ETRUSCAN OBJECTS IN THE NORTH PONTIC AREA AND THE WAYS OF THEIR PENETRATION *

(Con le tavv. XIX-XXVII f.t.)

As it has just been noticed, the problem of Etruscan objects found in the Northern coast of Pontus (*fig.* 1) was not stated till recently [1]. Only in 1970-s there were singled out a small group of the Vth century B.C. bronze vessels and five IVth-IIIrd century B.C. scarabeoids of Etruscan manufacture which come from the North Black Sea area. At the same time A. I. Kharsekin published the only one narrative Etruscan artefact, found in the territory of the USSR, the name of Etruscan goddess Tanr on the alabastre from Pantikapaion [2]. Moreover, in the North Pontic area as well as in the Volga-Don steppes, there were found

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* List of Abbreviations:

BAR = British Archaeological Reports
ESA = Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua
JRGZM = Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz
JAS = Journal of Archaeological Science
KSIA = Kratkije Soobshenija Instituta Arheologii
MIA = Materialy i issledovanija po arheologii SSSR
RGZM = Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum Mainz
SA = Sovetskaja arheologija
VDI = Vestnik drevnej istorii

[1] *Iz istorii Severnogo Prichernomorja v antichnuju epochu*, Leningrad, 1979, p. 5 (in Russian).

[2] O. D. Ganina, *Antichni bronzi z Pishanogo*, Kiev, 1970, pp. 72, 95 (in Ukrainian); Z. A. Bilimovich, *Etrusskije bronzovyje sitechki, naidennyje v Severnom Prichernomorje*, in *Iz istorii Severnogo Prichernomorja ...*, pp. 26-36; Eadem, *Etrusskij bronzovyj kuvshin iz IV Semibratnego kurgana*, in *Khudozhestvennyje izdelija antichnych masterov*, Leningrad, 1982, pp. 84-85; O. Ja. Neverov, *Etrusskije skarabei iz Severnogo Prichernomorja*, Soobshenija Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha, 1975, vyp. 40, pp. 38-42; A. I. Kharsekin, *Etrusskije nadpisi Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha*, in *Kratkije tezisy dokladov k nauchnoj konferencii « Istorija i kultura etruskov »*, 17-19 oktjabrja 1972 g. Leningrad, 1972, p. 20 (all in Russian).

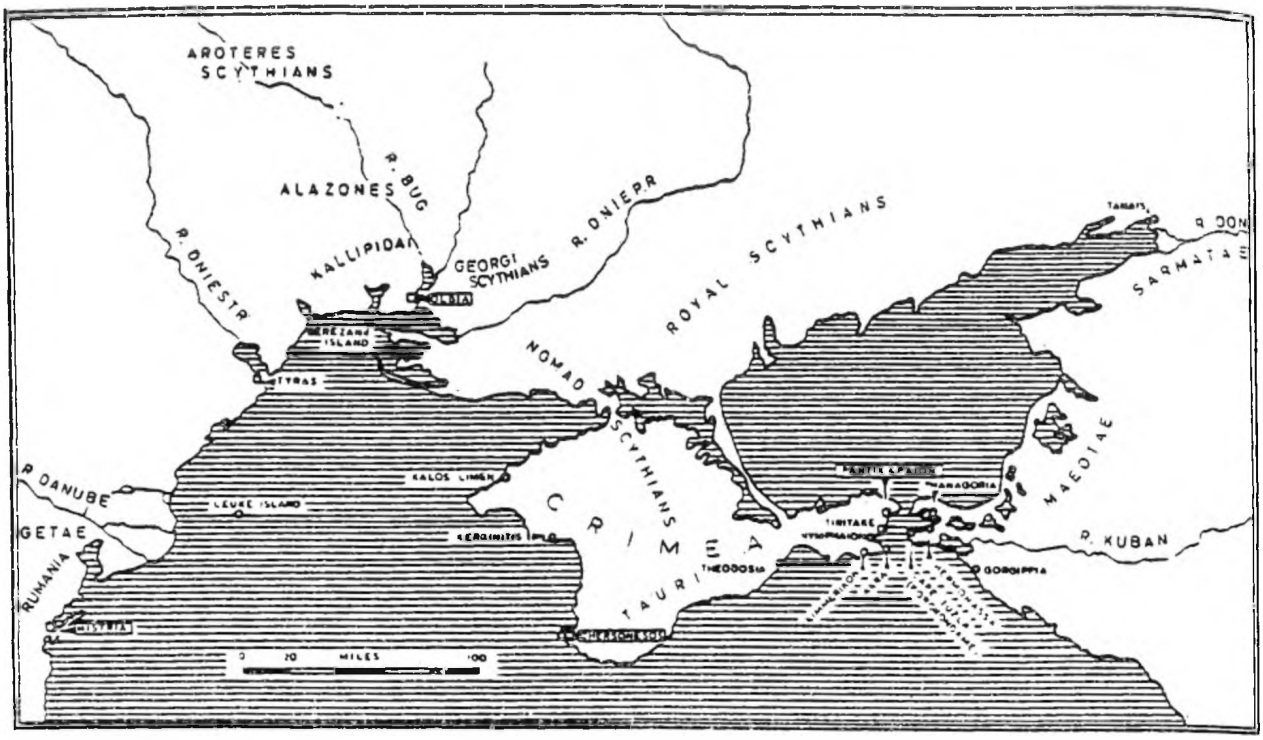

fig. 1 - Map of the North Pontic Area.

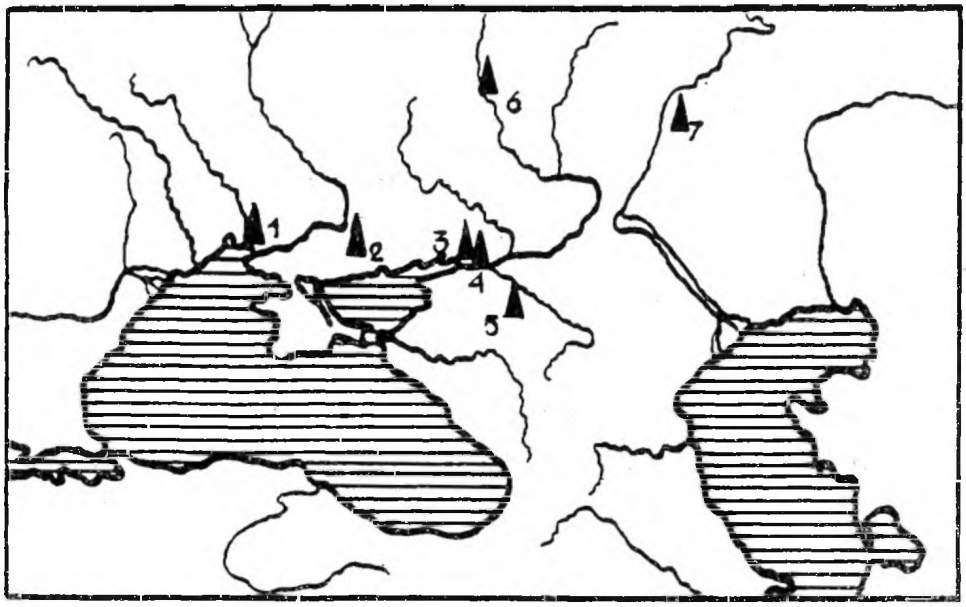

fig. 2 - Finds of Etrusco-Italic helmets in North Pontic region (after B. A. Raev, 1986). 1) Marjevka; 2) Melitopol; 3) Novo-Prokhorovka; 4) Novocherkassk; 5) Veselvj; 6) Antipovka; 7) Mariental.

the bronze « konischen Helmen mit Scheitelknauf » (*fig.* 2). Some authors considered them to be of the IVth-IIIrd century B.C. Etruscan origin, while the others determined the helmets as Latenian of the IIIrd-Ist century B.C. [3].

The articles by J. Gy. Szilagyi and S. Boucher devoted to the problem of Etruscan objects in North Pontic area penetration contain hypothesis correspondingly of its way via the Carpathians and via Thessaly and Macedonia, Greece past [4]. Z. A. Bilimovich and O. Ja. Neverov consider, that the articles of Etruscan toreuts and gem engravers may had reached the Northern coast of Pontus through intermediate trade [5]. According to O. D. Ganina's view, Etruscan bronzes may had been imported in Northpontic colonies via Greece and through these Greek colonies found their way in the Middle Dnieper Basin [6].

The author managed to enlarge the list of Etruscan artefacts found in the Northpontic region and to mark the ways of their penetration.

The earliest object of Etruscan origin found in the Northern Black Sea coast is a fragment of bronze infundibulum (vessel used for straining liquid) with lyre-shaped handle on which the dedication to Ephesian Artemis was incised found in Pantikapaion, in the excavations of 1949 on the Mithridates Mount (*tav.* XIX *a*). The letter forms date the fragmentary infundibulum from Pantikapaion no later than the third quarter of the VIth century B.C., most probably close to the middle of the century. Considering the distribution of Etruscan objects in the Eastern Mediterranean, especially in Asia Minor, and also contacts between Asia Minor and Etruria in the third quarter of the VIth century B.C., I came to the conclusion

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[3] L. Iakounina-Ivanova, *Une trouvaille de l'âge de La Tène dans la Russie méridionale*, *ESA*, 1927, t. 1, pp. 100-108; A. M. Tallgren, Note de l'editeur, *ibidem*, p. 109; Ju. V. Kuharenko, *Rasprostranenije latenskih veshej na territorii Vostochnoj Evropi*, *SA*, 1959, N. 1, pp. 38-39 (in Russian); P. Reinecke, *Ein neuer Bronzehelm italischer Form aus der Ukraine*, in *Festschrift für Otto Tschumi*, Frauenfeld, 1948, S. 93-94; I. I. Gushina, *Sluchajnaja nahodka v Voronezhskoj oblasti*, *SA*, 1961, N. 2, p. 245 (in Russian); Z. Wozniak, *Wschodnie pogranicze kultury latenskiej*, Wrocław, 1974, S. 155-156; Idem, *Die östliche Randzone der Latènekultur*, Germania, 1976, Jg. 54, Hbd. 2, S. 400; V. P. Shilov, *Ocherki po istorii drevnieh plemen Nizhnego Povolzja*, Leningrad, 1975, p. 150; Idem, « *Keltskije* » *bronzovyje shlemy v stepjah Vostochnoj Evropy*, in *Problemy sovetskoj archeologii*, Moskva, 1978, pp. 108-112 (all in Russian); O. V. Simonenko, *Pznioskivskijskij kompleks z s. Marjivka Mikolaivskoj obl*, *Archeologija*, 1986, vyj. 55, pp. 64-65 (in Ukrainian); Idem, *Keltsko-Italijskije shlemy na territorii Vostochnoj Evropy*, in *Pamjatniki bronzovogo i rannego zheleznogo vekov Podneprovja*, Dnepropetrovsk, 1987, pp. 104-112 (in Russian); B. A. Raev, *Celtic « jockey-cap » Helmets in the Don Area.* Appendix VII, in B. A. Raev, *Roman Imports in the Lower Don Basin*, Oxford, 1986 (*BAR*, Intern. ser., N. 278), pp. 85-86.

[4] J. Gy. Szilagyi, *Zur Frage des etruskischen Handels nach dem Norden*, *Acta Antiqua*, 1952, Bd. 1, fasc. 3-4, S. 419-457; S. Boucher, *Trajets terrestres du commerce étrusque aux Ve et IVe siècles avant J.-C.*, *RA*, 1973, fasc. 1, pp. 79-96.

[5] Neverov, *op. cit.*, p. 41; Bilimovich, *Etrusskij bronzovyj kuvshin ...*, p. 85.

[6] Ganina, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

that Etruscan infundibulum was most probably brought to the Bosporus by colonists from Asia Minor (Ephesus?) with the second (North-Ionian) wave of colonists after the establishing of Persian protectorate over Ionia in 546 B.C.[7]. The find of early Etruscan infundibulum in Pantikapaion gives probable explanation, how could Etruscan helmet of the second half of the VIth - first half of the Vth century B.C. reach the Kuban river basin[8].

The collection of ten Etruscan bronze strainers with eight-shaped wire handles or flat handles ended with bird heads decorated with reliefs or engraved palmettes kept in the Hermitage[9] date the first half of the Vth century B.C. The find from Nymphaion, kept in Oxford[10], the strainers excavated in the necropols of Phanagoria[11] and Pichvnari[12] along with the object from the collection of Merle de Massoneau, composed in the late XIXth century in the South Russia, kept in Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (DDR)[13] all belong to the same category of bronze vessels.

Fragmentary bronze jug from the IVth Seven Brothers Tumulus belongs to the rare type of the first half of the Vth century B.C. Etruscan bronze vases, probably manufactured in Vulci. Z. A. Bilimovich dates the vessel from the Hermitage collection to 460-450 B.C., stating that it was not the single article of Etruscan origin in that burial – there was also excavated a bronze candelabrum, which, according to Bilimovich, may be connected with Etruscan objects[14]. Meanwhile D. S. Gertziger hac another point of view concerning the centre of candelabrum manufacture, considering that the object discussed may had been produced in one of Magna Graecia workshops[15].

Various points of views and different dates as well as centres of production were supposed concerning the situle from the so-called hoard found near by Peschanoje village. O. D. Ganina, S. Boucher, W. Fuchs, C. Rolley, S. Haynes consider the situle from Peschanoje to be of Etruscan origin, though their datings

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[7] M. Ju. Treister, *Drevnejshij etrusskij pamjatnik v Severnom Prichernomorje i nekotorye problemy rannej istorii Pantikapeja*, *KSIA*, 1989, vyj. 197 (in Russian); Idem, *The Earliest Etruscan Object in the North Pontic Area from the Collection of the Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts*, in *Akten der Internationalen Tagung « Die Welt der Etrusker* - Archäologische Denkmäler aus Museen sozialistischer Länder », Berlin, 23-26 Oktober 1988, Berlin (in press).

[8] M. V. Gorelik, *Shlem iz stanitsy Dachovskoj*, *VDI*, 1985, N. 2, pp. 94-96 (in Russian).

[9] Bilimovich, *Etrusskije bronzovyje sitechki...*

[10] M. Vickers, *Scythian Treasures in Oxford. Ashmolean Museum*, Oxford, 1979, pp. 43-44, Pl. XIVa.

[11] Tumulus 30, excavations of K. K. Gerz, 1859. State History Museum, Moscow, inv. 86901.

[12] Grave 15, N. 193, excavations of Ju. A. Kahidze, 1968.

[13] Inv. 11863. 327.

[14] Bilimovich, *Etrusskij bronzovyj kuvshin...*

[15] D. S. Gertziger, *Antichnyje kandeljabry v sobranii Ermitazha.* Trudy Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha, 1984, vyp. XXIV, pp. 85, 91, N. 8 (in Russian).

vary from Vth to IVth century B.C. [16]. S. Haynes defines the centre of production of such vessels – the workshops of Orvieto and Bolsena in central Etruria [17]. At the same time B. Shefton gives no clear answer on the question of place of the situle production, M. Pfrommer states, that such vessels were probably manufactured in the worshops of Macedonia and Italy, and M. Candela, dating the situle found near by Peschanoje 320-310 B.C., supposed that it was produced in Macedonia [18].

The metal composition of the situle found near by Peschanoje village as well as those of situle and strainer from Gajmanova Mogila were analysed in the laboratory of the Institute of Archaeology USSR Academy of Sciences. Unusually high and stable tin concentrations of these alloys (33 % Sn) are typical to these objects [19]. T. B. Bartseva considers that the metal used for production of vessels found near by Peschanoje village was mined within Carpathian-Transilvanian group of ore depositis [20]. N. A. Onaiko on the grounds of the results of spectral analyses and the inferences made by T. B. Bartseva and S. Ja. Olgovsky came to the conclusion that a considerable part of vessels from Peschanoje hoard was produced in the Greek workshop in Thrace [21]. As the conclusions were done without use of materials of analyses of the bronzes of both of Mediterranean and Westpontic origin, we have no reasons to consider these conclusions final. The high tin concentration, if it was not a mistake of analyses [22], was not typical to the Greek vessels neither of Archaic, nor of Classical or Hellenistic periods. Such tin concentrations are not typical also to the metal of Etruscan vessels of the Vth-IVth

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[16] GANINA, *op. cit.*, pp. 72, 95; BOUCHER, *op. cit.*; W. FUCHS, *Bronzegefässe in Kiev*, *Boreas*, 1978, Bd. 1, S. 113-115; C. ROLLEY, *Les vases de bronze de l'archaïsme récent en Grand Grèce*. Publ. du Centre Jean Bérard. Bibliothèque de l'Institut Français de Naples, IIe serie, vol. V, Naples, 1982, p. 66, N. 166; S. HAYNES, *Etruscan Bronzes*, London, 1985, N. 166.

[17] HAYNES, *op. cit.*, N. 166.

[18] B. SHEFTON, *Der Stamnos*, in W. KIMMIG, *Das Kleinaspergle. Studien zu einem Fürstengrabhügel der frühen Latènezeit bei Stuttgart.* Forschungen und Berichte zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte in Baden-Würtemberg, 30, Stuttgart, 1988, S. 106, Anm. 9; M. PFROMMER, *Italien-Makedonien-Kleinasien*, *JdI*, 1983, Bd. 98, pp. 523-524; M. CANDELA, *Situle metalliche e ceramiche a beccuccio nel IV e III secolo a.C. Origine e diffusione*, *BABesch*, 1985, V. 60, p. 31, N. 43; p. 53.

[19] T. B. BARTSEVA, *Himicheskij sostav izdelij antichnogo importa najdennyh v Srednem Podneprovje*, *SA*, 1983, N. 4, pp. 78-79; EADEM, *Tsvetnaja metalloobrabotka skifskogo vremeni*, Moskva, 1981, pp. 116-117; S. JA. OLGOVSKY, *Tsvetnaja metalloobrabotka v grecheskih gorodah Severn-Zapadnogo Prichernomorja.* Dissertatsija ... kandidata istoricheskih nauk, Moskva, 1982, p. 270 (all in Russian).

[20] BARTSEVA, *Himicheskij sostav ...*, pp. 76, 81.

[21] N. A. ONAIKO, *O novyh publikatsijah antichnoj torevtiki iz skifskih kurganov Pridneprovja*, *SA*, 1982, N. 4, p. 250 (in Russian).

[22] In the letter dated May 23rd, 1983 P. T. Craddock stated that highly corroded bronzes often give highly exaggerated tin figures and that high tin percentages sometimes published in the results of Etruscan bronzes analyses are highly unreliable.

centuries B.C. and the later periods, judging by the analyses of British museum research laboratory [23]. At the same time, only the situle among all the vessels found near by Peschanoje village may had been probably done in Etruscan workshop, whereas the results of spectral analyses showed the similarity of metal composition, including high tin concentrations, of almost all the objects of the hoard and at the same time their closeness to the vessels from Gajmanova Mogila and some other objects from Scythian tumuli [24]. So, it is possible to note that a group of bronze objects from the North Pontic area is distinguished. According their style, these vessels belong both to the production of Greek, Macedonian(?) or Etruscan(?) workshops, but from the point of view of chemical and metallurgical aspects they represent a single group, the metal of which is not typical neither to the metal of Greek, neither of Etruscan bronzes. The localisation of this bronzeworking centre demands future investigations.

The quantity of the Etruscan artefacts dated the IVth-IIIrd centuries B.C. found in the North Pontic area is not so big in comparison with the finds of the previous epoch. Among them there are five Etruscan scarabeoids: three of them from Pantikapaion, the others from Gorgippia and Nymphaion [25] a fragment of the IIIrd century B.C. Etruscan bronze mirror with relief cover from the 1842 Pantikapaion necropolis excavations (*tav.* XIX *b*) [26], bronze with silver inlays patera handle cast in shape of Lasa statuette, which is said to have been found in Kertch (*tav.* XX) dated IIIrd or early IInd century B.C. (it was probably manufactured in the Central Etrurian workshop (Todi, Orvieto or Bolsena) [27].

It is not difficult to notice that, while the articles of the first half of the Vth century B.C. were spread in the broad territories of the North Pontic area from Olbia in the west to Pichvnari in the east and were excavated both in the necropoles of the Greek colonies and barbarian tumuli, the Etruscan objects dated the IVth-IIIrd centuries B.C. are concentrated in the territory of Bosporian kingdom. Only the mirror with engraved scene of Paris judgement probably originated from Bolsena workshop dated ca. 300 B.C. is said to have been found in Olbia [28].

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[23] See P. T. Craddock, *The Composition of the Copper Alloys used by the Greek, Etruscan and Roman Civilisations.* Pt. 2, *The Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic Greeks*, *JAS*, 1977, V. 4; Idem, *The Metallurgy and Composition of Etruscan Bronze*, *StEtr*, 1984 (1986), V. 52.

[24] Bartseva, *Himicheskij sostav ...*, pp. 78-79.

[25] Neverov, *op. cit.*

[26] The author is grateful to the curator of the State Hermitage, Nina Kunina for the permission to publish the object (inv. GE.P.1842.109).

[27] Vleveland Museum of Art. 47.68. Purchase from the J. H. Wade Fund. See: *The Gods Delight: The Human Figure in Classical Bronze*, Cleveland, 1988, No. 50, pp. 267-271. The author is thankful to the curator Arielle P. Kozloff for the photograph and information.

[28] The State Hermitage. Inv. GE.B.994. See E. V. Mavleev, *Sud'a grecheskogo skazanija o «Sude Parisa». Trudy Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha*, vyp. XXIV, p. 57, Pl. V, 17, 19 (in Russian).

Returning to the problem of the Etruscan articles in the North Pontic region penetration in the Vth-IIIrd centuries B.S. I must state that the finds of the Vth century B.C. Etruscan strainers in Olbia, Nymphaion, Phanagoria and in Colchis give the ground to put under the question the hypothesis put forward by S. Boucher, which is based only on the study of situles like those found near by Peschanoje (the same attribution of these situles as Etruscan is not final as it is shown above). So, I think in favour of the idea of intermidiate trade of Etruscan objects by Greeks. From the other point view the idea of M. Pfrommer, that episodically the merchant ships from Italy reached the coast of the Black Sea, can't be absolutely rejected [29].

The helmets of Etrusco-Italic type are spread on the wast territories of the south of Eastern Europe from the Low Bug basin in the west to the Volga region and the North Caucasus in the east and Voronezh district in the north: they were found mainly in the Sarmatian burials and ritual places of the late IInd - first half of the Ist centuries B.C. The helmets may be devided in two groups according to the peculiarities of their decoration. The first group of helmets including the finds from Marjevka, (*tav.* XXI), Melitopol, Novocherkassk (*tav.* XXII) and Sergievskaja (Kuban river area) (*tav.* XXIII) are richly decorated: the main decoration element – friezes of triangles with hatched bodies and circles on the tops find analogies on the VIth-IVth centuries B.C. Etruscan bronze statuettes including those probably cast in the workshops of Vulci and Chiusi [30]. The knobs with the chiselled friezes of narrow double arcades decorate Etruscan helmets of the IV-IIIrd centuries B.C. [31]. The given helmets can be hardly dated later than the middle of the IIIrd century B.C., while the earliest of them may had been manufactured even in the second half of the IVth century B.C. [32].

The second group represented by the helmets from Antipovka (*tav.* XXIV), Chegem in the North Caucasus and Novo-Prokhorovka (*tav.* XXV) are decorated with « running wave » or tendril patterns in combination with the friezes of herring-bone pattern, circles, hatched incisions. Helmets with similar decoration are known in Spain, France, Greece and Asia Minor [33]. They can be dated to the IInd-early Ist century B.C. on the base of the finds in burials [34].

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[29] M. Pfrommer, *Großgriechischer und Mittelitalischer Einfluß in der Rankenornamentik frühhellenistischer Zeit*, *JdI*, 1982, Bd. 97, S. 149.

[30] A. M. Adam, *Bronzes etrusque et italiques: Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, 1984, p. 178, N. 254; The Gods Delight: *The Human Figure in Classical Bronze*, Cleveland, 1988, p. 181, Fig. XII, N. 33, 35, 44.

[31] F. Lipperheide, *Antike Helme*, München, 1896, N. 38, 44, 268, 445, 531; *Antike Helme* (*RGZM* Monographien, Bd. 14), Mainz, 1988, N. 110.

[32] B. A. Raev, A. V. Simonenko, M. Ju. Treister, *Etrusco-Italic and Celtic Helmets in Eastern Europe. Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt* (in print).

[33] *Ibidem.*

[34] G. Barruol - G. Suazade, *Une tombe de guerrier a Saint-Laurent-des-Arbres* (Gard):

The helmet from Vesely (*tav.* XXVI), which is unique, is close in certain sence to the helmets of Etrusco-Italic type, but it combines the features of the Hellenistic Attic helmets with neck guards, known both by archaeological finds [35], Pergamon altar reliefs with the figures of the Galatians, depictions on the so-called Alexander sarcophagus from Sidon, on coins and gems [36] with the typical for the conical helmts « mit Scheitelknauf » decoration (moulded cable pattern on the lower rim) and knob.

Spectral analyses results of the helmets found in Eastern Europe show that their metal composition is identical to those of the Etrusco-Italic helmets found in Italy and analysed in the Research Laboratory of the British Museum [37].

The appearance of the helmets of the second group in the steppes of South Russia can be explained rather convincingly. These helmets belonged to the equipment of the Roman Republican troops, with them they could have been brought since 133 B.C. in the Roman province Asia, which was robbed during Mithridates VI campaigns in 80-s - 70-s B.C. Thus the helmets discussed might have been the war trophees of the Sarmatians captured when they were in the army of Mithridates (App. Fithr. 19).

The proposed way of helmets penetration is proved by the find of the helmet near khutor Vesely – such combined type could appear only in Asia Minor.

However, there is a definite chronological gap between the dates of the first group of helmets manufacture and their appearance in Sarmatia. How can it be explained? These helmets could hardly belong to the equipment of Roman legioners even in the last quarter of the IInd century B.C., not speaking about the first quarter of the Ist century B.C. At the same time they could scarcely belong to the Galatins settled in Asia Minor in 270-s B.S.: only two examples of the helmets discussed are known in Celtic graves in Italy. That is why it is rather risky, though not improbable, to consider them the war booty of the nomades captured during the robbering of Galatia in which they participated in the army of Mithridates VI (App. Mithr. 18-21, 112), or in the battles with the troops of Mithridates VI during his stay in the North Black Sea coast (according to Appian (Mithr. 111) there was a Galatian detachment led by Bitoites in the Mithridates army during his stay in Pantikapaion in 63 B.C.).

In the same epoch there was also possible the « western » way of Etruscan

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Contribution a l'etude des sepultures du Ier siecle av. J.-C. dans la basse vallee du Rhone. Omaggio a Fernand Benoit, t. III (*RivStLig*, t. XXXV), 1969; U. Schaaff, *Etruskisch-Römische Helme. Antike Helme*, S. 318-319.

[35] G. Waurick, *Helme der hellenistischen Zeit und ihre Vorlaufer*, Antike Helme, S. 169 ff.

[36] *Ibidem*, S. 172; W. Müller, *Der Pergamon-Altar*, Berlin, 1978, Taf. 15, 72; P. Dintsis, *Hellenistische Helme*, Rome, 1986, Taf. 32-35.

[37] Raev, Simonenko, Treister, *op. cit.*; cfr. P. T. Craddock, *The Metallurgy and Composition of Etruscan Bronze*, *StEtr*, 1984, V, 52, pp. 232, 259, Table 17.

objects in the North Pontic area penetration. The analysis of burial found near by Marjevka in the Lower Bug region which included the helmet of the Etruscan-Italic type as well as utensil, details of horse-harness and weapons of Celtic and Scytho-Sarmatian type, and may be attributed as Celtic, has shown that the helmet of the late IVth-first half of the IIIrd centuries B.C. reached that region with the Celtic horseman from the Balkans or the Carpathians in the first half of the Ist century B.C. [38].

It is rather difficult to solve that way or through Asia Minor reached the capital of the late Scythian kingdom in the Crimea – Neapolis Etruscan handle-mirror of the IInd century B.C. (*tav.* IX), found in the excavations of the royal Scythian mausoleion [39]. The handle of the mirror discussed belongs to the type C according to U. Höckmann's classification – most analogies come from Vulci and Bolsena [40]. The peculiarity of the Neapolis mirror is the fact that it has no engraving, like the IInd century B.C. Etruscan mirror pubblished by M. Cristofani [41].

As it was shown above, one can hardly encounter fifty objects of the Etruscan origin dated the VIth-IInd century B.C. found in the wast territories of the south of Eastern Europe. Though they are not the evidences of the direct contacts of Etruria with north-eastern periphery of oikumene, the articles discussed represent nevertheless an interesting phenomenon, reflecting such important events in the history of Classical world as Ionian colonisation, economical ties of the distant regions of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea, the Celtic migrations and Mithridatic wars.

MICHAIL JU. TREISTER

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[38] B. A. RAEV, *Bronze Vessels of the La-Tène Period from Sarmatia*, in *Akten der 10. Internationalen Tagung Über antiker Bronzen*, Freiburg, 18-22 Juli 1988. Freiburg (in print); M. JU. TREISTER, in *Die Welt der Etrusker.* Archäologische Denkmäler aus Museen der sozialistischen Länder, Berlin, 1988, S. 390-391, I 8-9; IDEM, *Archaeological Data About the Celts in the North Pontic Area* (*new aspects*). Antiquity (in print).

[39] The Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, inv. NSf-120; P. N. SHULZ, *Mavzolej Neapolja Skifskogo*, Moskva, 1953, Pl. XVII, 1; N. N. POGREBOVA, *Pogrebenija v mavzoleje Neapolja Skifskogo*, *MIA* 1961, N. 96, Fig. 11,6 (both in Russian).

[40] U. HÖCKMANN, *Die Datierung der hellenistisch-etruskischen Griffspiegel des 2. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*, *JdI* 1987, Bd. 102, S. 248-254, 274-276, 279.

[41] *NS* 1975, V. 28, N. 76, p. 34, Fif. 20. The author is grateful to Dr. Ursula Höckmann for the kind consultations.

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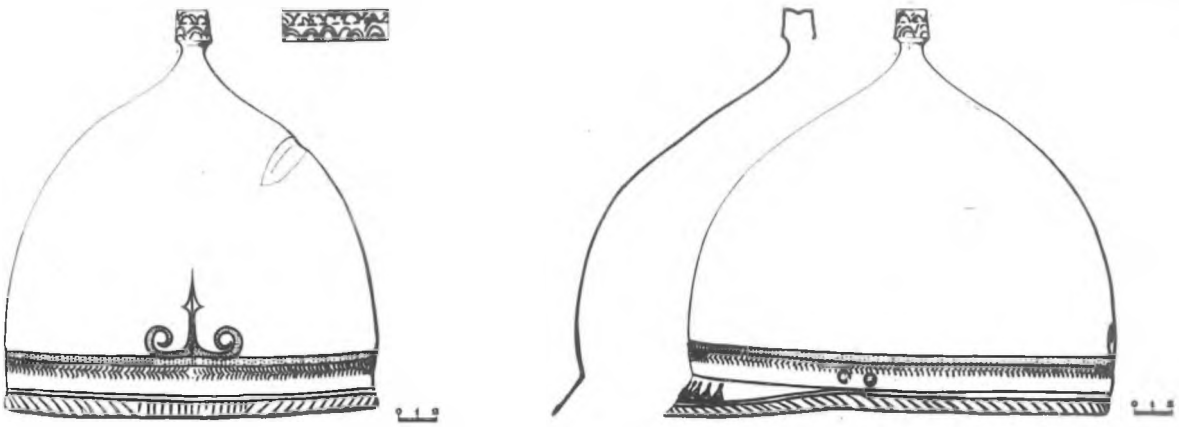
b

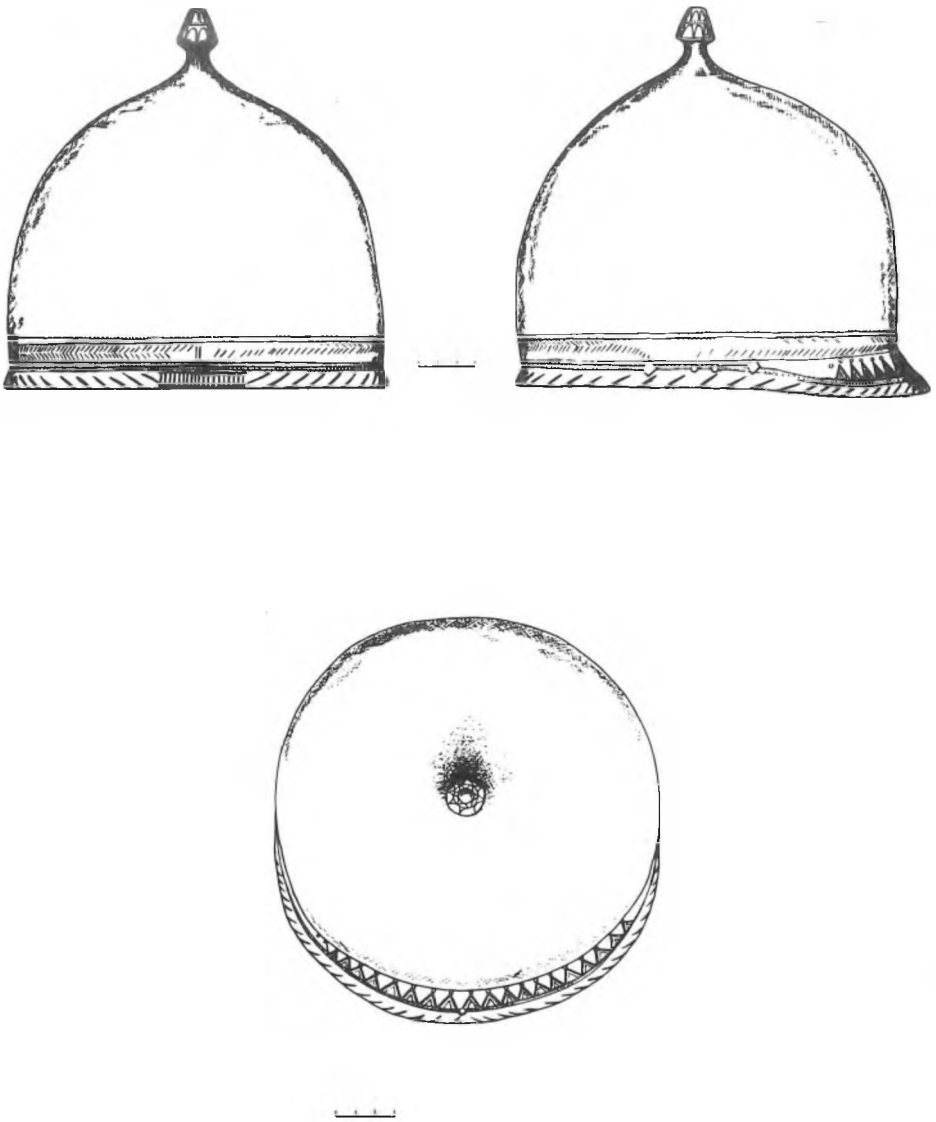
a) Bronze infundibulum fragment from Pantikapaion. State Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow. Inv. M-747; *b*) Fragment of bronze relief mirror cover from the necropole of Pantikapaion. The State Hermitage. Inv. P.1842.109.

Bronze patera support presumably from Pantikapaion. The Cleveland Museum of Art, Purchase from the J. H. Wade Fund. Inv. 47.68.

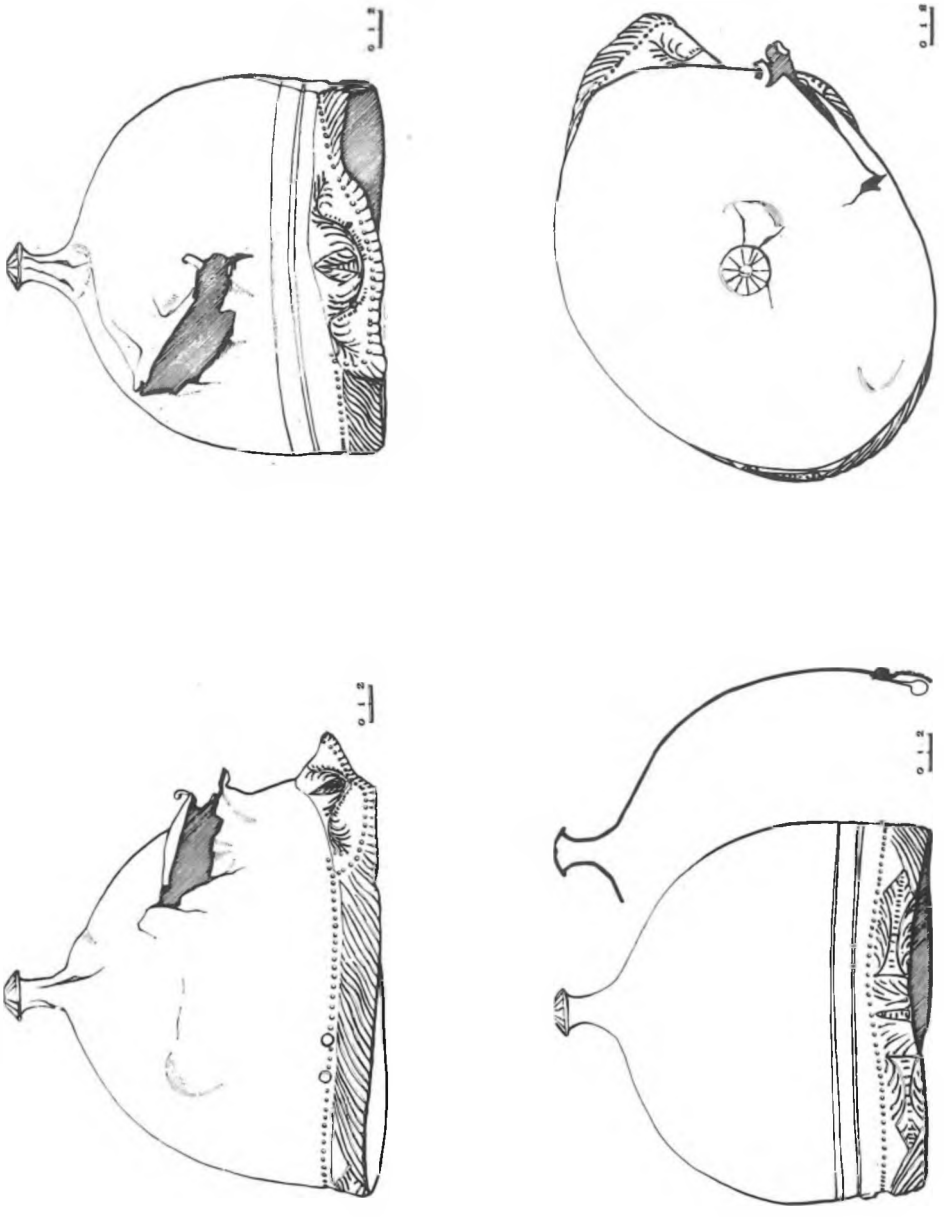


Bronze helmet from Marjevka. State Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts. Inv. II 1e 2957.

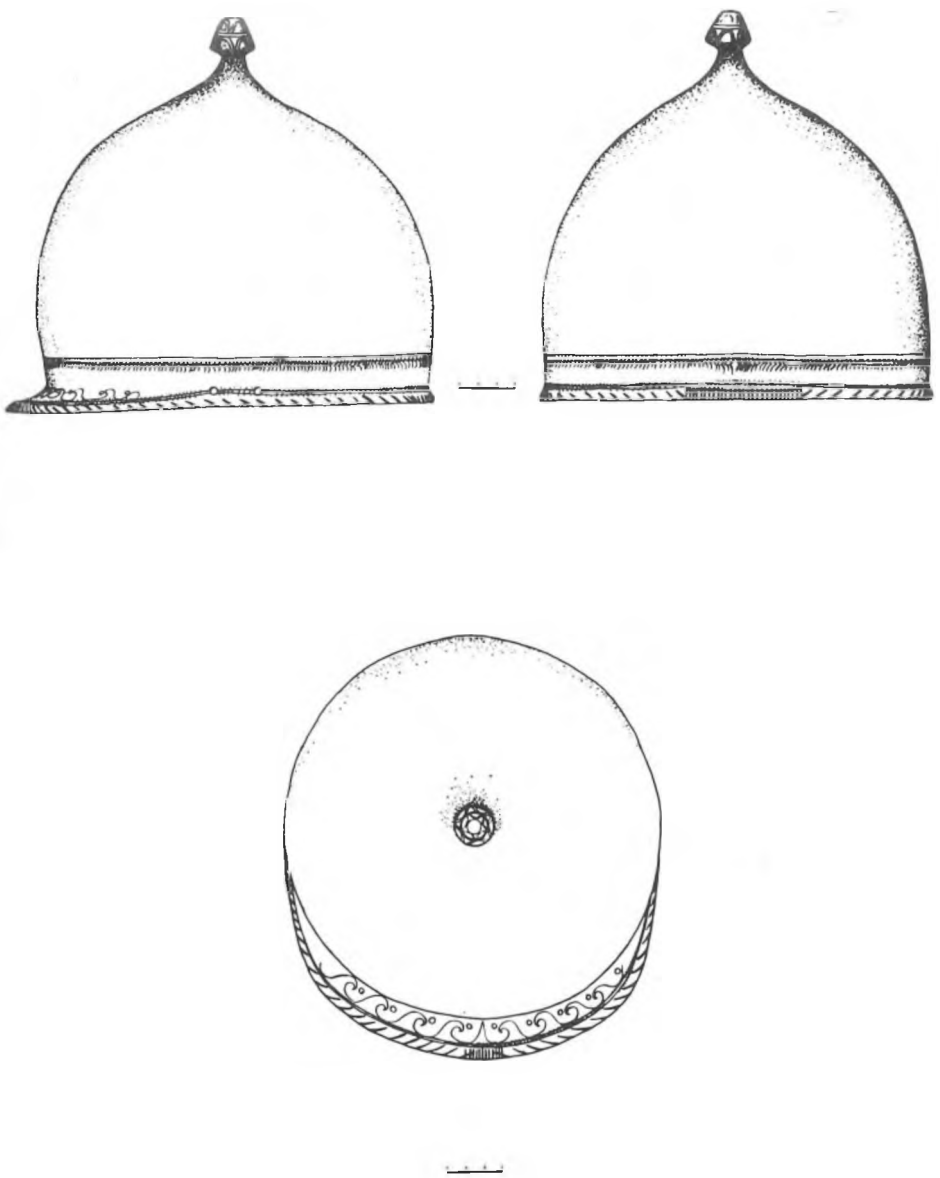
Bronze helmet of unknown provenance. Novocherkassk Museum of History of Don Kazaks. Inv. K-2902/147.



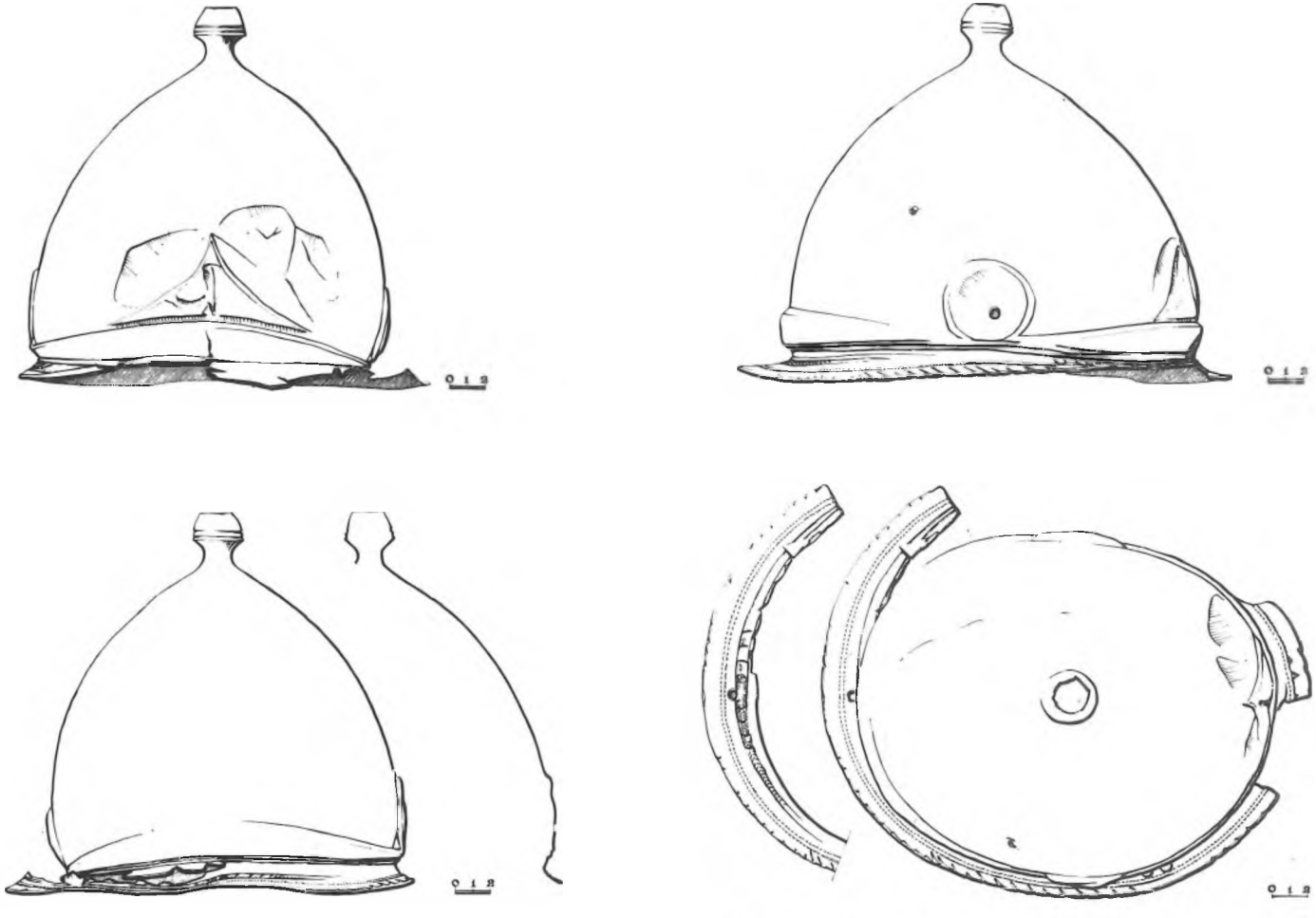
Bronze helmet from Sergievskaja. Krasnodar State Historico-Archaeological Museum. Inv. D-665.



Bronze helmet from Antipovka. State Historical Museum. Moscow. Inv. XXVI/1096. N 1.



Bronze helmet from Novo-Prokhorovka. Rostov-on-Don Local Lore Museum.



Bronze helmet from Vesely. The State Hermitage. Inv. 1114/59.

Bronze mirror from Scythian Neapolis. State Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts. Inv. NSf-120.