

*E. A. Kravchenko***ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOURCES OF THE CRIMEAN NATIVES’
RELIGION AND CULTS IN THE EARLY IRON AGE**

This article deals with archaeological sources regarded to the sphere of religion and cult and compare them to the present historical conception and written sources. Analyses permit as to make a conclusion, that natives in Crimea had several different religious ideas and cults and they have no direct connection to the ancient Greek cult of Parthenos or Virgo. Now we can speak about several signs in ceramic decoration, which input as sources of studying ideology system, figures, other antropomorphous, ritual items from sanctuaries or sacred places and burial custom of natives.

Keywords: *Early Iron Age, Pontic region, Crimea, Tauri, Scythians, religion, cults.*

Introduction. Scientific information about the natives of Crimea, in spite of more than a century of investigations, is quite limited. The Bronze Age of the Crimea was almost not studied in the recent special works; therefore the population of the Final Bronze Age of the Crimea is understandable to us in comparison with the antiquities of the tribes of the Early Iron Age. According to them, it can be stated that during the final of Bronze Age and the turn of the Iron Age, continuous historical processes took place in Crimea, connected with the absence of bronze raw materials in the Northern Black Sea region in general (Дергачев 1975; Лесков та ін. 2019, с. 174, Кравченко 2020b, с. 208—214). This determined the peculiarities and speed of the transition of the local population to use of iron, thereby starting all the processes connected with the Iron Age on the peninsula. A historical break took place in Eastern Europe and Crimea, as part of it, with the beginning of the Iron Age — the Scythians coming and the destruction of the economy and infrastructure of the region as a result of wars of the early Scythian time (Кравченко 2014, с. 49—70). As a result, serious

demographic processes took place, which is clearly visible when studying the ceramic set (Кравченко та ін. 2016, с. 150; Кравченко 2020с, с. 73—81.). It was probably a demographic disaster. As a result, the population of Crimea changed, tribes from the Transcaucasia, Lower Don, and probably also from the forest-steppe zone of the Northern Black Sea region moved to the peninsula, and the traditional economic systems was crushed. Subsequently, the inevitable degradation of the social order took place, and these tribes received further social development only with the founding of Greek centers in Taurica (Кравченко 2010, с. 51—71; Филиппенко, Кравченко, Ушаков 2018, с. 357—374). Greek settlements and the infrastructure created by them subsequently stimulated the influx of barbarian population to their borders not only from the Crimean Mountings, but also from the mainland of Ukraine. In historiography, it is customary to call the first as Tauris, and the second as Scythians, according to the name given to them by the ancient Greek authors, which will be discussed further. They are really ethnically different, that is why we call the natives of Crimea, who are associated with the Kyzyl-Koba culture, as Tauri, and the barbarians of the next stage of the Crimean Iron Age, who advanced to the peninsula from the north, are more often called as the Late Scythians, Tauro-Scythians or Scytho-Tauri. We will analyze these ethnic groups in the context of their local component, i.e. to the extent that the main ethnic feature of the native population is fixed in their material culture — the decor characteristic of Kyzyl-Koba handmade pottery, in relation to the sphere of their ideology. Also, against the background of the local component, completely new cultural components will be clearly defined, which developed in the society of the Crimean bar-

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barians of the Roman times already after the disappearance of the specific ethnic indicators of the local natives.

Sources and Methods. Perhaps the least clear in the archaeological and cultural-historical constructions of the Crimean societies of the final Bronze Age — Early Iron Age is still the sphere of religion and cults. This question has a huge historiography associated with the cult of the Virgo, which is mentioned by Herodotus, but further study and extrapolation of these written sources to certain archaeological antiquities researchers have not gone. This is due primarily to the first and last stumbling block — the complete inconsistency of the archaeological cultures of the Crimean natives with the mentions of ancient logographers.

The Northern Black Sea region, or the historical territory of Ukraine, has its own history of research into ancient ideologies and religions, which has formed a number of methodological approaches. They were based on the search for archaeological sites corresponding to written sources. Actually, this approach exhausted itself in the last century, when the mythological basis of ancient written references to Taurica became clear. The methodology of myth research is quite varied, in our case it is worth noting that Claude Lévi-Strauss quite realistically and deeply reflects and criticizes methodological approaches to the study of mythology, noting that they try to update ancient interpretations and fictions about collective consciousness, the adoration of historical characters or vice versa (Леві-Строс 2000, с. 196). Indeed, in search of a hidden meaning, researchers, often panickingly afraid of the modernization of perception, eventually took the same modernization, without going beyond the myth, analyzing it in its own semantic space. I completely agree with Claude Lévi-Strauss thesis that anything can happen in a myth (Леві-Строс 2000, с. 197). However, it should be understood that Lévi-Strauss's approach, which analyzes mythology and the sphere of religion in the ethnographic context of primitive society (Леві-Строс 1999, с. 11), can be applied to ancient texts as well. First of all, this gives an understanding that the mythology and the historical events woven into them, which the ancient texts associated with Taurica and its local population, were not created by a primitive society. And at the same time, in the same well-known story of Herodotus, there is a description of the custom of displaying heads above the roofs of houses in its classical version, which will be discussed later, which is inherent in primitiveness at the stage of the forming of primitive agriculture or even in hunter-gatherer societies (Иванова 1980, с. 118). Such inconsistency between the mythology of ancient texts and their ethnographic plots prompted us to revise the traditional view of classical archeology about the local population of Crimea as brands of ancient written sources. And the study of the material culture of the natives of Crimea showed that it is ethnically heterogeneous in different chronological intervals

(Кравченко 2011, с. 109—114). At the same time, the issue of religion and cults of the native population was not considered separately, only outlining individual plots from material culture without deep systematization. We try to consider religion as a certain system, in our case — a system that has left evidence on objects of material culture. Given that religion is not a system of things, but a system of values, a certain set of cults, practices and unifying them into a very stable system of moral and ethical norms or dogma, our sources are very limited in terms of information. However, they also provide certain facts that are of a systemic nature. In this context, we consider religion as a certain phenomenon — something that shows itself, as defined by Martin Heidegger (Хайдеггер 1997, с. 31).

According to Katherine Wanner, the same problems arise for sociocultural anthropologists when used in research texts and archival materials are only some of the other sources and methods of studying religious practices (Ваннер 2019, с. 18). At the same time, she also defines religion as a phenomenon (Ваннер 2019, с. 24). As a way out of the situation, she sees the use of comparative description and analysis, consideration of the phenomenon from a holistic perspective, bypassing evaluative judgments while maintaining an analytical zeal, using the partial to understand the whole (Ваннер 2019, с. 18). In the same field, philosophers also try to find a way to the transcendent. According to Gans-Georg Gadamer, the hermeneutic universe is the relation of the historical narrative to the natural way of life, which includes the perception of each other, the perception of the historical narrative, the perception of the natural facts of our existence and our world (Гадамер 1988, с. 42). Similar methods are used by ethnographers to study synchronous ethnographic groups, which can be read in the works of both pioneers (Тайлор 1989) and founders of modern theories and concepts (Леві-Строс 1999; Леві-Строс 2000).

Much interesting in the study of the ritual sphere can be read in the work of Ian Morris (Morris 2001, p. 2—14). In the context of such opinions, we decided to outline new perspectives in the study of the ideology of the natives of Crimea.

We also developed and tested all these components in our paper «Kyzyl-Koba Culture in Western Crimea» (Кравченко 2011). We called our approach a deductive-inductive model, where all types of sources are analyzed first from the general to the individual, and then from the individual to the common, with the identification of regularities and systems in the existence and functioning of individual components (Кравченко 2011, с. 37—44). In this way, not only the system and systematicity will be revealed, but also areas of the system, about which information is missing for some reason, will be revealed.

In archeology this direction was called cognitive archeology. The research was based on the source, its nature, its condition, informativeness and specificity that determines the methods and

analytics. This approach, initiated several decades ago by Colin Renfrew, is currently the most common in world archaeological research (Renfrew, Bahn 1991; Renfrew, Scarre 1998). Recent researches adapted the methods of cognitive archaeology to analyzed material even at the stage of preparing the thesis, which formed the basis of the main research (Кравченко 2011), so it is no necessarily now to revise previous research, which we rely on in this work, as is often necessary for studies of post-Soviet scientific schools.

The material culture of the Early Iron Age may not be as brilliant and bright as the culture of the Bronze Age, but it vividly reflects changes in the social structure of the population, in its social relations. Actually, the concept of early iron in Europe contains not only a purely technological aspect, about which V. Gordon Childe wrote in his time (Childe 1944), but also a whole complex of relations, social order, morality, and therefore also new religious ideas that transformed all these relations on the system and developed within the limits of the entire continent. In our case, it is not only the concept of axial time of Karl Jaspers (Jaspers, Bullock 1953), but also the material complex associated with the production of the same early iron. In other words, in this particular case we are dealing with a phenomenon where Child's concept of technology at the base of everything coincided with Jaspers' concept of consciousness and ideology at the base of everything. For us, in this study, observations of the appearance of anthropomorphic images and plastics in the material culture of this time are also important, which will be discussed separately.

So, the Virgo — the goddess of the Chersonesos pantheon (Русяева, Русяева 1999; Русяева 2005, с. 83), the heroine of the epic about the Trojan War Artemis Tavropolos or Iphigenia (Толстой 1918), one of the most famous characters of Greek tragedies and the deity of the Herodotus' Tauri — are we talking about the same deity?

We once analysed the evidence of ancient authors about Taurica and her supreme goddess — Virgo, Parthenos or Artemis Tavropolos, joined the opinion of Ivan I. Tolstoy (Ibid.) about the deeply Greek nature of this deity, his very ancient Eastern Mediterranean roots. However, in classical times, when the Greeks began to develop Western Taurica, this deity was already represented in various versions of the ancient literary tradition with the common feature that it was directly related to Taurica, but through a significantly distant period from Greek colonization. These are the heroic times of Homer, which the Greeks of classical times were already mythologized and represented an analogue of the ideological structure of the Greek world.

However, such a categorical definition of the whereabouts of the Virgo or Parthenos in Taurica cannot but point to a certain sacred meaning of this land to represent the ancient Greek, which,

in fact, wrote in the early twentieth century by Ivan I. Tolstoy. What can testify to the existence of this connection in the archaeological cultures of the Crimea of the time of the final bronze?

Now the date of the Trojan War around the twelfth century BC is generally accepted. At that time, Crimea was occupied by the population of the so-called late Bronze Age cultures of Crimea (Колотухин 2003; Лесков та ін. 2019). Our research of the adjacent territories of the Lower Dnieper managed to find that this population formed a single ethnocultural massif with the bearers of the Early pre-Taurian stage of the Kyzyl-Koba culture of Crimea and the so-called culture of the Late Bronze Age of Crimea. Given their ceramic complex, which best defines ethnic indicators, they were ethnically related. The differences concern first of all the population of the sites of the Early pre-Taurian stage of the Kyzyl-Koba culture, the fineware and partly household ceramics of which are represented by the types characteristic of the Thracian Hallstatt tribes and only at the next stage shows the Dnieper and North-Western and Central Crimea (Кравченко 2011, с. 91).

That is, at a time when the tribes of the Southern Balkans were actively advancing south and occupying the Peloponnese, the coast of Asia Minor and the Aegean islands, the Northern Balkan tribes began their movement east — to the Ukrainian forest-steppe and apparently one of them was due to some events in the Crimea and settled in the upper Sebastopol Bay, founding a fortified settlement there, known to us as Uch-Bash. We can discuss the way these tribes moved to the east (by rivers, sea or land), put forward hypotheses about the reasons for this migration, but the fact that the sharing of the cultures of the Thracian Hallstatt could not have happened without their carriers, in general, is beyond doubt.

Can these events be identified with the myth of Iphigenia? Of course, we are not trying to see a direct identification here, and it is hardly possible. But the statement that certain events led to the myth of Taurida, the temple of the goddess Artemis with the priestess Iphigenia (Русяева 2005, с. 70—85), and probably such events led to the emergence of the settlement of Uch-Bash is quite possible. In general, Uch-Bash is another point with brownish pottery, which generally accompanies the advance of tribes from the north to the Peloponnese and the Aegean at the beginning of the Iron Age in Attica (Rutter 1990, p. 29—49).

In addition to all these associative reminiscences, it is also worth noting the powerful agricultural component in the economy of the first inhabitants of Uch-Bash, where there is reason to talk about bringing settlers not just the ability to grow cereals, but agronomy in a developed form. But this issue we will not cover in detail in this report, especially since it is considered by us in a special paper (Кравченко та ін. 2016).

We analysed the material culture of Uch-Bash in detail. Conclusions about its connection with Western cultures in general have been confirmed (Кравченко 2009, с. 26—40), but the religion and cults of this population are still unknown.

Religions and Cults of the Crimean Population. So, let's move on to the religious beliefs of the Crimean population. No manifestations of their religious life have been found on the sites of the Final Bronze Age — the Early Iron Age of Crimea — there are no places of worship, no altars, and no artefacts that can be associated with religion. Probably everything that happened in the religious sphere took place outside the settlements, so there must be sacred places of this population somewhere. However, the sanctuaries of this time are still unknown.

The only thing that in any way indicates the religion of the population of Crimea — is a set of symbols on ceramics, which demonstrates the dynamics of change of signs (fig. 1: I). The dynamics is manifested in the change of solar symbols, which are quite common in the ceramics of the Early pre-Taurian stage of the Kyzyl-Koba culture, to specific anthropomorphic symbols that appear and exist throughout the Late pre-Taurian stage of the Kyzyl-Koba culture (fig. 1: II). In the next Taurian period, they are absent and are again replaced by solar symbols. In addition to images of signs in the culture, images of faces are also known — on a vessel from Uch-Bash and on phallic-shaped ceramic figures from the pre-Greek layer of Chersonesos (fig. 1: I: 4, 5; Кравченко 2011; 2020, с. 13—21).

So what do we know about the anthropomorphic symbols of the Crimean natives and which of them are related to the Aegean and the Mediterranean? The peace of body of a large vessel depicting a human face was found in the early Uch-Bash complex (fig. 1: I: 1; Кравченко 2011, с. 227, рис. 188: 1). The use of this vessel is unknown, as its fragment was on the ancient surface near the workshop, where it was made, including dishes that burned suddenly, leaving all the material in a closed complex. Therefore, a fragment of the vessel could be the product of this workshop. The period of the Kyzyl-Koba culture following this event already demonstrates an anthropomorphic sign on ceramics — a three-pointed symbol, which we analysed in a special article¹. Similar

signs are known in the Mediterranean and in the Black Sea (fig. 2), Valentina I. Kozenkova interprets as a female image such signs on the funeral pottery of Serzhen-Yurt (Козенкова 2002, с. 73). In general, the sign is not common, mainly in funeral complexes, or in places of worship. In all complexes, the appearance of the sign occurs at the beginning of the Iron Age in European societies, although it does not occur synchronously: the earlier signs were found in the Mediterranean, the later — North of the Pontus (Кравченко 2020a, с. 19—21). A number of complexes are associated with the operation of metallurgical centres, including iron production. One of the earliest centres of iron metallurgy was recently found in Uch-Bash fortified settlement (Кравченко 2013, с. 258—289).

Absolutely spontaneously, our conclusion coincided with the concept of «axial time» of the German existentialist philosopher Karl Jaspers (Jaspers, Bullock 1953) which is noted below. He marked the beginning of the Iron Age (as a historical era) with the so-called axial time, which was marked by radical changes in ideology, religions and cults, that led to the formation of a new ideology of the modern world. In general, the conceptuality of existential investigations is aimed at a humanitarian, anthropocentric definition of social order, and the object and subject of these investigations is human. Given the absolute difference in methods and sources used by archaeologists and philosophers, we nevertheless draw attention to the possible coincidence of philosophical concept and conclusion based on the analysis of the symbol and sign system — the most abstract source that has come down to us since then.

All these signs allowed us to assume that at the beginning of the Iron Age there was a change in ideology in the local tribes, and these changes did not occur synchronously, it was a gradual process stretched over time. We can see the results of these changes quite clearly in ancient mythology, where the cults of heroes — Hercules, Achilles and Iphigenia, who in the hymns of the Trojan cycle and the later ancient literary tradition received story lines, including those related to the Black Sea (Русяева 2005, с. 28—93; Раевский 1985, с. 168—169). Among the Scythians, we can find these cults in Scythian anthropomorphic sculpture — stone stelae, which were placed on burial mounds (Раевский 1985, с. 136). The mound with a stele thus became not only a place of burial, but also a tribute to the cult of the ancestor. The ancestor, as well as the ancient hero, became the protector of the descendants before gods (Шульц 1976). Another meaning had Dmitriy S. Raevskiy with interpreting the stelae as anthropomorphic pillar (Раевский 1985, с. 140). His argument was a relation to the old rite with pillar in Asia in the sites connected with Early Scythian tribes. But these pillars have no anthropomorphic characters. Modern researches in Scythology have a

1. Three ceramic vessels from the Uch-Bash settlement (fig. 1: I: 12—14; 2: 7—9), found in synchronous complexes, had a specific image on the body. This is three applied bands that converge at the upper point and descend at an angle, forming a sign or symbol. As the analysis showed, this not very common symbol has common features in the geography and chronology of finds. Thus, it first appears on Mediterranean sites at the turn of Bronze and Iron Age, predating the Eastern ones, where it appears at least one-two hundred years later in the context of early iron metallurgy (Кравченко 2020, с. 13—21).

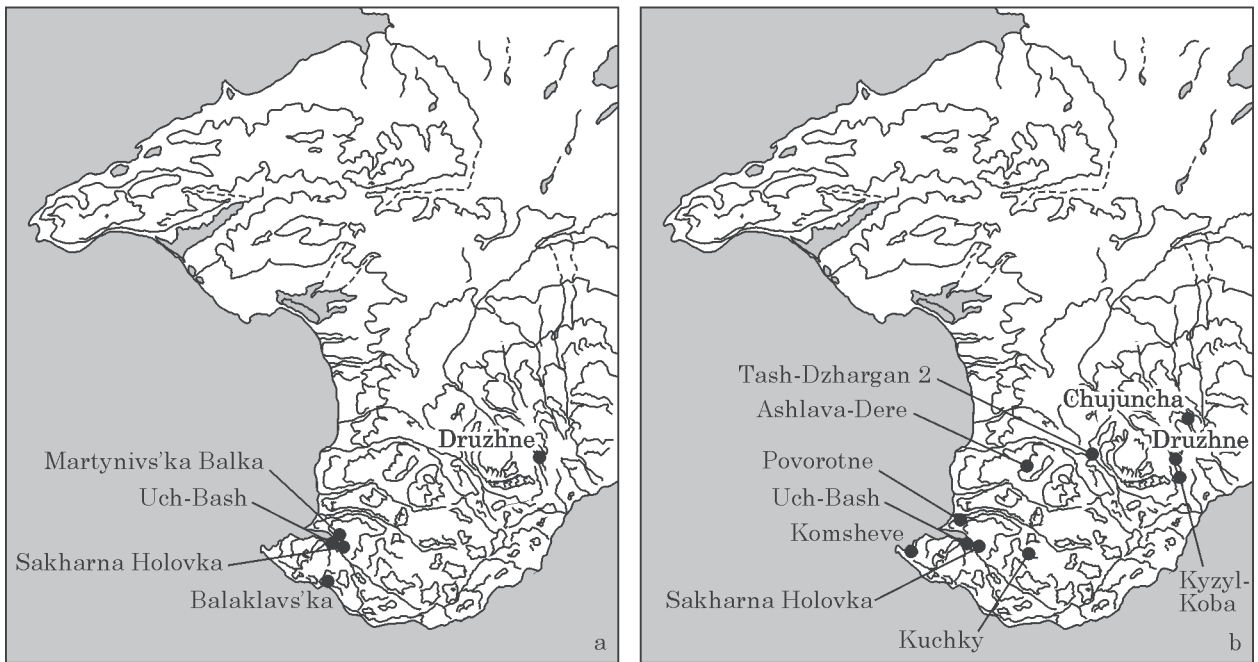
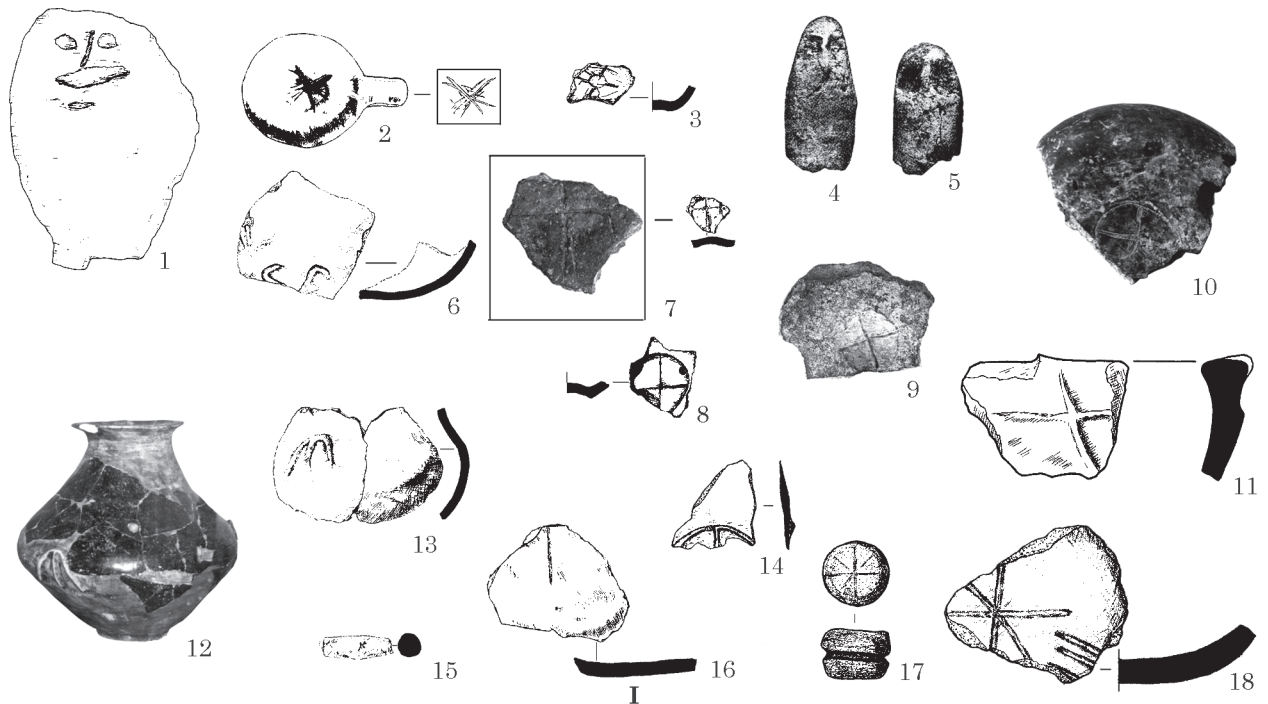


Fig. 1. Late Bronze — Early Iron Age in Crimea: I — Signs and anthropomorphous in the dark-polished pottery in Crimea sites; II — sites with dark-polished handmade pottery in Crimea of the Early pre-Taurian period (a) and Late pre-Taurian period of Kyzyl-Koba culture (b)

tendency to parted Scythian tribes in Asia and Europe¹. And anthropomorphous stelae are feature of the last one.

As for the Crimea, after a short Late pre-Taurian period of the Kyzyl-Koba culture, when the local tribes have iron metallurgy, with an anthropomorphic sign — a three-pointed symbol, any

manifestations of anthropomorphism are absent for about two centuries in material culture from the middle of VIII to the first half of VI century BC (Кравченко 2011, с. 68—75; 2007, с. 282—294). This is due to significant demographic changes in the Northern Black Sea region, which occurred as a result of the invasion of nomadic tribes carrying the culture of the Novocherkassk type. In Crimea, fires, the cessation of life in a number of settlements and extreme diversity in ceramic sets, where there are features of cultures from Middle

1. This opinion was shared by Mikhail I. Rostovtsev, considering the European Scythians and their culture as a separate phenomenon: Ростовцев 1918.

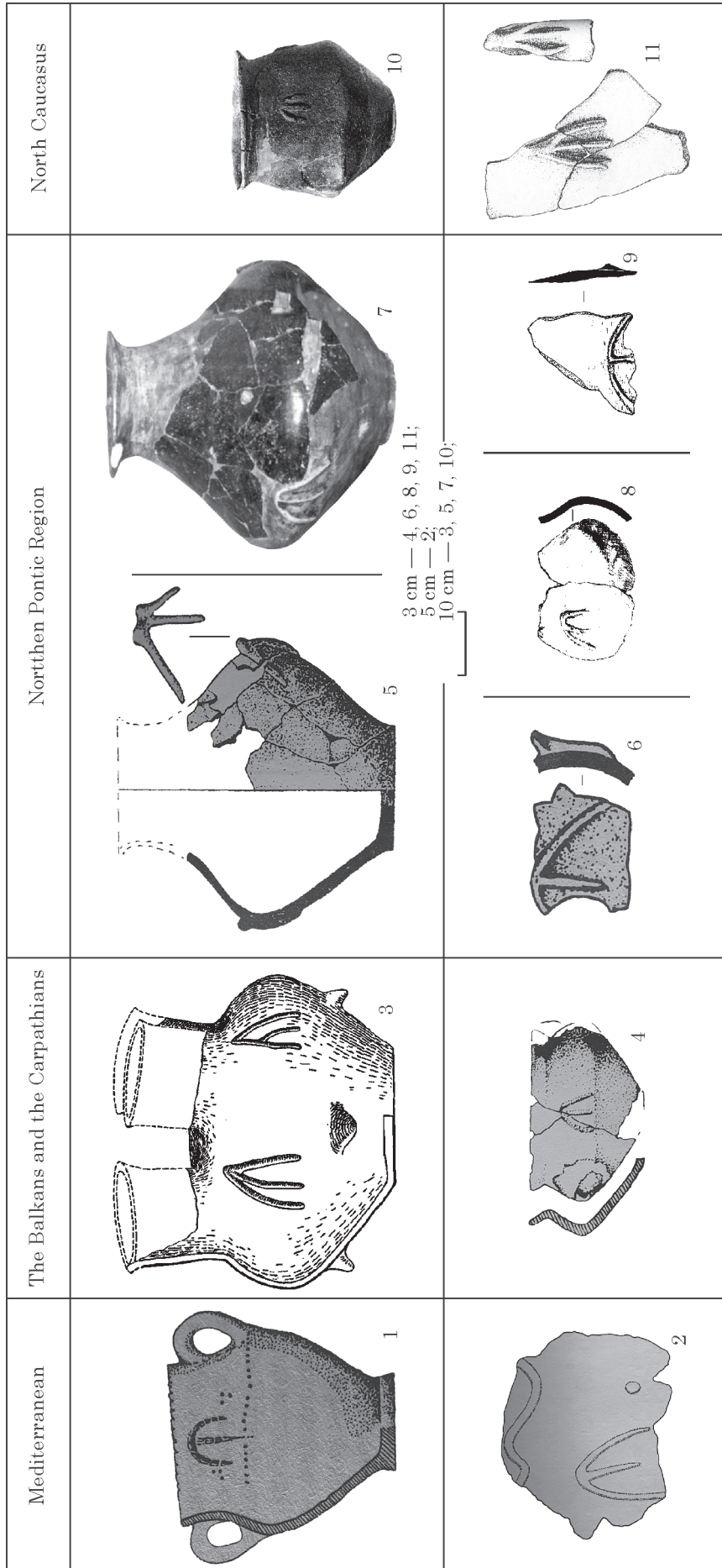


Fig. 2. Anthropomorphic signs in vessel from Mediterranean and Pontic regions: 1 — Troy VIIb; 2 — Ithaca, XIV — the beginning of XIII cent. BC; 3 — Bystritsia, pre-Scythian time; 4 — Sborianovo, grave III, HaB1, X — beginning of IX cent. BC; 5 — Bulakhivka, burial mound 1, grave 2, pre-Scythian time; 6 — Kyzyl-Koba, Late pre-Taurian period, IX — mid of VIII cent. BC; 7—9 — Uch-Bash, IV-UB, Late pre-Taurian period, IX — mid of VIII cent. BC; 10 — Sergen'-Yurt, grave 37, HaB2/3; 11 — Sergen'-Yurt, grave 70, HaB2

Dniester area to the North Caucasus, are being recorded. In the settlements of the central group of the Kyzyl-Koba culture in the middle reaches of the Salgir river, on the eastern sites, as well as further west in the foothills in the middle reaches of the Alma river, the eastern ceramic types inherent in the cultures of the North Caucasus and Kuban prevail (Кравченко 2020a). Anthropomorphs are absent in all their manifestations in these material complexes.

In ancient texts, especially in Herodotus, there are mentions of the rites and cults of the Tauris [Herod., IV, 99, 103]. First of all, it is about the mention of the deity Iphigenia, which seems to be worshiped by the Tauri and human sacrifices. However, there are no archaeological evidence of this cult in the tribes of VI—V centuries BC. There is none in material culture, although it is at this time that the appearance of Western Ghetto-Dacian pottery disappears in the ceramic complexes of the Western group of culture, in particular in the settlements near the ancient polises (Кравченко 2011, с. 75—78). It is difficult to establish who Herodotus meant when he wrote about the Tauris — whether about the population near the ancient Greek centres, or about the mountain tribes. In general, the culture of the local tribes of the Taurian period with a number of local features is quite monolithic, so there is no reason to divide it into Kyzyl-Koba and purely Taurian. It is possible that Herodotus heard a later reminiscence of the myth of Iphigenia, adapted by the first settlers of the ancient polises of Taurica, identifying the local population with the people from the ancient myth. However, the story of Herodotus still has some ethnographic information. It is a rite of placing the heads of enemies on stilts above the roofs of houses near the chimney, which is given among other customs of wild tribes [Herod., IV, 103]. It is unlikely that the narrator invented this rite or inserted it for illustration of wildness brands. Such rites are typical of societies where cults of the head or skull are common, however, we can hardly talk about the coexistence of corners of heroes or ancestors, which are accompanied by anthropomorphism, the cult of the skull is older and in characteristic of societies at an earlier stage of development with ideology that formed the religion and cults of the Bronze Age. Indirect evidence of this custom may be the skulls found by Nikolai I. Repnikov in the stone cists of Mal-Mus (Репников 1909, с. 101—108), because in the late Taurian cemeteries the stone cist was used as a family tomb for collective burials, when the remains of the previous buried were moved from the centre to free space for the next. The accumulation of skulls in the northern corner of the cist in other cemeteries has not been recorded (Кравченко 2011, с. 100). Accordingly, we suggest that the finds of skulls in a number of caves mentioned by researchers in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries may also be some-

thing like the custom described by Herodotus. It is possible that the custom seen by one of the Greeks was perceived as the custom of sacrificing Artemis described in ancient literature, which was not used by the Greeks for a long time.

We assume that the social order of the tribes of the younger pre-Taurian period was destroyed due to the invasion of nomads. The old economic system in the northern Black Sea coast ceased to function, contacts collapsed, and the remnants of the local tribes formed a new society, in fact, on fire and together with the remnants of other tribes. In such a situation, the beginnings of a new ideology were probably destroyed along with their bearers. The tribes adopted a primitive ideology that was not characteristic of earlier Crimean societies. Why this happened and where this ideology was borrowed from, or whether it was characteristic of the tribal Bronze Age tribes living on the peninsula, remains unclear.

Discussion: Some aspects of the rituals of sanctuaries. With the advent of ancient colonies, local culture reappeared anthropomorphic images. This time it is figurines — phallic figurines with images of men's faces from Chersonesos, dating from the VI century BC (Зедгенидзе 1976, с. 28—34), clay female figures from the sanctuary near Autka dating from the IV century BC by Alexandr L. Bert'e-Delagard (Берт'е-Делагард 1907, с. 19—27) and I—IV cent. (Лысенко 2007, с. 187) or from the second third of the II century to the IV century (Lysenko 2013, S. 181) by Alexandr V. Lysenko, finally, Greek silver and bronze statuettes from the sanctuary of Gurzuf's'ke Sidlo (Novičenkova 2013, S. 260—275; Новиченкова 2015). Similar one to the last sanctuary have been studied at Taraktash and Chatirdah, and Autka sanctuary is very close with Babulhan (fig. 3; Lysenko 2013, S. 174—185; Герцен 2004, с. 92—95).

The most complete analysis of the sanctuaries of the Crimean Mountains was made by Alexandr V. Lysenko in a number of articles (Лысенко 2005—2009, с. 374—400; 2007, с. 187—191; 2012, с. 81—104; 2014, с. 101—122; Lysenko 2013). His analysis is complex together with other sites of the Crimean Mountains dating from the Roman and Late Roman times. Moreover, in his chronological constructions, he confirmed that in the majority of sanctuaries, a permanent custom can also be traced back to Roman times (Лысенко 2005—2009, с. 377, 395). He connects some of the sites with Roman fortes and the population of Chersonesos or the Bosporus: Kharax, Autka, Kut-Lak or Afineon (Лысенко 2005—2009, с. 394, 2014, с. 113), another part, including the sanctuary near Gurzuf's'ke Sidlo and on Chatyrdah (Eklezi-Burun) the researcher associates with the mountain population (*ibid.*), however, he does not directly draw a conclusion about its ethnic affiliation. It is also important to point out that Alexandr V. Lysenko, like us, considers

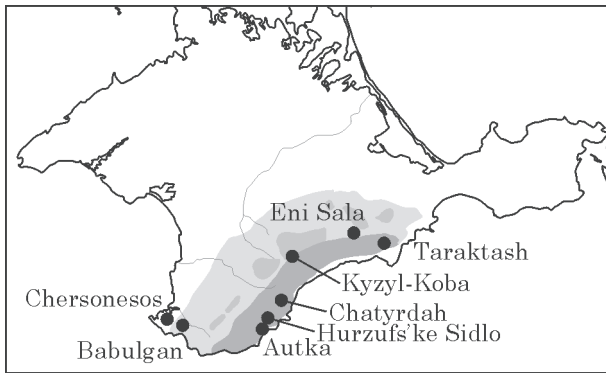


Fig. 3. Mountain sanctuaries and finds of anthropomorphic figure in Crimea

the legend about the tauri and the sanctuary of Artemis, cited by Greek authors in their texts, to be traditional ancient Greeks, the one that came to Crimea in an already formed form (Лысенко 2005—2009, с. 376; 2014, с. 104; Кравченко 2002, с. 138—141). It is equally important to note that the researcher also notes the absence of heredity from the Kyzyl-Koba culture in all the Taurica sanctuaries analyzed by him (Лысенко 2014, с. 105), which we also noted when familiarizing with their materials.

The finds of figures from Chersonesos come from its layer before buildings under the ancient theatre. Along with them, a number of other items were found — cylinders, a spoon, etc. All the finds were in a layer with coals. It is probable that the remains of the sanctuary, destroyed by the construction of an ancient polis, were also excavated there. Unfortunately, there is no other information about the findings before Chersonesos times from excavations at this place.

In addition to this location, at least six sites are known today, which were identified by some researchers as sanctuaries of the Tauri (Лесков 1965; Новиченкова 2015). The sanctuaries associated with the rite connected by researchers to described in Herodotus and Euripides texts were studied by Alexandr L. Bertier-Delagard near Yalta (Autka) (Бертъе-Делагард 1907), Oleg I. Dombrovsky and Askol'd A. Shchepinsky in the cave of Yeni-Sala II on Dovgorukovskaya Yayla and in the caves of Kyzyl-Koba (fig. 3; Домбровский, Щепинский 1962; Щепинский 1963, с. 93—102), Nataliya G. Novichenkova (Novičenkova 2013; Новиченкова 2015) near the pass of Gurzuf'ske Sidlo.

Unfortunately, according to the general characteristics of the coin complex of Autka (Лысенко 2007) sanctuary it is very close to Babulgan and Kharacs. The sanctuary near Kitey on the Bosphorus belongs to the same type, we find some analogies with the numismatic material of the Kitey necropolis (Молев 1990, с. 111—121; Молева 1990, с. 122—128). And some features of these sanctuaries presents in Gurzuf'ske Sidlo sanctuary — coins, figurines, features of custom.

At the same time, the Bosphorian materials belong to the archaic and classical periods of the Northern Black Sea coast, and the Gurzuf and Autka sites — to the Roman period. It is possible that the appearance of these sanctuaries in the southern mountainous Crimea was the result of the same processes that took place in the Bosphorus, and yet is a relic of the traditions of ancient Greek society.

In the interpretation of the ritual, the problem of allocating the early layer of the site of Gurzuf'ske Sidlo is highlighted. It is possible that on the site of the ancient sanctuary there really was a centre associated with the non-Greek population of Crimea. However, the remnants of material culture found in the redeposited and lower layers of the site do not indicate its sacred nature. In other words, it is possible to state the existence on the site of a Roman time sanctuary of an older site left by the local population, the layers of which were destroyed by Roman sanctuary. Numerous finds of the stone industry, pieces of ochre, and isolated finds of barbaric pottery confirm this. But on the other hand, they do not indicate the direct participation of the population, which left them in the rites performed in ancient times.

The same can be said about weapons — Scythian sword-*akinak* dates to the VI—V centuries BC and the Sarmatian dagger of the time of Christ, found in the sanctuary. The discovery of Scythian weapons at this time is not along in the Crimea and is associated with historical events that took place then in the Northern Black Sea. So it indicates the Scythian presence in the Southern Crimea to a greater extent than the ritual sanctuary. The Sarmatian dagger may be associated with the Sarmatian incursion into these areas. Since it was found on the border of the archaeological layer with unburned bones, it is the Sarmatians who should be associated with a stop or a temporary break in the evidence of the sanctuary.

As already mentioned, two cultural layers are recorded at the Gurzuf sanctuary. The lower one contains unburned bones of cattle, wild boar, deer, etc., namely their jaws and teeth. The upper consists of burnt remains of these animals. Among the votive offerings found in the sanctuary, namely statuettes and images of gods, both celestial and chthonic cults stand out. Let us assume that the decayed jaws of animals were sacrificed to chthonic deities, according to the cosmogony of the Greeks, living in the underworld, whose images were sufficiently represented among the votive offerings. The burned parts of the animals were dedicated to the gods of heaven.

A group of statuettes and images of Artemis stands out among the images of the gods. It is known that this goddess had the features of a chthonic cult and acted as Persephone-Hecate, whose features can be traced to Virgo or Parthenos. All these incarnations are united in the only oldest cult of Artemis Tauropolos, which is inextricably linked with the Tauri.

The root of the problem of explaining this connection lies in the interpretation of the testimonies of ancient authors about the local population of the South-Western Crimea. Analysis of written sources revealed that the ethnonym Taurus, tied to the territory and quite real, appears in Greek written sources in the V century BC, while the description of lands and the list of peoples of the Northern Black Sea coast do not actually change. This ethnonym includes material that has a direct origin from the myth of Iphigenia. That is, for the Greeks, these two concepts were, first, related to a literary tradition that dates back to Trojan times. Second, both concepts grew out of mythology. The origin of the term Taurus should be considered directly in connection with the myth and deity Artemis-Iphigenia-Virgo, which developed on Greek soil. This mythological tradition was formed in Achaean and Cretan-Mycenaean times, which suggests that the Taurus is a completely mythical people. Mythological notions related to the Asia Minor (Trojan cycle, Argonautics), Dorian (chthonic incarnations of Artemis, Artemis Parthenos, connection with the cult of Hercules and Thrace), Herodotus, Scythian traditions, can be traced in almost all works of ancient Greek authors. This led to a later synthesis of mythological, geographical and ethnographic data recorded in the Greek ancient tradition and the transfer of the mythical name of the colonization of the Black Sea coast to the real people and the emergence of the ethnonym «Tauri» of ancient authors.

Thus, Herodotus' evidence of the cult of the Parthenos or Virgo as such having a barbaric origin, lose their relevance and must be viewed through the prism of its mythological significance within the society of ancient Greece.

The nature of the rites and material culture of this type of sanctuary differs significantly from the cult places of the Crimean Mountain of the Kyzyl-Koba culture. The Kyzyl-Koba sanctuaries probably were used to serve more archaic cults. The common origin brings them closer to the Scythian cults, where in late Scythian times there is a great role of fire in the ritual, as well as with Greek rituals, in which fire was also used during sacrifices. However, in the Kyzyl-Koba not yet formed, and in the Scythian appeared only at an early stage a socially significant cult of the patron ancestor, while in ancient society, it had already covered the veil of civilization. Coins were a manifestation of it in ancient sanctuaries.

The problem of interpretation of the sanctuary with vivid manifestations of ancient female cults also includes the problem of interpretation of burials with skeletons in the position of an embryo of the early necropolis of Chersonesos (Зубар 1995, с. 137—146). It is known that its researchers associated them either with the Greeks or the local population, including the Tauris.

If we consider the sanctuary on the Gurzuf'ske Sidlo with the cults of Asia Minor, they should

be associated with the East Crimean traditions recorded in the necropolises of the Bosphorus and chora of Theodosia, but the question of barbaric origin, strongly Hellenized in the Bosphorus kingdom *chora*, remains open.

Recently, the study of two more similar sanctuaries, Taraktash and Babugan-Yayla, was opened and launched. They generally correspond to the time of the second period of operation of the sanctuary near Gurzuf Sidlo, the findings at these sanctuaries are identical to Gurzuf one.

Thus, the question arises as to what people these sanctuaries belonged to, what cults they were dedicated to. At least, Alexandr V. Lysenko resume, that mainly this population was Taurian and dated them from the Roman time (Лысенко 2012, с. 105).

Conclusion. In general, characterizing the tribes that inhabited the Crimea during the metal ages, only in the final of Bronze Age and turn to Iron Age and later during the emergence of Greek centres we can talk about the tribes of farmers, where the cultivation of cereals accounts for a significant share in the economy. This is important because only the agricultural tribes have a common lunar calendar, which was determined by observations of celestial bodies, and therefore needed a sanctuary-observatory. There are no signs of such sanctuaries in the Crimea. The tribes of pastoralists had simpler ways of observing the sky, which probably occurred on the basis of the movement of the sun through the firmament, embodied in temples and sacred places on certain elevations — mountains, stone remains etc., or the construction of special structures — pyramids, ziggurats, mounds, obelisks, menhirs. We observe the simplest forms of worship in the Crimea — cemeteries under mountain ranges, mounds, menhirs. Sanctuaries and cults of the pre-Taurian periods of the Kyzyl-Koba culture are not known to us, except for a small set of signs on ceramic vessels. This antropomorphous signs have earlier analogies in Eastern Mediterranean and show features of changing in ideology of native population in different lands in process of transition from the Bronze to the Iron Age. This features appearances in antropomorphous signs. All the known sanctuaries of the Crimean Mountains dated from the Roman time and they did not connect with Kyzyl-Koba culture. The burial custom of the tribes of the Taurian period is rows of stone cists, located under the ridges of the mountains; in some graves were installed menhirs. This custom is more in line with the population with the main component of livestock in the economy. The sanctuaries of the Crimean Mountains appear in the already formed form with an established custom and have nothing similar in the rites of Kyzyl-Koba tribes.

More and more evidence is now being gathered in favour of the emergence of a completely new phenomenon for Crimea — military cults, which

may be associated with a new wave of people who found themselves in the Crimea in connection with the spread of Latin cultures to the east. Preconditions, in particular, the transition of the Tauri population to the religions of the Scythian tribes, developed on the peninsula in the late IV — early III century BC. Thus, nothing contradicts the formation of syncretic military cults in the barbarian population of Crimea in the II century BC and the emergence of such phenomena as the sanctuary of Gurzufske Sidlo in Roman times.

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E. A. Kravchenko

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOURCES OF THE CRIMEAN NATIVES' RELIGION AND CULTS IN THE EARLY IRON AGE

Scientific information about the natives of Crimea, in spite of more than a century of investigations, is quite

limited. Perhaps the least clear in the archaeological and cultural-historical constructions of the Crimean societies of the final Bronze Age — Early Iron Age is still the sphere of religion and cults.

The only thing that in any way indicates the religion of the population of Crimea — is a set of symbols on ceramics, which demonstrates the dynamics of change of signs. In addition to images of signs in the culture, images of faces are also known — on a vessel from Uch-Bash and on phallic-shaped ceramic figures from the pre-Greek layer of Chersonesos.

We assume that the social order of the tribes of the younger pre-Taurian period was destroyed due to the invasion of nomads. The old economic system in the northern Black Sea coast ceased to function, contacts collapsed, and the remnants of the local tribes formed a new society, in fact, on fire and together with the remnants of other tribes. In such a situation, the beginnings of a new ideology were probably destroyed along with their bearers. The tribes adopted a primitive ideology that was not characteristic of earlier Crimean societies. Why this happened and where this ideology was borrowed from, or whether it was characteristic of the tribal Bronze Age tribes living on the peninsula, remains unclear.

In general, characterizing the tribes that inhabited the Crimea during the metal ages, only in the final of Bronze Age and turn to Iron Age and later during the emergence of Greek centres we can talk about the tribes of farmers, where the cultivation of cereals accounts for a significant share in the economy. This is important because only the agricultural tribes have a common lunar calendar, which was determined by observations of celestial bodies, and therefore needed a sanctuary-observatory. There are no signs of such sanctuaries in the Crimea. The tribes of pastoralists had simpler ways of observing the sky, which probably occurred on the basis of the movement of the sun through the firmament, embodied in temples and sacred places on certain elevations — mountains, stone remains etc., or the construction of special structures — pyramids, ziggurats, mounds, obelisks, menhirs. We observe the simplest forms of worship in the Crimea — cemeteries under mountain ranges, mounds, menhirs. Sanctuaries and cults of the pre-Taurian periods of the Kyzyl-Koba culture are not known to us, except for a small set of signs on ceramic vessels. This antropomorphous signs have earlier analogies in Eastern Mediterranean and show features of changing in ideology of native population in different lands in process of transition from the Bronze to the Iron Age. This features appearances in antropomorphous signs. All the known sanctuaries of the Crimean Mountains dated from the Roman time and they did not connect with Kyzyl-Koba culture. The burial custom of the tribes of the Taurian period is rows of stone cists, located under the ridges of the mountains; in some graves were installed menhirs. This custom is more in line with the population with the main component of livestock in the economy. The sanctuaries of the Crimean Mountains appear in the already formed form with an established custom and have nothing similar in the rites of Kyzyl-Koba tribes.

More and more evidence is now being gathered in favour of the emergence of a completely new phenomenon for Crimea — military cults, which may be associated with a new wave of people who found themselves in the Crimea in connection with the spread of Latin cultures to the east. Preconditions, in particular, the transition of the Tauri population to the customs of the Scythian tribes, developed on the peninsula in the late

4th — early 3rd century BC. Thus, nothing contradicts the formation of syncretic military cults in the barbarian population of Crimea in the 2nd century BC and the emergence of such phenomena as the sanctuary of Gurzufske Sidlo in Roman times.

Keywords: Early Iron Age, Pontic region, Crimea, Tauri, Scythians, religion, cults.

E. A. Kravchenko

АРХЕОЛОГІЧНІ ДЖЕРЕЛА ДО РЕЛІГІЇ ТА КУЛЬТІВ КОРИННОГО НАСЕЛЕННЯ КРИМУ В РАНЬОМУ ЗАЛІЗНОМУ ВІЦІ

Наукова інформація про корінних мешканців Криму, попри понад сторіччя досліджень, досить обмежена. Чи не найменш зрозумілою в археологічних і культурно-історичних конструкціях кримських суспільств доби фінальної бронзи — раннього заліза залишається сфера релігії та культів. Єдине, що хоч якось вказує на віросповідання населення Криму, — набір символів на кераміці, який демонструє динаміку зміни знаків. Окрім зображень знаків у культурі відомі також зображення облич — на посудині з Уч-Башу і на фалоподібних керамічних фігурках догрецького шару Херсонеса.

Припускаємо, що суспільний лад племен молодшого дотаврського періоду був зруйнований унаслідок вторгнення кочівників. Стара економічна система в Північному Причорномор'ї перестала функціонувати, контакти розірвались, а залишки місцевих племен утворили нове суспільство, фактично на згарищах і разом із залишками інших племен. У такій ситуації зачатки нової ідеології, ймовірно, були знищені разом із їх носіями. Племена прийняли примітивну ідеологію, не властиву попереднім кримським суспільствам. Чому так сталося і звідки ця ідеологія була запозичена, чи була вона притаманна племенам бронзової доби, що мешкали на півострові, досі не з'ясовано.

Загалом характеризуючи племена, що населяли Крим за доби металів, лише наприкінці епохи бронзи і переходу до залізної доби та пізніше, під час виникнення грецьких центрів, можна говорити про племена землеробів, значна частка економіки яких припадає на вирощування зернових. Це важливо, оскільки землеробські племена мали місячний календар, складений на основі спостережень за не-

бесними світилами, тому потребували святилищ-обсерваторій. Ознак таких святилищ у Криму немає. У племен скотарів були простіші способи спостережень за небом, які, ймовірно, спирались на рух сонця. Його рух небосхилом втілено в храмах і священних місцях на підвищеннях — горах, кам'яних останцях тощо, або спеціальних спорудах — пірамідах, зіккуратах, курганах, обелісках, менгірах. Найпростіші форми культу відомі в Криму: кладовища під гірськими хребтами, кургани, менгіри.

Святилища і культу дотаврського періоду кизилкобинської культури нам не відомі, за винятком невеликого набору знаків на керамічних посудинах. Ці антропоморфні ознаки мають більш ранні аналогії у Східному Середземномор'ї та демонструють особливості зміни світогляду населення в різних регіонах у процесі переходу від бронзового до залізного часу. Усі відомі святилища Кримських гір датовані римським часом і не пов'язані з кизилкобинською культурою. Поховальний обряд племен таврського періоду — це ряди кам'яних скринь (цист), розташованих під пасмами гір, подеколи на могилах встановлено менгіри. Святилища Кримських гір постають у вже сформованому вигляді з усталеним обрядом, не подібним до обрядів племен кизилкобинської культури.

Нині накопичується все більше доказів на користь появи абсолютно нового для Криму явища — військових культів, яке може бути пов'язано з новою хвилею людей, які опинилися в Криму унаслідок поширення латенських культур на схід. Передумови, зокрема перехід таврів до обрядів скіфських племен, склалися на півострові наприкінці IV — на початку III ст. до н. е. Таким чином, ніщо не заперечує факт формування синкретичних військових культів у варварського населення Криму у II ст. до н. е. і виникнення такого феномену, як святилище Гурзуфське Сідло в римські часи.

Ключові слова: рання залізна доба, понтійський регіон, Крим, таври, скіфи, релігія, культури.

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