski, *loc. cit.*, p. 40—50, 55—56, 57, etc. — Compare also the »shepherd's staff pins» in the Kuban Copper Age graves and in the Hittite area. *FM* 1924, Fig. 12. We do not know whether these elements have originally spread from the Caucasus to Asia Minor, as Rostovtsev assumes, or from Asia Minor to the Caucasus and Kuban.

⁷ Pharmakovski, *loc. cit.*, pp. 49—50, points out the fact that the earliest art in the Nairi country and among the Khaldis in Armenia shows no Babylonian-Assyrian influence before 900 B. C. Before this, relations had been kept up with the Hittites and possibly also with the Mycenaean world.

god Teshub¹, who was worshipped also in purely Hittite areas, in the W and SW.

The pantheon of Hittite gods was, as we know, extremely large: it included a great number of local gods and goddesses, deities of the sky, mountains, rivers and earth. In the archives of the country and its treaties with the King of Egypt «the thousand gods of the Hittite lands» are called upon.² The magnificent rock



Fig. 13. Hittite figure. Bronze? Asia Minor. $\frac{2}{3}$.

relief at Jazyly-Kaja (about 1200 B. C.) near Boghazkuei shows crowds of gods. The male deities bear high peaked caps, but according to Babylonian custom these are often surrounded by bull's-horns. Already at that time Babylonian influence dominated.

However, *bronze* figures also are known from the Hittite area. Typical of these is the unplastic, flat, boardlike trunk (Meyer,

¹ Ed. Meyer, *Reich und Kultur der Chetiter*, p. 57 (1914).

² Meyer, *loc. cit.*, p. 85.

op. cit., p. 108). A bronze statuette of precisely the same size as Figs. 1 and 9 is here reproduced,¹ Fig. 13. The pose is that of the Galich figures. The arms are bent forward, the head is disproportionately large, the forehead strongly inclined backward, the nose large and hooked. It is arrayed in a tunic resembling from behind a dress-coat. The place where it was excavated is unknown. A similar figure is reproduced by Chantre from Cappadocia.² Its place of discovery is supposed to be Karkemish (*op. cit.*, p. 147). Chantre says that he has seen approximately a dozen similar figures in Cappadocia, where the type has thus been fairly common in its time.

In Perrot-Chipiez's *Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité*, Vol. III, p. 430, Fig. 304, a slightly different bronze figure »de Latakieh dans la Phénicie septentrionale» is reproduced. The costume consists of footwear, close-fitting trousers with »warts» on the knees, and a metal belt. The figure is undoubtedly Hittite. — Naked figures are also known, clad in a belt and ankle-rings.³ — The thunder-god bears as a weapon a short-handled axe.⁴ He is never phallic in character, not even naked, the difference in this respect between the Hittite and Kazbek idols being very great. Androgynes and amazons⁵ are not, however, unknown in Hittite culture.

The purpose of these Hittite figures is as yet unknown. The Hittite statuettes often stand on the back of some animal, and Fig. 13 has also stood upon some base. The position of the arms

¹ After Weber, *op. cit.*, Pl. 10.

² E. Chantre, *Recherches archéologiques dans l'Asie occidentale. Mission en Cappadoce*, Pl. XXIV: 2.

³ Weber, *op. cit.*, Pl. 8, 9.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, Pl. 2, 3, 21, etc.

⁵ Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 91. — I wonder whether the pronounced phallicism of the Kazbek figures, in combination with the metal belt, has not originally been suggested by the male attire of Cretan culture with its limb-sheaths? The relationship between the Mycenaean and the Hittite cultures, and that of Asia Minor respectively is still very little known, but Cretan influence has beyond doubt been extremely strong.

leads one to suppose that they have borne something in their hands; another possibility is that they have held reins.

III.

If, after this study of the position in the Near East, we return to the Galich idols, we shall find analogies in them to the more southern phenonema analysed in the above. That we are concerned in this case with cultural streams from the south (and not vice versa) is beyond doubt, as the phenonema in question form an organic part of the ancient Oriental conception of the world. The closest analogies to the Galich idols are found in those of the Kazbek find: they have the same character of pendants, they have crooked legs and the feet are bound together with a cross-piece. The relationship is confirmed by such details as the rudiment of a bootleg (?) in Fig. 1, possibly also the cleft beard, Fig. 3 (cf. Fig. 4) and the head-dress in Fig. 3, compared with the Caucasian object mentioned on page 326. A characteristic trait is also the large, hooked nose, Fig. 1. This is a Sumerian and a Hittite characteristic, and is common also in Elam (Susa) and Northern Persia (Astrabad).¹ But the difference between the Galich and Caucasian figures is also great: the head-dress is different, the belt-ring and the pronounced masculinity of the Kazbek figures are likewise lacking at Galich. On the other hand the rays on the arms are unknown in the Caucasus, and in the Orient are met with solely in the Babylonian sun-god Shamash, although the latter was probably known very early in Asia Minor also, where, as we know, Babylonian colonies existed already about 3000 B. C., and in the Semitic-Phoenician Baal figures.²

¹ Cf. Rostovtsev, *Journal of Egyptology* VI, part. 1.

² G. Rawlinson, *History of Phoenicia* (1889), p. 324 *seq.* «Sometimes, but not always, Baal had a solar character, and was represented with his head encircled by rays. — — — Essentially, he was the embodiment of the generative principle in nature — the god of the creative power, bringing all things to life every where. Hence, his statue rode upon bulls, for the bull was the symbol of generative power. . .»

Extremely curious is the halo of rays in the Galich figures, Fig. 1 and especially Fig. 2. I must admit that up to the present I have no knowledge of parallels to this custom in the earliest Oriental cultures¹, and one might even ask whether this detail does not reveal European influence on later Oriental art, rather than vice versa. This interesting question cannot however be definitely answered yet, as both in the Orient and in Europe the sun was already in early times depicted as a wheel with four spokes, often also as four spokes without the ring = a Greek cross², and this conception is apparently behind the halo, Fig. 2.

The oldest existing statues with the halo of rays that are known



Fig. 14. Representations of the sun-god Shamash on old oriental seal-cylinders.

to us from the Orient and southern Europe are the figure from Vetulonia (see p. 326 above) and the representations of Baal, also from a time after 1000 B. C. Later, in the world of the Greeks and Romans they were common. I may refer here to the interesting clay dolls from South Russia, Fig. 15³. These figures from the Greek colonies north of the Black

¹ Cf. note 3 above. Tallqvist, *Kuningas jumalan armosta* (Hels. 1922) p. 39 *seqq.*

² For examples see Montelius, *op. cit.* on p. 6. — From Koban, v. Chantre, *Recherches anthrop. dans le Caucase*, Atlas Pl. XXIX.

³ See *Compte-rendu of the Imp. Archaeological Commission 1873*, Pl. II: 7, 9, 10, pp. 38—39 and the catalogue of the terracottas of the Museum at Odessa, Vol. I Pl. XIII: 3, XIV: I; Vol. II, Pl. IX: 5. These figures are marionettes, representations of the barbarian gods.

See a are not lacking in interest. I lack, however, the necessary insight in classical archaeology to be able to decide whether their appearance in this district is in any way exceptional, and cannot therefore view the question from all points, wherefore I refrain from drawing further conclusions.

The only representation from the European countries N of the Alps of a human head surrounded by a halo of rays, that in age can compare with the Galich idols, although probably of some-



Fig. 15. Marionette? Doll. Clay. South Russia. $\frac{2}{3}$.

what later date, is that carved on a northern Bronze Age knife, reproduced, e. g., in Müller's *Oldtidens Kunst, Bronzealderen*, Fig. 157. In a ship (symbolic of the sun?) stand two persons with uplifted hands and a halo of rays round their heads. In the Scandinavian rock-carvings the halo is not met with, nor is it known to me from the clay vessels or figurines of the Central-European Hallstatt period. Curiously enough, the halo of rays does appear in a rock carving, Fig. 16¹ from the Minusinsk district in Siberia, but this is doubtlessly of much later date than the year 1000 B. C.

¹ Hels. Mus. 2683: 210. Fragment of a stone pillar from a wall, surrounding the grave in Abakansk on the Yenisey river.

It would assuredly be worth while to collect new material, in order to establish the chronological priority properly.

With regards to the diadem on the Galich figures, I certainly believe that this harks backward to early Oriental manners and customs, but cannot wholly refrain from admitting the possibility of this custom having been prevalent outside of the said area. I reproduce here a skull from a Stone Age grave in the vicinity of Irkutsk; the forehead is adorned with a boar's tusk, Fig. 17. A diadem, however, as shown by Tallqvist in his interesting and learned work on «kingship by the grace of God», was an ancient symbol of rulership in the Near East¹.



Fig. 16. Rock carving. Minusinsk district. Siberia. $\frac{1}{3}$.

In the above we have sought analogies to the Galich idols chiefly in the Caucasus and elsewhere in the Near East. One might well ask, however, despite the fact that we are here concerned with metal figures, which metal came from the south, whether corresponding objects might not be found among the local Northern and Central Russian antiquities. Though with a certain diffidence, I would refer the reader to two neolithic figures from North Russia, the exact chronology of which is up to the present unknown, but which may eventually be found to date from a period not too far removed from that of the Galich treasure. Of these figures, one is board-like in shape, carved from a bone, fitted with a peculiar head-dress

¹ *Kuningas jumalan armosta*, p. 74.

and with ornaments on the trunk that might be intended to represent bent arms joined together over the stomach, Fig. 18. Judging by the holes at each end the object in question has probably been used as a mounting. It forms part of the well-known Ladoga Canal finds.¹ — The other figure is that of a human being on a comb-ceramic clay vessel from Lake Ilmen, reproduced by Peredolski in *Archiv für Anthropologie*, NF III (1905), p. 289 *seqq.* + Pl. XV.² The figure bears on its head something resembling two horns. M. Peredolski believes that these are intended to represent feathers,



Fig. 17. Human skull with a diadem. Irkutsk.

with which the woman (?) depicted has decorated herself. The form of the vessel and the remaining ornamentation together with their technique, are characteristic of the local comb-ceramic culture, which is at present dated as being of the period 3000—2000 B. C. Unfortunately this chronology cannot be regarded as reliable and it is therefore impossible to express any opinion as to the priority

¹ Inostrantsev, *Допсторический человекъ каменного вѣка побережья Ладожскаго озера* (1882) Pl. XI: 1.

² The same figure is also reproduced in Kossinnas book, *Die Indogermanen* (1921), p. 60, Fig. 119.



Fig. 18. Board-formed idol(?).
Bone. Ladoga.
²/₃.

of these details in the Galich idols to those in the «neolithic» figures, if on the whole comparisons can at all be made between them.

But though the existence in North Russia of predecessors and contemporaneous figures, analogous to the Galich statuettes, is extremely questionable, the Galich idols seem to have had successors there. Among the later, so-called Permian idols from, chiefly, the first thousand years A. D., I believe I can point out traits reaching backward to the Galich idols. I shall attempt to throw light on this extremely interesting question elsewhere. If we consider the tenacity of religious conceptions and the stubborn conservatism of North Russian archaeological material, there is nothing in itself surprising in a possible reappearance in the Permian idols of traits which, via the Galich, have spread centuries earlier from the Orient into Central Russia.

IV.

Thus, I regard it as hardly credible that the Galich idols should belong to an *originally* local, northern idea-world. In all probability they are the expression of an old Oriental conception of godhead, which had early won adherence among the Aryans in Central Russia, perhaps already at a time about 2000 B. C. The Kazbek idols belong to the same family of gods, though these are apparently of later date. Either the Kazbek gods have sprung from the older Oriental culture, which had spread also to Central Russia, though its older forms are up to the present unknown in the Caucasus, or they are a continuation of the Central Russian Galich culture, which, possibly, through migrations southward, continued to exist in the Caucasus and Asia Minor. In other words: the Kazbek idols are derived from those of Galich, the ideas behind which

were originally Oriental, and are, shall we say, the fraternal grandchildren or direct descendants of the Galich gods. A third possibility, that the Kazbek idols should be the parents or the uncles of the Galich idols, seems for chronological reasons to have little to support it, even were one to estimate the age of the Galich

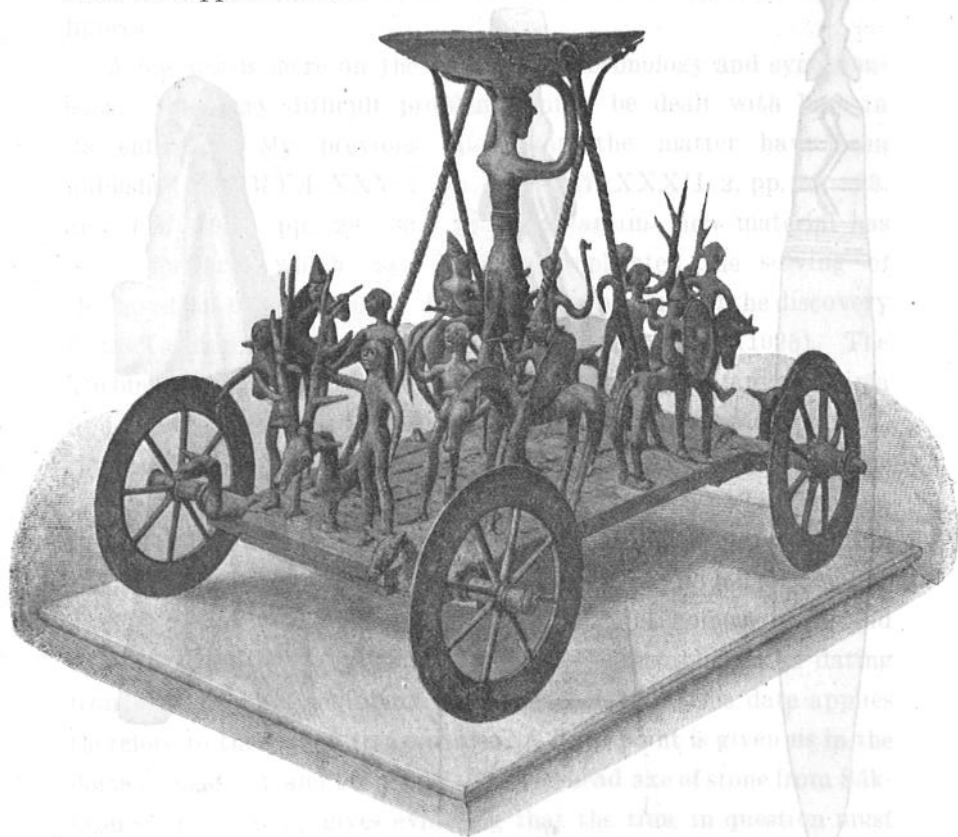


Fig. 19. Chariot with gods and mythological figures. Strettweg.

treasure as being much less than has hitherto been assumed. As recent as from the time about 1000 B. C. it cannot be.

One detail may still be briefly dealt with. J. Ailio, in a useful article in *SMYA* XXIX:1, p. 109 brings forward, among other opinions, the idea that the Galich idols were connected with the mother-goddess of the Tripolye culture, and that the attitude of the arms and legs received its due explanation through the fact

that the sitting goddess with the child in her arms had been deprived of both child and seat! Both in substance and chronologically this association is absolutely impossible (*FM* 1924, p. 27). One may ask, however, how the position of the legs and

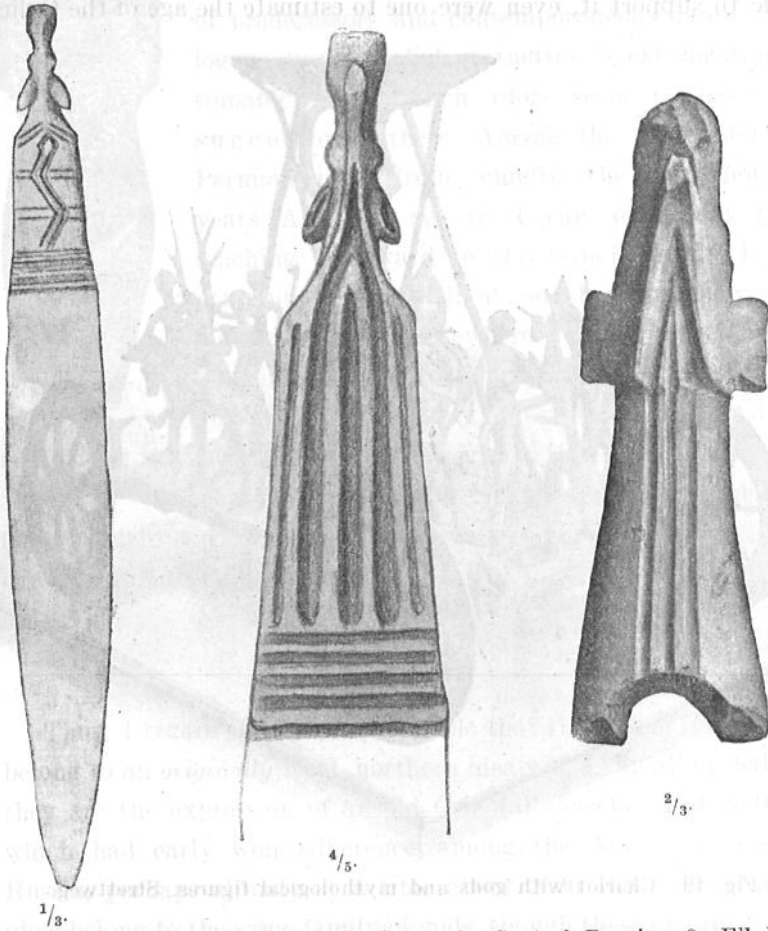


Fig. 20. 1—2 Dagger. Copper(?). Seima in Central Russia. 3. Elk-head axe of stone. Sakkijärvi in Finland.

arms could be explained. As will have appeared from the foregoing, the question is to me whether we are not here concerned with a sun-god standing in his chariot and holding the reins in his hand. Was not the sun-god Shamash conceived as a deity of this character? And one, although weak support for this working hypothesis is

found if we think of the *images of riders* in the Koban and Kazbek finds.¹ I regard it as not absolutely out of the question that the Galich idols, like some of the Kazbek figures, should have belonged to the chariots of gods, such as are known to us from Strettweg (Fig. 19), with pendant idols, horsemen, phallic and asexual figures.

A few words more on the question of chronology and synchronisms. This very difficult problem cannot be dealt with here in its entirety. My previous efforts in the matter have been published in *SMYA* XXV:1, pp. 200—217, XXXII: 2, pp. 22—23. and *FM* 1924, pp. 29—30. In the meantime new material has come forward, which has further complicated the solving of the question of chronology. I refer to my account of the discovery from Turbino, *Finnisch-Ugrische Forschungen* XVII (1925). The Turbino find includes objects of the character of the famous Seima find², among others very fine daggers and arrow-heads of flint, rings of serpentine, copper daggers without handles of the same type as Fig. 20:1 and a socketed axe of Seima type.³ The Turbino find is homogeneous, and the objects composing it prove the old theory of the heterogeneity of the Seima find to be no longer tenable. Judged broadly, the Seima find must also be homogeneous, and with the help of the socketed axe it can be established as dating from the Bronze Age, about 1600—1200 B. C.⁴ This date applies therefore to the Galich treasure also. A fixed point is given us in the dagger (Figs. 7: 1 and 20: 1—2). The elk-head axe of stone from Säkijärvi, Fig. 20: 3, gives evidence, that the time in question must be that of the youngest Stone Age in North Russia. — The other fixed point which we can use in drawing parallels between neighbouring civilizations and in establishing an exact chronology,

¹ *MAK* VIII, Pl. XL: 2 (pin from Koban); p. 149, Fig. 130 (Kazbek). Chantre, *op. cit.*, Atlas Pl. LVIII: 7—9 (Kazbek).

² *FM* 1915, pp. 73—86.

³ see *FM* 1915, p. 82, Fig. 23.

⁴ *Almgren-Anniversary Volume* (= *Rig* 1919—1920), pp. 249—256.

is the treasure of Borodino in Bessarabia¹, with spear-heads and pins of gold and silver and magnificent battle-axes of precious stones, of a very high quality. As is known, this treasure must date from the same time as the socketed celts of Seima, while spears of the Bessarabian type and socketed celts of Seima type often have been found together, and in 2—3 cases with flat leaf-shaped copper daggers.²

It is not possible to open up here the whole question of the chronological difficulties we have to contend with in this respect. A special study would be needed for this. I would only point out that the Bessarabian treasure and the socketed axes can hardly be older than about 1500 B. C., and can well be some centuries younger, but that generally the beautiful elk-head weapons from Finland and the at least in part contemporaneous battle-axes of stone are dated as belonging to the middle or close of the period between 3000—2000 B. C. The difference in age between the datings accepted now is thus about 1000 years. For the moment the question is, whether the Galich treasure is to be regarded as having originated between 3000—2000 or 2000—1000 B. C., and whether parallels are to be drawn *either* with the Copper Age = Early-Minoan culture = Kuban = Susa *or* with the early Hallstatt = Mycenaean + Dipylon period = Koban = the Hittite kingdom.

Either dating could be defended with regards to the Galich treasure, and this proves how uncertain our knowledge of the chronology of the period prior to 1000 B. C. actually is. Thus, the Kuban Copper Age is classed with Sumerian culture by Rostovtsev, and with the much later Hittite kingdom by Pharmakovski. The apparently absolutely reliable Cretan-Mycenaean chronology does not help us, as this culture spread northward, beyond a line Boeotia, Troy, Cyprus, very late. In what direction this northern area which was not connected with the Minoan culture, had gravitated before the time 1500 B. C., is unknown

¹ Mat. no apx. Poccin 34, p. 1 *seqq.*

² *op. cit.* in Note 4 on the foregoing page.

to us. It took as little part in «world politics» as Russia during 1919—1921.

The chronological standpoint I myself have reached is briefly that Maykop — Troy II — MM I—II — the beautiful battle-axes = Fatyanovo graves are about contemporaneous, from the middle and the earlier half of the period 2000—1500 B. C. A little later came Galich — Seima — Turbino — Borodino = 1600—1300 B. C.? Still somewhat younger are Koban — Troy VII — Boghazkeui — the Scandinavian Bronze Age II² — III period = 1300—1200 B. C. Then follow Kazbek — Hallstatt — Kalakent and the other Armenian belts — Vetulonia — Dipylon = 1000—600 B. C.?