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GUITTY AZARPAY

SOME CLASSICAL AND NEAR EASTERN MOTIFS
IN THE ART OF PAZYRYK *

As has long been recognized, the prevalence of animal motifs and their unique rendition in the Pazyryk kurgans are major aids in connecting the Pazyryk phase of the Altai culture with widely scattered Scythian tribes of the Eurasian steppes and south Russia of the seventh to the fourth centuries B.C. The relative chronology of the five large Pazyryk kurgans has now been determined on the basis of tree-ring counts which establish a range of forty-eight years between the construction of the earliest kurgans numbers 1 and 2, and kurgan number 5 which was the last to be built¹. This is, however, a floating chronology as the chief authorities date the Pazyryk kurgans anywhere from the fifth to the third centuries B.C.² On the basis of evidence to be presented in this study, it is possible to determine a fixed date for the earliest kurgans numbers 1 and 2, and therefore, numbers 3–5 respectively. This dating results from the comparison of Pazyryk motifs with those originating in the Classical and Near Eastern worlds, the principal sources of artistic inspiration in Pazyryk, which, however, had contact also with other distant centers of culture, even with China³.

Archaeological evidence confirms Herodotus' account of the trade between the Greek colonies of the northern shore of the Black Sea and Scythian tribes of Eurasia before the fifth century B.C.⁴; references in the voyage of Aristeeas indicate contact with such tribes at even an earlier time⁵. Objects found at Garchinovo, Kelermes and Vetersfelde confirm the pene-

* I wish to express my gratitude for the guidance and encouragement given by Professor Otto Maenchen, University of California, Berkeley. I am also grateful to Professor Alexander Soper, Bryn Mawr College, for his interest and many helpful suggestions.

¹ The timber used in the five large Pazyryk kurgans was presumably brought from the same vicinity and underwent the same climatic vicissitudes. Counts taken of the tree rings in the five chambers show that kurgans numbers 1 and 2 are contemporary, and number 4 is seven years later. Number 5 is eleven years later than number 3, and forty-eight years later than numbers 1 and 2; I. M. Zamotorin, "Otnositel'naia khronologiiia Pazyrykskikh kurganov", *Sovetskaiia Arkheologia* I, 1959, pp. 21–30.

² S. I. Rudenko, "The Mythological Eagle, the Gryphon, the Winged Lion, and the Wolf in the Art of Northern Nomads," *Artibus Asiae* XXI, 2, 1958, p. 104, still dates the Pazyryk burials from the fifth century B.C.; M. Griaznov *L'Art ancien de l'Altai*, Musée de l'Ermitage, Leningrad 1958, pp. 5, 15, prefers the fourth and third centuries B.C.; S. V. Kiselev, *Drevnaia istoriia iuzhnoi Sibiri*, Moskva 1951, p. 373, gives dates of the third century B. C. and later.

³ Chinese silk embroidery from the fifth Pazyryk kurgan, and a rug woven in the pile technique, probably from Achaemenid Persia: S. I. Rudenko, *Kul'tura naseleniia gornogo Altaia v skifskoe vremia*, Moskva/Leningrad 1953, henceforth *Kul'tura*, figs. 129–132, 85, pls. CXV–CXVI respectively; K. Jettmar, "The Altai before the Turks," *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*, Stockholm 23, 1951, henceforth *BMFEA*, p. 205.

⁴ Herodotus IV, 1, 23 ff.

⁵ E. D. Phillips, "The Legend of Aristeeas: Facts and Fancy in Early Greek Notions of East Russia, Siberia and Inner Asia," *Artibus Asiae*, 1955, p. 161 ff.

tration of Greek influence in Scythian art as early as the sixth century B.C.⁶ Greek elements could, moreover, have reached the Altai by the south-eastern route from Persia, through Kazakhstan and the Oxus region before the last quarter of the fourth century B.C. The Oxus treasure demonstrates the existence of Classical influences in Central Asia in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.⁷

Most Classical elements in Pazyryk are floral patterns, variations of the lotus-palmette, a traditional theme recognized and thoroughly exploited by the Greek artists. The *palmette-hook* motif, one variation of the Classical palmette, utilized in Greek art as early as the sixth century B.C.⁸, appears in a more elaborate form in the double back-to-back hooks with curled up ends topped with lotus or palmette leaves on the fourth century B.C. column base from the Didymaion at Miletus⁹ (Fig. 1). A south Russian parallel to the latter exists on a gold forehead plate of a horse from the tomb of Tsymbal near the village of Gr. Belosierka¹⁰ which Rostovtsev places in the fourth to the third centuries B.C.¹¹ In Achaemenian representations of this type of palmette, the tendrils or hooks below the leaves curl downward, a variation also seen in Greek art¹². Several wooden bridle ornaments from the first Pazyryk kurgan¹³ (Fig. 2) and a leather appliqué purse from kurgan number 2 (Fig. 3) show the palmette-hook motif as used in Greek art with tendrils turned up at the base. The essential parts of this motif may be seen in a more abstract version on a leather appliqué flask from the second Pazyryk kurgan¹⁴ (Fig. 4). Greek influence in the Pazyryk palmette and other motifs discussed below must always have been of an indirect sort with many local modifications, reinterpretations, and distortions. Comparisons of Pazyryk motifs with Greek prototypes are most often made on general grounds, based on stylistic features characteristic of Greek arts but absent in the Near East, and foreign to the local tradition of the Altai.

The *palmette-tendrill* motif, a palmette flanked by tendrils which grow up from the base of the design, is found on leather horse trappings from Pazyryk with cut out human faces in the centers and a fringe of tassels at the top (Fig. 5). In south Russia, Medusa heads are often given palmettes which grow from the mass of hair and coiling snakes on top of the head. A Medusa head of the fourth century B.C. from Elizavetinskaia in the Kuban shows the base and tendrils of a partially destroyed palmette on the head¹⁵. Medusa heads repeated on a phiale mesomphalos

⁶ E. H. Minns, "The Art of the Northern Nomads," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 28, London 1942, pls. II, XIV, A; M. Rostovtsev, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia*, Oxford 1922, pl. VI. All three examples are dated to the sixth century B.C. by K. Schefold, "Der skythische Tierstil in Südrussland," *Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua* XII, 1938, pp. 8, 14.

⁷ O. M. Dalton, *The Treasure of the Oxus*, British Museum 1926, pl. II.

⁸ H. Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, Oxford 1931, figs. 61, 107, 109 B, 111, 112 A-B.

⁹ E. Pontremoli, B. Haussoulier, *Didymes, Fouilles de 1895 et 1896*, Paris 1904, p. 144.

¹⁰ N. Kondakov, J. Tolstoi, S. Reinach, *Antiquités de la Russie méridionale*, Paris 1891, fig. 243.

¹¹ Rostovtsev, *Iranians and Greeks*, p. 107.

¹² Examples from the Oxus treasure show the type generally encountered in Achaemenid art, Dalton, *The Treasure of the Oxus*, pl. XIII, 47 and the border motif on pl. XXII.

¹³ *Kul'tura*, pl. XXXIV, 1.

¹⁴ This palmette is perhaps related to patterns on other personal articles from the same kurgan; *Kul'tura*, pls. XCIII, 3; XCIV, 1.

¹⁵ Schefold, *op. cit.* supra note 6, p. 20, dates this tomb on the basis of datable Greek parallels. The fantastic female figure on the horse's frontlet from the tomb of Tsymbal shows a somewhat different treatment of the palmette on the head; see E. H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, Cambridge 1913, fig. 54.



Fig. 1. Column base from the Didymaion, Miletus, 4th c. B.C. Potremoli-Hausoullier, *Didymes*, p. 144

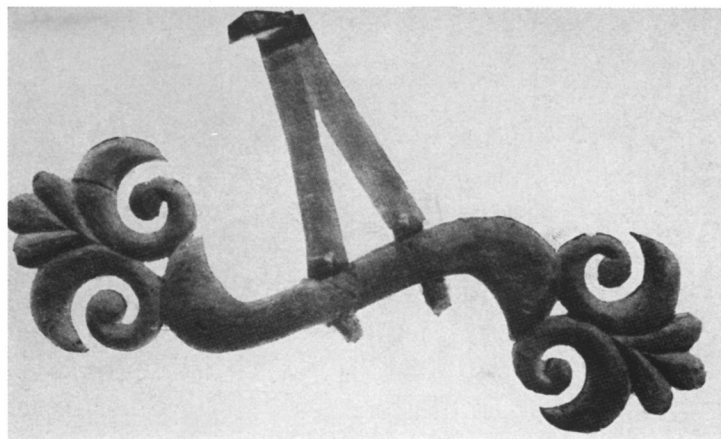


Fig. 2. Wooden bridle part from Pazyryk 1. *Kul'tura*, fig. 108

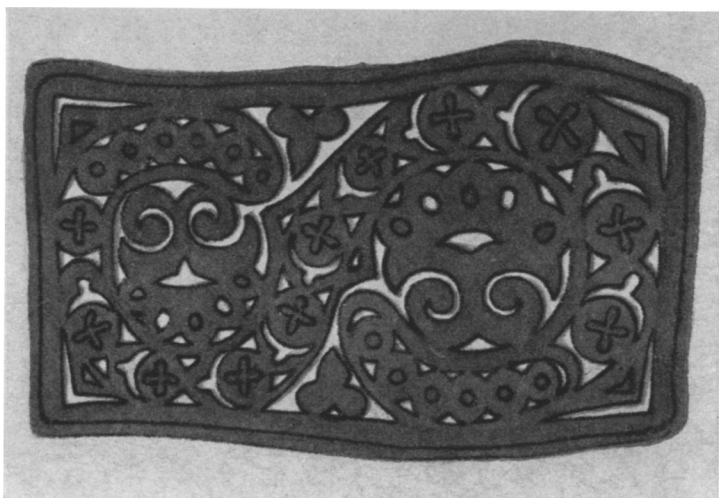


Fig. 3. Leather appliqué, Pazyryk 2. *Kul'tura*, pl. XCII, 1



Fig. 4. Leather appliqué, Pazyryk 2. Griaznov, *L'Art ancien de l'Altai*, fig. 46



Fig. 5. Leather horse trapping, Pazyryk 1. *Kul'tura*, pl. LXXX, 6

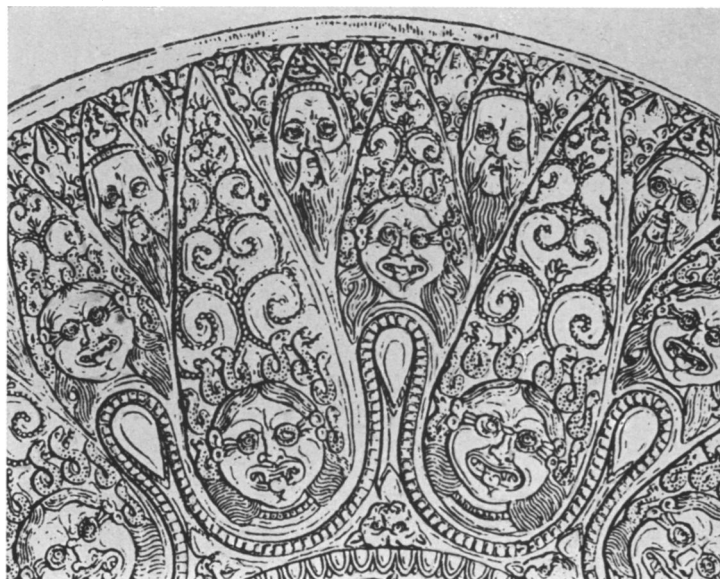


Fig. 6. Gold phiale mesomphalos, Kul Oba, second half of 4th c. B.C. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, fig. 99

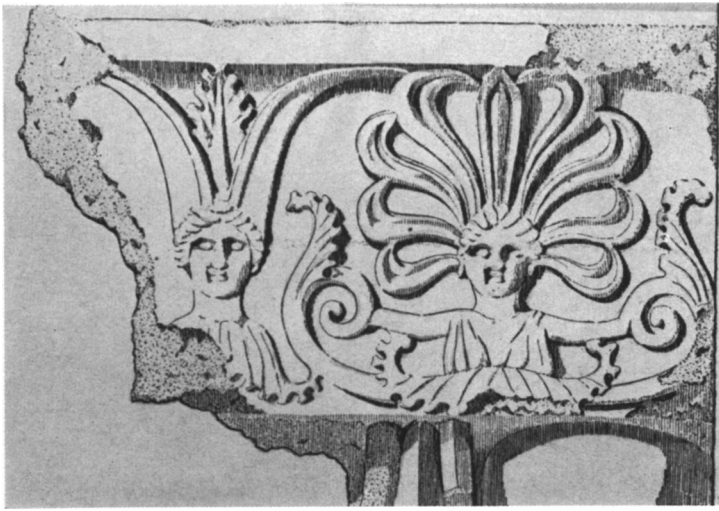


Fig. 7. Relief from the temple of Artemis, Sardis, 4th c. B. C. or later.
Butler, *Sardis II*, 1, ill. 89

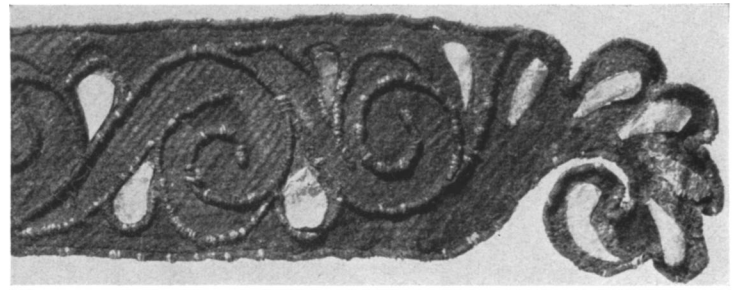


Fig. 8. Leather belt from Pazyryk 2. Griaznov, *L' Art ancien de l' Altai*,
fig. 40

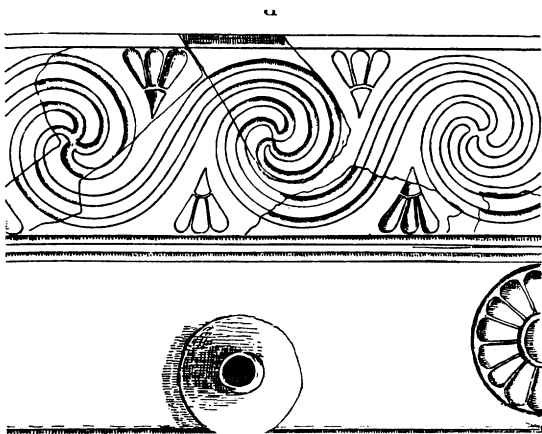


Fig. 9. Sima from Korfu, 6th c. B. C. Greek. Payne,
Necrocorinthia, fig. 108, B

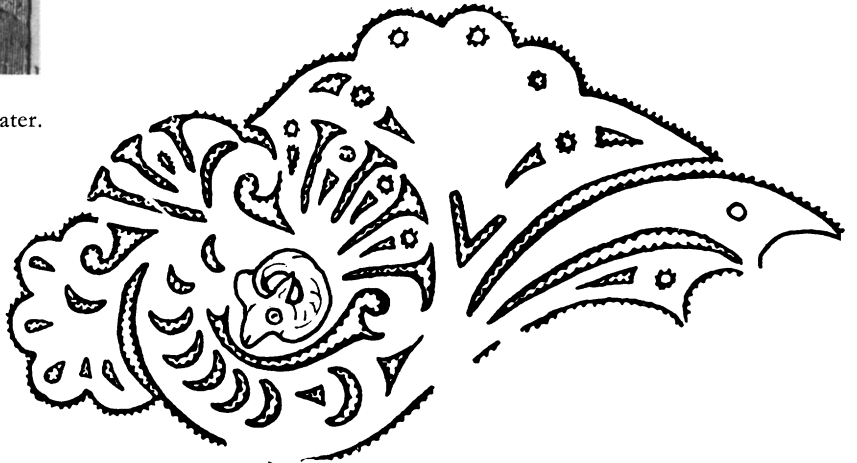


Fig. 10. Detail of leather appliqué, Pazyryk 2 *Kul'tura*, fig. 64



Fig. 11. Detail of gold quiver case, Chertomlyk, after 340 B. C.
Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, fig. 206

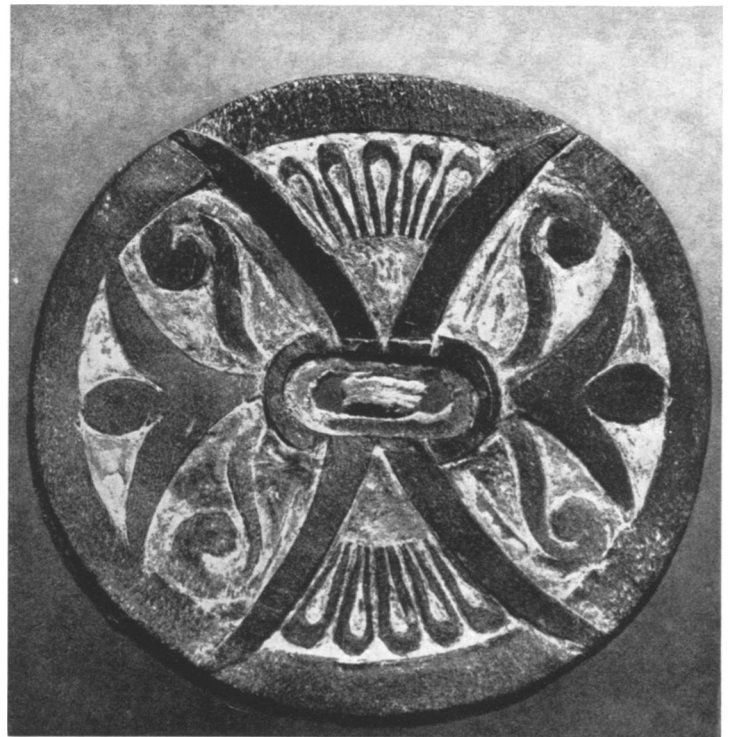


Fig. 12. Horn bridle ornament, Pazyryk 2. Griaznov, *L' Art ancien de l' Altai*, fig. 64

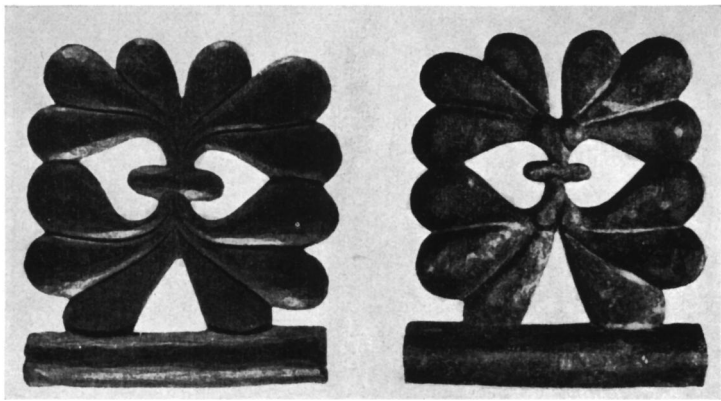


Fig. 13. Wooden bridle ornament, Pazyryk 1. *Kul'tura*, pl. XXXII, 2, 3

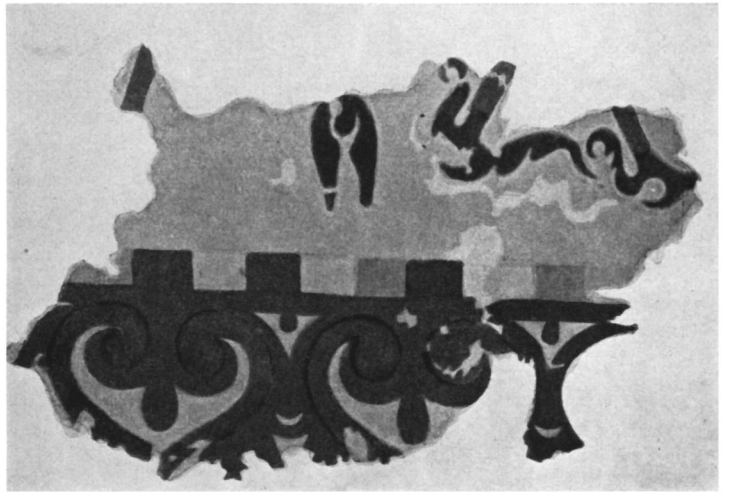


Fig. 15. Felt appliqué, Pazyryk 5. *Kul'tura*, pl. XC, 2

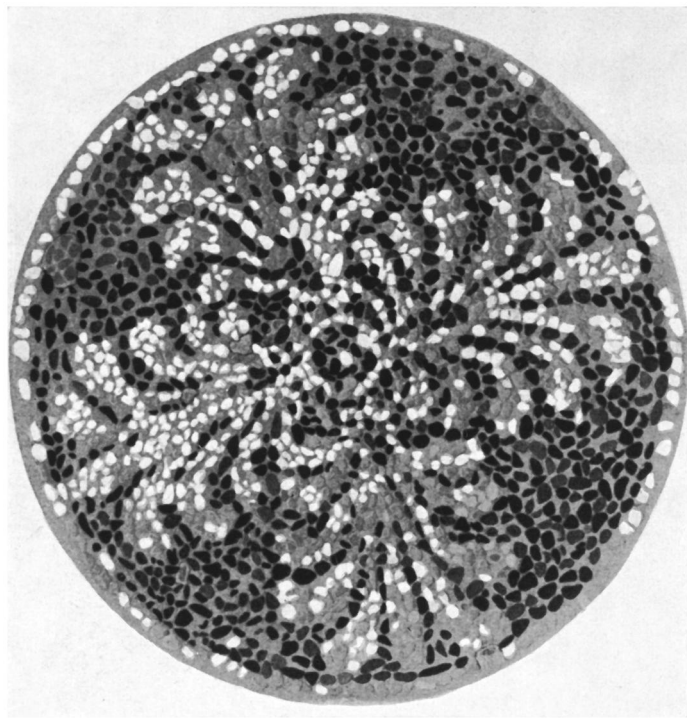


Fig. 14. Floor mosaic from Olynthos, probably 4th c. B.C.
Robinson, *Excavations at Olynthos* V, pl. 16, A

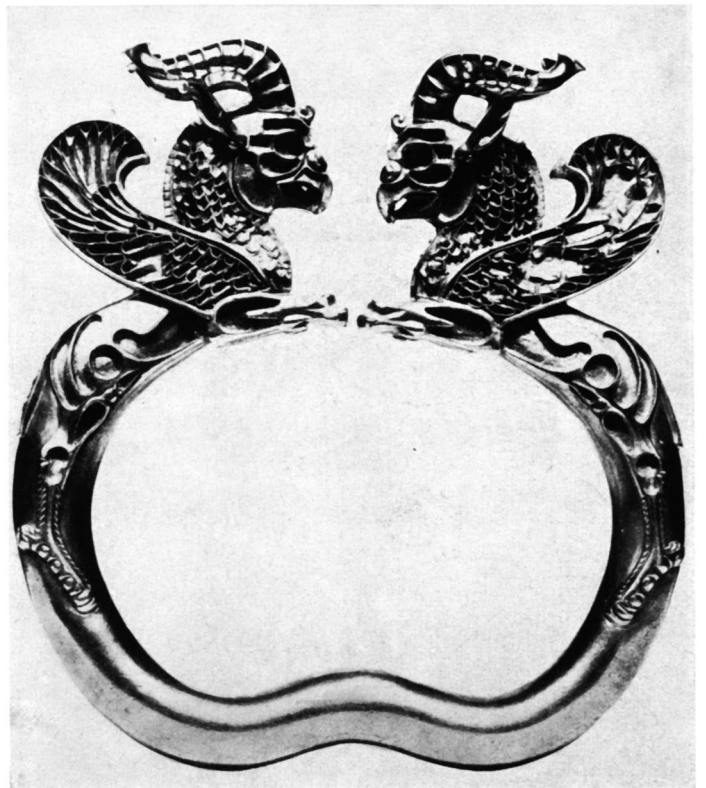


Fig. 17. Gold armlet from the Oxus treasure, probably 5th c. B.C.
Dalton, *The Treasure of the Oxus*, pl. 1, 116



Fig. 16. Relief from the Didymaion, Miletus, 4th c. B.C.
Rodenwalt, *Die Kunst der Antike*, p. 194

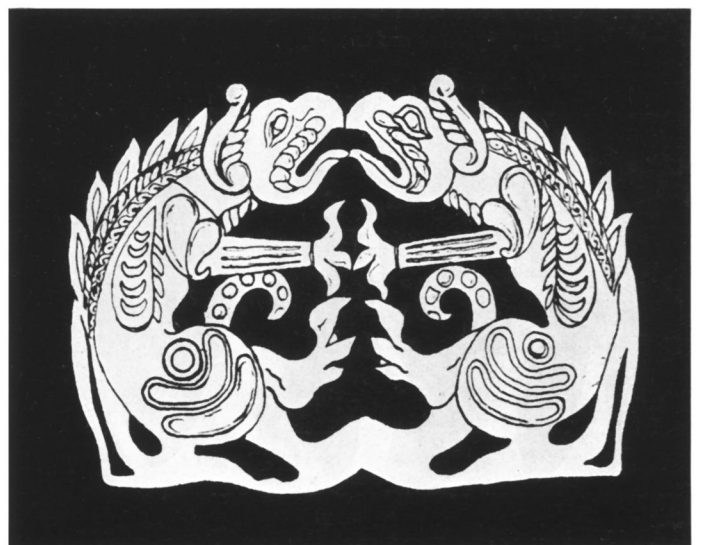


Fig. 18. Hammered out copper plaque, Pazyryk 2. *Kul'tura*, fig. 75



Fig. 19. Bronze cauldron handle, 6th c. B.C. type Greek griffin head. Jantzen, *Griechische Greifen Kessel*, 71, Olympia 805



Fig. 20. Red-figure vase from Kerch, 4th c. B.C. Schefold, *Untersuchungen zu den Kerischer Vasen*, fig. 6



Fig. 21. Griffin head from the Kuban, early 4th c. B.C. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, p. 208



Fig. 22. Wooden griffin head, Pazyryk 2. *Kul'tura*, pl. LXXXIII, 2

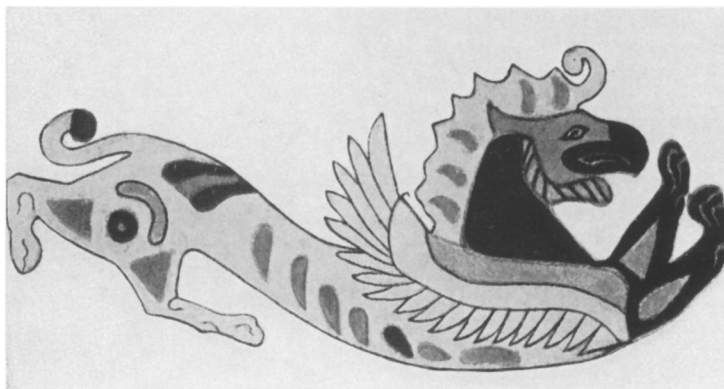


Fig. 23. Felt appliqué saddle cover, Pazyryk 1. *Kul'tura*, pl. CIX, 2



Fig. 24. Felt appliqué saddle cover, Pazyryk 1. *Kul'tura*, fig. 163



Fig. 25. Leather appliqué saddle cover, Pazyryk 1. *Kul'tura*, fig. 158

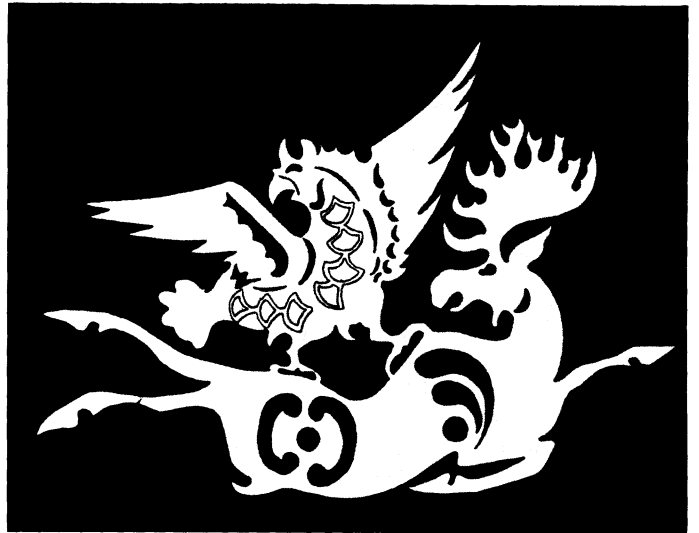


Fig. 26. Leather appliqué saddle cover, Pazyryk 1. *Kul'tura*, fig. 161



Fig. 27. Wooden psalion, Pazyryk 1. Griaznov, *L'Art ancien de l'Altai*, fig. 16



Fig. 28. Wooden bridle decoration, Pazyryk 1. *Kul'tura*, pl. XLIV, 3



Fig. 29. Gold plaque from the Oxus treasure, probably 5th c. B.C. Dalton, *The Treasure of the Oxus*, pl. XXII, 32



Fig. 30. Achaemenian seals from Ur. Legrain, *Ur Excavations X*, pl. 41, 797-798

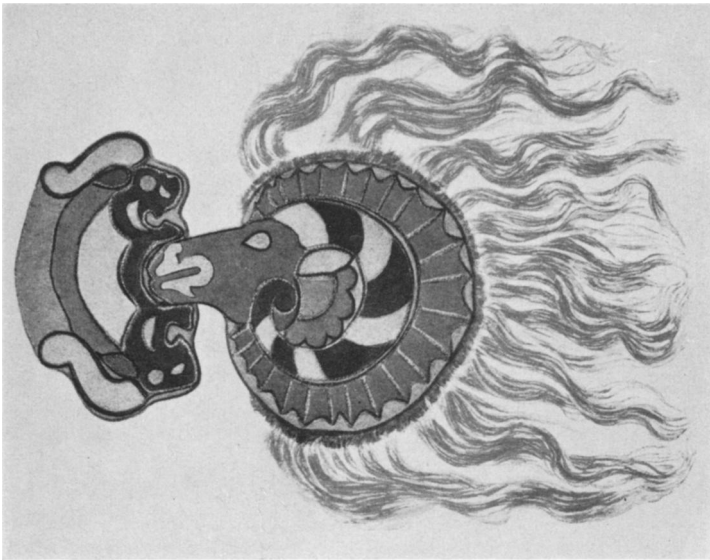


Fig. 31. Horse trapping, Pazyryk 1. *Kul'tura*, pl. CXII



Fig. 32. Detail of relief from Persepolis. Schmidt, *Persepolis I*, pl. 120

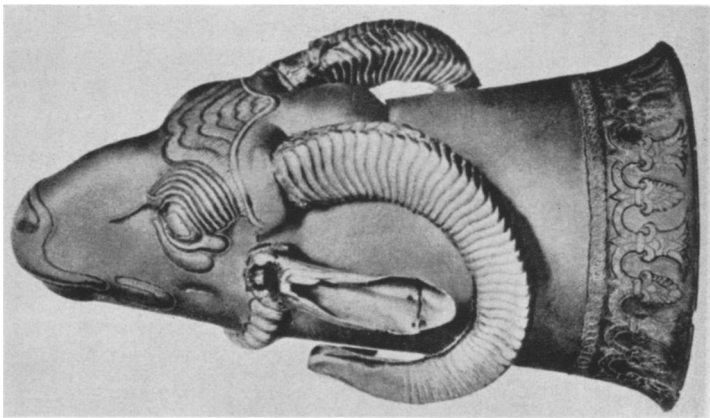


Fig. 33. Achaemenian silver rhyton, Hermitage Godard, *Le Trésor de Ziviyé*, fig. 65



Fig. 35. Lion griffins made of wood and horn, Pazyryk 2 *Kul'tura*, pl. XXIX, 2



Fig. 34. Achaemenian gold roundel. Kantor, "Achaemenian Jewelry," *JNES* 16, pl. VII

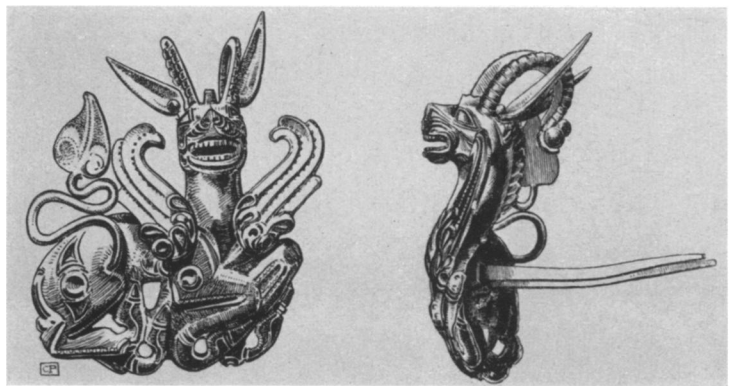


Fig. 36. Aigrette from the Oxus treasure. Dalton, *The Treasure of the Oxus*, fig. 46, 23

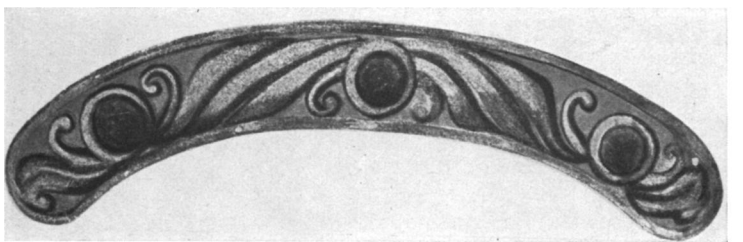


Fig. 37. Leather saddle arch, Pazyryk 5. *Kul'tura*, pl. CV, 1



Fig. 38. Detail of rug woven in the pile technique, Pazyryk 5. Griaznov, *L'Art ancien de l'Altai*, fig. 59

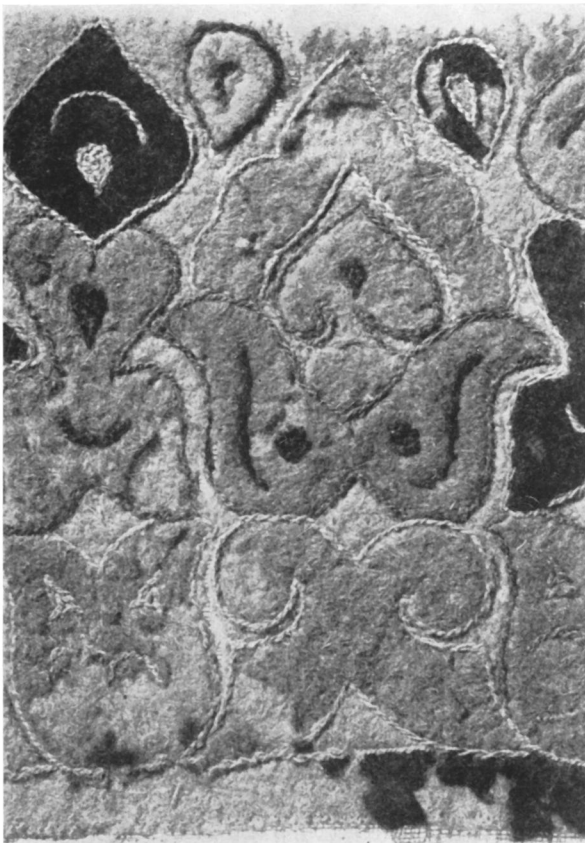


Fig. 39. Felt appliqué, Pazyryk 2. Griaznov, *L'Art ancien de l'Altai*, fig. 63

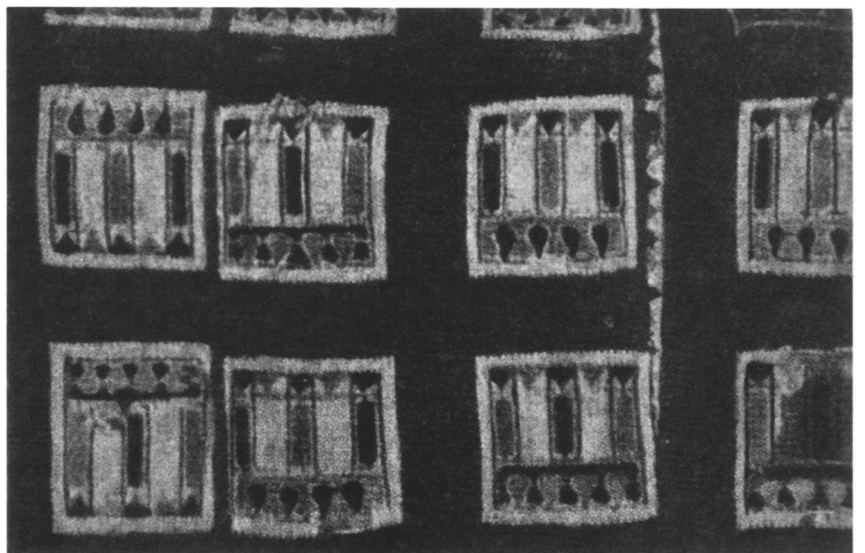


Fig. 40. Woven fabric, Pazyryk 5. *Kul'tura*, pl. CXVII, 2



Fig. 41. Felt appliqué wall hanging, Pazyryk 5. Restoration from V. Shilov, *Soobsheniia gosudartsvennogo Ermitazha X*, 1956, p. 41



Fig. 42. Detail of pectoral from Ziwiye, possibly 7th c. B. C. Godard, *Le Trésor de Ziwiye*, fig. 20

from Kul Oba from the fourth century B.C. display a similar motif¹⁶ (Fig. 6). These are related to the type represented on a Greek bronze plate of the fourth century B.C.¹⁷ which has for its prototype certain palmette complexes on sixth century B.C. Greek vases¹⁸. On both Greek and south Russian Medusa heads the palmette is used as an external and ornamental factor on the heads¹⁹ (Fig. 7) whereas the Pazyryk artist has cut out a human head in the center of the palmette (Fig. 5). This process of reinterpretation goes further on another horse trapping from the same saddle where the palmette is replaced by a crown of curling antlers²⁰, a motif more familiar and meaningful to the local artist. Neither the palmette nor the Classical Medusa head is indigenous to the Altai. Horned animals are common in Scythian art; the prevalence of antlers in Pazyryk has caused at least one scholar to see symbolic and mythical meanings in such representations²¹.

A *continuous scroll* motif found on a belt from the second Pazyryk kurgan (Fig. 8) consists of alternating spirals in a continuous scroll, decorated with drop-like plaques at the junctures of the spirals. A border pattern on a circular medallion from Kul Oba shows a motif almost identical to that on the Pazyryk belt except that the drop-shaped ornaments are there replaced by heart-shaped forms placed in precisely the same positions²². A similar pattern, without the drop-shaped ornaments, is again used on the border pattern of a silver vase from the same tumulus in south Russia²³ which Schefold placed in the second half of the fourth century B.C.²⁴ A possible Greek prototype for these patterns is a sima from Corfu of the sixth century B.C. (Fig. 9). There, the junctures of the spirals are decorated with three lobed ornaments which may represent stylized palmettes. Several saddle decorations from Pazyryk show abstract motifs which may have been derived from similar and more realistic prototypes²⁵.

Similar to the continuous scroll pattern is an appliqué design from an article of clothing found in the second Pazyryk kurgan (Fig. 10) showing a continuous interweaving of leaf-like shapes and animal elements. This motif is directly related to another appliqué on leather from the same kurgan²⁶ which freely repeats its floral details. A possible prototype for the appliqué design on Fig. 10, may be a floral scroll represented without the ibex heads on a quiver case from Chertomlyk (Fig. 11) which is derived from similar scrolls in Greek art particularly of the fourth century B.C.²⁷ The single leather cut-out flower shape which Rudenko calls a "realistic lotus"²⁸, is, as he observes, similar to the border pattern on a woman's stocking from the same

¹⁶ Schefold, *op. cit.*, p. 20, assigns it to some time after 360 B.C.

¹⁷ W. H. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, Leipzig 1886–1890, p. 1722.

¹⁸ Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, figs. 51, right, 55, d. These examples if reversed show a somewhat more rigid pattern, which is, however, basically similar to the south Russian and Pazyryk motifs.

¹⁹ Relief from the cella of the temple of Artemis at Sardis which has been tentatively dated to the fourth century B.C. or later by H. C. Butler, *Sardis, Publications of the American Society for the Excavation of Sardis* II, 1, Leiden 1925, ill. 89.

²⁰ *Kul'tura*, pl. LXXX, 7.

²¹ A. Salmony, *Antler and Tongue*, *Artibus Asiae*, Supplementum XIII, 1954, p. 20.

²² Kondakov-Tolstoi-Reinach, *op. cit.* supra note 10, fig. 207.

²³ *Ibid.*, fig. 260.

²⁴ Schefold, *op. cit.* supra note 6, p. 20.

²⁵ *Kul'tura*, fig. 110, B, E, and perhaps K.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pl. XCIII, 1.

²⁷ S. Perrot, C. Chipiez, *A History of Art in Chaldea and Assyria* I, London 1884, fig. 270, sixth century B.C. example. Early Hellenistic example from Fratti di Salerno, A. W. Van Buren, "News Letter from Rome," *American Journal of Archaeology* 61, 4, 1957, henceforth *AJA*, pl. 107, 8. F. Noak, *Die Baukunst des Altertums*, pl. 55, a.

²⁸ *Kul'tura*, p. 292, fig. 171.

kurgan²⁹. These examples, however, lack any definite lotus characteristics but make an interesting comparison with other abstract floral patterns from the same kurgan³⁰.

The closest analogies to the *lotus-palmette-cross* carved in low relief on two horn discs from the second Pazyryk kurgan (Fig. 12)³¹ appear on several Corinthian vases of the sixth century B.C.³² The basic compositional elements of the Pazyryk discs are similar to a pattern on a Corinthian plate of the first quarter of the sixth century B.C.³³, but different from Achaemenian and many-petalled Assyrian lotuses³⁴. The *double-palmette-cross* represented on several wood carvings from the first Pazyryk kurgan (Fig. 13) is a free interpretation of a palmette-cross pattern present on Greek coins of Mende from the second half of the fifth century B.C.³⁵ and repeated on a mosaic floor of House A vi, 8, at Olynthos³⁶, probably from the fourth century B.C. (Fig. 14). The Greek examples are clearly articulated, while the Pazyryk figures show only the essentials of the palmette without the hook-like sepals usually indicated at the base of the leaves.

One of the best known and most widely distributed motifs is the *lotus inscribed in its tendrils*, represented on the border of a felt appliqué wall hanging from Pazyryk (Fig. 15). This motif appears as early as the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. in the Classical world and is used again much later in the art of Persia and its neighbouring cultures during the Sassanian period. An ivory fragment found at the temple of Artemis at Ephesus and dated to approximately the sixth century B.C.³⁷ shows a similar lotus with tendrils curving up from the base and joining above the lotus in a heart-shaped pattern. This motif is referred to as the “palmette fleur-delysée” by R. Mecquenem³⁸ who perhaps associated it with the numerous palmette forms similarly inscribed in heart-shaped tendrils on Greek vases and architectural ornaments of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.³⁹ (Fig. 16). A gold band from the Chertomlyk tumulus in south Russia⁴⁰, dated to the fourth century B.C. by Schefold⁴¹, shows a compromise between a lotus and a palmette motif inscribed in its tendrils.

Non-floral motifs of Classical origin are few in the art of Pazyryk. Perhaps the most significant of these is the *bird griffin* which occupies a major place in the combat scene compositions. This motif has a long history in the Near East beginning in Ur of the third millennium B.C.⁴², and perpetuated by the Assyro-Babylonians⁴³ who in turn passed it to the Achaemenian Per-

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. XCIV, 2.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pls. XCIII, 1, XCVII, fig. 65.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pl. C, 3.

³² Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, figs. 53, 54 B–D, 57, 59.

³³ *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum* I, pl. 6: 4. Berkeley UCMA 8/104.

³⁴ Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, fig. 54 A.

³⁵ S. P. Noe, *The Mende Hoard, Numismatic Notes and Monographs* 27, pp. 51–53, pl. IX, 82.

³⁶ David M. Robinson, *Excavations at Olynthos* V, the Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore 1933, permission granted to reproduce pl. 16, A, in this paper.

³⁷ D. G. Hogarth, *Excavations at Ephesus, the Archaic Artemisia*, London 1908, pl. XLII, 15, 19.

³⁸ *Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique en Iran*, Press Universitaires de France 1947, XXX, p. 103.

³⁹ Robinson, Harcum and Iliffe, *Greek Vases at Toronto*, Toronto 1930, Toronto 600-C. 410, pls. XCV, LXIV.

⁴⁰ Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, fig. 44.

⁴¹ Schefold, *op. cit.* supra note 6, p. 28.

⁴² L. Legrain, *Ur Excavations, Seal Cylinders* X, Publication of the Joint Expedition of the British Museum and the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania to Mesopotamia, London/Philadelphia 1951, pl. 42, nos. 805–806.

⁴³ W. Schwenzner, “Das geschäftliche Leben im alten Babylonien,” *Der alte Orient* 16–18, Leipzig 1916, nos. 337, 355.

sians. The latter represented this motif in all media⁴⁴ but showed little variation from a single prototype of the compactly built feline with a bird's head, wings, bird's claws on the hind quarters, little or no indication of a mane⁴⁵, and marked with characteristically Near Eastern muscular stylizations⁴⁶ (Fig. 17). This type of griffin was not adopted in south Russia even when Persian influence was strongest⁴⁷. N. N. Progrebova has pointed out the differences between the south Russian griffins⁴⁸. She has described an Assyrian type demonstrated by the example on the sword sheath from the Melgunov barrow⁴⁹ dated to the sixth century B.C.⁵⁰; a Greek type as represented on a silver mirror of the same date from Kelermes⁵¹; and a purely Scythian type, a realistic bird of prey with a protuberance on its head. The Greek type has a feline body with one or more circular protuberances on its head and is less realistic than the Scythian creature with its tuft of hair.

As in south Russia, three types of bird griffins are found in Pazyryk; the realistic bird of prey with a protuberance on its head⁵² which is sometimes given an element of fantasy by the addition of antlers⁵³; the Achaemenian type (Fig. 18); and the Greek type based on prototypes from the Black Sea region. Corinthian vase paintings of the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. show the griffin with either an avian or feline body, and a long neck and swan-like head with one or more protuberances, horns and ears⁵⁴. The same characteristics appear on Greek bronzes of this period as demonstrated by the excellent illustrations of Ulf Jantzen⁵⁵ (Fig. 19). The bronzes usually show the griffin with its mouth open. It is otherwise identical in type to those represented on Greek vases of the same period. There is no indication of a mane other than a few curls and scales as seen also on contemporary south Russian examples⁵⁶. A red-figure vase from Vulci dated to the fifth century B.C.⁵⁷ shows an Arimaspiian in combat with a griffin which, with its long neck decorated with a spiral curl, is identical to the sixth century B.C. griffins⁵⁸.

A new type of griffin appears in Greek art of the fourth century B.C. It is to be seen on

⁴⁴ Dalton, *The Treasure of the Oxus*, I, XXII; E. Herzfeld, *Iran in the Ancient East*, Oxford 1941, pls. LXV, LXXXIV, top left, fig. 362.

⁴⁵ In this case "mane" indicates only the hair along the back of the neck, and not the ruff or hair around the face.

⁴⁶ On the different shapes and reasons for muscular stylizations, see Anne Roes, "Achaemenid Influences upon Egyptian and Nomad Art," *Artibus Asiae* 15, 1952, pp. 18-19; and A. Salmony, "Sarmatian Gold Collected by Peter the Great. The Early Sarmatian Group with Embossed Relief," *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 1949, p. 6.

⁴⁷ Rostovtsev, *Iranians and Greeks*, p. 50. Although the Achaemenian lion griffin is found in south Russian art of the fifth century B.C., *ibid.*, pl. XVI, 1, the Persian type of bird griffin is rare there.

⁴⁸ N.N. Pogrebova, on griffins in the art of the northern Black Sea area in the archaic period, *Kratkie soobshchenia o dokladakh i polevich issledovaniakh instituta istorii material'noi kul'tury* 22, 1948, p. 67.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, fig. 14.

⁵⁰ Schefold, *op. cit.*, pp. 8, 14.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 8, 14.

⁵² *Kul'tura*, pl. LXXXV, 3, 4.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, pl. LXXXIV, 1.

⁵⁴ Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, pls. 35: 4; 36: 1, 8, 10.

⁵⁵ Ulf Jantzen, *Griechische Greifen Kessel*, *Deutsches archäologisches Institut*, Berlin 1955.

⁵⁶ Rostovtsev, *Iranians and Greeks*, pl. IV shows a silver mirror from Kelermes in the Kuban, dated to the sixth century B.C., pl. X, B, a bronze pole top from the Kuban, in the Hermitage, dated to the sixth to fifth centuries B.C. Minns, "The Art of the Northern Nomads," *op. cit.* supra note 6, p. 67, gives the same dating. M. Rostovtsev, *The Animal Style in South Russia*, Princeton 1920, pl. IX, 1.

⁵⁷ M. Valotaire, "Vases Peints du Cabinet Turpin Crissé," *Revue Archéologique* 17, 1923, p. 51.

⁵⁸ For complete figures of bronze griffins, see G. Rodenwalt, *Die Kunst der Antike*, Berlin 1927, p. 163; *Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts* 52, 1937, pls. 34-35.

Attic vases made for export to Kerch⁵⁹ (Fig. 20) and elsewhere⁶⁰. In these examples the griffin is depicted as a powerfully built winged feline with ears, a bird's head and a long mane resembling fish fins. This monster has little in common with the sixth century B.C. type (Fig. 19). The stylized knob on the head is gone, and the wings and powerfully built body are closer to the Near Eastern types than those of Greece of the sixth century B.C. This change did not occur suddenly but happened after almost a century of development. The reason for the change is documented by Greek coins of the fifth century B.C. The advance of Persian arms to the Aegean brought about the cessation of coinage at Miletus, Ephesus and Phocaea and the substitution of Sardian coinage after approximately 544 B.C. Persian oppression drove large numbers of Teian and Phocean citizens to Thrace, Italy and Gaul. The emigrees took with them their moneyer's skills. Thereafter, coins of Graeco-Asiatic stamp appeared on the coasts of Thrace, Italy and Gaul. The Teian seated griffin emerged at Abdera in Thrace, a source of abundant and imaginative coinage⁶¹.

The archetype of the fourth century B.C. Greek griffin appears on Teian coins of the sixth century B.C.⁶² After the Teian immigration in the first half of the fifth century B.C.⁶³, Abderan coins show the Teian type of griffin with a short, slightly dentated mane⁶⁴. Coins produced after the middle of the fifth century B.C. show a transition from the saw tooth to the fish-fin type mane⁶⁵. The earlier dentated mane, a characteristic feature of Assyrian griffins and felines⁶⁶, is not seen on griffins from Achaemenid Persia⁶⁷. This feature, however, probably continued to exist in Graeco-Asiatic areas such as Teos. A comparison between the griffin on the sixth century B.C. Teian coins and the Assyrian examples shows close parallels in the treatment of the mane, body and head⁶⁸. These features were further developed by Greek artists who finally created the fourth century type seen on Kerch vases (Fig. 20) and in the recently discovered mosaic from Pella in Macedonia⁶⁹ which is the dominant type in the fourth century. One of the earliest representations of such a griffin in south Russia is the relief on the body of the stag from Kul Oba⁷⁰ which Schefold places in the middle of the fifth century B.C.⁷¹ The naturalism of the small animals represented in relief on the body of the stag is indicative of Greek influence if not workmanship. The griffin on this piece shows a short mane with

⁵⁹ K. Schefold, *Untersuchungen zu den Kertscher Vasen*, *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus russischen Sammlungen*, Berlin/Leipzig, pls. 25: 569, 461; 40: 227; 125: 516, 492.

⁶⁰ H. Metzger, "Le Représentation dans la Céramique Attique de IVe Siècle," *Bibliothèque des Ecoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome* 172, pls. XXIV, oenochoe from the British Museum, XLII, pelike from the British Museum, XLII, pelike from Cabinet des Médailles.

⁶¹ Charles Seltman, *Greek Coins*, London 1933, p. 64.

⁶² *Ibid.*, pl. VI, 10, 12. The griffins have short saw-tooth edged manes, not yet the developed fish-fin.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 142

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pl. XXVIII, 8.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pl. XXVIII, 7, 10-13.

⁶⁶ Schwenzner, *op. cit.* supra note 43, pp. 61: 293; 64: 311; 65: 319-320; 67: 334; 68: 337-339; particularly the figure on p. 71: 355.

⁶⁷ The only example that approaches this manner of representing the mane is seen on a lion, *ibid.*, p. 102: 510, and even this example is more similar to a herring bone pattern.

⁶⁸ See supra notes 62, 66.

⁶⁹ E. Vanderpool, "News Letter from Greece," *AJA* 62, 3, 1958, p. 86, 4.

⁷⁰ Kondakov-Tolstoi-Reinach, *op. cit.* supra note 10, fig. 268. Or T. Talbot-Rice, *The Scythians*, New York 1957, pl. 24, p. 159, where two different dates are given for the same piece.

⁷¹ Schefold, *op. cit.* supra note 6, p. 21.

crescent-shaped edges similar to the fourth century type, but not as developed as the fish-fin-shaped mane seen on the fourth century griffin head from the third barrow of the Seven Brothers group in the Kuban⁷² (Fig. 21). Among south Russian finds of the fourth century B.C. and later, this type is universal⁷³.

One group of Pazyryk bird griffins with parallels in south Russia belongs to this fourth century B.C. type. A wooden griffin head from the second Pazyryk kurgan (Fig. 22) is almost a duplicate of the head from the Kuban (Fig. 21). Another griffin head from Pazyryk, made of colored felt and tassels, repeats the same features⁷⁴ which are also present in griffins represented in combat (Figs. 23–24). The Pazyryk combat scenes include two classes of compositions. The first is distinguished by a naturalistic and lively battle between a carnivore and a herbivore, depicted realistically and decoratively (Fig. 25). In this group the attacking animal is usually the panther, an animal indigenous to the Altai and no doubt familiar to the Pazyryk artist. These scenes, derived from actual visual experience, are to be contrasted with the second class of compositions where the attack is unconvincing and the postures unnatural. The aggressor is immobilized at the moment of the attack, while its victim's hind quarters twist in anticipation of the impact⁷⁵. In such scenes the attacking animals are usually fantastic beasts, foreign to the Pazyryk artist in both nature and tradition. The result is a stereotyped design, lacking in spontaneity and life; decorative, but without the movement and vitality of the first group. In one composition the griffin is represented on one side of a saddle cover and its prey on the other, yet the victim's hind quarters are twisted as if under the impact of the attack (Fig. 23) (see below page 333). All bird griffins shown in combat in the Pazyryk kurgans have the fish-fin-shaped manes and belong to the conventional class of combat scenes (Figs. 23–24)⁷⁶. Their closest parallels are the fourth century B.C. south Russian (Fig. 21) and Greek examples (Fig. 20).

The fact that these animals bear Near Eastern muscular stylizations is to be expected. Such motifs are incorporated into most of the representations of animals in Pazyryk, whether of Scythian, Near Eastern, or other origin. This is well illustrated by a griffin which combines the classical type crescent-edged mane with the realistic body of the Scythian bird of prey⁷⁷ (Fig. 26). This hybridization is further elaborated on a horse's psalion (Fig. 27) which shows Achaemenid muscular stylization around the beak, the classical mane, and a tuft of hair on the head resembling that of the Scythian bird of prey. It is of great importance for chronological reasons that Classical elements in all the Pazyryk kurgans point to south Russia and Greece of the fourth century B.C. In an article written in 1957, Rudenko convincingly answered some of the questions raised concerning his dating of the Pazyryk burials mainly in the fifth century B.C.⁷⁸. However, the particular problem of the griffin, which had been noted by Kiselev⁷⁹ and men-

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 18, the third barrow of the Seven Brothers group in the Kuban. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, p. 208, 1887. I. 1. No. III, states that this barrow is older than the others in this group.

⁷³ Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, pp. 159, 198–199.

⁷⁴ *Kul'tura*, fig. 136.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, pls. CXI, CIX, fig. 163.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, pls. XXIII, 3, CIX, CXI, figs. 161, 163.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, pl. XXIII, 3, fig. 161.

⁷⁸ S. I. Rudenko, "K voprosu . . .," *Sovetskaia Arkheologia* 27, 1957, p. 301ff. Here Rudenko gives the major arguments presented by Russian critics of his chronology.

⁷⁹ S. V. Kiselev, *Drevnaia istoriia iuzhnoi Sibiri*, Moskva 1951, pp. 368–371.

tioned in passing by Anne Roes⁸⁰, was not again raised by Rudenko⁸¹. Rudenko's comment on this subject made in his earlier writing is not as convincing as his other arguments⁸². In his earlier book he considered Assyria as the source of the prototype for the Pazyryk griffin, which he suggests reached the Altai through Urartu. The weakness of his argument is that while many parallels to the Pazyryk griffin exist in south Russia and Greece, none have been discovered at Urartu, and Assyrian griffins do not show the developed fish-fin-shaped mane. The Pazyryk griffins show the fish-fin-shaped mane which evolved specifically in the Classical world and was the established feature of Greek griffins of the fourth century B. C.

The analogy between the wooden horse trappings in the form of human heads from the first Pazyryk kurgan (Fig. 28) and certain Classical *Bes* or gorgon heads has already been noted by Kiselev⁸³. He suggested that the Mongoloid type represented on one of these heads is evidence of Hunnic penetration into Pazyryk, which would thus date the burials to a later period than the fifth and early fourth centuries B. C.⁸⁴ This evidence alone would be insufficient to support that conclusion, even if the sole argument against it were the fact that only one of the five heads is definitely of Mongoloid type. These heads, together with the leather cut-out from the second Pazyryk kurgan which shows a bearded head with an extended mouth⁸⁵, are treated in the same schematized manner as the *Bes* heads from the Oxus treasure⁸⁶ (Fig. 29) and lack the naturalism of the south Russian and Greek gorgon or Medusa heads⁸⁷. The Oxus region rather than south Russia may here be responsible for the transference of this motif to Pazyryk.

The Oxus treasure bears witness to the strong influence exercised by Persia in the Oxus region during the Achaemenid period. Bactria and the area north of the Oxus river were satrapies of the Persian empire during the reign of Darius. It appears that the Central Asiatic tribes, prior to the conquest by Alexander, established a trade route providing direct contact between the Oxus region and the north-east⁸⁸. In the second half of the fourth century B. C., conflict between Alexander and some of the Central Asiatic tribes closed this route and put an end to the free transmission of Near Eastern products through the Oxus region to the north. The Pazyryk burials contain innumerable Achaemenian influences and some direct imports, the most obvious of which have been recognized by others and will, therefore, be only briefly mentioned here.

The woolen rug woven in the pile technique from kurgan number 5⁸⁹ and the gold earring

⁸⁰ Anne Roes, "Achaemenid Influences on Egyptian and Nomad Art," *Artibus Asiae* 15, 1952, p. 26.

⁸¹ In his recent article on "The Mythological Eagle, the Gryphon, the Winged Lion, and the Wolf in the Art of the Northern Nomads," *Artibus Asiae* XXI, 2, 1958, p. 107, Rudenko recognizes the crenellated crest in the Kiev group of griffins as Greek influence from the fourth century B. C., but continues to date the Pazyryk kurgans from the fifth century B. C., *ibid.*, pp. 104, 107.

⁸² *Kul'tura*, pp. 346-348.

⁸³ Kiselev, *op. cit.* supra note 79, pp. 373-374.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 373.

⁸⁵ *Kul'tura*, fig. 114.

⁸⁶ Dalton, *The Treasure of the Oxus*, nos. 7, 32; E. Schmidt, *Persepolis II*, *The University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications* 69, Chicago 1957, pls. 31: 4, 41: 7.

⁸⁷ *Realexikon der Vorgeschichte* IX, Berlin 1927, pl. 184, c, shows a bearded satyr head in front view with naturalistically represented hair and features, unlike the schematic heads from Pazyryk and Achaemenid art.

⁸⁸ Kiselev, *op. cit.*, pp. 357-361.

⁸⁹ The complete rug is reproduced in A. L. Mongait, *Archeologia v SSSR*, Moskva 1955, pl. facing p. 164.

decorated with inlays and granulation from the second kurgan⁹⁰ are unique in Pazyryk. They demonstrate the complex techniques of weaving and granulation known within the Achaemenid empire and show motifs which were familiar to Persia⁹¹ with prototypes in Assyrian art⁹². Strong Achaemenian influence is present in several woven pieces of fabric⁹³ which even if local copies, are evidence of Achaemenian textile patterns. One fragment shows a lion procession which repeats in detail⁹⁴ lion processions from Persepolis, Susa and Achaemenid jewelry⁹⁵. A second fragment shows two figures and their attendants confronting an incense burner⁹⁶. All four figures wear serrated crowns and long robes decorated with mural patterns and circles. Each of the two main figures in the center holds a lotus in one hand and raises the other hand through the folds of drapery which hangs from the crown to the knees. Neither the clothing and crowns worn by these figures nor the incense burner has any parallel in actual Pazyryk finds. Their analogies are to be found in Achaemenid Persia where such incense burners were used for religious purposes, as seen on a relief from Persepolis⁹⁷. The lotus had religious significance for the ancient Persians and especially for the followers of the cult of Anahita which was the popular religion of some of the Iranian people, such as the Saka. In the first half of the fourth century B. C., Artaxerxes officially promulgated the worship of Anahita throughout the empire. An Achaemenian cylinder seal, perhaps from this period⁹⁸, shows a figure in a long robe, probably Anahita, seated on a throne while another figure approaches offering a dove. An incense burner similar to that on the Pazyryk fabric is placed before the seated figure. Furthermore, the approaching figure wears a long robe and serrated crown from which drapery hangs down her back, all of which parallel the central figures on the Pazyryk fabric. The Pazyryk figures with lotuses, perhaps queens, may well be invoking the goddess from the Persian seal whose symbol they hold.

Other than these examples which have direct parallels in Achaemenid art, there exist works of probably local manufacture, which less directly show Near Eastern influences. In contrast to the Classical motifs, which consist largely of floral elements, most of the Near Eastern influences in Pazyryk are the animal motifs which had played an important role in the art of the ancient Near East from prehistoric times.

The tradition of animal representation in the ancient Near East finds its fullest expression in the ninth and eighth centuries B. C. in Assyria, where animals, when not playing a symbolic role, are represented in their natural surroundings, in combat, or in decorative processions. The muscles of the animals are indicated by grooves and lines or by colored inlays on small metal objects. The Achaemenian Persians who adopted this tradition of animal representation both technically and stylistically, narrowed its range mainly to the glorification of the monarchs. Their art was exercised in the service of the king; and to achieve this end, the Persian artist most often

⁹⁰ *Kul'tura*, fig. 78.

⁹¹ M. Dieulafoy, *L'Acropole de Suse*, Paris 1890, pl. 8, shows lotuses similar to those on the earring from Pazyryk.

⁹² *Ibid.*, fig. 163.

⁹³ *Kul'tura*, pl. CXVII, 1-3.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, pl. CXVII, 1.

⁹⁵ H. J. Kantor, "Achaemenid Jewelry," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 16, January 1957, pl. V, a, b.

⁹⁶ *Kul'tura*, pl. CXVII, 3.

⁹⁷ Herzfeld, *Iran in the Ancient East*, pl. LXVII.

⁹⁸ Dalton, *The Treasure of the Oxus*, fig. 9.

excluded natural surroundings and landscape⁹⁹, used repetition at the price of spontaneity and stylization at the cost of naturalism, and employed heraldic and bisymmetrical compositions. We know little of the popular and nonmonumental art of the Achaemenians, due perhaps to its perishable quality. Such an art probably existed, at least in areas distant from the major cities of the empire; as may be inferred from objects from the Oxus treasure¹⁰⁰ and a few seals from an Achaemenian deposit at Ur¹⁰¹ (Fig. 30). The latter depict animals which are extremely lively and almost unaffected by the weight of tradition and formality which bears so heavily on monumental art, such as the famous combat scene at Persepolis. The lions in most cases attack from above, and on several seals the ibex is shown with its hind legs outstretched in line with its back (Fig. 30). Perhaps it is to be expected that Achaemenian influences in Pazyryk would belong to the popular rather than the monumental art of Persia since influences reaching Pazyryk originated mainly in the northern provinces some distance from the capitals and largest cities.

An appliqué saddle cover from the first Pazyryk kurgan (Fig. 25) shows a vigorous *combat scene* in which the artist seems mainly interested in the decorative effect of his composition and exploits realistic animal forms to create a pattern which is both decorative and animated. The aim of the artist of this composition is indeed very different from that of the Achaemenian sculptor who carved the lion attacking a bull on the base of the staircase of the apadana¹⁰². The static quality of the latter animals is in keeping with the other relief figures at Persepolis. Much closer to the Pazyryk designs are the Achaemenian seals¹⁰³ which show animation and movement not suggested by the large stone reliefs.

The Pazyryk combat scenes often show markings on the bodies of the animals in the shapes of the “bow and dot” or “apple and pear” motifs (Figs. 23–24) which in the Near East represent stylized musculature. The prototypes of these motifs have been discussed at length by Salmony and Anne Roes¹⁰⁴; the first of whom claims that such motifs were derived from the technique of inlay in the Near East, and the second, that indications of such stylizations are shown on early reliefs and sculptures of the same area. Whatever the prototype may be, it is the Near East. This is significant to this study since it is apparent that the most conventional combat scenes with foreign monsters and beasts in Pazyryk show the greatest number of body markings (Figs. 23–24), while they are fewer in number or absent on the realistic and animated examples (Fig. 25)¹⁰⁵. The idea of the combat scene is itself foreign to the earliest art of the Scythians¹⁰⁶ who most probably acquired it from the Near East where it had been used from early times¹⁰⁷.

The representation of combat between a lion and an ibex on a pair of silver belt buckles

⁹⁹ Sometimes trees or reeds are rendered to clarify the story, H. Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, London 1939, pl. 35, d, f, k.

¹⁰⁰ Dalton, *The Treasure of the Oxus*, pls. IX–X.

¹⁰¹ See also, Legrain, *op. cit.* supra note 42, pl. 41, nos. 795, 796, 799, 800.

¹⁰² Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, pl. LII, below.

¹⁰³ Other Achaemenid seals are reproduced in, Schmidt, *Persepolis II*, pls. 15, P7733; 14, PT6130, no. 76; 18, PT5495; 16, PT651.

¹⁰⁴ A. Salmony, “Sarmatian Gold Collected by Peter the Great,” *op. cit.* supra note 46.

¹⁰⁵ *Kul'tura*, figs. 156–160.

¹⁰⁶ The Near Eastern origin of the combat scene has been discussed by Rostovtsev, *Iranians and Greeks*, p. 193, and T. Talbot-Rice, *The Scythians*, p. 161, among others. Rudenko, *Kul'tura*, p. 316ff., points out the analogy between certain Pazyryk combat scenes and the combat scene from the relief at Persepolis.

¹⁰⁷ For early examples, see Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, pls. 31: g; 35: g; 42: l; G. Contenau, *Manuel d'Archeologie Orientale IV*, Paris 1947, fig. 1150.

from the second Pazyryk kurgan shows¹⁰⁸ the conventionalized pose and muscular stylization seen in Achaemenid art, and may be compared with the Persian seals which depict the lion as the aggressor and the ibex as the victim in almost every case. A silver handle ornament from the Oxus treasure shows the same herring bone rendering of the horns of the ibex as well as similar “bow and dot” body markings¹⁰⁹.

Representations of the ibex with other *cervids* is a recurring theme in Pazyryk. These representations may be divided into three major groups: (1) the realistic representation of animals in the round, relief or appliqué; (2) heads of animals represented in the same techniques; (3) representations of animals in distorted and anatomically impossible positions. To the first group belong the free-standing figures of stags on a disc or pedestal¹¹⁰. These realistic animals are among the finest in Pazyryk and their stance is without parallel in Achaemenid art. They are unrelated to the Assyro-Babylonian tradition, but may be compared to figures of a much earlier date among the Ordos bronzes, and small statuettes from Cappadocia and the Caucasus¹¹¹ from the early part of the first millennium B. C. Figures of cervids in *antithetic positions* from Pazyryk¹¹², on the other hand, have parallels in the Near East as early as the second millennium B. C., as illustrated by the seals from Kirkuk¹¹³. These postures continue in Assyrian art of the ninth century B. C.¹¹⁴ and frequently occur on Achaemenian seals and jewelry¹¹⁵. The hammered copper figures in back-to-back and front-to-front poses, and wooden cervid figures in similar poses on bridles from Pazyryk, are certainly related to Near Eastern types in composition if not in details¹¹⁶. Antithetic animals also appear elsewhere in Scythian art, particularly in the sixth century B. C.¹¹⁷

The second class of cervid representation, namely the use of the *animal's head as a decorative unit*, appears repeatedly in Pazyryk. Such heads are often made in the round and used as finials¹¹⁸, made in relief on wooden discs¹¹⁹, or cut out from leather or felt and used as appliqué on felt or as decoration on horse trappings (Fig. 31). Zoomorphic pins as well as jewelry from Luristan¹²⁰ of the beginning of the first millennium B. C. show single animal heads used as finials, while in the ninth and eighth centuries B. C., the Assyrians used the same motif on furniture and jewelry¹²¹. It is only in Achaemenid art that isolated animal heads occur as independent decorative elements, as on a pendant of a necklace at Chicago, and in bracteates in the form of lion and

¹⁰⁸ *Kul'tura*, pl. XXVII, 1, 2.

¹⁰⁹ Dalton, *The Treasure of the Oxus*, pl. V, 10.

¹¹⁰ *Kul'tura*, pl. LXXIX, 2.

¹¹¹ Herzfeld, *Iran in the Ancient East*, p. 174, fig. 293.

¹¹² *Kul'tura*, pls. IX, 1; XLI, 4, figs. 72-73.

¹¹³ Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, fig. 273.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, fig. 370.

¹¹⁵ Kantor, “Achaemenid Jewelry,” *op. cit.* supra note 95, pl. 9.

¹¹⁶ See supra note 112

¹¹⁷ Schefold, *op. cit.* supra note 6, p. 8, places the following in the sixth century B. C.: *ibid.*, figs. 8-9, from the Melgunov barrow. Rostovtsev, *Iranians and Greeks*, pl. VI, from Kelermes; G. Borovka, *Scythian Art*, London 1928, pl. 36, A, is from the third century B. C.

¹¹⁸ *Kul'tura*, pls. XXXVI, 1; XXXIII, 2, 3; XLVI, 1; XLV, 3-4.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pls. XLVIII, 1; CV, 3.

¹²⁰ Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, fig. 275; A. Godard, *Le Trésor de Ziwiye*, Haarlem 1950, fig. 43.

¹²¹ A. Patterson, *Assyrian Sculptures, Palace of Sennacherib*, Holland, pl. 21; E. A. Budge, *Assyrian Sculptures in the British Museum, Reign of Assur-Nasir-Pal, 885-860 B.C.*, London 1914, pls. 29, 31-32.

griffin heads probably meant to be sewn on clothing¹²². Helene Kantor suggests a Scythian origin for such heads in Achaemenid art¹²³ and points out that in certain cases the Pazyryk artists borrowed back in Persian form a motif typical of the steppes. In Achaemenid art ibex heads are often given a circular mane ending in small spirals or curls¹²⁴ in imitation of lion manes. This manner of representation is also seen on seal impressions from Ur¹²⁵ where lions and other animals are given similar manes¹²⁶. A horse trapping from the first Pazyryk kurgan shows an ibex head between the lower jaws of two lion griffins (Fig. 31). Around the head of the ibex is a crescent edged halo which is actually a stylization of the circular mane seen on the Achaemenian animal heads. The Pazyryk head is at once fantastic and familiar. The flowing tassels, the rich effect of contrasting colors and the particular compositional theme, are fantastic, but individually the ibex and lion griffin heads have many parallels in Achaemenid art. The palmette motif behind the ear of the ibex is identical to a detail from a sword sheath worn by a figure on a frieze at Persepolis (Fig. 32). Palmettes on the heads of animals and birds also appear in Scythian art from the Dnieper¹²⁷ to the Kuban¹²⁸. A second ibex head from a circular horse trapping from Pazyryk¹²⁹ again shows the stylized mane around the head. Ibex heads made of wood in the round from several Pazyryk kurgans¹³⁰ may be compared to Achaemenian types (Fig. 33) in the use of the "drop" motif below the eyes and ridges on the horns.

To the third group of cervids in Pazyryk belong the numerous figures represented in *anatomically distorted positions*. One manner of distortion is the representation of the animal's head in front view with distorted profiles of the body shown on either side of the head¹³¹. Griaznov¹³² believes this to be the result of the inability of the artist to represent the animal in any other than a strictly frontal or profile perspective. In his desire to create movement, the Altai artist often combines these two types of perspective in a single animal which may be shown with the head carved in the round, and the body displayed in profile on both sides of the head. The twisted hind quarters enhance the effect of movement. A gold plaque from Ziwiyé¹³³ from about the seventh century B.C.¹³⁴ shows two lions in profile joined together by a single head represented in front view. The same theme is encountered in Greece during the Orientalizing period when sphinxes were represented in the same pose on Corinthian vases¹³⁵ which probably owed the source of this inspiration to the eastern artists¹³⁶. Although Achaemenian artists did not utilize

¹²² Kantor, *op. cit.* supra note 95, p. 8.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, fig. 4; *Illustrated London News*, July 1948, p. 59, fig. 7.

¹²⁵ Legrain, *op. cit.* supra note 42, pl. 42, no. 807.

¹²⁶ This is noted by Helene Kantor, see supra note 123.

¹²⁷ Borovka, *Scythian Art*, pls. 5, A, C, 8, C.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, pls. 5, B, 8, A; Rostovtsev, *Iranians and Greeks*, pl. XIII, A-C.

¹²⁹ *Kul'tura*, pl. CVII, 3.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, pls. XXXVI, 2; XLV, 5; XLVI, 1; LXX, 7.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, pl. XXV, 5, 6.

¹³² M. Griaznov, *L'Art ancien de l'Atai*, Leningrad 1958, pp. 18, 20.

¹³³ *Illustrated London News*, April 1955, p. 699.

¹³⁴ For the dating see, R.D. Barnett, "The Treasure of Ziwiyé," *Iraq* 18, 2, 1956, pp. 111-116.

¹³⁵ Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, pl. 16, no. 14, Necrocorinthia catalogue no. 39; Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, gives an early example of a similar pose from Siberia, fig. 280.

¹³⁶ Contacts of Urartu with the Classical world and the transference of Near Eastern elements to the west through the Lake Van region are discussed by the following: R.D. Barnett, "The Archaeology of Urartu," *Compte-rendu de la troisième Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale 1952*, Leiden 1954; R.D. Barnette, "Ancient Oriental Influences in Archaic Greece," *The Aegean and the Near East, Studies Presented to Hetty Goldman*, New York 1956; K.R. Maxwell-Hyslop,

this motif, the prototype should be sought in the Near East¹³⁷ where as early as the second millennium B.C. such poses are seen among the numerous coalescing animals on the Kirkuk seals¹³⁸. The discovery of Scythian bird heads at Karmir Blur indicates that Urartu was already in contact with Scythian tribes at the end of the seventh century B.C.¹³⁹ and may well be responsible for the transfer of some motifs, such as the coalescing animals, to the northern Scythian tribes as well as to the west.

A second type of distortion among the Pazyryk animal representations is the twisted hind quarters, best illustrated by the tattoos on the body of the chieftain found in the second Pazyryk kurgan¹⁴⁰. The pose of these animals, also present elsewhere in Scythian art, is a carry-over from the combat scene where the impact of the attack causes the victim to throw out its hind quarters. Yet the artist seems to have forgotten the functional origin of this attitude and uses it decoratively on a wooden figure of a crouching carnivore which is usually the attacking animal¹⁴¹. The tattoo animals are nowhere represented in combat but their twisted hind quarters increase the effect of lively motion over the whole surface. There are no parallels to the movement and vitality of design of these tattoos in Near Eastern art¹⁴². The tattoo artist has even represented a winged lion but has assimilated it into his own world of fantasy filled with animals of the most hybrid sort with tails and antlers ending in birds' heads¹⁴³. The dark and light patterns on the torsos of many of the tattoo animals appear to have a solely decorative function and are quite different from the muscular stylizations of Near Eastern animals.

The feline appears more often than any other creature in the art of Pazyryk. The panther, an animal indigenous to the Altai, is as frequently represented as the lion variations most familiar to Near Eastern art. The lion had been represented as the adversary of man in Mesopotamian art since the third millennium B.C.¹⁴⁴ It is used repeatedly in Susa, Persepolis¹⁴⁵ and on Achaemenid jewelry¹⁴⁶. A felt appliqué wall hanging from Pazyryk shows a series of *lion heads* with circular manes ending in small spirals¹⁴⁷. These heads, like the ibex heads (see above p. 332), have their counterpart in the seal impressions from Ur¹⁴⁸, the glazed tiles of Susa¹⁴⁹, and on bracteates from the Achaemenid period¹⁵⁰. The *lion griffin*, which differs from the lion by the addition of wings and horns, is used interchangeably with the lion as an adversary of

"Urartian Bronzes in Etruscan Tombs," *Iraq* 18, 2, 1956, pp. 150-167; M. Pallottino, "Urartu, Greece and Etruria," *East and West* 9, 1-2, March-June 1958. Profile sphinxes joined by a single head are present in Greek art also of the fourth century B.C. and later, see, David M. Robinson, *Excavations at Olynthos* V, 1933, pl. 15.

¹³⁷ Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, p. 28 ff.

¹³⁸ Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, fig. 278.

¹³⁹ R. D. Barnett und W. Watson, "Russian Excavations in Armenia," *Iraq* 14, 2, 1952, fig. 4.

¹⁴⁰ *Kul'tura*, figs. 175, 177, 185. For the relative position of the tattoos on the body, see figs. 80-83.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pl. LXII, 2.

¹⁴² One possible example of a twisted hind quarter may be on an Achaemenid seal, see Schmidt, *Persepolis* II, pl. 18, P 73218.

¹⁴³ *Kul'tura*, fig. 179.

¹⁴⁴ Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, pls. 5, a; 10, i; 12, a, b, e; H. R. Hall, *Babylonian and Assyrian Sculptures in the British Museum*, Paris 1928, pls. II, XIX; S. Harcourt-Smith, *Babylonian Art*, London 1928, pl. 63.

¹⁴⁵ Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, pl. LXXII; Dieulafoy, *L'Acropole de Suse*, fig. 153.

¹⁴⁶ Kantor, *op. cit.* supra note 95, pl. V, a, b.

¹⁴⁷ *Kul'tura*, pl. LXXXIX, 1.

¹⁴⁸ Kantor, *op. cit.*, fig. 7.

¹⁴⁹ Hall, *op. cit.* supra note 144, pl. XIV, details of swords and furniture.

¹⁵⁰ Kantor, *op. cit.*, pl. VI, B.

Gilgamesh in Mesopotamian art. The winged lion and the lion griffin, which is often given birds' claws on its hind quarters in Achaemenid art, play rather important roles in Persian jewelry and metal work (Fig. 34)¹⁵¹. The heraldic poses, body markings, wings and horns of the lion griffins on the two hammered copper plaques from the second Pazyryk kurgan¹⁵² all recall Achaemenian prototypes; only the horses' hooves on the forelegs betray local interpretation of an unfamiliar foreign tradition. Local interpretation is even more detectable in a leather lion griffin made partly in the round on a horse mask from the first Pazyryk kurgan¹⁵³. The technique and overall effect are unique; only the horns and the "bow and dot" motif on the hind quarters are reminiscent of the Near East.

A row of crouching lion griffins made from wood and horn from Pazyryk (Fig. 35) shows the same pose, long ears, curving horns, open jaws and spade-like tails as the famous aigrette from the Oxus treasure (Fig. 36). The latter is made of gold and precious jewels, and shows Achaemenian influence in the muscular stylization, horns, and technical skill of execution. This piece is also related in its general characteristics to two pairs of lion griffins from western Siberia in the collection of Peter the Great at the Hermitage¹⁵⁴.

A motif rare in Achaemenid art is the *animal head biting another animal* which appears several times in Pazyryk. Animals holding other animal parts in their jaws are represented in the art of Urartu¹⁵⁵, in Etruscan art¹⁵⁶, and are known from Siberia¹⁵⁷. A hook or handle which was acquired in Teheran in 1956¹⁵⁸, now in a Paris collection, shows a lion head biting the head of a goose-like bird. The workmanship appears to be Achaemenian; though if the object was produced in Persia, it is the only example of such a motif which can be attributed to Persia proper. The idea is foreign also to Assyrian art, but it is not unlikely that the neighbouring Lake Van region played an important role in the distribution of this curious theme¹⁵⁹.

Several representations of *birds* in Pazyryk are related to Achaemenid art. Two antithetic and coalescent cocks with open wings and turned-back heads appear in leather cut-outs on a wooden sarcophagus from the first Pazyryk kurgan¹⁶⁰. Apart from the heraldic poses, there seems to be nothing Near Eastern about them. A second example from the same sarcophagus¹⁶¹, however, shows similar figures represented more realistically with the typical Near Eastern "bow" motif

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pls. III, IX, X, fig. 9.

¹⁵² *Kul'tura*, figs. 74, 72, a.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, fig. 134.

¹⁵⁴ Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, fig. 188; Talbot-Rice, *The Scythians*, pl. 2.

¹⁵⁵ Examples of this motif from Pazyryk: *Kul'tura*, pls. LXXXIV, 4, LXXXIII, 1-2; from Urartu: C.F. Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien einst und jetzt* II, Berlin/Leipzig 1931, pp. 52.

¹⁵⁶ Pericle Ducati, *Storia dell'Arte Etrusca* II, Florence 1927, pl. 50; Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, fig. 358.

¹⁵⁷ Minns, "The Art of the Northern Nomads," *op. cit.*, pl. 18, H, p. 72, on the body of the animals; A. Salmony, *Sino-Siberian Art in the C. T. Loo Collection*, Paris 1833, pls. XIII, 3, XVI, 10.

¹⁵⁸ Pierre Amandry, "Orfeverie Achéménides," *Antike Kunst* I, Olten/Switzerland 1958, pl. 10, 15-16. Other examples on pl. 10, show the same motif but are from uncertain proveniences.

¹⁵⁹ Feline heads in front view are rare in Achaemenid and Assyrian art. The heads represented in low relief or engraved on wooden discs from Pazyryk, *Kul'tura*, pls. LXXX, 1; LXVII, 3-6; LXVIII, 3-5, 7; XLVIII, 2, differ from the Frolov head, *ibid.*, pl. LXXX, 4, in that the Pazyryk heads are invariably represented without the lower jaws. The animal's head represented in front view from the Oxus treasure, Dalton, *The Treasure of the Oxus*, pl. XII, 40, shows the same extended mouth and muscular stylizations above the eyes and on the chin as the Frolov piece, and is possibly a derivation from Scythian art.

¹⁶⁰ *Kul'tura*, fig. 17, b.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, fig. 17, a.

on the upper wings. A procession of cocks made from leather appliqué¹⁶² clearly shows both the “bow” and “dot” motifs on the wings. Goose heads in turned-back positions are seen on the ends of a wooden bridle part¹⁶³ and as victims of a griffin head in the third Pazyryk kurgan¹⁶⁴. Similar turned-back goose heads are used as ornaments on the ends of Assyrian bows in the ninth and eighth centuries B. C.¹⁶⁵ and appear as vessel decorations among the recently published objects from the treasury of Persepolis¹⁶⁶. A silver bowl of supposedly Achaemenian workmanship, from the Hermitage Museum, shows similar antithetic geese flanking a palmette motif¹⁶⁷. A stuffed leather bird from Pazyryk with its wings outstretched and tail fanned out in the shape of a palmette¹⁶⁸ has a counterpart in a silver pectoral from the Kuban which resembles the former in all but the material in which it is executed¹⁶⁹. This pose is reminiscent of the early Mesopotamian spread eagle¹⁷⁰ which exists in both Assyrian and Persian art¹⁷¹ where the bird is sometimes represented headless with a sun disc on its chest¹⁷².

A leather cut-out pattern on a saddle arch from Pazyryk repeats in an alternately inverted and upright position, what seems to be a stylized Near Eastern winged sun disc (Fig. 37). Single winged sun discs have religious connotations in the Near East where their use is solely symbolic¹⁷³. There is no indication, however, that the people of the Altai were at all familiar with Near Eastern religions and the decorative and repetitious use of the design indicates that the Pazyryk imitator was unaware of the symbolism of the motif.

Notwithstanding the importance of the *horse* in the life of the Pazyryk people, we find rather few representations of it in their burials. Of interest among these are the representations of antithetic horse heads¹⁷⁴. The earliest examples of such a composition are found among the Luristan bronzes¹⁷⁵, in the Caucasus early in the first millennium B. C. where they flank a female figure¹⁷⁶, and on a capital at Pasargadae¹⁷⁷. The latter is perhaps one of the last survivals of a northern motif in Achaemenid art and is not repeated thereafter, nor is it seen in Assyro-Babylonian art. A rug woven in the pile technique from the first Pazyryk kurgan shows a procession of horses (Fig. 38) alternately ridden and led by men wearing hoods of the bashkil or kyrbasia type. The tails of the horses are tied in knots, and their manes are clipped short leaving a bottle-shaped tuft of hair on top of the head¹⁷⁸. Actual remains of horses at Pazyryk do not show this treatment of the top knot, but we find this detail repeatedly used on horses from the Persepolis

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, fig. 71.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, pl. XLIX, 1.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pl. C, 1.

¹⁶⁵ E. F. Weidner, *Die Reliefs der assyrischen Könige*, Berlin 1939, figs. 39.

¹⁶⁶ Schmidt, *Persepolis II*, pls. 53; 1, 2, 5; 82, 2-3.

¹⁶⁷ A. U. Pope, *Survey of Persian Art*, Oxford 1930, I, fig. 86.

¹⁶⁸ *Kul'tura*, pl. XXXIII, 4.

¹⁶⁹ Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, fig. 105.

¹⁷⁰ For early Near Eastern spread-eagle motif see, Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, pls. XI, g, XXIII, i.

¹⁷¹ *Survey of Persian Art*, *op. cit.*, IV, pl. 116, h; “Exhibition of Iranian Art,” *Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente*, June-August 1957, pl. 28, 231.

¹⁷² Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, pl. XXXVII, c, 1, n.

¹⁷³ E. F. Schmidt, *Persepolis II*, pls. 4: 5-6, 5: 8, 11-13, 6: 18, 7: 20-23, 8: 24, 26.

¹⁷⁴ *Kul'tura*, pls. XLVIII, 1, LIII, 1, CV, 2-3.

¹⁷⁵ Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, fig. 295, a.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, fig. 295, d.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 240.

¹⁷⁸ For a color reproduction see, *Kul'tura*, pl. CXVI, 2.

reliefs¹⁷⁹ and on the handles of a silver amphora, reputedly from Iran¹⁸⁰. No exact counterpart of this knot appears among Assyrian clipped manes¹⁸¹. The riders depicted on the Pazyryk rug wear the flat-topped kyrbasia, the usual head gear of the Iranians, as demonstrated by the reliefs from Nakhsh-e Rostam and Persepolis. This differs from the type worn by the Armenians and Cappadocians as well as from the pointed type worn by the Sakan and Scythian people. The conscious representation of isocephaly on the Pazyryk rug is another factor which connects it to the Persepolis reliefs. In contrast to the bridles found in actual Pazyryk horse burials, the horses shown on the rug have extremely simple bridles, resembling those on the Persepolis reliefs which are decorated with simple rosettes and crescent-shaped motifs at the juncture of the psalion and bit.

Pazyryk bridles are richly decorated with plant and animal motifs made of leather or of wood which is sometimes coated with gold leaf, producing a rich and deceptively heavy appearance. Certain of these motifs such as the *rosette* can be clearly traced to Near Eastern prototypes¹⁸². Single rosettes are used as decoration on a few bridle representations from Assyrian and Achaemenid art where they are used sparingly, unlike the repetitious display on the Pazyryk bridles¹⁸³. Similar rosettes are used as decoration on clothing, furniture, jewelry and in the architecture of the Assyro-Babylonian and Achaemenid periods¹⁸⁴. Related to these are the simple rosettes which decorate the two felt rugs and the body of the fantastic sphinx on the wall hanging from the fifth Pazyryk kurgan¹⁸⁵.

An Assyrian *lotus-palmette* design is possibly the prototype for the central theme of the Pazyryk rug discussed earlier¹⁸⁶. The Achaemenian lotus-palmette used in a chain design on the glazed tiles of Susa is also similar¹⁸⁷. The latter, however, is more directly related to a chain of lotus-palmettes on the borders of various fragments of felt appliqué from the second Pazyryk kurgan¹⁸⁸ (Fig. 39). Superimposed lotuses topped with palmettes represented in a continuous chain are characteristically Achaemenian and appear on the major facade reliefs of Persepolis and on the staircase at Susa¹⁸⁹. A simple palmette represented on a woman's head gear from the second Pazyryk kurgan¹⁹⁰ is comparable to the palmettes decorating the tops of the chain patterns on the staircase at Susa¹⁹¹.

A geometric pattern on a woven rug from the fifth Pazyryk kurgan shows a series of squares which contain rectangular figures of alternating size topped by a serrated pattern (Fig. 40). An identical pattern is depicted on the robes of the famous archers on the glazed tiles of

¹⁷⁹ Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, pls. LXXVII–LXXIV.

¹⁸⁰ Pierre Amandry, "Toreutique Achéménide," *Antike Kunst* 2, 1959, pl. 22, 1.

¹⁸¹ Hall, *op. cit.* supra note 144, pls. XVIII, XXVI, XXIX.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, pl. XVIII.

¹⁸³ *Kul'tura*, pls. XLIX, 3, L, 5, fig. 98.

¹⁸⁴ Hall, *op. cit.*, pls. IX, 3, on clothing; XVIII, on horse trapping; LVI, on pavement; LVII; CXII, jewelry; Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

¹⁸⁵ *Kul'tura*, pls. LXIX, 2; XC, 1; CIII.

¹⁸⁶ Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, fig. 54. For a complete reproduction of the Pazyryk rug, see, Mongait, *op. cit.* supra note 89.

¹⁸⁷ Dieulafoy, *L'Acropole de Suse*, fig. 43; Assyrian example, Perrot-Chipiez, *A History of Art in Chaldia and Assyria*, fig. 131.

¹⁸⁸ See also *Kul'tura*, pl. LXXXIX, 2.

¹⁸⁹ Dieulafoy, *op. cit.*, fig. 173.

¹⁹⁰ *Kul'tura*, pl. XCI, 3.

¹⁹¹ Dieulafoy, *op. cit.*, fig. 180.

Susa¹⁹². Several patterns on the robes of the archers show openings on the rectangular figures in the shapes of doors and windows, which led Dieulafoy to regard them as a stylized representation of the citadel of Susa¹⁹³. A less stylized version of this *citadel motif* is perhaps the miniature bronze model city from Toprak Kale¹⁹⁴ which resembles the model cities offered as tribute to the Assyrian kings¹⁹⁵. If not a direct import, the Pazyryk motif must be a faithful copy of an Achaemenid textile pattern very similar to that represented on the robes of the archers at Susa.

The felt appliqué wall hanging representing a female figure with a flowering branch, approached by a man on horseback, is one of the better known objects from Pazyryk discussed by Rudenko¹⁹⁶. A restoration of the border scene shows a *fantastic combat scene* between a mythical bird and a feline-bodied, human-headed creature with wings and antlers (Fig. 41)¹⁹⁷. The bird as such, has no parallels in the Near East, yet the tip of its tail is decorated with the typically Near Eastern rosette which is repeated on the body of its adversary. The second monster is of special interest as an example of the fusion of the Near Eastern tradition with the decorative and animated art of Pazyryk. The abstract and colorful patterns on its tail, wings and antlers are indigenous features. The ends of the decorative intertwining patterns often resemble birds' heads, a feature encountered on the tattoo animals¹⁹⁸, and characteristic of Scythian art. The feline-bodied, human-headed monster itself, however, is a Near Eastern conception going back to the third millennium B.C. in Mesopotamia¹⁹⁹. In the first millennium B.C., Assyrian seals show sphinxes in combat with various adversaries or overpowered by Gilgamesh²⁰⁰. These figures have only the general idea of the sphinx in common with the Pazyryk monster. The effect of movement created by the half turned body of the latter has no parallels in Assyrian art, while the claw-like paws are also unusual. The long ears are characteristic of the Mesopotamian lamassu or sphinx, but the black moustache is not, nor is the Assyrian bare-headed sphinx ever shown with horns; even those wearing horned mitres are never given antlers.

There is nothing similar to this monster in the art of Persia, and the distant Assyrian parallels must therefore have reached Pazyryk through another intermediary. A hint at the location of this intermediary lies in the composition which is the central theme of the wall hanging. The seated figure with a serrated crown holding a flowering branch and approached by a rider may well represent the enthroned goddess Anahita receiving a visitor on horseback. This theme is obviously a copy of a foreign prototype as it contains numerous misunderstandings and misinterpretations which show the unfamiliarity of the artist with the subject matter²⁰¹. The inversion of the ear of the goddess, the anatomically impossible position of her arms, and the physiognomy of the rider all point to a foreign source²⁰². Representations of cult scenes from

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, fig. 114; *Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique en Iran, Archéologie Susienne XXX*, Presses Universitaires de France 1947, fig. 26: 1-5.

¹⁹³ Dieulafoy, *L'Acropole de Suse*, p. 217.

¹⁹⁴ R.D. Barnett, "Excavations of the British Museum at Toprak Kale Near Van," *Iraq* XII, 1, 1950, pl. I.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 5, fig. 3.

¹⁹⁶ *Kul'tura*, pl. XCV.

¹⁹⁷ V. Shilov, *Soobscheniia gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha* IX, Leningrad 1956, p. 41.

¹⁹⁸ *Kul'tura*, figs. 181-184.

¹⁹⁹ G. Contenau, *Les Antiquités Orientales, Sumer, Babylonie, Elam*, Musée du Louvre, pls. 32-33; Contenau, *Manuel d'Archéologie Orientale* IV, Paris 1947, p. 2184, fig. 1218.

²⁰⁰ W. Schwenzner, *op. cit.* supra note 43, pp. 64: 308; 63: 302, 305-307; 12: 48; 11: 47; 71: 35.

²⁰¹ O. Maenchen-Helfen, "Crenelated Mane and Scabbard Slide," *Central Asiatic Journal* II, 1957, p. 126.

²⁰² *Kul'tura*, p. 322.

the Oxus treasure associated with the goddess show strong Achaemenian influences which are absent in this piece. The hypothesis may be advanced that the Pazyryk pattern originates in an area which was influenced by Assyrian art and familiar with the cult of Anahita. Archaeological discoveries in the Caucasus and Kurdistan have confirmed the references made in Assyrian annals to cultures in those areas which were in contact with Assyria from the thirteenth century B.C.²⁰³ Strong Assyrian influence is apparent in the art of Urartu especially in the eighth century B.C.²⁰⁴ and in the objects from Ziwiyé in the ancient Mannai district. The gold pectoral from Ziwiyé, dated to about the seventh century B.C.²⁰⁵, is still strongly Assyrian in spite of the innumerable misunderstandings in the figures²⁰⁶. Furthermore, Anahita was worshipped in Armenia as well as in the Oxus region, and a district on the upper Euphrates was actually named after the goddess²⁰⁷.

A comparison between the Pazyryk fantastic sphinx (Fig. 41) and an Assyrian type half-human winged bull from the Ziwiyé pectoral (Fig. 42) significantly highlights the differences in approach to the same motif. The Ziwiyé pectoral as representative of Near Eastern art demonstrates the traditional figure in a stiff and formal pose. The tail and wings are symbolic and aim at the communication of the idea behind the motif. The Pazyryk figure, on the other hand, takes over certain features of the conventional theme which are reinterpreted by the local artist, who delights in the possibilities for creating decorative patterns offered by the motifs of the wings and tail. He changes the simple horn into a semi-abstract pattern of antlers which reinforces the pattern of the tail on the lower part of the composition, and gives a harmoniously decorative surface to the picture. The curving line of the torso and the turn of the body on its axis give an effect of movement and depth which offsets the purely one dimensional surface patterns. The result is a totally pleasing composition, if not for its symbolic and narrative quality, yet for the decorative effects of patterns and colors.

It is to be expected that classical and Near Eastern influences in the art of Pazyryk are in most cases of an indirect sort. It is, however, remarkable to find examples such as the lion procession on the Pazyryk fabric which so faithfully follow prototypes from distant Achaemenid Persia²⁰⁸. In most cases, one may suppose, Near Eastern motifs reached the Altai through Achaemenid Bactria, but there is some indication that another medium existed through which motifs of non-Achaemenian character were transferred to Pazyryk. The discovery of the Scythian type of bird heads at Karmir Blur²⁰⁹ is important evidence of contact between the Caucasus and the northern tribes. There is perhaps a later indication of such contact in objects from Pazyryk such as the fantastic combat scene and enthroned figure on the felt wall hanging from the fifth kurgan²¹⁰, certain animals in distorted positions²¹¹, and animals biting other animals which have parallels in the Lake Van region.

²⁰³ D.D.Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*, Chicago 1926, I, p. 39; R.D.Barnett, *op. cit.* supra notes 134, 136, 139, 194.

²⁰⁴ B.B.Piotrovskii, *Karmir Blur, Arkeologicheskie raskopki v Armenii*, Erevan 1950-1955, I, figs. 40-41, II, fig. 19-20.

²⁰⁵ For the chronology see, Barnett, *op. cit.* supra note 134.

²⁰⁶ Godard, *Le Trésor de Ziwiyé*, p. 23.

²⁰⁷ Dalton, *The Treasure of the Oxus*, p. 28.

²⁰⁸ *Kul'tura*, pl. CXVII, 1.

²⁰⁹ Barnett-Watson, "Russian Excavations in Armenia," *op. cit.* supra note 139, fig. 4.

²¹⁰ *Kul'tura*, pl. XCV.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*, pl. XXV, 5-6.

Several significant conclusions follow from the foregoing discussion. Numerous floral motifs in Pazyryk are related to south Russian prototypes derived from Greek art, where floral patterns comprise the main theme of border decorations. That one group of Pazyryk bird griffins with fish-fin manes is derived from Greece through south Russia is of special importance for chronological reasons. It is mainly on the strength of Achaemenian elements that Rudenko dates the Pazyryk kurgans principally from the late fifth century B.C.²¹² The particular problem of the Pazyryk griffin in its relationship to south Russian and Greek examples of the fourth century B.C. was considered by Rudenko in his earlier book. There, however, he suggested an Assyrian prototype, perhaps through the medium of Urartu, rather than Classical sources²¹³. The possibility of Urartu as an important medium for the transmission of Near Eastern motifs to the Altai cannot be denied, but this hypothesis remains unverified by archaeological evidence. Excavations in the Van region have not yielded any griffins similar to those at Pazyryk, and Assyrian examples do not show the particular fish-fin feature of the mane. This feature is developed on Greek coins of the fifth century B.C. and is an established characteristic of Classical and south Russian griffins of the fourth century B.C. and later.

A broken Chinese mirror found in the sixth Pazyryk kurgan²¹⁴ corresponds in its decoration and diameter to a group of Chinese mirrors with "T" ornaments which Karlgren assigns to the fourth century B.C.²¹⁵, on general stylistic grounds. This possible correlation together with the Classical and south Russian analogies to the Pazyryk griffin with the fish-fin type mane which occurs in the earliest kurgans numbers 1 and 2, indicates the beginning of the fourth century B.C. as the terminus a quo for all the Pazyryk burials, the largest of which were constructed within a range of forty-eight years²¹⁶. The prevalence of Achaemenian influences and the existence of certain imports from Persia indicate on the other hand, that the Pazyryk burials should not be dated after the third quarter of the fourth century B.C., when the conflicts of Alexander with Central Asiatic tribes terminated the trade between the Oxus region and the north east²¹⁷.

²¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 342–361.

²¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 346–348. For some of the arguments against Rudenko's dating see, Kiselev, *op. cit.* supra note 79, pp. 357–361; illustrated in *Kul'tura*, pls. XXIX, 3; XXVI, 1; XX, 1.

²¹⁴ *Kul'tura*, fig. 85.

²¹⁵ B. Karlgren, "Huai and Han," *BMFEA* 13, 1941, pl. 16, C45. The diameters of the Chinese mirrors in the C45 group range from 12.5 to 9.2 cm. Group C46, very similar to the former, shows a range of 11 to 11.4 cm. The Pazyryk mirror has a diameter of 11.5 cm.

²¹⁶ See supra note 1.

²¹⁷ Kiselev, *op. cit.* supra note 79, pp. 357–361.