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## RINGS WITH PANTICAPAEUM STATERS FROM THE GREAT RYZHANOVKA BARROW

The Great Ryzhanovka Barrow from the village of Ryzhanovka (now Rizhanivka, Zvenigorodka district, Cherkassy region, about 150 kilometres to the south of Kiev) had already become known by the end of the nineteenth century, thanks to the discoveries made by the Polish researchers Julian Talko-Hryniewicz and Godfryd Ossowski. In 1887, following the accidental discovery of an underground tomb in the side (NW) part of the massive barrow (at that time 7.56 metres in height, and around 30 metres in width), G. Ossowski<sup>1</sup> excavated the catacomb grave, which had been plundered by the local peasants. The grave had a short corridor (dromos) and an underground burial chamber, concealing the lavishly appointed

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<sup>1</sup> Godfryd Ossowski was sent to Ryzhanovka by the Academy of Arts and Sciences in Cracow, at the request of Julian Talko-Hryniewicz, the first investigator of the barrow. See J. Talko-Hryniewicz, *Z moich wspomnień o dawnych archeologach*, *Wiadomości Archeologiczne*, VII, 1923, p. 181.

grave of a young woman. The nature and range of the burial contents indicate that this is the tomb of a representative of the Scythian tribal aristocracy (a 'princess'). The grave yielded around 500 artefacts, including: gold appliqué of ceremonial dress, an outer garment and head-dress, as well as striking jewellery, along with silver services, bronze and earthenware Greek crockery. These finds, made by the discoverers and Hryniewicz's family, on whose land the barrow was situated, were (through Ossowski)<sup>2</sup> bequeathed to the Academy of Arts and Sciences in Cracow, and to this day can be seen in the collection of the Cracow Archaeological Museum. A year later, there also appeared a report on G. Ossowski's research, printed under the auspices of the Academy, which still today represents the basic source of knowledge on the subject of this celebrated find.<sup>3</sup>

Amongst the rich collection of striking finds there are two articles which for certain did not escape the attention of the Honourable Jubilee Celebrator. These are two gold rings made from the staters of the Greek colony of Panticapaeum, adorning the right hand of the Scythian 'princess'.<sup>4</sup> On the obverse of the staters there is an image of the head of a bearded Satyr<sup>5</sup> in a ivy-covered wreath, presented in left profile; on the reverse, a lion-headed griffin with a spear in its mouth going to the

<sup>2</sup> Talko-Hryniewicz, *Z moich wspomnień*, pp. 184–185.

<sup>3</sup> G. Ossowski, *Wielki kurhan ryzanowski według badań dokonanych w latach 1884 i 1887*, Kraków 1888. See also an abridged report containing a description of Barrow 5 and G. Ossowski's later discoveries in the Ryzhanovka region in: G. Ossowski, *Materyjały do Paleontologii Kurhanów ukraińskich*, I i II, *Zbiór Wiadomości do Antropologii Krajowej*, XII, 1888, pp. 1–46 and 58–91.

<sup>4</sup> Ossowski, *Wielki Kurhan*, p. 21. According to Ossowski, *op. cit.*, pp. 21–22, on the fingers of the right hand there were, besides these, four other rings: two smooth (weight – 5.685 gm and 3.776 gm), a notched one together with an open ring from a gold plate, a ring-seal ('signet') with a concave image of a griffin on the face (weight – 8.714 gm), and a small ring with a gold band of a low fineness (9 carat) and set in it a calcium 'gem', found on the index finger. The fingers of the left hand were adorned with two rings: the third (the largest) of the specimens with a smooth face, with an entirely moulded or soldered on band (weight – 9.738 gm) and the second of the 'signets' (Ossowski, *Wielki Kurhan*, p. 22), with a full (closed) band, with concave representations of a bow, club and sword on the face (weight – 12.617 gm) (photo 3). Photos 1–7 see tables I–II.

<sup>5</sup> See M. Mielczarek, *Gold Panticapaeon coins set in rings found in the Great Ryzhanovka Barrow (Ukraine)*, *Archeologia*, XXXVII, 1986, p. 102. In Ossowski's opinion, *Wielki Kurhan*, p. 21, this is a representation of the head of the Lord. Perhaps such was also the initial intention of those who minted and designed the coinage, who undoubtedly were interested in the creation of a 'speaking insignia', the 'image' of the town's 'patron'. This is debatable, however, since this coinage representation was interpreted by Greek circles as 'barbarian'.

left on the ear and the Greek letters ΠΑΝ (photo 1). Both coins were adapted for their new function in a similar way: by soldering pieces of a narrow gold strip to the edge, from the reverse side, forming a type of closed band. The best preserved of these rings (weight – 10.251, coin diameter – 21 mm),<sup>6</sup> has a fracture on one side of the band. In this case the soldering is slanted to the axis on the obverse.<sup>7</sup> Obvious wear through usage on the surface of the coins is visible at the bases of the band, i.e. behind the Satyr's head and in the vicinity of his beard.

With the larger ring (weight – 11.520 gm, diameter 19/20 mm),<sup>8</sup> the initial soldering to the edge of the band was broken, while the places of the breakage have been quite carefully obliterated. Next, the new band was soldered in such a way that its ends touch the middle of the coin's reverse. When it broke, the next one was soldered on, which still retains the band, providing bases for the planishing of the former remains. As an effect of these – technically primitive – steps, the surface of the coin became strongly hammered and misshapen. Additionally, at the bases of the ring, this time situated transversely to the axis of the images on the obverse and reverse, the surface and edge of the coin have strong traces of erasure through usage. The band itself, and actually the last – the third version, is weakly erased through usage.

The staters from the Ryzhanovka rings have been classified<sup>9</sup> to Series IV, assigned by D. B. Shelov and dated by him to the years 330–315 BC.<sup>10</sup> On this basis the 'collateral', female grave of the Great Ryzhanovka Barrow was counted among the youngest of the Scythian 'royal' barrows, associated with the years 330–300 BC.<sup>11</sup> According to A. Yu. Alekseev,<sup>12</sup> the

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<sup>6</sup> For the information concerning the weight of rings held in the collection of the Archaeological Museum in Cracow I am most grateful to Ms Bożena Reyman-Walczak MA.

<sup>7</sup> The axes presenting the head of a Satyr on the obverse and a griffin on the reverse are not in line, while the band is soldered vertically to the representation of the griffin.

<sup>8</sup> The initial diameter of the coin was rather 19 mm. The distortion in its shape is, more than likely, the result of secondary hammering.

<sup>9</sup> Mielczarek, *Gold Panticapaeon*, p. 102.

<sup>10</sup> D. B. Shelov, *Monetnoe delo Bospora VI–II vv. do n. e.*, Moskva 1956, pp. 93 and 214.

<sup>11</sup> A. Yu. Alekseev, *Skifskaya khronika*, Sankt-Peterburg 1992, pp. 156–157. This circle represents, according to Alekseev, the following barrows: Aleksandropolskij, Krasnokutskij, Oguz (younger ensemble), Deev (secondary grave), Lemeshev (?), Denisova Mogila, Verchnii Rogachik (secondary grave), Zheltokamenka (secondary grave), Babina Mogila, Kamenskaya Bliznitsa.

<sup>12</sup> Alekseev, *Skifskaya*, pp. 154–155.

presence in the inventory of other objects, such as a 'signet' with images of a bow, club, and sword speaks for exactly such a chronology, since these images are analogous to the symbolism known from the reverses of Philip II's and Alexander the Great's coinage, of bronze situlae, and also cantharoi, balsameria or amphorae of the Soloha I type, which can be dated to the second half of the 4th century BC, or finally of the silver goblet and kylix, which have analogies in, for example, the Volkovieckij barrow (I), the Chmyrevoi graves and the Pyatibratskij barrow (8).

In 1995, excavation work on the Great Ryzhanovka Barrow was undertaken by the Polish-Ukrainian Archaeological Expedition, headed by the author and Sergei Skoryj from the Institute of Archaeology of the National Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kiev.<sup>13</sup> Verification work in the newly excavated, 'collateral' grave of the Scythian 'princess' brought the discovery of a further six gold objects of ceremonial dress and – especially noteworthy – another gold ring made from a Panticapaeum stater.<sup>14</sup> In this case the ring was made by soldering the band with the overlapping ends along the axis of the coin (photo 2). This specimen (weight 11.45 gm, diameter of the coin 18 mm, diameter of the band 17/18 mm) is much better preserved, while the stater itself stands out for its legibility, less obliterated (chiefly at the bottoms of the band), with images of a satyr and a griffin.<sup>15</sup> Unfortunately, the design and graphic position of the ring in question<sup>16</sup> does not allow one to state on which hand it was initially found. Its connection with the entire set of finds from 1887 (photo 3) is not doubted in the slightest.

The presence in one set of three rings with the image of a Satyr's head, for such an image from the staters was compositionally emphasized, is extremely unusual for the whole of Scythia. So far we know of only one incident where a similar find appeared in a Scythian barrow. This refers to Barrow 92 (Grave 4) in Mar'evka, Dnepropetrovsk district,

<sup>13</sup> J. Chochorowski, S. Skoryj, *Wielki Kurhan Ryzanowski w świetle aktualnej oceny badań Godfryda Ossowskiego*, Materiały i Sprawozdania Rzeszowskiego Ośrodka Archeologicznego, XVI, 1995, p. 125.

<sup>14</sup> J. Chochorowski, V. Grigor'ev, S. Skoryj, *Badania wykopaliskowe Wielkiego Kurhanu Ryzanowskiego w Ryzanówce na Ukrainie*, Materiały i Sprawozdania Rzeszowskiego Ośrodka Archeologicznego, XVII, 1996, pp. 255–257, photo 3–4, fig. 11.

<sup>15</sup> See also: J. Chochorowski, S. Skoryj, 'The 'Collateral' (female) Burial at the Great Ryzhanovka Barrow', *Studies in Ancient Art and Civilisation*, 8, 1997, photo 3–4.

<sup>16</sup> Chochorowski, Grigor'ev, Skoryj, *Badania wykopaliskowe*, p. 255, fig. 10.

excavated in 1975 by N. N. Cherednichenko.<sup>17</sup> This time the coin was adapted to a new function by soldering a ring with overlapping ends transversely to the images on the obverse and the reverse (photo 4). This ring is also superbly preserved, although the surface of the stater (diameter 19 mm), seems to be possibly even more strongly worn than in the case of the specimen from Ryzhanovka found in 1995.

The comprehension of the symbolic force of the elements grouped in one set, with such ideological content, is possible in the context of one more find that falls into the inventory of the 'collateral', female grave from the Great Ryzhanovka Barrow. Here of interest is the gold plaquette with images of dancing Maenads (photo 5) which initially constituted the decoration for the ceremonial head-dress (a so-called kalaf) of the Scythian 'princess'. Presentations of this type (in various forms) are also known only from several groups of steppe Scythia sites (Deev Barrow, the Gaymanova Grave, the Denisova Grave, Pesochin Barrow 8), and also from the Sindian aristocrat in the Bolshaya Bliznitsa Barrow on the Taman peninsula.<sup>18</sup> This series was increased quite recently, however, with the discovery by A. I. Kubyshev of a marvellous set of plaquettes in Vodoslavka, Cherson region (photo 6).<sup>19</sup> In the forested steppe expands the only representative of this circle is the Ryzhanovka discovery. The symbolism is expressed equally through the images of Maenads and those of Satyrs, both connected with the Dionysian mysteries. In this same context, regardless of other possibilities,<sup>20</sup> however, one should more than likely examine the function of the Ryzhanovka rings with the im-

<sup>17</sup> *Scythian Gold. Museums of Historic Treasures of the Ukraine*, Ed. N. Egami, K. Kato, Tokyo 1992, p. 179, no. 227; *Gold aus Kiev*, Ed. W. Seipel, Wien 1993, pp. 366–367, nr 155.

<sup>18</sup> V. A. Ryabova, *Zhenskoe pogrebenie iz kurgana Denisova Mogila* (in:) *Pamyatniki drevnikh kul'tur Severnogo Prichernomor'ya*, Kiev 1979, pp. 47–50; S.S. Bessonova, *Religioznye predstavleniya skifov*, Kiev 1983, pp. 74–76. See also: *Kyevskij Muzej Istoricheskikh Dragotsennostej*, Kiev 1974, Pl. 55; *Tesori delle Steppe. Cimmeri, Sciti, Sarmati, Unni, Avari e Cazari*, Milano 1996, Pl. 47.

<sup>19</sup> A. I. Kubyshev, *Skifskij mogil'nik u s. Vodoslavka, Arkheologicheskie otkrytiya 1983 goda*, Moskva 1985, pp. 301–302; *Dal Mille al Mille. Tesori e popoli dal Mar Nero*, Ed. E. A. Arslan, C. D. Porta, Milano 1995, p. 74, Pl. 40.

<sup>20</sup> See, for example, M. Mielczarek's suggestion (*Na granicy dwóch światów. Pozaekonomiczne funkcje monet u Greków i Scytów północnego wybrzeża Morza Czarnego*, in: *Pozaekonomiczne funkcje monet*, Poznań 1995, pp. 18–19), pointing to the possibility of the identification of the image of a Satyr with the representation of Heracles, whose cult amongst the Scythians was without doubt equally widespread.

ages of Satyr. In the opinion of V. A. Ryabova<sup>21</sup> and S. S. Bessonova,<sup>22</sup> women 'adorned' in a head-dress with images of maenads could have fulfilled the function of priestesses in the Scythian version of the fertility (and harvest) cult, which were penetrated – as it seems – by the Dionysian elements.<sup>23</sup> On the one hand, this could be connected with the process of expanding the cult of Dionysus in the Hellenistic period on the peripheries of the ancient world, and on the other, with the growth of significance in the late-Scythian environment of the role of agriculture. This last moment could have played a vital role particularly in the environment represented by the Ryzhanovka complex, which is linked to the forested-steppe territories, where the contact of Scythian nomads with the settled local population was especially close.<sup>24</sup> In the case of the Ryzhanovka complex, the fact of the intentional concentration of rings (coins?) of such (recondite) symbolism seems not to arouse controversy. The dissimilarities in the presentation of the head of the Satyr and the griffin indicate, however, that these coins represent different emissions. This concerns also the above mentioned ring from Mar'evka. The different level of use of the coins could also be a reflection of differences in the period through which the rings fulfilled their decorative or ceremonial functions. Undoubtedly in this case, as always when objects of a strongly expressed symbolic content come into play, one should consider the possibility of their prolonged functioning as a living (although derivatively adapted) element of the socio-cultural context. This phenomenon may even exceed the 'norms' that typically appear in the course of the thesaurizing processes proper for gold articles. Also, the presence of a simple ring, modest – in the sense of artistic and jeweller's value – with a calcium 'gem' (photo 7) amongst the gold, striking specimens adorning her right hand, speaks in favour of the symbolic motifs of the 'completeness' of the set of rings used by the 'princess' from the

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<sup>21</sup> Ryabova, *Zhenskoe pogrebenie*, p. 51.

<sup>22</sup> Bessonova, *Religioznye predstavleniya*, p. 76. See also: L. S. Klochko, *Skifs'kij zhinochij kostium*, Avtoreferat disertatsii kandidata istorichnikh nauk, Kiev 1992, p. 7.

<sup>23</sup> The information found in Herodotus, for example, can substantiate this (IV: 78–80). See also: Ryabova, *Zhenskoe pogrebenie*, p. 51; Bessonova, *Religioznye predstavleniya*, p. 76.

<sup>24</sup> S. A. Skoryj, *Die Frage der Beziehungen zwischen der Bevölkerung der Schwarzmeersteppen und der Bevölkerung der Waldsteppen im Dneprgebiet im 5. bis 4. Jh. v. Chr.*, *Acta Archaeologica Carpathica*, XXXII, 1993–1994, p. 161.



Great Ryzhanovka Barrow. G. Ossowski<sup>25</sup> has also drawn attention to its symbolic function, defining it with the term 'amulet'. The function of the 'family amulet', for example, can also come into play here, or the function of an attribute tied to the realisation of acts (e.g. magical measures performed by priestesses), or also both of these functions simultaneously, etc.

In this situation one should reconsider the sense of using the rings with Panticapaeum staters as chronological determinants, obviously besides their role in determining the terminus post quem of the phenomena being investigated. Here we are not dealing at all with the difference in dating between the various coins, resulting from an eventual dependence on various emissions. The staters from Ryzhanovka, as with the afore-mentioned coin from Mar'evka, belong to Series IV and V according to D. B. Shelov, dated by him – respectively – to the years 330–315 BC and 315–300 BC.<sup>26</sup> According to V.A. Anokhin,<sup>27</sup> however, the emission of staters of this type should be dated to the years 314–310 BC and 310–304 BC. In the case of the Ryzhanovka set, these controversies are in any event rather unimportant, for we must accept the fact of a 'long' chronology for the rings with Panticapaeum staters included in this ensemble. The designation of the length of this period remains, however, beyond the cognitive possibilities of the archaeological-historical method for qualifying chronology.

This question would perhaps not be worth discussing if it were not for the fact that the investigation of the Great Ryzhanovka Barrow was continued by the Polish-Ukrainian Archaeological Expedition. In 1996, within the framework of realising the programme, the main grave was examined, located under the central part of the mound. This work brought a sensational discovery, in the form of an unrobbed Scythian aristocrat's grave ('prince').<sup>28</sup> Besides the grave of a man aged 45–50 (around 175 cm in height), the burial chamber of the 'niche' grave contained a complete set of chattels comprising around 150 gold and silver items (fig. 1). Of note among them are a gold necklace with ends in the shape of lions,

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<sup>25</sup> Ossowski, *Wielki Kurhan*, p. 22.

<sup>26</sup> Shelov, *Monetnoe delo*, pp. 93 and 214 – nr-y 32–33.

<sup>27</sup> V. A. Anokhin, *Monetnoe delo Bospora*, Kiev 1986, pp. 140–141.

<sup>28</sup> J. Chochorowski, S. Skoryi, *Prince of the Great Barrow*, *Archaeology*, Vol. 50, No 5 (September/October), 1997, pp. 32–39.

a dagger with a fitted handle in gold plate, a silver goblet with scenes of griffins attacking a bull and a deer, a silver kyliks, a ryton with gold and silver fittings, and also a set – scattered on the site – of 140 gold appliques from ceremonial woman's dress (head-dress and capes). In the entrance chamber to the grave, a warrior (a guard – 'armour bearer') and his mount were also deliberately buried. The nature of many of the elements of the goods from the 'main' – male – and 'collateral' – female – grave of the Great Ryzhanovka Barrow indicate their close, mutual connection (e.g. an almost identical service of eating utensils, their similar degree of use etc.).

Within the framework of the whole programme of analytical research an attempt was also made, unrelated to the archaeological-historical method, to determine the chronology of the chief grave. This involved a rich range of organic materials, producing a whole series (over one hundred) of radiocarbon determinations, carried out by N. N. Kovaljukh and V. V. Skripkin from the Radiocarbon Laboratory of the National Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kiev. Especially interesting are the results of dating for the beams from the central grave, thanks to the application of the so-called 'graphic method of radiocarbon dating' developed by the aforementioned researchers.<sup>29</sup> The data gained from one of the trunks intentionally cut and placed in the southern corner of the grave chamber is 270 +/- 12 BC, fixing the chronological position and historical dating of the whole group. This is consistent with the dates obtained for the other organic materials from the burial chamber, e.g. for the cloth, the hair and leather of the quivers, grasses from the bed of the deceased, and also for the remains of the bones of both dead men (Fig. 2). Here it should be emphasised that the stratigraphic and planigraphic data allow one to surmise that the 'collateral', female grave is several (3–4) years younger than the 'central' (male) one, or at the very least almost contemporary. In no way, however, can it be older.<sup>30</sup>

The chronological position of the Great Ryzhanovka Barrow defined in this way, although only a few dozen years younger than the dating accepted until now, allocates it a completely different place in the his-

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<sup>29</sup> J. Chochorowski, N. N. Kovaljukh, V. V. Skripkin, article awaiting publication in the publisher's 'Radiocarbon'.

<sup>30</sup> Chochorowski, Grigor'ev, Skoryj, *Badania wykopaliskowe*, p. 257.



torical process. This site is certainly not connected with the period of the greatest Scythian flowering, as was until recently believed.<sup>31</sup> Quite the opposite, it is testimony to its crisis following the activation of the Sarmatians in the steppe region at the close of the 4<sup>th</sup> and beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC, attested by the references of Eudoxus of Cnidus (391–338 BC), Heraclides of Pontus (ca. 388–310 BC), Pseudo-Skylax (second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC), or Diodor of Sicily (1<sup>st</sup> century BC.),<sup>32</sup> to the Bosphorus-orientation on the ‘Sarmatian’ element or the cutting off of Crimean Scythia from the steppe areas.<sup>33</sup> The phenomena of destabilisation in the steppe zone of Scythia and her contact with Greek centres became widespread in the 70s and 60s of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC.<sup>34</sup> On the northern edge of the main arena of these events, in the forest steppe region, there still existed, however, local populations representing the Scythian cultural model, removed already, however, from the world of ancient civilisation, and living as if by the traditions ‘of the times of magnificence’. In this environment the already forbidden inflow of new ‘imports’ reveals the phenomenon of a particular conservatism of material culture, visible in the fact of the long-standing use of Greek products, typical for the earlier stages of the development of Greek-Scythian political-economic connections going back even to the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>35</sup>

The task of this brief outline is not an analysis – in addition one so

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<sup>31</sup> Ryabova, *Zhenskoe pogrebenie*, p. 51.

<sup>32</sup> See the considerations on this question offered by, e.g., D. A. Machinskij, *O vremeni parvogo aktivnogo vystupleniya sarmatov Pridneprove po svidel'stvu antichnykh pis'mennykh istochnikov*, *Arkheologicheskij Sbornik Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha*, 13, 1971, pp. 42–54; R. B. Ismagilov, *Sai, skify i Bospor (nauchnyi etyud na temu sud'by 'klassicheskoi' Skifii)*, *Peterburgskij arkheologicheskij vestnik*, 6, 1993, p. 62; O. V. Simonenko, *Rann'osarmatskii period u Pivnichomu Prichornomor'iu*, *Arkheologiya*, 1, 1994, pp. 32–48.

<sup>33</sup> Alekseev, *Skifskaya*.

<sup>34</sup> Ju. A. Vinogradov, K. K. Marchenko, *Severnoe Prichernomor'e v skifskuju epokhu. Opyt periodizatsii istorii*, *Sovetskaya Arkheologiya*, 1, 1991, p. 153.

<sup>35</sup> The majority of the elements of the goods of the ‘collateral’ (female) and ‘main’ (male) grave of the Great Ryzhanovka Barrow are dated archaeologically to the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC. Only certain finds (e.g. the embalming from the ‘collateral’ grave or the black varnished bowl and part of the appliques of the female dress from the ‘main’ grave) can be linked to the first thirty years of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC. See: S. Skoryi, *Osnovy arkheologicheskogo datirovaniia Bol'shogo Ryzhanovskogo kurgana*, *Materialy i Spravochniki Rzeszowskiego Ośrodka Archeologicznego*, XIX, 1998 (p. 119–137).

simplified – of the historical process into which, to some extent, the Great Ryzhanovka Barrow is written. Here we are interested rather in drawing attention to the dangers that result from the use in the designation of chronology of ‘imports’ of a long lifespan, disconnected from the initial cycle, which in addition do not allow for evaluation. This is in no way a revolutionary statement, but in the literature there is also no absence of other voices signalling similar dilemmas, in the realm of the utilisation of Greek goods as date-markers for finds from the Scythian territories.<sup>36</sup> This results in the postulate of careful usage – equally in this case – of the archaeological-historical method (of imports) in the indication of the chronology of archaeological ensembles, and of an individual approach to every such case. Above all else, however, there is a need for further research and increasing application of methods of precise dating independent of the archaeological-historical ones.

Translated by BRUCE MAC QUEEN

## JAN CHOCHOROWSKI

### Pierścienie ze staterami Pantikapaionu z Wielkiego Kurhanu Ryżanowskiego

Zbadany w 1887 roku przez G. Ossowskiego „boczny” grobowiec scytyjskiej „księżniczki” w Wielkim Kurhanie Ryżanowskim, zawierał bogaty inwentarz, w tym dwa złote pierścienie wykonane ze staterów Pantikapaionu. Na awersach tych monet widnieje wizerunek głowy brodatego Satyra w bluszczowym wieńcu, na rewersach – przedstawienie gryfa i greckie litery ΠΑΝ. Staterzy z ryżanowskich pierścieni zostały zaklasyfikowane do IV serii, wg podziału D. B. Shelova, datowanej przez niego na lata 330–315 przed Chr., zaś sam grobowiec – w dużej mierze na tej podstawie – jest łączony (A. Ju. Alekseev) z latami 330–300 przed Chr.

W 1995 roku badania Wielkiego Kurhanu Ryżanowskiego podjęła Polsko-Ukraińska Ekspedycja Archeologiczna. Prace weryfikacyjne w ponownie rozkopanym,

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<sup>36</sup> E.g. N. O. Leipuns'ka, *Do pytannya pro khronologiyu deyakikh antichnykh materialiv u skifs'kikh pam'yatkakh*, Arkheologiya 2, 1989, p. 114; V. I. Kats, *Printsipy ispol'zovaniya keramicheskikh kleym v kachestvie datiruyushchego materiala skifskikh pogrebal'nykh sooruzhenii* (in:) *Kimmerijsy i skify*, Melitopol' 1992, pp. 36–37.

„bocznym” grobowcu scytyjskiej „księżniczki”, przyniosły odkrycie kolejnego złotego pierścienia ze staterem Pantikapaionu. Nagromadzenie w jednym zespole aż trzech pierścieni z przedstawieniami głowy Satyra, bo ten wizerunek ze staterów był kompozycyjnie wysuwany na pierwszy plan, jest ewenementem w skali całej Scytii. Zrozumienie symbolicznej wymowy tego faktu, staje się możliwe w kontekście jeszcze jednego znaleziska wchodzącego w skład inwentarza grobowego „bocznego” ochówka z Wielkiego Kurhanu Ryżanowskiego. Chodzi tu o złotą plakietkę z przedstawieniem tańczących Menad, która pierwotnie stanowiła ozdobę paradnego nakrycia głowy scytyjskiej „księżniczki”; znalezisko również należące do rzadkich na terenie Scytii. Symbolika wyrażona przez przedstawienia Menad jak i Satyrów, związana jest z misteriami dionizyjskimi. W tym też kontekście, należy również rozpatrywać funkcję ryżanowskich pierścieni. Przypuszcza się (V. A. Rjabowa, S. S. Bessonova), że kobiety „wypożyczone” w nakrycia głowy z przedstawieniami Menad, mogły pełnić funkcję kapłanek w scytyjskiej odmianie kultu płodności (i urodzaju), do którego przeniknęły pierwiastki dionizyjskie.

W wypadku zespołu ryżanowskiego, zdaje się nie budzić przy tym wątpliwości fakt intencjonalnego zgromadzenia pierścieni (monet?), o takiej właśnie symbolice. Monety reprezentują bowiem różne emisje, a stopień ich zużycia i wielokrotne naprawy jednego z pierścieni wskazują, iż były one w użyciu przez dłuższy okres, zanim „zdeponowano” je wraz z zmarłą w grobowcu. Stawia to pod znakiem zapytania sens wykorzystania pierścieni ze staterami Pantikapaionu z tego zespołu, jako wyznaczników chronologicznych. Potwierdza to datowanie uzyskane dla zbadanego w 1996 roku przez Polsko-Ukraińską Ekspedycję Archeologiczną, centralnego grobowca Wielkiego Kurhanu Ryżanowskiego, zawierającego nieobrobowany pochówek „księcia” scytyjskiego. Dzięki wypracowanej przez N. N. Kowaljucha i V. V. Skripkina z laboratorium kijowskiego, tzw. „graficznej metody datowania radiowęglowego”, określono moment ścięcia drzewa, z którego wykonano jeden z pieńków znalezionych w grobowcu, na  $270 \pm 12$  B.C. Data ta wyznacza pozycję chronologiczną i datowanie historyczne całego zespołu. Stratygrafia i planigrafia kurhanu dowodzą bowiem, że „boczny” pochówek „księżniczki” jest o kilka (3–4?) lat młodszy od pochówka centralnego, a w najgorszej sytuacji – prawie współczesny. W żadnym wypadku nie może być natomiast starszy.

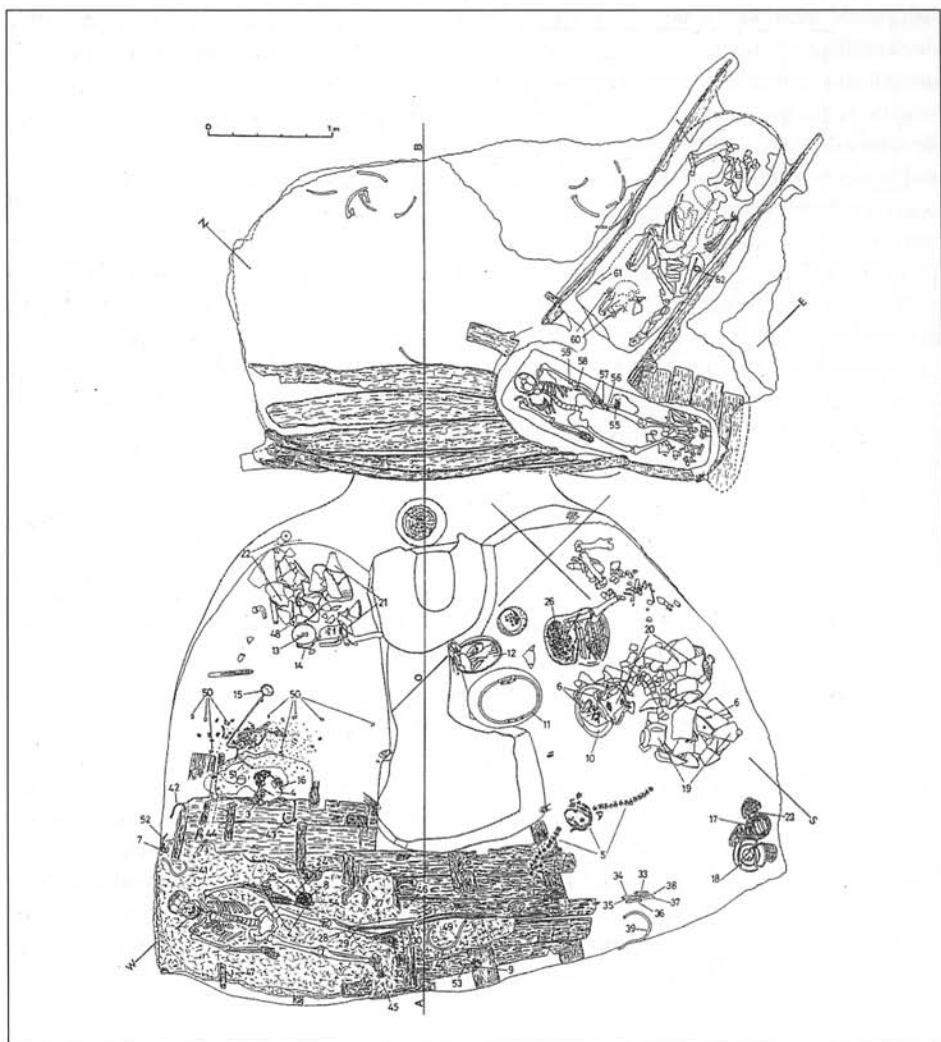


Fig. 1. The central grave of the Great Ryzhanovka Barrow. The arrangement of the finds in the burial chamber and the entrance shaft: 1 – gold necklace, 2 – dagger, 3 – silver cup, 4 – silver kylix, 5 – gold appliques of dress, 6 – rhyton, 7, 9 – quivers, 8 – quiver with bow and arrows, 10 – bronze lekane, 11–12 – bronze cauldrons, 13 – bronze bowl, 14 – bronze kylix, 15 – thurible, 16 – bronze situla, 17 – black varnished kanthoros, 18 – black varnished bowl, 19–22 – amphorae, 23 – a bored lead nugget, 24 – knife, 25 – awl, 26 – an iron ring, 27 – iron spear head, 28–32 – iron javelin heads, 33–38 – iron troughs, 39–43 – iron hooks, 44–46 – bear claws, 47 – bronze fork, 48 – the handles of a bronze bowl, 49 – iron clasp, 50 – astraguli, 51–53 – iron knives, 54 – wooden fragments of a bow, 55 – shot, 56 – iron knife, 57 – glass paste beads, 58 – awl, 59 – bone beads, 60 – bit with sides, 61 – nose-band, 62 – buckle for saddle girth.

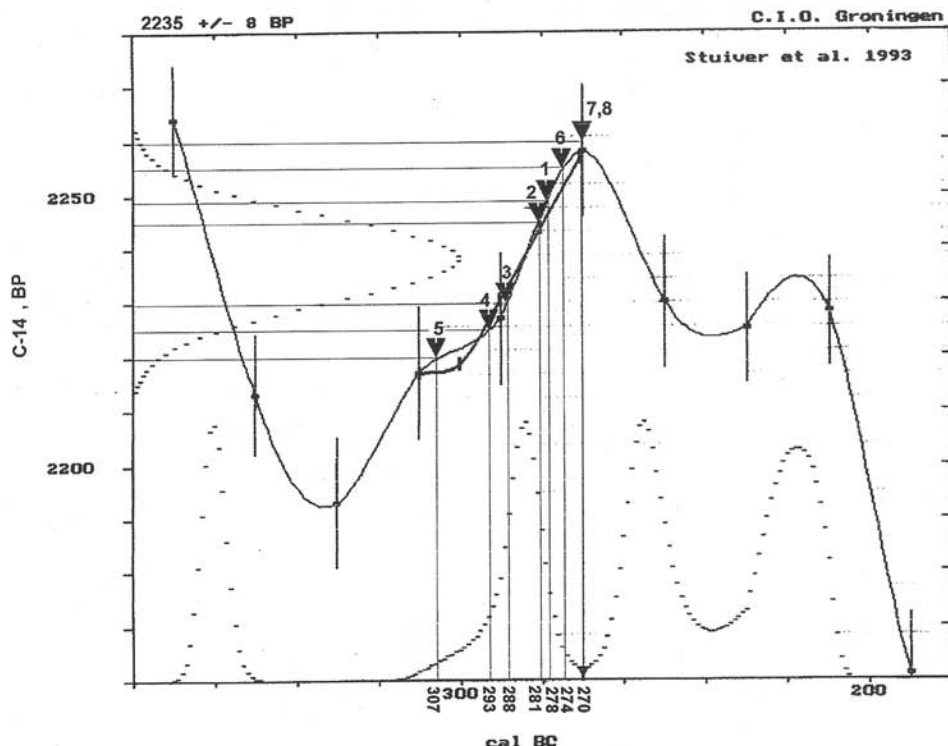


Fig. 2. The position of the radiocarbon testing achieved for organic materials from the central grave at the Great Ryzhanovka Barrow on the Stuiver curve. A-B – curve of value  $^{14}\text{C}$  in rings of annual growth for a trunk from the S corner of the burial chamber, 1 – bones of the main burial (the 'prince'), 2 – the bones of the 'guard', 3 – a fragment of cloth from cauldron no 11 (large), 4 – grass from the bed of the corpse from the main burial, 5 – leather from quiver no 7, 6 – leather from quiver no 9, 7 – hair from quiver no 9, 8 – grass from under amphora no 19.



1



2



3

Photo 1. Obverse of the staters from the rings discovered in 1887.

Photo 2. Obverse and reverse of a stater from the ring discovered in 1995.

Photo 3. Rings from the collateral grave of the Great Ryzhanovka Barrow, preserved in the collection of the Archaeological Museum in Cracow.





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Photo 4. A ring with a Panticaepum stater from Mar'evka, Dnepropetrovsk region, according to *Gold aus Kiev*, no 155.

Photo 5. A gold plaque with images of dancing Maenads from the grave of the Scythian 'princess' in the Great Ryzhanovka Barrow.

Photo 6. A presentation (appliqués) of dancing Maenads from Vodolavka, Cherson region, according to *Dal Mille al Mille*, Pl. 40.

Photo 7. A ring with a calcium "gem".