THE WOODEN BOWL IN THE PASTORALISTS’ CULTURE OF THE ZRUBNA/TIMBER-GRAVE ENTITY

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The article presents the results of the study of the burial of the Zrubna/Timber-Grave entity (Late Bronze Age) from the mound near the village of Komshuvate in the North Azov Area in the south of Donetsk Region of Ukraine. The article deals with issues related to some peculiarities of the material and spiritual culture of the ancient population of the Azov steppes, their social organization and funeral rites. Wooden utensils are a fairly rare category of funeral implements of the Bronze Age in Eastern Europe, which are fixed in the tombs by metallic elements. The analysis of the remains of a wooden vessel studied in the burial allowed us to make some observations on the technology of manufacturing this category of funerary equipment. This allowed us to approach the problem of social reconstruction. The presence of a wooden bowl with a metal figured enclosure in the burial is considered by the authors as a status sign marking the persons involved in ritual activities. The purpose and use of the application-decorated bowls had more than regular domestic significance.

INTRODUCTION

In 2021, the Archaeological Expedition of Mariupol State University (AE MSU) carried out scientific excavations of two mounds near the village of Komshuvate of the Mangush territorial community of Mariupol district, Donetsk Region, Ukraine (Fig. 1). The investigated mounds were part of a barrow group consisting of five mounds.

The spatial boundaries of the micro-region fall within the territory of the Ukrainian Northern Azov Sea Region. The investigated barrow group is located within the Azov lowland plain, on a watershed plateau between the small steppe rivers Berda and Komshuvatka (Azov Sea basin). The valleys of these rivers slope gently down towards the sea. The area is a low-lying plain with a general southward slope and occupies watershed areas.

As an authentic element of the historical and cultural landscape of the Northern Azov Sea region, the mound group of 5 barrows near the village of Komshuvate was first discovered and marked on maps by military topographers in the mid-nineteenth c. (Military topographic map of the Katerynoslav province of 1846–1863, edited by F. Schubert (Scale 3 versets/1 inch, Row XXIX. Sheet 15, 16). At the top of the watershed between the upper reaches of the gullies in the interfluve of the Berda and Komshuvatka rivers, in the immediate vicinity of the investigated cemetery, there are a number of single mounds and mound groups (Fig. 2).

The history of archaeological research of burial sites in the adjacent territory has only a few episodes. Thus, in 1965, thanks to local residents, the archaeological collection of the Mariupol Museum of Local Lore was replenished with finds of the Early Iron Age originating from a looted mound near the village of Komshuvate (Dubovska 1997, 205, fig. 10: 5). In 1989, near the village of Zakharivka, an expedition of Donetsk University excavated 3 barrows in a group of 7 barrows. They found materials of the Zrubna/Timber-grave culture (ZC), which are culturally and chronologically similar to the data obtained by the AE MSU in 2021. Among other things, burials in stone tombs were investigated (Lytvynenko 1999, fig. 2; 2000, fig. 4: 5–13; 5: 6–10; 7).

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Fig. 1. Location map of the study site near Komyshuvate village in North Azov Area.
The scientific “discovery” of the burial mound near the village of Komyshuvate took place in 1988 during the explorations of Donetsk archaeologists M. Shvetsov and O. Dubovska (Shvecov/Kravchenko 1988). In 1989, the Mariupol Archaeological Expedition led by V. Kulbaka investigated three barrows from this group (barrows 1–3). Burials of the Late Bronze Age and the Middle Ages were discovered (Kulbaka/Gnatko 1989). Barrows 4 and 5, investigated by AE MSU in 2021, are the eastern part of this group.

In general, the beginning of the kurgan cemetery is associated with the tribes of the Late Bronze Age ZC. The next stage of the cemetery’s existence is associated with medieval nomads. Cases of ritual activities
Fig. 3. Komyshevate. General plan of barrow 4 and stratigraphic profiles.
on Bronze Age mounds (mounds 1, 3 and 4) were traced, and two mounds were built over the burial of a medieval nomad (mound 2) and a cenotaph grave (mound 5). Of the 5 barrows in the group, only 3 belonged to the ZC period. All 3 mounds of the ZC contained one main burial each, and the largest mound in the group, mound 4, contained another inlet burial.

In connection with the proposed research topic, mound 4, in particular the main burial 2, is of particular interest, as it clearly demonstrates a number of deviations from the model of ordinary burials of the ZC of the North Azov Area and signs of social extraordinary. Wooden vessels are a rather rare category of funerary equipment in Late Bronze Age burials. The analysis of the remains of a wooden vessel studied in burial 2 of barrow 4 allowed us to make some observations on the technology of manufacturing this category of funerary equipment. Wooden utensils in funerary complexes are most often recorded with metal elements, which is why they have been used to solve a number of technological, cultural and chronological issues.

BURIAL 2 OF THE MOUND 4
OF THE BARROW COMPLEX KOMYSHUVATE

Mound 4 is an oval-shaped mound made of soil, stretched along the northwest – southeast line, 0.9 m high, 40 × 32 m in size (Fig. 3). Some large stone blocks were found on the surface or in the upper layers of the mound.2

The analysis of stratigraphic profiles and field observations made during the operation of machinery and horizontal stripping allowed us to make the following observations:

- sod layer with a thickness of 0.10–0.15 m;
- black soil layer of the mound 0.87–0.9 m thick (together with the sod layer);
- buried soil 0.4–0.5 m thick, with the level of the ancient horizon;
- the underlying loamy subsoil was traced from a depth of 1.4 m from the centre of the mound;
- humus mound I (primary), built over burial 2;
- humus mound II, built over burial 1.

Two burials of the ZC and a ritual complex of the medieval period were investigated in the barrow. Burial no. 2 is the main one (ZC). It was discovered 5.0 m to the west and 5.5 m to the south of the mound centre (7.5 m 176° from the centre). The bottom of the grave is at the level of the mainland layer, at a depth of 1.36 m from the modern surface (−1.41 m from the centre; Fig. 4; 5).

The grave was excavated from the level of the ancient horizon. The long axis of the grave is oriented in a southwest – northeast direction. The burial structure is a combined stone tomb composed of vertically (long and north-eastern walls) and horizontally (south-western wall) laid sandstone slabs. The upper edge of the slabs was buried to the level of the ancient horizon. The lower level of the stone slabs of the burial structure and the remains of the deceased were at the level of the underlying loamy subsoil. The burial structure was covered with a large stone slab measuring 1.67 × 0.78 m, which sank into the grave space and was broken in half at the time of the research. The space that remained uncovered was filled with smaller slabs and stones that were at the level of the ancient horizon.

The remains of an adult were found at the bottom of the stone tomb. The deceased was lying contorted on his left side, with his head to the east and tilted to the north. The legs are bent at an acute angle at the knee joints: left – 40°, right – 30°; at the hip joints: left – 65°, right – 90°. Arms are bent, hands in front of the face.

In the northern corner of the grave, behind the back of the deceased’s head, there was a ceramic pot. The remains of a wooden vessel with a bronze plate were found in front of the deceased’s face, and the remains of a funeral meal – the sacrum bones of an animal – were found next to it. On the bones of the skull, on the vertebrae and pelvic bones, the remains of a wooden object (a staff?) laid along the body of the deceased were found.

Inventory:
1. Ceramic vessel 1 – fragments of the walls of a ceramic vessel. The sherd is black at the fracture. There are shallow vertical flutes on the outer surface and deep horizontal flutes on the inner surface. The dimensions and shape of the vessel are not established.

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2 Coordinates of the mound on Google Maps: 47°5’59.58” N, 37°6’39.09” E.
2. Ceramic vessel 2 – jar-shaped pot of slender proportions with a smoothly defined rib in the upper third of the body. There is a small foot-rim near the bottom. The firing is uneven, the outer surface is yellow/grey-brown with traces of soot. There is a horizontal row of 74 oblique finger and nail indentations with irregular angles along the shoulders of the jar. The sherd is black at the fracture. Dimensions: height – 21.5 cm, diameter of the rim – 21.5 cm, diameter of the sides – 23.5 cm, diameter of the bottom – 13.5 cm. The volume is 5.25 litres (Fig. 4: 5).
3. A wooden bowl of rounded shape, of which only the remains of rotten wood and small fragments of the bronze cover (lining) have been preserved. The edges of the crown are rounded, up to 1.0 cm thick. The diameter of the reconstructed rim is 15.0 cm. The height of the bowl and the diameter of the bottom part are not established, but due to the shape of the bronze element, it was possible to establish its depth – approximately 3.5 cm and the angle of inclination of the inner walls of the bowl – 60° (Fig. 4: 6).

The plate thickness is 0.1–0.05 cm. Remnants of a “herringbone” ornament made with a punch can be traced on the entire surface of the product. The overlay was fastened to the wooden base from the inside with 6 pairs of miniature bronze nails and 1 pair of rivets at the ends. The rivets and nails had the form of a truncated cone, made from bronze plates twisted into a tube. Nail dimensions: length 0.6–1.1 cm; head diameter 0.3–0.5 cm; stem diameter 0.2 cm. Dimensions of rivets: external length 1.5 cm; internal length (head spacing) 1.2 cm; stem diameter 0.2 cm; embedded head diameter 0.45 cm; closing head diameter 0.35 cm (Fig. 6).

4. A wooden object (staff?) of poor preservation, of which only the remains of rotten wood has been preserved. Reconstructed dimensions: length 75 cm, maximum diameter (near the skull) 4.0 cm, diameter (on the vertebrae and pelvic bones) 1.5–2.0 cm.

In addition, at the level of the ancient horizon, some finds of the Late Bronze Age were discovered in the mound – fragments of ceramic vessels – the remains of a funeral feast associated with burial 2:

1. Fragments of ceramic pot no. 1. In the western part of the primary mound, at a distance of 9.6 m (243°) from the centre, at the level of the ancient horizon, at a depth of 0.9 m. Ceramic vessel – open-ended jar-shaped pot. The outer surface is black. The vessel is unornamented. The diameter of the reconstructed bottom is 10.5 cm.

2. Fragment of ceramic pot no. 2. At a distance of 6.4 m (310°) from the centre, at a depth of 0.9 m. Fragment of the wall of a ceramic vessel. The sherd is black at the fracture, decorated with oblique lines made by imprints of a large serrated stamp. The size and shape of the vessel is not established.
The corpus of sources accumulated and available to the authors allows us to consider the ritual and inventory complex of the Late Bronze Age burial of the barrow through the prism of the created general register of funerary monuments of the ZC of the North Azov Area.

Only three mounds from the group belonged to the ZC and were located at approximately the same distance from each other. All three mounds contained one main burial each, and the largest of the mounds contained another inlet burial. The kurgan cemetery we have studied is fully consistent with the general trend of kurgan construction of the tribes of the ZC of the North Azov Area. According to

**CULTURAL AND CHRONOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MATERIALS**

Fig. 6. Komyshuvate. 1 – the application-decorated wooden bowl (photo and reconstruction by V. Mezey); 2 – bronze overlay (photo by the authors); 3 – “herringbone“ ornament made with a punch; 4 – steppe viper (*Vipera renardi*). Scale: a – 1, 2; b – 3.
the shape of the mounds in the group, the cemetery demonstrates a linear layout. With this layout, the mounds in the group are lined up in a chain. This arrangement of mounds is largely due to the terrain: the mounds are stretched along the crests of watersheds, duplicating the contours of gullies or plateau slopes. Moreover, in our case, the largest mound in the group, barrow 4, occupied the highest site in the watershed. The mounds of the ZC of the Komyshuva te cemetery (mounds 1, 3, 4) are lined up in a south-west – north-east direction.

Burial 2 was made in a stone tomb, with stone slabs laid on the edge. Studying the funerary structures of the ZC of the North Azov Area and the basin of the Siverskyi Donets, R. Lytvynenko proposed a classification of types of stone tombs, among which complex structures were assigned to groups II and III (Lytvynenko 1992a, 37–39). According to this classification, burial 2 of barrow 4 is assigned to the group III (combined tombs with horizontal and vertical masonry walls). In general, the use of stone boxes belongs to the developed and late stages of the ZC. As for the stone tombs with horizontal masonry and boxes of complex construction, the available materials allow us to attribute them to the end of the developed – beginning of the late stage of the ZC of the Siverskyi Donets basin (Lytvynenko 1992a, 42) or to the II–III horizons of the burial grounds of the North Azov Area (Lytvynenko 1999, 19).

The funerary rite of the ZC looks somewhat standardised, primarily due to the ritual norms of corpse laying (inhumation). Statistical calculations have shown that the most common form of burial in the North Azov Region is an individual corpse laid crouched on the left side, with the arms bent at the elbows and placed near the face or in front of the chest of the deceased. The dominant form is the placement of the body on the left side, with the head facing east. According to our calculations, in 92.5% of the burials (in which the original position of the bodies was established), the deceased were laid on their left side. The position of the deceased’s hands, when both arms are bent at the elbows, with the hands placed in front of the skull or chest (W), was recorded in 75.6% of burials (Zabavin/Bulyk 2020, tab. 2). The studied burial of the ZC of the Komyshuva te barrow cemetery to some extent demonstrates these patterns.

Remains of a funerary meat meal are recorded in the burials by finds of animal bones. They were also present in burial 2 of barrow 4 in the form of animal sacrum bones, which were found near the wooden bowl. Meat food was widely used in the funerary practice of the carriers of the ZC of the North Azov Area. According to our data, 7% of the burials contained animal bones, which can be interpreted as the remains of a funeral meal. In a number of cases, animal bones were found in funerary vessels, but the remains of meat food directly in the vessel were recorded in only three cases (including once the bones of a small animal were found directly on a fragment of pottery). In two other cases, the bones were placed directly on a wooden dish or in a vessel (Zabavin/Nebrat/Bulyk 2021, 97).

The funeral food in the form of an animal sacrum was found in only 10 burials of the ZC of the North Azov Area (approximately one case per 150 burials), including the burial investigated in the Komyshuva te barrow cemetery. The mapping of burials containing animal bone remains, including sacrum, revealed that these complexes were concentrated in the Azov uplands and lowlands within the Berda and Kalmius rivers (70% of cases).

An integral part of the funeral rite is the tradition of accompanying the deceased with food/drink in ceramic vessels. Ceramics remains the most common category of finds in the burials of the ZC of the North Azov Area. The Komyshuva te burial contained one ceramic vessel. In addition, small fragments of a second vessel were also found in the grave fill above the stone slab during the soil clearing. The vessel from the burial was attributed to the second (developed) horizon of the ZC of the North Azov Area due to qualitative features manifested in the composition of the ceramic mass, shape and proportions, surface treatment and ornamentation. The ceramic pot is classified as a closed jar with shoulders and a rim pulled inwards (Zabavin 2019a, 97, fig. 1).

We have information on 742 burials of the ZC of the North Azov Area, for which it is possible to zone the location of ceramic vessels in the grave. Zone I, in front of the chest and head, was the most characteristic for ceramic placement (84.3% of cases). In zone IV – behind the head and back above the pelvis – vessels were located in only 9.8% of cases. At one time, it was suggested that the selected zones of the location of ceramic vessels in relation to the body of the deceased II–V can be recognised as “extraordinary“ for the funerary practice of the carriers of the ZC of the North Azov Area. The presence of pottery in these positions should also be considered as a sign that indirectly indicates that the complex belongs to earlier chronological horizons (Zabavin 2019a, 97, tab. 3).

In general, the second (developed) horizon of the burial mounds of the ZC of the North Azov Area is characterised by both main and inlet burials in pits. In the same period, stone chests appeared, made of stone slabs placed vertically on an edge. At the end of the period, another type of stone tombs, called
The degree of preservation of wooden objects in the burials of the ZC of the North Azov Area does not always allow us to identify and determine their functional purpose. In 8 cases, in addition to the wooden bowl studied in burial 2 of barrow 4 near the village of Komyshuvate, we can speak of finds of wooden utensils, which are proposed to be divided into three types: dishes, bowls and scoops (Zabavin 2019b, 124).

The structural elements of Bronze Age wooden utensils include bronze or copper overlays or application shackles (sometimes with wood residues), nails or rivets, and possibly hanging rings. Here we can also mention all kinds of brackets or staples, which were intended for connecting and fastening parts of various small wooden objects. Their shape and purpose is not always clear. Wooden utensils in funerary complexes are most often identified by these metallic elements. That is why they are most often used to resolve a number of technological and cultural-chronological questions.

The analysis of the remains of a wooden bowl studied in burial 2 of barrow 4 allows us to make some observations on the technology of manufacturing this category of funerary equipment. The wooden bowl is probably round in shape, of which only the remains of rotten wood and small fragments of the bronze plate (application overlay) have survived. The edges of the rim are rounded, up to 1.0 cm thick. The diameter of the reconstructed rim is approximately 15.0 cm. Based on the length of the bronze nails (0.6–1.1 cm) used to fasten the bronze plate to the wood, we can assume that the thickness of the wooden base of the object was at least 1.5 cm. The height of the bowl and the diameter of the bottom part are not known. But thanks to the shape of the bronze plate, it was possible to establish its depth of approximately 3.5 cm and the angle of inclination of the inner walls of the bowl at 60°. The bronze application from Komyshuvate was completely reconstructed and glued. The product is of a complex elongated shape, rectangular with rounded protrusions on the sides and ends, which had holes for fastening.

The plate thickness is 0.1–0.05 cm. The total length in the unfolded state is 16.5 cm, the maximum width is 3.0 cm. Remnants of a “herringbone” ornament made with a punch can be traced on the entire surface of the product. The overlay was fastened to the wooden base from the inside with 6 pairs of miniature bronze nails and 1 pair of rivets at the ends. The rivets and nails had the form of a truncated cone, made from bronze plates twisted into a tube. The nails with the thinner end are inserted into the hole in the plate and driven into the wall of the bowl. Nail dimensions: length 0.6–1.1 cm; head diameter 0.3–0.5 cm; stem diameter 0.2 cm. The rivets are inserted into a pair of matching holes in the rim of the bowl: the outer end of the rivet is flared and the inner end is loose. Dimensions of rivets: external length 1.5 cm; internal length (head spacing) 1.2 cm; stem diameter 0.2 cm; embedded head diameter 0.45 cm; closing head diameter 0.35 cm.

As for the type of wood from which the bowl was made, it should be noted that there are no special laboratory tests of wood from the investigated complex. However, at one time it was suggested that for the manufacture of utensils traditionally chose burl wood species. In particular, utensils made of oak, birch bark and vine were used (Lyashko 1994, 145–147). Through the analysis of wooden vessels from the Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age, the raw materials for the manufacture of wooden utensils were identified: the Catacomb culture – chestnut, oak bark, alder and maple; the ZC – maple, the Scythian culture – maple, the Sarmatian culture – maple (Minakova 2018, 140).
According to the researchers, a comparison of the physical properties of the wood species used to make the wooden utensils showed that neither hardness nor resistance to rotting, cracking and deformation were decisive in the choice of raw materials. The only feature that distinguished the trees from which the wooden utensils were made was that they cut well. Aesthetic preferences also played a role. For example, maple, among other things, has a very beautiful texture, which may have contributed to its popularity in woodcarving. Also, later, in particular medieval, analogies indicate that maple was preferred as a material for tableware in the forest-steppe zone (Minakova 2018, 142).

Such categories of funerary equipment are quite rare in the burials of the ZC of the North Azov Area. Despite the fact that the range of bronze products in the Late Bronze Age is quite wide, this is a relatively rare category of finds in settlements and burials of the ZC. Among the array of 1515 burials studied, bronze objects were recorded in only 44 burial complexes, which is about 2.9% of the total. The mapping of the barrow cemeteries of the ZC of the North Azov Area containing metal objects (especially knives) has shown a tendency to decrease the proportion of burials with metal as one moves south and east in the Azov region. Thus, the vast majority of burials with metal are concentrated on the territory of the southern spurs of the Donetsk Ridge, in the upper reaches of the rivers of the Azov Sea basin. The mounts of the North Azov Area proper (Azov lowland and upland) are much less rich in bronze products (Zabavin 2022, fig. 1).

In the North Azov Area, in addition to the published complex, there are two burials with wooden utensils with bronze plates (appliqués). Both were surveyed in the western part of the study area within Zaporizhzhia oblast.

In the burial of an adult (Vysoke, burial 1 of mound 6), mainly in the mound, a wooden vessel with bronze shackles containing ram bones was found. An oval-shaped wooden dish measuring 30 × 25 cm with widely curved walls. The plates are a thin bronze strip, bent in half, curved on the inside. One plate, 2.5 cm wide and about 70 cm long, was attached to the wood with two 0.3 cm diameter rivets. The second plate is similar to the first, but smaller: 2 cm wide and 5 cm long (Boltryk/Havryliuk/Fyalko 1985).

The second set of bronze plates also comes from the burial of an adult (Novoukrainka, burial 7 of barrow 3). Here were the remains of a wooden vessel with bronze appliqués on the rim. The set of overlays for a severely deformed wooden vessel consisted of two flat and two curved plates, which were sub-rectangular in plan. The ends are fitted with truncated cone-shaped rivets, which are made from a flat plate twisted into a tube. One end was inserted into the plate hole and flared. The other end was passed through the wall of the bowl, then bent and flattened. The plates were fixed by sliding one under the other. The dimensions of the plates were: flat – 2.5 × 3.3 × 0.02 cm and 2.0 × 3.3 × 0.02 cm; curved – 3.9 × 2.1 × 0.02 cm and 3.1 × 2.0 × 0.02 cm. The rivets are 1.3 cm to 2.0 cm long, 0.3 cm to 0.5 cm in diameter at the base and 0.2 cm to 0.3 cm at the top. The same burial contained a bronze object of unclear purpose, square in shape and flat in cross-section. It is made of a flat plate bent in half twice, one of the corners is deformed. It measures 1.3 × 1.3 cm and is 0.2 cm thick (Antonov/Otroschenko 2004, 23, fig. 3).

The dishes were recorded in 5 burials, and in all cases they contained animal bones, and once a bronze meat knife was combined with a dish. In all cases, the dishes had an elongated oval or ellipsoidal shape.

In burial 4 of barrow 1 near the village of Klunykov, Luhansk region, the remains of an ellipsoidal dish were found: the preserved dimensions are 37 × 22 cm (reconstructed length is 50 cm). An oval dish measuring 70 × 36 cm was found in burial 1 of mound 10 of the Shakhtarsk burial ground. In burial 1 of mound 3 of the Donetsk “Textylnyk” cemetery, a dish of ellipsoidal shape, measuring 70 × 27 cm and 5 cm high, is well-preserved. The dish had a gently sloping rim 2.5 cm high along the short sides; 1.2 cm high legs were carved near the bottom (Lytvynenko 1994, 134). In burial 1 of barrow 1 near the village of Zakharivka, the remains of an ellipsoidal dish, preserved in fragments, measuring 37 × 25 cm (reconstructed length – 45 cm) were recorded (Moruzhenko et al. 1989). In the aforementioned burial near Vysoke, an oval-shaped wooden dish measuring 30 × 25 cm with widely bent sides and bronze plates was found, containing ram bones (Boltryk/Havryliuk/Fyalko 1985).

The wooden bowls were clearly recorded in two cases. A rounded bowl with a diameter of 14 cm was found in burial 2 of barrow 1 near the village of Blahivka. The poor preservation of the product does not allow us to judge its design features (Lytvynenko 1994, 134). The second bowl with a set of bronze plates comes from the above-described burial 7 of barrow 3 near Novoukrainka village – the remains of a wooden vessel with bronze plates on the edges (Antonov/Otroschenko 2004, 23, fig. 3).
The presence of wooden scoops was probably recorded in two burials. In burial 1 of barrow 5 near Bobrykove village, Luhansk region, a bronze plate with a through hole for fastening was found inside a ceramic vessel, which could be a part of a wooden scoop. In the aforementioned burial with a dish from barrow 10 near Shakhtarsk, a boat-shaped wooden scoop with a rounded bottom and inwardly curved edges, 24 cm long, 9 cm wide, 8 cm high, and 0.4 cm thick walls was partially preserved (Lytvynenko 1994, 135).

In addition, a piece of a bronze flat wire (clip) bent in the shape of an irregular rectangle was found in burial 7 of barrow 1 near the village of Orlovskie, Donets region. Dimensions of the item: 1.0 × 0.5 cm, width 0.2 cm, thickness 0.1 cm (Zabavin 2010, 180). Regarding all kinds of bronze brackets, staples or loops that have been repeatedly recorded in the funerary complexes of the ZC community, the following can be noted. According to V. Otroschenko, bowls could be worn on the belt (Otroschenko 1992, 72).

The tradition of making wooden utensils is an integral part of the material culture of the Steppe and Forest-Steppe populations of southern Eastern Europe, dating from the Early Bronze Age and throughout the Early Iron Age (Fig. 7). The main provisions of modern historiography and a detailed analysis of different points of view on the problems of wooden utensils were presented in the works of many researchers (Dubovska 1993, 142; Makhortykh 2008, 293; Minakova 2018). Including the works devoted to the study of this category of funerary inventory of the ZC (Minakova 2015). This frees us from the need to repeat such a procedure.

Thus, a few finds of this category of funerary equipment are known in burials of the Pit culture (Minakova 2011; Otroschenko 1992, 71) and Catacomb cultures (Nebrat 2017). Later on, the tradition of making wooden utensils became widespread in the burials of the Babyn cultural circle (Lytvynenko 2004). The interest of researchers in this category of inventory grew significantly after the discovery of a series of burials of the ZC, in which wooden bowls with metal overlays were found (Antonov/Otroschenko 2004; Lytvynenko 1997; Otroschenko 1984; Pyatyh 1984). The number of finds of wooden utensils in the burials of the Sabotynivka and Bilozirsk cultures of the Late Bronze Age is significantly reduced.

In the pre-Scythian period, the tradition of making wooden utensils revived with renewed vigour in the material culture of early nomads. According to researchers, wooden vessels in the Cimmerian complexes of the Northern Black Sea region are quite common. According to various sources, the proportion of Cimmerian burials with wooden utensils is 13–16% of the total massif (Makhortykh 1989, 12). Later, the tradition was further developed by the Scythian and Sarmatian populations (Dudin 2009, 123–125).

It can be assumed that the proportion of burials of archaeological cultures of the Bronze Age and Early Iron Age of southern Eastern Europe that contained wooden utensils as part of the funerary inventory was much higher. It is difficult to trace the remains of wooden products in the burial (given the quality of the clearing of the complex), giving the poor preservation of the material. The fact that a wooden vessel was placed in the grave is sometimes indicated only by individual elements made of metal. These include, in particular, bronze decorative applications and overlays of various shapes and sizes, nails, ribbon wires.

It is worth noting that O. Krivecova-Grakov was the first to pay attention to this category of bronze products. During the research of the Bessarabian treasure, she drew attention to metal plates that were supposed to decorate wooden vessels (Krivcova-Grakova 1949, 4). The most numerous and striking examples of bronze overlays were found in the burials of the ZC in the 1970s and 1980s during excavations of expeditions at new buildings in Ukraine (Kovaleva 1981, 65, 66; Otroschenko 1976, 186, 187).

In our opinion, the question of the time of the appearance of wooden bowls with metal plates-applications among the ancient population of the Northern Black Sea region remains relevant. K. Minakova,
in her monograph on wooden utensils, mentions three burials of the Pit culture where metal plates were found: Sugoklei grave (burial 5 of mound 1); Tiraspol (burial 19 of mound 3) and Karagash (burial 2 of mound 1; Minakova 2018, 178). The researcher made a mistake when she marked Karagash on a map of the location of Pit culture sites with wooden utensils in Moldova (Transnistria). In fact, the mound in which this burial was investigated was located in Kazakhstan, southeast of Karaganda. Let us dwell on them in more detail.

A review of the available publications of the Suhoklei mound, investigated within the city of Kropyvnytskyi (Kirovohrad) in 2004 (Boltrik/Nikolova/Razumov 2005, 69, 70; Nikolova 2012, 20; Nikolova/Kaiser 2009, 219), indeed allows us to state that a unique ornamented wooden bowl of the Pit culture was found in burial 5. However, it had no metal decoration.

In the Karagash burial, a metal plate with holes for fastening was found, which served as an application for a wooden bowl. So far, this discovery can be considered at least one of the oldest metal overlays. However, it should be noted at the outset that the attribution of this complex to the Pit culture may look somewhat dubious. Firstly, the Karagash barrow was located at a considerable distance from the main area of the Pit culture sites. Secondly, it demonstrates features of both the Pit and Afanasievo cultures (Evdokimov/Loman 1989, 43, 44). In addition, wooden utensils with metal overlays are also known in the antiquities of the Afanasievo culture (Borodovskij 2013).

In a Pit culture burial discovered in a mound near Tiraspol, the remains of an adult were cleared. The funerary accompaniments included a pot and a metal plate with two holes found near the femur at the level of the burial floor (2 cm long, 1.4–1.2 cm wide, 0.05 cm thick; Savva 1988, 51, 52). The conditions of the discovery, the absence of wood tarnish, and the quality of the illustration do not allow us to say that this find is in any way connected with wooden utensils. This is indirectly supported by a certain pattern: it is very rare for two (or more) vessels to be found in an adult grave (we do not take into account the Karagash complex due to its remoteness from the area of the Pit Culture and its hypothetical belonging to it). On the contrary, there are no ceramic pots in the burials of the Pit Culture, in which wooden vessels were found. In this regard, the Tiraspol burial should also be excluded from the register of pit burials with wooden utensils, and even more so with metal shrouding. The use of metal wire (staples) begins earlier, in the Pit age, and becomes widespread in the Catacomb period.

In the south of Eastern Europe, perhaps the oldest example of wooden vessels with metal applications was found in Kalmykia – the Three Brothers tract, burial 9 (Minakova 2018, 177, 254). The most expressive finds of the time before the ZC come from Catacomb culture. In a burial on the left bank of the Siverskyi Donets (Nyzhnoabaranykivka, burial 9 of barrow 5), an ornamented bronze plate overlay from a wooden vessel was discovered (Bratchenko et al. 1977). A metal plate with nails and appliqué on the rims was found in the catacomb of a cemetery on the right bank of the Don (Polyakov, burial 8 of barrow 1; Parusimov 2005, 192). It is interesting to note that these two burials were cenotaphs and did not contain the remains of the deceased. Another catacomb burial with a wooden vessel with a metal plate was discovered in Stavropol in the interfluve of the Western Manich and Egorlyk rivers in the Great Ipatievsky Kurgan (burial 122). Bronze bands and staples were found in the grave (Korenevskij/Belinskij/Kalmykov 2007, 44–46, 172).

On wooden utensils of the Catacomb period from the basin of the Siverskyi Donets and Don, metal elements are mainly staples and bronze wire bands. It should be noted that wooden utensils with metal decoration of the Inhul Catacomb culture are unknown to the authors. Thus, it can be noted that the practice of decorating wooden utensils with metal plates among the population of the Black Sea and Azov Sea steppes emerged not in the Early but in the Middle Bronze Age, in the Catacomb environment, but was not widespread.

We would like to draw attention to one more find, which, with a certain degree of probability, can be attributed to the metal application of a wooden bowl of the Abashevo culture, as interpreted by S. Sanzharov. It comes from the cultural layer of the Prokazyno settlement on the Aidar River (left bank of the Siverskiy Donets; Sanzhurov 2010, 299, fig. 202: 9, 10). The wooden vessels of the Babyne cultural circle probably inherited the tradition of Catacomb cultures. The finishes are dominated by bronze brackets and ribbon wires. Wooden vessels of the Babyne cultural circle were very rarely decorated with metal bands, although such cases are known in the Dnipro basin and the North-Western Black Sea region (Kushtan 2013, 105; Lytvynenko 2004, 27; Subbotin/Toshchev 2002, 37, 46). We do not know of any items similar to those from catacomb burials among the antiquities of the Babyne cultural circle.
It seems that the tradition of decorating wooden utensils with metal overlays was more likely to have local roots. Elongated figured overlays with lateral projections (similar to the Komshuvate overlays) were common in the Late Bronze Age in the ZC entity. The bronze plates of this form first came to the attention of researchers after the discovery of the Loboikivka treasure in 1966 (Leskov 1981). Over the next two decades, archaeological research on the steppe mounds of Ukraine led to the accumulation of a significant amount of material. Figured overlays of the Loboikivka type were found during the study of the burials of the ZC.

The earliest, in our opinion, is the complex investigated on the right bank of the Siverskyi Donets (Minkivka, burial 1 of mound 4). According to a number of features (north-eastern orientation, the shape of the bronze knife, the longitudinal wooden roof of the grave), this complex can be attributed to the first (early) horizon of the log culture. The burial contained the remains of a funeral meal (animal bones), a ceramic pot, a knife, and a wooden vessel with metal figural appliqué similar to our find (Kravets/Posretnikov 1990, 74).

As noted by R. Lytvynenko, the largest number of wooden utensils of the log culture with figured overlays come from the steppe region of the Dnipro region (Lytvynenko 1997, 109). As a striking example, let us cite the complex from Velyka Bilozerka (burial 2 of mound 12; Tsymidanov 2004, 165). One of the plates in this burial had a “herringbone” ornament made with a punch, which allows us to see certain parallels with the specimen we found in the burial from the Komshuvate. The plates from the burials investigated near Nosaky (graves 2 and 3 of mound 8) and Verkhnia Maivka V (grave 5 of mound 2) can also be considered as direct analogies (Bidzilya et al. 1977, 127).

The register of similar finds can be expanded to include a bronze overlay with subrectangular projections originating from the Dnipro region of Ukraine. A metal figured plate is distinguished by the fact that the side protrusions of the plate, when placed horizontally, are directed to the left on one side and to the right on the other. In addition, the plate was decorated with a “snake” (wave line) ornament (Kovaleva 1989, 81). More eastern analogues in the burials of the ZC come from the Volga region (Pyatyh 1984, 146).

Over time, wooden utensils with metal shaped wrapping became a prestigious item. This is supported by the fact that it was found in the mound of the 21st elite Hordiivka burial ground in Vinnytsia region. Regarding this discovery, the researchers noted that it is the only evidence of the Hordiivka burial ground’s early connections with its eastern neighbours, the Berezhnovka-Maevka ZC (Berezansk/a/Klochko 2011, 81). In addition, there is another known gold overlay. However, this find is taken out of the “context”, as it comes from a private collection (Klochko 2011, 252, 253). Other specimens were found in later burials – graves of the Berezhnovka-Maevka ZC in the Dnipro region and in the Loboikivka treasure.

The tradition of decorating wooden vessels with metal continued in the early Iron Age, in particular among the Cimmerian population. Examples of this are the pieces found in burials in the Northern Black Sea region: Kalynivka, mound 1, burial 2; Zvonetske, mound 15, burial 2; Vysoka Mohyla, burial 5; Velykooleksandrivskyi kurhn; Hola Mohyla II, mound 4, burial 7 (Bidzilya/Yakovenko 1974, 152; Kovaleva/Shalobudov/Teslenko 1999, 20; Makhortykh 2005, 417; Shylov 1995, 734). A geographically close find from the north-eastern Azov Area should be noted separately. In 2019, the AE MSU investigated a Chernohorivka culture burial near the village of Yalta (mound 2, burial 3), which contained the remains of a wooden vessel decorated with metal covers. The bronze overlay has survived in the form of small fragments of plates 0.06–0.08 cm thick, which bear traces of ornamentation made with a punch and miniature rivets (Zabavin/Nebrat/Bulyk 2021, 43).

In the Scythian period, the tradition of decorating wooden utensils with metal overlays did not disappear. On the contrary, instead of geometric stylised images made with a punch, the Scythian overlays are distinguished by their particular sophistication and jewellery craftsmanship. There are zoomorphic images. The overlays were made of gold, and wooden utensils decorated similarly are found in the graves of wealthy members of the nomadic community. Striking examples come from the Voronezh Kurgan, Yablunivka, Solokha, Oleksandropil Kurgan, First Zavadska Mohyla, and other burial mounds (Mel'nychuk 1989, 111, 351; Polidavychi/Velychko/Bilan 2019, 366).

Occasionally, wooden vessels with bronze decoration are found in the Sarmatian period. (Bespalyi/Luk'yashko 2008, 13). In the medieval period, wooden utensils with metal wrapping almost disappeared from use in the ritual sphere. That is why rare cases of such finds are interesting. Similar drinking bowls were found in an early medieval catacomb cemetery of the 13th–14th c. in the Caucasus (Tuallagov 2017, 160).
Thus, it can be argued that the tradition of making and using ritual wooden utensils with metal wrapping was long-lasting. It was made and used by the inhabitants of various archaeological cultures of the Bronze Age. Early Iron Age and even the Middle Ages, although for the latter period it looks more like a relic. Wooden vessels of the ZC decorated with metal wrapping are not a phenomenal exception or a unique phenomenon against the background of ancient cultures. On the contrary, ZC artefacts are a material expression of one of the stages of the tradition of making and using this type of vessel.

The analysis of finds of wooden utensils in Bronze Age burials in the south of Eastern Europe allowed V. Otroschenko to conclude that there were two traditions of using metal in the manufacture and repair of wooden vessels in the first half of the second millennium BC: 1. Volga–Ural region (Pit, Poltavka and Sintashta cultures) – bindings and nails; 2. Dnipro–Don region (catacomb cultures – Babyne cultural circle) – metal tape-wire (Otroschenko 1992, 71–72). According to O. Dudin, after a certain migration of the ZC population of the Volga region to the west in the Black Sea steppes, the first tradition began to prevail over the second. This can be clearly seen in the findings of wooden utensils from the burials of the ZC of the Dnipro region. The metal parts of wooden utensils here were mostly made of bronze, in the form of small forges (overlays) and attached to the crown of the vessel with similar bronze miniature nails. Almost all the plates were multi-figured in shape. In most cases, they were rectangular in shape with different framing along the edges, in the form of jagged ends. Some plates have a punch pattern in the form of inclined straight lines and arcs. The size of the overlays ranges from miniature, about 2 × 4 cm, to larger ones of 9 × 6 cm (Dudin 2009, 123, 124).

A DRINKING CUP OR A PRIEST’S BOWL?

The functional purpose of metal overlays on wooden utensils, including bowls in the burials of the ZC of the North Azov Area, is of some interest. For example, E. Maksimov suggested that such plates were used exclusively for utilitarian purposes – to repair burst vessels (Maksimov 1956, 120–122). Following K. Smirnov (Smirnov 1960, 246), according to O. Dudin, in solving this problem, the decorative function of the overlays comes to the fore, of course. Decorating wood with metal is a fairly common tradition in the material culture of many nations. However, the researcher also notes the importance of determining the semiotic status of metal overlays. It is unlikely that only one goal was pursued when attaching metal plates to the rim of a wooden vessel – a decorative one. In some cases, there are wooden vessels with several overlays or only one overlay attached to the rims in a chaotic manner. As the author notes, the compositional idea that is often inherent in decorative art is obviously not visible here. The question of the semiotic status of metal overlays can be naturally linked to the status of wooden vessels themselves. As is well known, wooden utensils, especially bowls, are perceived by many researchers as objects of cultic purpose (Dudin 2009, 126).

M. Cherednichenko (1977) was the first researcher to suggest the connection of these vessels with priestly practice. Later, the idea of the connection of wooden vessels was developed in a number of works in which the term "bowl" was used for these vessels (Cherednichenko 1986, 60; Kovaleva 1989, 27, 28; Otroschenko 1984, 92). Subsequently, when distinguishing among all the burials of the ZC community the burials of priests or cultists, the authors use the findings of wooden bowls as the main criterion for selecting such complexes. At the same time, according to V. Otroschenko, it is possible to compare wooden bowls from the burials of the ZC community with a container for the drink of the gods – Soma, known from the hymns of the Rigveda. According to the researcher, the stanzas from the Hymn dedicated to Soma (IX, 1) in the Rigveda can serve as proof of this statement (Otroschenko 1984, 92).

In the Vedic society, the bowl was traditionally one of the essential attributes of various categories of priesthood. In particular, priestly ritual bowls or cups are repeatedly mentioned in the Rigveda. As an example, here is just one fragment of a Hymn dedicated to deities accepting sacrifices at a certain time (HYMN XXXVII, Various Gods):

1. Enjoy thy fill of juice (Soma) out of the Hotar’s cup: Adhvaryus he desires a full draught poured for him.
   Bring it him: seeking this he gives. Granter of Wealth, drink Soma with the Rtus from the Hotar’s cup.
2. He whom of old I called on, him I call on now. He is to be invoked; his name is He who Gives. Here brought by priests is Soma meath. Granter of Wealth, drink Soma with the Rtus from the Potar’s cup.

3. Fat may the horses be wherewith thou specest on: Lord of the Wood, unharmed, strengthen thou thyse If. Drawing and seizing, Bold One, thou who grantest wealth, drink Soma with the Rtus from the Nestar’s cup.

4. From Hotar’s cup and Potar’s he hath drunk and joyed: the proffered food hath pleased him from the Nestar’s bowl. The fourth cup undisturbed, immortal, let him drink who giveth wealth, the cup of the wealth-giving God (Rig Veda online).

The texts of the Rigveda indicate the diversity of the priestly stratum in ancient society: Hotar – the chief priest; Adhvaryu – a priest who performs various actions during sacrifices; in the ritual of preparing a Soma, he squeezes the juice with a pressure stone; Potar – a priest who purifies the juice of the Soma; Neshtar – a priest who brings the wife of the sacrificer to the sacrifice of the Soma (Rigveda 1999, 758–762).

The ritual wooden bowl is also known from the ancient Iranian written tradition. Thus, G. Vertiienko notes that according to Avestan sources, the tašta-bowl is the weapon of both priests and Zarathustra (Videvdat 14.8: 19.9). It is intended for libations (Vesperad 10.2–11.18) and is the bowl for the Haoma (Videvdat 14.8; Yasna 10.17). Yasna 10.17 allows for silver and gold bowls in the ritual of preparing the Haoma. A fairly wide range of materials from which it could have been made is given by Videvdat 7.73–75: gold, silver, bronze, iron, stone, soil, wood and clay. According to the etymology, tašta was part of the original Indo-European semantic circle of objects made of wood. In other words, according to the researcher, in ancient Iran, the ritual tašta-bowl was probably made of wood. The author also mentions that the Vedic tradition preserves various names for utensils associated with the Soma cult. The bowls are united by their material of manufacture – wood. Of the entire range of known lexemes, the most semantically justified name for a drinking bowl is camasâ, which was created as the first wonderful bowl for Soma by the divine carpenter, the creator of all forms, Twashtar. Hence, it is the name that can be compared to the Iranian tašta (Vertiienko 2021, 40).

Thus, wooden bowls with metal overlays (the application-decorated wooden bowl), known in the Northern Black Sea region since the Bronze Age (in particular, in the ZC), are associated by H. Vertiienko with the data of the Indo-Iranian writing tradition and are considered to be the closest to tašta and camasâ. According to the author, in this nomadic environment, far from India and Iran, certain changes took place in the cult of Soma/Haoma, which manifested themselves in the tradition of decorating wooden bowls with metal plates (Vertiienko 2021, 40).

According to V. Tsymidanov, I. Dremov proposed a rather logical explanation for the presence of metal overlays on these bowls: when drinking from the bowl, the lips should not have touched the wood (Dremov 1997, 154; Tsymidanov 2004, 20). Thus, the bowl placed in the burial, including those with metal applications, was supposed to serve the deceased for the ritual function (Antonov/Otroschchenko 2004, 25).

Subsequently, V. Tsymidanov expressed another rather interesting idea about the special semiotic status of metal overlays. The author suggests referring to the Ossetian Narts epic, which mentions copper plates, though not attached to a wooden bowl, but to a skull. This discrepancy, according to the researcher, does not change anything in the understanding of metal plates as sacred objects that are superimposed on a certain base. The semantic connection between the bowl and the skull can be found in the culture of many nations. An example is the well-known tradition of making bowls from skulls (Tsymidanov 2007, 20). In support of this opinion, O. Dudin cites Herodotus, according to whom the Scythians had a custom of making a bowl from the skull of a defeated enemy. As proof of this, the researcher cites the discovery of the remains of a bowl decorated with gold zoomorphic overlays, with fragments of lamellar bones around the perimeter, and the legend of the death of the Old Rus prince Sviatoslav at the hands of the Pechenegs, who made a bowl from his skull (Dudin 2009, 127). In general, according to Herodotus, in one version of the Scythian ethno-genetic epic, the bowl is one of the sacred symbols and attributes of power among the Scythians (Herodotus 1993, 5).
In connection with the above, the metrical and morphological features of the bronze overlay on a wooden bowl from the Komshuvate necropolis are of particular interest for the reconstruction of the world-view and ideological ideas of the ancient Indo-Iranian tribes.

The fact is that objects whose functional affiliation is not obvious or cannot be interpreted unambiguously, as well as phenomena that accompany deliberately cultic actions, are usually interpreted by researchers as ritualistic (Uliyanov 2004, 126). In ancient societies, the basis of the spiritual sphere was the dominant mythological system, which performed world-view and regulatory functions (Umerenkov 2011, 89). In the specialised literature, there is an understanding of myth as a world-view scheme, where not only pragmatic but also semiotic meaning is put into a “thing”. Some things, for example, tools, were usually included in the sphere of material culture, while others (religious objects, various kinds of images, jewellery) were included in the spiritual sphere. People “attributed” a certain semiotic status to them, which for the same thing could vary significantly depending on the situation (Bajburin 1981, 217). For an ancient craftsman, the creation of an object of predominantly practical use was associated with a whole range of ritual and mythological ideas. As a result, the final product acquired the features of a cosmic scheme to one degree or another, acting as a kind of model.

The surrounding reality – the flora and fauna – has always served not only as a source of inspiration for the craftsman, but also as a natural base of images and patterns to be embodied in products. However, unlike modern man, the ancient master had a slightly different perception of the image and the original itself. We tend to focus primarily on objective real features in the original, and only on these features: for example, shape, size, colour, etc. For the ancient man, the image of a person, animal or plant is a mix of objective features and mystical properties. The image can also be terrifying or beneficent, just like the reproducible and similar creature that the image replaces.

The bronze shroud of the wooden bowl from burial 2 of barrow 4 is a complex elongated shape, rectangular with rounded projections on the sides and ends, which had holes for fastening. The total length in the unfolded state is 16.5 cm, the maximum width is 3.0 cm. The remnants of a herringbone ornament made with a punch can be seen all over the surface of the piece. The length and morphological features of the bronze piece allow us to assume with a certain degree of probability that in this particular case the snake was the original and source of inspiration for the surrounding animal world. Namely, the steppe viper (Vipera renardi), which had a zigzag stripe on its back – one of the main features that can distinguish a venomous snake from other steppe snakes that are not dangerous for humans (Fig. 6: 4). As additional arguments, it will not be superfluous to pay attention to the serpentine (zigzag or wave-like) images on the catacomb overlay from Nyzhnobaranykivka (Bratchenko et al. 1977) and on the overlay of the ZC from the Left Bank of Ukraine published by I. Koval'eva (1989, 81).

The outlines of the metal applications of the wooden bowls of the ZC somewhat resemble the image applied with a punch to the surface of a metal belt cage from the early-Catacomb complex Akkermen II, mound 4, burial 1 (Viazmitina et al. 1960, 70). The subconscious identification of the snake with the long leather ribbon from which the belt was made prompted the master to decorate the metal overlay in a “snake” style. And in our case, this once again indicates that semantically the Komshuvate overlay (and other similar examples of the ZC) was associated with the image of a snake.

On ceramic pottery, cord imprints and traced images in the form of spirals and waves can also be interpreted as snakes. “Snake” ornamentation is also known on the ceramic pottery of the ZC, but it is extremely rare.

An example of this is a ceramic vessel from barrow 2, burial 16, investigated near the village of Kremenivka in the north-eastern Azov region. The pot was decorated with an ornamental composition in the form of a frieze of spiral curls (Bratchenko et al. 1977). In burial 9 of mound 3, investigated near the Khmelnitsky hamlet on the right bank of the Dnipro in the basin of the Chortomlyk, Bazavluk and Solona rivers, a jar-shaped vessel with a wavy line made by a rope imprint was found (Kostyuchenko 1960, 97). A pot comes from the interfluve of the Don and Kahalnyk, from burial 2, mound 10 of the Vysochyno V cemetery. Its ornamentation also combines triangles with spirals (Bespalyj/Luk’yashko 2008, 70). To a certain extent, such elements of geometric ornamentation as horizontal and vertical zigzag, a series of diamond-shaped figures are also stylised images of snakes.

According to O. Zaharova, the depiction of snakes on the pottery of the ZC community is difficult to explain by any rational and pragmatic reasons, because snakes played an extremely minor role in the life and everyday life of people (Zaharova 2000, 66). However, as an object of worship, the Serpent has been known since the Upper Palaeolithic era. At the same time, one of its defining features is its duality: the serpent is both beneficent and dangerous. Originally associated with fertility, the earth, rain, and
the hearth, as well as being one of the most common symbols of the Moon, the serpent also represents chthonic or underground forces in their opposition to the heavenly, manifesting primarily its negative role (Halyapin 1999, 94; Toporov 1994, 470; Zaharova 2000, 67). Thus, according to I. Kovaleva, the image of a snake on vessels can be linked to the view of the relationship between the earthly and the underworld and the cult of ancestors (Kovaleva 1981, 67).

Of particular interest are the “serpentine” metal ornaments originating from the inventory complex of the log culture. The bronze temple pendants with one and a half turns are indicative in this regard. Some of them are decorated with transverse notches, tubercles or bulges, which, according to researchers, imitate the skin and ornaments on the snake’s body. Many of these pendants have widened blades, which, together with the ornamentation, creates the image of a snake (Halyapin 1999, fig. 1). It cannot be ruled out that the image of the snake was conveyed by a bronze ring from the North Azov Area (Pokrovka, burial 10 of mound 3), made of a thin detachable wire, round in cross-section, with spiral flat shields twisted in opposite directions (Lytvynenko 1999, fig. 9: 10).

According to a number of researchers, in many ancient cultures the most frequent and varied of the animal representations are snakes. Notes that coiled snakes appear on sculpted mud walls, carved wooden doors, war-drums, wall paintings, and shrine furniture. In this case, they seem to be symbols of key ritual offices. The snakes thus occupies a status “between worlds”, mediating the relationships between gods and men (Preucel 2010, 105, 110, 142).

The analysis of a wide range of well-documented archaeological sources, including the texts of the Rigveda and Avesta, ethnography, linguistics and semiotics, allowed M. Halyapin to conclude that the population of the ZC had a snake cult. Although this cult was not the main one, its manifestations are quite diverse. It is associated with both funeral and memorial practices, the world of the dead, and the everyday life of the ancient population, the world of the living. The author explains the diversity of connections by the multivalued symbolism of the snake image among all ancient peoples. In addition, the researcher characterises a set of archaeological artefacts reflecting the snake cult. Firstly, these are the findings of both whole snake skeletons and individual bones in burials and settlements, secondly, images of snakes on ceramic vessels and other objects, and thirdly, the findings of objects that convey the appearance of snakes or are somehow related to the cult of the snake. As for the findings of snake skeletons in burials, the author associates them with the performance of an unconventional funeral ritual, for example, in relation to a magician priest, a snake spellcaster (one of the lowest categories of cult servants; Halyapin 1999, 92).

In connection with our assumption that the image of a snake is connected with a wooden bowl in this particular case, it will be interesting to pay attention to the following point. V. Tsymidanov, in his search for similarities in the log culture and the Ossetian Narts epic, notes that we do not yet understand how the carriers of the log culture used bowls, except in the field of funeral rites. In the Ossetian Narts epic, the bowl’s functions are diverse. In a number of stories, the bowl is used for its intended purpose – to drink from, and the bowl sometimes acts as a kind of horn of plenty: its contents do not run out. The researcher pays special attention to the moment when the Narts dance with a bowl on their heads: the bowl is filled with snakes, lizards, frogs – creatures that live in the earth and water. This may reflect the connection of the bowl with the chthonic world. However, the author assumes the same connection for the bowls of the ZC. It is evident from the fact that no bowls have been found in sanctuaries at settlements, but more than three dozen have been found in burials. One of the ZC bowls has an ornament in the form of oblique lines (compare the punch ornament on the overlay from Komishuvate), which can be interpreted as a representation of rain. Thus, according to V. Tsymidanov, similar to the Narts bowl, the ZC bowls were associated not only with the earth but also with water (Tsymidanov 2007, 20).

Of some interest is a symbol that can be interpreted as a representation of the world tree. We see it both on the Komishuvate decoration and on a specimen from Velyka Bilozerkva (burial 2 of mound 12; Tsymidanov 2004, 165). In this regard, it is worth mentioning an accidental discovery from the Scythian settlement of Dubyna II in Poltava Oblast (left bank of the Susla River) – fragments of a bronze applique of a wooden dish, about 42 cm in diameter. The band is 2.2–2.6 cm wide and 7.1–13.1 cm long. The band was fastened with bronze nails. The outer surface was ornamented with a pattern in the form of a longitudinal dashed line, from which short lines extended on both sides, forming a kind of “tree of life” (Suprunenko/Skoryi/Sydorenko 2012, 385, 386).

It can be assumed that some pieces of wooden utensils were made from tree species that were considered sacred. A similar practice existed in India: bowls for the ritual drink Soma were made from the sacred tree Ashvattha (Ficus religiosa; Rigveda 1999, 628).
In general, taking into account the above, we will join the researchers’ assumption that the findings of wooden bowls in the burial complexes of the ZC community can be considered as a reliable marker for identifying the burials of the priesthood or cultists. The bronze plates on the wooden bowls were not functional or aesthetic, but primarily magical. However, at the same time, we can see the compositional idea inherent in decorativeness. At the same time, according to some authors, it is possible to compare wooden bowls from the burials of the ZC community with a vessel for the drink of the gods – Soma/Haoma.

INDICATIONS OF SOCIAL EXCLUSION

The analysis of the materials allows us to approach the problem of social reconstruction. The Komyshevate burial clearly demonstrates a number of deviations from the model of a typical burial of the ZC of the North Azov Area and signs of social extraordinariness.

The problem of finding the criteria of extraordinary in the funerary rituals of the ZC tribes has been of interest to many researchers. A number of features were identified and different approaches were proposed. The following features can be distinguished: the location of the barrow at the top of the watershed, higher up the slope relative to other barrows (Bagautdinov 1991, 43), a mound/refill (Berestnev 2001, 141; Kovaleva 1981, 60; Lytvynenko 1992b, 139; Otroschenko 1979, 86), a deep pit (Berestnev 2001, 83; Kovaleva/Vol’koboj 1978, 37; Otroschenko 2001, 116), a stone roof over the grave (Halyapin 1998, 65), excessive inventory (Tsymidanov 1996, 202), meat food (including the part of the sacrum; Androsov 1986, 77; Kovaleva 1981, 66; Lytvynenko 1992b, 140; Tsymidanov 1996), traces of ritual actions outside the grave (Kovaleva 1981, 66; Otroschenko 1979, 86; Tsymidanov 1996, 202).

Researchers have also repeatedly paid attention to the fact that the burials in the stone tombs were distinguished by a high social status by their equipment and a set of ritual signs (Gershkovich 1982, 18; Lytvynenko 1990, 75; 1992b, 140; 2000, 13; Ollovskij/Otroschenko 1991, 121; Pleshivenko 1993, 155). V. Tsymidanov in his study also pays special attention to the stone tombs. The author came to the conclusion that the complex stone construction itself is a sign of social rank rather than status (Tsymidanov 2004, 49).

Since the main types and design features of this group of burials of the ZC of the North Azov Area have already been described in detail (Zabavin 2019a), we will present only some statistical data and a generalised description. There are 43 burials in this group, which is 3.1% of the burials in the entire massif (or 27.4% of all graves in stone tombs). At the same time, 16 burials (37.2%) were in mounds, and in 28 cases (65.1%) a topsoil was built over the burial. As a rule, the burial structures of this group are of considerable size, and the internal dimensions of the tombs are much larger than the average for the first group.

The gaze of the zoo archaeologist has in the past been “inappropriately narrowed” by the consideration of animals solely as food, and must now be expanded. Russell argues that animals must be considered in a variety of contexts – as pets, symbols, wealth, objects of feasting and sacrifice – in order to explore the social relations that are enacted through animals. From the outset, the potential value of this approach is evident; no longer constrained by economic themes, faunal remains provide a bounty of information pertaining to social relations in the past (Russell 2012, 7). The author presents a large body of evidence covering a broad range of themes – from structured deposition to scapulimancy – to demonstrate that ritual practices involving animal remains are ubiquitous in human societies, and, crucially, that they are visible in the material record (Russell 2012, 142).

The presence of meat food (especially the honourable hindquarters) is a clear indicator of the social extraordinariness of the buried person and a sign of increased rank. V. Tsymidanov focuses on a certain gradation of animal parts. In particular, the most honourable part was the hindquarters. The burials of the western region of the ZC, in which the sacrum was found, necessarily show other signs of deviation from the model of ordinary burial. In burials of the highest rank (complexes accompanied by connecting additions), the remains of the spinal and hind parts of the carcass prevailed (Tsymidanov 2004, 49, 50, tab. 13). The very presence of an animal’s sacrum in a burial is considered an extraordinary phenomenon (Androsov 1986, 77). In confirmation of this fact, it can be noted that the funeral food in the form of an animal sacrum was found only in 10 burials of the ZC of the North Azov Area (approximately one per 150 burials), including burial 2, investigated in mound 4 of the Komyshevate mound group.
Meat food was recorded in 30.2% of the stone tombs, with the average for the North Azov region being 71%. Moreover, in some cases, the presence of the skull and limbs of a large animal (bull, horse), which were cut off at the knee joints, can be interpreted as a folded or stretched animal skin associated with a transport or draft animal for transportation to another world (Lytvynenko 1997, 11). Of the 20 complexes with “prestigious” parts of the carcass (brisket and hindquarters), 7 (35%) were buried in stone tombs of complex shape. Excessive inventory was noted in 14 (32.5%) cases. In three cases the grave structure was a cenotaph (7%) and in three cases cremation was noted (7%).

The results obtained by us by most indicators were close to those given by researchers (Tsymbidanov 1996, 201, tab. 1; 2004, 116, tab. 8). However, the analysis of socially significant features led to the conclusion that they are generally more expressed in stone tombs with horizontal masonry than in tombs of mixed type (Lytvynenko 2000, 14). It is noted that in all regions of the ZC the proportion of burials in stone tombs is lower than the proportion of burials in stone boxes, and in terms of the degree of socially significant deviations, the array of complexes in stone tombs exceeds the array of burials in ordinary boxes (Tsymbidanov 2004, 48).

Despite the fact that there are too few anthropological definitions for the sex and age characteristics of burials in stone chests of complex construction, some general conclusions can be drawn using data from publications and archival materials. Thus, almost all the skeletons in the burials belonged to adults, except four children and adolescents (9.3%). Among them, 2 males and 1 female were anthropologically identified. In addition, using the identified sex-age features of the funerary rite and the inventory of the ZC cemeteries (Lytvynenko 1996, 62–66), it is possible to more or less confidently classify 5 more burials as male (pure features) and with a high degree of probability – at least 10 burials (separate features).

The Komyshuvate burial contained one ceramic vessel. During the soil clearing, fragments of a second ceramic vessel were found in the grave fill above the stone roof. In addition, during the study of the mound fill, fragments of two ceramic vessels were found at the level of the ancient horizon – the remains of a funeral feast associated with the main burial 2. A number of authors also consider traces of rituals outside the grave, a funeral feast or sacrificial platform to be one of the criteria of originality in the funerary rituals of the ZC tribes (Galkin 1973, 189; Koval'eva 1996, 91; Minaceva 1959, 214; Otroschenko 1979, 86; Pleshivenko 1993, 154; Sharafutdynova 1982, 65; Terenozhkin 1976, 213; Tsymbidanov 1996, 202).

Wooden utensils are among the prestigious categories of funerary equipment. All burials containing wooden utensils stand out for their social significance. Thus, according to our calculations, all 8 burials of the Northern Azov ZC were main burials in mounds or were covered with topsoil; in 6 cases the burial was made in a large pit or had a complex grave structure in the form of a stone tomb; 4 burials were made according to an extraordinary rite (2 cenotaphs and 2 cremations), and the remaining 4 belonged to adults; 6 burials were accompanied by bone or metal objects (2 – bronze knives). For comparison, for the Azov-Donetsk region, according to R. Lytvynenko’s estimates, among the burials containing wooden utensils, 89% had their own mound or were covered with soil fillings, 89% were distinguished by large and/or complex grave structures, 50% contained excessive equipment, 78% were accompanied by meat farewell food and 33% by animal skin. 11% and 22% were cremations and cenotaphs, respectively. According to the three available anthropological definitions, all the deceased were men aged 22–40, 30–35, and 40–55 years old (Lytvynenko 1997, 108). At one time, the presence of a wooden dish or bowl in a grave, as well as a bronze knife, awl or needle was considered by R. Lytvynenko to be among the pure signs characteristic of male burials (Lytvynenko 1996, 63). Thus, the rest of the complexes containing wooden utensils are also considered by the researcher to be burials of men of high social status based on a set of features (Lytvynenko 1997, 108).

According to V. Tsymbidanov’s observations, some of the artefacts that were found in ceramic pottery – the so-called “mailboxes” of the ZC community – also show a less or more stable correlation with individuals of the adult age group. In particular, only in the burials of adults (including men aged 25–30 and the elderly) was such a “text” as "a wooden bowl with a lining in a vessel” recorded. According to the researcher, the wooden bowls with bronze overlays placed in such a “mailbox” were probably a hint of a desire to receive a large amount of food, as a wooden bowl in one of the Afghan tales acts as a source of abundance (Tsymbidanov 2016, 59, 65).

There is no rigid connection between the wooden dishes present in the burials and a certain social role, and therefore it is assumed that these objects marked not status, but an increased rank, which is confirmed by the analysis of socially significant deviations present in the array of burials with dishes. As for the wooden vessels (bowls), among the available points of view expressed
about the place and purpose of this category of inventory in the system of the funerary rite of the ZC, the most argumentative is the one according to which such artefacts should be considered as attributes of ritual manipulations (Tsymidanov 2004, 53–55).

In turn, the presence of a bowl or wooden utensils in a burial is considered by a number of authors to be a criterion for identifying extraordinary or socially significant burials (Cherednichenko 1986; Kovaleva 1981; 1989; Malov 1989; Otroschenko 1976; 1984; 1990; 1993; Posrednikov/Kravec 1992; Pyatyh 1984; Smirnov 1960; Tsymidanov 1996; 2004).

Thus, burial 2 of barrow 4 of the Komyshuvate kurgan cemetery reflects certain signs of extraordinary features, including (Fig. 8):

1. the location of the barrow at the top of the watershed, higher up the slope than other barrows;
2. the presence of a mound/fill;
3. traces of ritual activities outside the grave;
4. a stone roof over the grave;
5. burial structure – a stone chest of complex construction;
6. excessive inventory;
7. meat food (including the back part);
8. wooden utensils with metal figurative decoration.

CONCLUSIONS

The materials of the Komyshuvate burial mound are an important source for studying the spiritual culture and social structure of the ancient population of the Azov steppes. Wooden utensils are a rather rare category of funerary equipment in the ZC burials of the North Azov region. The analysis of the remains of a wooden bowl studied in burial 2 of barrow 4 allowed us to make some observations on the technology of manufacturing this category of funerary equipment. Wooden vessels in funerary complexes are most often recorded with metal elements, which is why they were used to solve a number of technological, cultural and chronological issues.

The tradition of making and using ritual wooden bowls with metal appliqués has been a long-standing tradition and is an integral part of the material culture of the Steppe and Forest-Steppe populations in southern Eastern Europe since the Early Bronze Age and throughout the Early Iron Age. Wooden vessels of the ZC decorated with metal wrapping are not a phenomenal exception or a unique phenomenon against the background of ancient cultures. On the contrary, ZC artefacts are a material expression of one of the stages of the tradition of making and using this type of vessel.

The tradition of decorating wooden utensils with metal overlays was more likely to have local roots and emerged not in the Early but in the Middle Bronze Age, in the Catacomb environment, but was not widespread. Elongated figured overlays with lateral projections, similar to those found near the village of Komyshuvate, became widespread in the Late Bronze Age in the ZC.

Obviously, not only a decorative purpose was pursued when attaching metal plates to the rim of a wooden vessel. In general, taking into account the above, we will join the researchers’ assumption that the findings of wooden bowls in the burial complexes of the ZC community can be considered as a reliable marker for identifying the burials of the priesthood or cultists. The bronze plates on the wooden bowls were not functional or aesthetic, but primarily magical. However, at the same time, we can see the compositional idea inherent in decorativeness. According to some authors, it is possible to compare wooden bowls from the burials of the ZC community with a vessel for the drink of the gods – Soma/Haoma.
The analysis of the materials allowed us to approach the problem of social reconstruction. Burial 2, investigated in mound 4 of the Komshuvate cemetery by the AE MSU, clearly demonstrates a number of deviations from the model of a regular burial of the ZC of the North Azov Area and signs of social extraordinariness. The presence in the burial of a wooden bowl with a metal figured overlay on the rim is a status sign marking persons who were related to the ritual sphere of the ancient population. The presence of traces of ritual actions outside the grave, a stone roof over a complex stone structure, excessive equipment and meat food (the honorary hindquarters) are clear indicators of the social extraordinariness of the buried person and signs of a higher rank.

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UNPUBLISHED SOURCES


Pomerne zriedkavou kategóriou hrobového inventára zrubovej kultúry severného Priazovska sú nádoby z dreva. Analýza zvyškov drevenej nádoby, odkrytých v hrobe 2 z mohyly 4, nám umožnila predostriežiť a opísať technológiu výroby tohto predmetu. Drevené nádoby z hrobov sú často zdobené kovovými prvками, aj preto sa v tejto súvislosti riešili viaceré technologické a kultúro-chronologické otázky.

Šľachytá výroba a používania rituálnych drevených nádob s kovovými aplikáciami má dlhú tradíciu. Je neoddeliteľnou súčasťou materiálnej kultúry stepného a lesostepného obyvateľstva v juhovýchodnej Európe, a to od staršej doby bronzovej po celú mladšiu dobu železnej. Zdobený drevený riad zrubovej kultúry nie je v tom čase fenomenálnou výnimkou či ojedinelým javom.

Naopak, takéto artefakty zrubovej kultúry sú materiálnym vyjadrením jednej z etáp tradície výroby a používania tohto typu riadu. Zvyk zdobenia drevených výrobkov kovovými aplikáciami mal skôr lokálne korene a objavil sa už v strednej dobe bronzovej, v katakombovom období, kde však neboli obľúbené a rozšírené. V mladšej dobe bronzovej sa v zrubovej kultúre rozšírili podlhovasté figurálne aplikácie s bočnými výčnelkami, podobné tým, ktoré sa našli u Komyšuvate.

Je zrejmé, že aplikácie kovových prvkov na drevených nádobách nemali iba dekoratívny účel. Vo všeobecnosti sa stotožňujeme s predpokladom, že bronzové prvky na drevených nádobách nenesú funkčné alebo estetické, ale predošľiekajúce pfukové posolstvo. Nálezy drevených misk v hrobových inventároch zrubovej komunity možno považovať za spôsobilého ukazovateľa identifikácie pohrebov kňazov alebo šamanov. V tomto prípade je možné porovnať drevené misky z pohrebísk zrubovej kultúry s nádobou na nápoj bohov – soma/haoma, ktoré sú známe z starovekých textov Rigvédy a Avesty.

Pre rekonštrukciu svetónazoru a ideologických predstáv starovekých indoiránskych kmeňov sú zaujímavé najmä metrické a morfologické motivy bronzovej podlhovastého pokrytu drevenej misky z nekropoly v Komyšuvate. Bronzové pokrytie drevenej misky z hrobu 2, z mohyly 4, je zložité podlhovasté vyrobok obdĺžnikového tvaru so zaoblenými výčnelkami na bokoch a koncoch, ktorý mal otvory na upevnenie. Celková dĺžka v rozloženom stave je 16,5 cm, max. šírka je 3 cm. Na celom povrchu predmetu sú zvyšky ornamentu v tvare rybnej kosti, ktoré sa dobre zachovali v nekropole.

Drevená misa z mohyly zrubovej kultúry

Viacheslav Zabavin – Sergej Nebrat

Súhrn

Drevená misa z mohyly zrubovej kultúry

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Súhrn
Analýza materiálu nám umožnila dotknúť sa aj sociálnej otázky. Hrob v mohylo 4 jednoznačne vykazuje viaceré odchýlky od všeobecného modelu pochovávania zrubovej kultúry v severnom Priazovsku a má znaky sociálnej výnimčnosti. Pritomnosť drevenej misky s kovovou figurálnou aplikáciou indikuje osobu zapojenú do rituálnych činností. Pritomnosť stôp po rituálnych aktivitách mimo hrobu, kamenné dosky nad zložitou konštrukciou, bohatá výbava, pridané mäsát jedlo z kvalitnejšej zadnej časti zvierat, sú jasnými dôkazmi spoločenskej výnimčnosti pochovaného jedinca a zároveň znakmi jeho vyššieho spoločenského postavenia.

Obr. 1. Geografická poloha skúmanej lokality pri obci Komyšuvate v severnej časti Azovska.
Obr. 2. Mohyly pri obci Komyšuvate. 1 – výsek mapy „Mariupolského gréckeho okresu“ z roku 1856: riadok XII, list 17; 2 – súčasná topografická mapa.
Obr. 4. Komyšuvate. Mohyla 4, hrob 2. 1, 2 – pôdorys hornjej a dolnej úrovne (A – keramická nádoba, B – drevenej miska, C – zvieracia kost); 3, 4 – časti hrobu; 5 – keramická nádoba; 6 – bronzový tanier (prekrytý drevenej miskou).
Obr. 6. Komyšuvate. 1 – drevenej masa zdobená aplikáciou (foto a rekonštrukcia V. Mezey); 2 – zvieracia kost (foto autori); 3 – ornament „tzv. rybej kosti“ vyrobený razidlom; 4 – zmiaňovaná „Vipera renardi“. Mierka: a – 1; b – 3.
Obr. 7. Tradícia výroby drevencích nádob s kovovou výzdobou. 1 – Nyzhnobaranykovka, 5/9 (Bratchenko et al. 1977); 2 – Ipatiivskyi Kurhan, 122 (Korenovskij/Belinskiij/Kalynkov 2007, 44–46, 172); 3 – Polyakov, 1/8 (Parusimov 2005, 192); 4 – Cherksy, 6/2 (Kuisthan 2013, 105); 5 – Zakharkina mohyla, 43 (Subbotin/Toshchev 2002, 37, 46); 6 – Komyšuvate, 4/7; 7 – Minkivka, 4/1 (Kraets/Kosonikov 1990, 74); 8 – favobrežná oblasť Dnepra (Kovaleva 1989, 81); 9 – Verkhnia Maivka V, 2/5 (Tsymidanov 2004, fig. 32: 1) 10 – Loboikivka (Leskov 1981); 11, 12 – Urochyshe Nosaki, 8/2 (Bidzilia et al. 1977, 127); 13 – Bykovo I, 9/8; 14 – Karymsysh (Pyatyh 1984, 146); 15 – Velyka Bilozerska, 12/2 (Tsymidanov 2004, fig. 53: 1); 16 – nález zo súkromnej zbierky (Klochko 2011, 252, 253); 17 – pohrebisko Hořiiivka, 21 (Berezanska/Klochko 2011, 81); 18 – Kalyvnika, 1/2 (Makhortykh 2005, 417); 19 – Velykooleksandrivskyi kurhan (Shlyov 1995, 734); 20 – Vysoká mohyla (Bidzibia/Yakovenko 1974, 152); 21 – mojila II, 4/7 (Kovaleva/Shalobudov/Teslenko 1999, 20); 22 – Oleksandrivskyi kurhan; 23, 24 – Solokha; 25 – Vablunivka (Melikova 1989, tab. 46: 13–16).

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