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ONCE AGAIN ABOUT THE ENEOLITHIC SCEPTERS

-Abstract-

Recently a lot of publications about the amazing Eneolithic sculptural works called scepters (quite correctly, in my opinion) have started to appear. The cultural value and the wide area where these stone artefacts were found involved many cultures from the North Balkanian area, the Carpathian area, including Cucuteni-Trypillia.

What do the scepters represent? The head of a primordial horse used for riding? Anything else? Where were they manufactured and how were they used? Who owned them? The settled Neolithic agricultural populations, such as Cucuteni? Or their invaders, the nomad hordes coming from the steppes and entering the Balkan area, who were the first horse riders in this region? The article attempts to find a line of answering to these questions, suggesting that the sceptres belonged to the clan of the first people mastering the art of taming the horses.

Keywords: scepter, eneolithic, Eastern Europe, rider, horse, cultural symbol.

O REEVALUARE A PROBLEMEI SCEPTRELOR ENEOLITICE

-Rezumat-

În ultima vreme au apărut nenumărate studii referitoare la acele impresionante lucrări sculpturale eneolitice denumite, pe drept cuvânt, după părerea mea, sceptre. Valoarea lor culturală și aria foarte largă în care au fost descoperite aceste artefacte a adus laolaltă multe culturi din zona de nord a Balcanilor, din zona carpatiană, inclusiv cultura Cucuteni-Tripolie.

Ce anume reprezintă aceste sceptre? Capul unui cal primordial folosit la călărie? Sau altceva? Unde au fost ele produse și cum erau folosite? Cine au fost posesorii lor? Populațiile agricole sedentare, neolitice, cum ar fi reprezentanții culturii Cucuteni? Sau invadatorii lor, hoardele nomade venite dinspre stepă și pătrunzând în zona Balcanilor, care au fost cei dintâi călăreți din această parte a lumii? Articolul încearcă să găsească o direcție de răspuns pentru întrebările menționate anterior, sugerând că sceptrele au aparținut clanului celor dintâi specialiști în arta domesticirii cailor.

Cuvinte cheie: sceptru, eneolitic, Europa de est, călăreț, cal, simbol cultural.

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Recently a lot of publications about the amazing Eneolithic sculptural works called scepters (quite correctly, in my opinion) have started to appear. The cultural value and the wide area where these stone artefacts were found involved many cultures from the North Balkanian area, the Carpathian area, including Cucuteni-Trypillia.

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Therefore, there are two main conceptions regarding this issue. One of them is interpreting the archeological facts taking for orientation the general theory of the ethnogenesis by L.N. Gumilyov¹, the other accounts for the issue availing of the appearance of the nomad riders in the Eneolithic. The first conception is looking for the owners of the scepters in Cucuteni-Trypillia and presents the hypothetical *passionary* part of this culture as the main transformational factor of late Northern Balkan and Eastern European Early Eneolithic Period². But, the truth of the matter is that except for the author of this conception, nobody has recognized yet the role of such a reformer to Cucuteni-Trypillia³. Anyhow, in the “western” version, there is no place for the military reasons in the expansion of the scepters. The war and the military symbols are the prerogatives of another longstanding model in which eastern waves of militarized pastoralists were consistently pulverizing the agricultural “civilizations” of Ancient Europe. After having been severely criticized more than once and being not so popular in latter days, this model suddenly won a supporter, who did for its study more than its author, Maria Guimbutas⁴. So, the leaders of the “first wave” still confidently lead it to the Balkans and Cucuteni-Trypillia, having raised the scepter.

The “West-East” alternative for the origin of the scepters is in a bitter dispute. But the archeological petrography, which still has to pronounce, remained

¹ Л.Н. Гумилев, *Этногенез и биосфера Земли*, Ленинград, 1990.

² И.В. Манзура, *Владеющие скипетрами*, in “Stratum Plus”, 2, 2000.

³ А.Д. Резепкин, *К вопросу об эволюции энеолитических скипетров*, in *Древнейшие общности земледельцев и скотоводов Северного Причерноморья (V тыс. до н.э. - V в. н.э.)*, Тирасполь, 2002.

⁴ В.А. Дергачев, *О скипетрах. Этюды в защиту миграционной концепции М. Гимбутас*, in “Revista arheologică”, 2005, Vol. I, № 2; Idem, *О скипетрах, о лошадях, о войне. Этюды в защиту миграционной концепции М. Гимбутас*, Санкт-Петербург, 2007.

on the sidelines. V.F. Petrun was substantively involved in the origin of some species of stone scepters, but he had no time to publish his finds⁵. And some old finds, for example those from Berezovka settlement, still remain unpublished. The scepters were never interested for use-wear analysis. Relatively speaking, the theme is still open. Moreover, there are no doubts that many things in this “case”, which are discussed so passionately, will be revised and supplemented for many years from now on. Eventually, some of my supplements, related to the morphological characteristics, purpose and cultural identity of these things, bring us to the question: *what the eneolithic scepters are?*

The total number of discovered scepters is not that big and their territorial extent is just wretched. According to the most complete and accurate summary⁶, for more than 100 (!) years of purposeful gathering, there are only 36 scepters, including the recently published one, found in the neighborhood of Zolotonosha⁷. These rarities known by beams of more than four cultures have few areas of concentration found on the territory of almost 3000 kilometers, from the Adriatic Sea to the Caspian Sea, from Maros in Transylvania to the Volga, and even beyond the Ural. The scepters scattered throughout this vast territory resemble in some details to the local curly hammers and maces of the same or a later period⁸ and, at the same time, demonstrate some typological unity and, in general, a unique originality of forms.

However, in these small sculptural monoliths⁹ called scepters, something like a stone tied ceremonial hammer or symbolic axe usually is seen. They were called scepters only at the suggestion of I. Nestor, because they are indeed small and are made so skillful that they are worthy to adorn the rods of the chiefs only, as it was suggested by the author¹⁰. In other words, the term “scepter” was grafted as

⁵ В.Ф. Петрунь, *К археолого-петрографической характеристике энеолитических памятников Северного Причерноморья (трипольское поселение у Березовской ГЭС)*, 1965–1969, Archive of the Archeological Museum of Odessa of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine; Idem, *Заключение о породном составе и вероятном происхождении двух артефактов из могильника Суворово-2*, 1996, Archive of the Archeological Museum of Odessa of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine.

⁶ В.А. Дергачев, *О скипетрах. Этюды в защиту миграционной концепции М. Гимбутас*.

⁷ І.Ф. Ковальова, *Конеголовий скипетр з колекції історико-археологічного музею корпорації “ВЕЕСВІ”*, in *Матеріали та дослідження з археології Східної України: від неоліту до киммерійців*, 7, Донецьк, 2007.

⁸ This repeatedly led to annoying confusion and unwarranted increase of the list of finds.

⁹ Dimensions of scepters is expressed in repeated close and even similar values (8, tab.3), perhaps hiding the perspective of some common “Eneolithic” long measure. The shortest scepter is of 8,1sm and the longest one – 20 sm.

¹⁰ I. Nestor, *Der Stand der Vorgeschichtsvorschung in Rumänien*, in *Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission*, 22, Frankfurt-am-Main, 1932, p.44.

an allowable conditional, meaning not a finished product as a whole, but only its most important part, which (in the estimation of most scientists) necessarily had to be inserted somehow on a special handle. Taking in consideration such a use of the stone products, the most appropriate and accurate word used for the scepters should not be a Greek term but a word “finial”¹¹. In fact, they are entitled “zoomorphic scepters-finials”¹². The end of the “finial”, which is opposite to its sculptural part, and, as it is considered, was planted on a special handle is also called “peen”, as the same ax detail, or “trunnion”¹³. The trunnion mounting – pin – is considered as an additional fixing element¹⁴.

The “stamp of breeding” of the scepter’s stone stands out particularly. Solid disseminated beds with clearly marked toner and color contrast range were selected more often. A black rock with a barely noticeable greenish tint and many white speckles was chosen most frequently, for example, the scepter of the burial Suvorovo-2 (Fig.1)¹⁵. In literature, this kind of material was traditionally identified as porphyry – a solid that had a particular importance in the opinion of V.N. Danilenko, postulating a single Caspian-Caucasian origin of scepters¹⁶. However, the petrographic verification study of “Suvorovskiy” scepter¹⁷ has shown that it is categorically not porphyry but a plagioclase *apoporphyritic amphibolite*¹⁸. The stone used for manufacturing the scepters has one special particularity: it is pockmarked with a very dark background and, when is polished, it gives the highlights. These qualities do not show, but on the contrary, they hide the carefully elaborated details, emphasizing the outlines of sculpture, and that can’t be

¹¹ А.А. Иессен, *К вопросу о древних связях Кавказа с западом*, in *Краткие сообщения Института истории материальной культуры*, 46, 1952, pp. 49, 52.

¹² В.А. Дергачев, *op. cit.*, p.6.

¹³ Е.В. Цуцкин, *Архаринский “скипетр” как свидетельство разложения первобытнообщинного строя на территории Нижнего Поволжья*, in *Археологические памятники Калмыкии эпохи бронзы и средневековья*, Элиста, 1981, p.25.

¹⁴ B. Govedarica, E. Kaiser, *Die äneolithischen abstrakten und zoomorphen Steinzepter Südost- und Osteuropas*, in „Eurasia Antiqua“, 2, 1996, S.66, Abb.3.

¹⁵ Collection of the Archeological Museum of Odessa of National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, inv.# 84388.

¹⁶ В.Н. Даниленко, *Энеолит Украины*, Киев, 1974, p. 95, 104.

¹⁷ The study was conducted at my initiative, as noted in the final text of V.F. Petron. In the German code, the breed of “Suvorovskiy” scepter was listed as the diorite-gabbro (B. Govedarica, E. Kaiser, *op. cit.*, S.97). Since I supervised the work of B. Govedarica with the material of the Archeological Museum of Odessa in 1995, I can guarantee that no petrographic samples were taken and, therefore, the revision of the old definition is made in absentia (by photographs?). Obviously, the characterization of some specialists allows that.

¹⁸ В.Ф. Петрунь, *Заключение о породном составе и вероятном происхождении двух артефактов из могильника Суворово-2*.

accidental, taken into consideration the high level of performance, inherent in all products.

The so-called technique of spot stone processing (“picket”) was undoubtedly the main shaping operation for most of the solid rocks: everything that was superfluous to the primary blank of the scepter was removed by the methodical surgical strikes¹⁹. It was possible to operate using the cutting tools, even flint ones (flint hardness is of 6.5 units on the Mohs scale), when working with the relatively soft stone. But, for the finalization of the products, it was necessary to use abrasives, including the final polishing up to the uniformly smooth or even mirrored surface of the above mentioned scepter from Suvorovo-2. As a rule, only the front, “curly”, part of a scepter was fully polished. The trunnion was usually left rough, in a characteristic “shagreen” grainy texture of the stone, but the pin was certainly entirely polished or only by its crown. However, there were fully polished scepters made of the solid (Zolotonosha) or of the soft stone (Berezovka).

Fifteen scepters represent the volumetrically shown head of the animal. The main, but not the indisputable version, states that it can be only the head of a horse and, moreover, bridled horse (V.N. Danilenko, D.J. Telegin, V.A. Dergachev). Nevertheless, their opponents, who are many, see, besides the horses, the plastic images of other animals, such as snakes and dogs. The scepters with the head of an animal are accustomed to be determined as realistic or naturalistic. The commitment of these definitions is particularly appropriated to the supporters of the “one kind” version, which, however, in response to the jokes of the opponents, about the unseen “breed of snub-nosed horses”, contradicting themselves, finally recognize that the dominant mode of the plastic images is grotesque (V.A. Dergachev). Objectively, this group of scepters belongs to the zoomorphic type and its allocation in that terminological frame²⁰ seems to be quite reasonable and correct.

The sculptural parts of the other variety of scepters look like a straight line or extending blade. These kinds of scepters are the mostly expended (21 items, whole and pieces²¹). There is no unity in their interpretation either. The idea that these are also plastic images of horses, but in contrast to the “realistic” scepters, these are very stylized. This version is opposed to the hypothesis regarding the connection of the schematic scepters with the symbols of masculinity; hence the alternate terminology definition, perhaps not the best – the scepters of abstract type²².

¹⁹ С.А. Семенов, *Развитие техники в каменном веке*, Ленинград, 1968, p. 80 n.

²⁰ B. Govedarica, E. Kaiser, *op. cit.*

²¹ Not taking into consideration the disputed artifact Khvalynsk-2b, presented as the bar or intermediate product: В.А. Дергачев, *op. cit.*, p.30, fig.16, 2, p.39, table 3.

²² B. Govedarica, E. Kaiser, *op.cit.*

Those who are considering the scepters only as plastic images of the horses as well as those who see a kind of Eneolithic sculptural bestiary in them, all need to set them forth into a single evolutionary scheme. It happens that the “evolutions” are constructed of chronology²³ and, if it is commensurate with it, then the appearance “at the same time of such different directions in the visual arts” is obvious²⁴. Let’s see what else another use of the scepters can give us.

Regarding the zoomorphic scepters, I think that in some ways it’s possible to support their interpretation as the sculptural head of a horse. Excluding the scepter Suvorovo-2, having in its sculptural form a concrete reality, all other samples are marked by a deliberated, intentional deformation appropriated to the primitive art technique. A dome of the forehead, exaggerated profiles, enlarged eyes, or beady eyes, protruding lips and upturned noses provide the emphasized character to the interpretation of the prototype. Perhaps this is the main feature of the zoomorphic scepters²⁵. Their example shows that in ancient times not only the concept of the human body (finely analyzed in relation to the Neolithic anthropomorphic plastic by E.V. Antonova) was built in the spirit of the grotesque. The statuettes were mounted from the separate parts, some of which were exaggerated and the others not²⁶. The zoomorphic scepters were mounted on the same principle²⁷. “In contrast to the canons of modern times the grotesque body (*human body, ancient body, – author*) is not articulated from the rest of the world, not limited, not finished, not ready, overgrowing itself, over passing its borders. The focus lies on those parts of the body, where it is open to the outside world, i.e. where the world enters the body, or sticks out from it, i.e. the apertures on foramens, on all branches and outgrowths....”²⁸ Looking at the zoomorphic scepters, it’s absolutely not possible to forget the impression about some kind of “humanizing” of the incarnated image.

The scepters are characterized by a certain morphological structure. Their monolithic bodies are proportionally divided in half along the length. One half or

²³ В.Я. Кияшко, *Энеолитические скипетры из Ростовского областного музея краеведения*, in *Известия Ростовского областного музея краеведения*, 5, Ростов-на-Дону, 1988; И.Ф. Ковальова, *op. cit.*

²⁴ Д.Я. Телегин, *К вопросу о типологии, хронологии и культурной принадлежности скипетров медного века Юго-Восточной и Восточной Европы*, *Российская археология*, 3, 2000, p.20.

²⁵ В.Г. Петренко, *Памятники энеолита и поворот эпохи к бронзовому веку в Северо-Западном Причерноморье*, in *История и археология Нижнего Подунавья*, Рени, 1989, p.18.

²⁶ Е.В. Антонова, *Антропоморфная скульптура древних земледельцев Передней и Средней Азии*, Москва, 1977, pp. 9-11.

²⁷ В.А. Дергачев, *op. cit.*, p.151 n.

²⁸ М.М. Бахтин, *Франсуа Рабле и народная культура средневековья и Ренессанса*, Москва, 1990, p.33 n.

2/3, sometimes a little more, takes the sculpted head, which almost always seems to be flattened in the sagittal plane. This main part of the sculpture is followed by the acanthaceous trunnion, respectively flattened on the sides, oval in the cross section; it is either straight or canted back and always rounded at the end. The pin having the shape of a cone with a rounded or flat point is normally thinner than the trunnion. Usually, the pin is located farther from the end of the trunnion and closer to the sculpture. The trunnion can have not only one but up to three pins and even then there is always a free space between the end of the sculpture and the first pin (fig.2). The cross-section of the trunnion within that space – is functionally a very important place (let's call it neck of the scepter)²⁹.

The main features of the morphogenesis of the zoomorphic scepters are to move away from the flat contour surfaces, to emphasize the asymmetry of the sides of the sculpture, retaining the image with certain integrity. At the same time, the flatness of these things, abstracted from the real prototype (archetype) in varying degrees, “crushes” the sculpture, amplifying the representational independence of the key perspectives, almost to the level of independent realizations and even the most “round” samples are not deprived of this. Viewed from the top, sides, bottom and front view, rhythmically alternating, are arranged in an associative and descriptive series according to the principle of *polieconism*, open by E.M. Fradkin³⁰ and appropriated to the archaic art.

For example, *en face*, the sculpture is more anthropomorphic than zoomorphic and the look at the basis does not decline to accept the not unfounded assumptions about the workload of the scepters by phallic symbolism³¹. All profiles, except a few notable exceptions, objectively force the association with a variety of animals. However, usually the view from above is very concrete – it is a horse. In case of the scepters, the difficult task of visualization of the deeply reconsidered prototype was decided by simple visual means.

There are two exceptions specified in the preceding paragraph, not counting the scepter from Kasimcha. This one, despite the convincing “horse” perspective, presented early in its very first publication³², is more inclined to “unknowable” grotesque forms. In contrast to such forms, the “Suvorovskyi” scepter is valuable as an evidence of the appeal not to a speculative prototype, but to the specific appearance of a horse. A massive hook-nosed head with an enlarged lower jaw, the

²⁹ А.А. Иессен, *op. cit.*, p.52.

³⁰ Э.Е. Фрадкин, *Полиэконическая скульптура из верхнепалеолитической стоянки Костенки I*, Советская этнография, 1, 1969.

³¹ Л.С. Клейн, *О так называемых зооморфных скипетрах энеолита*, in *Проблемы древней истории Северного Причерноморья и Средней Азии (эпоха бронзы и раннего железа)*, Ленинград, 1990.

³² D. Popescu, *La tombe à ocre de Casimcea*, in “Dacia”, VI-VIII, 1940.

function of the rear flaps were conveyed very successfully as well as the roll of closed lips, thin arched nose, nostrils, distinctive swollen lids, small ears and an upright bang. The left side of the sculpture is very interesting, scratched in ancient times, something thin and sharp (in the burial the scepter was laying precisely this side up, judging by the tracks of ocher powder). Especially striking is its left ear, "marked" by two oblique notches. This is hardly a wild horse³³. Finally, the scepter from Zolotonosha³⁴, apparently belonging to an exaggerated model, is, however, endowed with easily recognizable signs of a horse's head, not only from the perspective of the "top", but also from the sides; that is exactly what most of the scepters are devoid of.

The resistance of some key features of the sculptural treatment of the head, for example, the fringe, should be noted especially. A detail which is also systematically repeated is the submaxillary space. In nature, this part can be observed when the horse reaches for something in front of it or on the ground or, as is the sexual behavior of stallions, when they raise their heads up stretching their necks³⁵ and, finally, in case of the agonizing and dead animals. In whole, the sculptures are not rich in details. It looks like the details are used only as the determinatives of the head showing what is, bearing, in terms of their rigidity, a hint of inner strength, rather than of the potency of some action.

In some scepters, the bulk modeling is combined with the graphic design of the surface, for example in case of the scepter from Kasimcha. The lines engraved by geometrized strokes separately emphasize eyes, nostrils, submaxillary space. Maybe these are a kind of markers of the scaffold of the skull, represented in "X-ray" style, like in the archaic art. In another case, the wavy ribbon of three lines intersects the head under the eyes, visually reinforcing the contrast between the convex frontal and bending the bow³⁶. Finally, the embossed ridges of the scepter of Suvodol form a kind of rigid skeleton of the sculpture exhibited outward. They cover the contours and delineate the main surfaces, repeating the basic shape³⁷. The similar techniques are typical for the scepters of "abstract" type. It is risky to see in these linear marks something specific on their own (e.g. a bridle, estimated by some archaeologists).

Finally, it must be borne in mind that the "depiction" of the scepters is not limited to the sculpture of the head as such. Regardless of what the utilitarian function of the trunnion has been, the sense, I think, is that of the neck of a horse attached to its head. This is convincingly demonstrated by the remarkable

³³ В.Н. Даниленко, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

³⁴ И.Ф. Ковальова, *op. cit.*, fig.1,1, fig.2.

³⁵ Л.М. Баскин, *Поведение копытных животных*, Москва, 1976, p. 56, fig.15.

³⁶ В. Govedarica, E. Kaiser, *op. cit.*, S.94, Abb.19, 1.

³⁷ *Ibidem*, S.91, Abb.16, 2.

discovery – the scepter of Cairaclia (fig.2), a “gear” trunnion which, rightly considered by the author of publication, represents the neck with a mane³⁸.

L. Getov suggested an idea, which was subsequently repeated many times by the other scientists, that the opacity, uncertainty, of the visual images is the key idea of most of the zoomorphic scepters³⁹. This is only partially true, because the stylistic and morphological analysis of the material shows that the situation with the recognition was not so hopeless. Most likely, the idea was to involve the scepters into universal ritual verbal formula-chain, built upon the “question-answer” system and coming progressively closer to the truth test. “This is a dog? No. This is a wild boar? No”, etc. The natural quality of the material, veiling the sculptures, was very handy. Researches were envisaged inadvertently by trying to recognize an image on the scepter, sometimes stumbling on unthinkable exotic comparisons (hippopotamus, rhinoceros, etc.).

So, the zoomorphic scepters are the embodiment in stone of some images and ideas associated with the horse, perhaps, to the symbolically most important part of the horse, its head. Then, why the “abstract” scepter had to be stylized?

The “abstract” scepters are inherent in their own specific habitus. Their only animal feature is the trunnion. These are absolutely straight bars of stone, with two narrow and two wide opposite planes. Extended planes are elliptical in shape. The trunnion mates with the main body scepter smoothly, and only one copy of a sharp transition with a clearly defined neck. The pin in some cases is selected at the end of the trunnion and, in other cases, rests against the front of the scepter. The form of the scepters in general is not very differentiated.

One of these samples is the scepter from Berezovka, the settlement of Cucuteni-Trypillia culture, found in 1964, by V.P. Tsybeskov⁴⁰. At the same time, this find (fig.3) that, unfortunately, was already partially spoiled during the unskilled cleaning, was taken for a detailed petrography study⁴¹. In general, only the right side of the scepter did preserve the authentic surface, while the hydrochloric acid destroyed the carbonate substrate product; CaCO₃, calcite and

³⁸ Н.Д. Руссев, *Новый реалистический скипетр эпохи энеолита из Молдавии*, in *Interferența cultural-cronologică în spațiul Nord-Pontic*, Chișinău, 2003.

³⁹ L. Getov, *Sur le problème des sceptres zoomorphes en pierre*, in „Studia Praehistorica”, 3, Sofia, 1980, p.94.

⁴⁰ В.П. Цыбесков, *Некоторые итоги исследования Березовского поселения*, in *Материалы по археологии Северного Причерноморья*, 7, Одесса, 1971, p.192, fig.5. The find is stored in a collection of Archeological Museum of Odessa, inv. # 89992. In an unpublished manuscript of the monograph once given to me by V.P. Tsybeskov, the scepter is listed among the items discovered on the clay “platform” XI but it was found, as it can be judged to the best of my data, in an abandoned pit-hole by V.N. Danilenko.

⁴¹ В.Ф. Петрунь, *К археолого-петрографической характеристике энеолитических памятников...*

dolomite, leached to the depth of 2 mm. Silicates, more resistant to the dissolving influence of HCl, are manifested as frequent bumps, peaks corresponding to the original surface of the scepter. The trunnion of this scepter is quadrangular with convex faces, flat narrow ends and well-rounded edges. It is slightly longer than the head of the scepter, which mates on the sides not quite the same slopes. The end of the trunnion was damaged on the left side in antiquity and, at the same time, the pin was hit almost to the base. The head of the scepter is small but massive in appearance and almost circular in cross section. Its surface is semi-oval by faces and the end faces are reflected in a cone. The contour of each face is repeated around the arched roller, acting in its cross-section of a third circle. There is a groove scratched on the right edge of the roller in the direction of the pin. The maximum length of the scepter is of 9.2 cm, the length of the warhead is of 4.6 cm, with a height of 3.8 and thickness of 3.1 cm. The product weight is 135.1 g. This is one of the smallest scepters. It is made of the silica marble or ophicalcite (ophidolomite) that can be relatively easily processed, but it is very fragile. With the hardness of 2 to 4 units on the Mohs scale, even a flint knife can cut this stone. It is evident that on the sides, including the trunnion, the surface of the scepter was polished. Currently, the scepter is beige, the color of cocoa with milk. Once it was a white marble with green specks of silicates.

Thus, the technicality and rigorous longitudinal axial symmetry characterize the shapes of the schematic type scepters. Despite of the fact that they contain a certain three-dimensionality, they undoubtedly have their origins in the tradition of graphics (two-dimensional images), as evinced by the lateral planes. The cannelures, whether they are arched or straight, embossed ridges, border with a convex crossbar at the front end. In each individual case, they duplicate the plate-shaped base, emphasizing the axial drive of the scepter and separating the warhead.

Even if the semantics of these zoomorphic scepters has a subtext, it is securely disguised. There is one definitely zoomorphic feature that they display. If we recognize the legitimate interpretation of these objects as scepters related to the phallic symbolism, it should be emphasized that this symbolism is expressed by the structural form of the simple stone maces or clubs. The question of the stylistic dissonance of the two typological groups of scepters is disallowed, they are not “different directions of the visual arts”, but they are different ways of translating the same thing.

There is a clear need for an appropriate term, neutral to controversial interpretations and expressing the most characteristic features of the subject, from the standpoint of morphology. If we pick up the term in “tune” with the zoomorphic scepters, the original word *ροπάλον* would answer the purpose in its main meaning – club, baton, mace; *ροπάλικόξ* – clavate, thickening towards the

end⁴². Thus, the second group of scepters – are *rhopalomorphic* or *rhopalic* i.e. clavate scepters. I suggest to keep these particular names for this group and proceed to the consideration of functional aspects.

It's considered, and this is the opinion of everyone, that, for being carried, the scepter was attached to a straight or crank handle with a sleeve or collet closer. L.S. Klein questioned the appropriateness of such a mount in the context of the originally conceived symbolism of these objects⁴³. First, there are some doubts about the purely technical side.

Not only in the settlements, but also in the burials there were no physical traces of handles and the scepters themselves didn't have any other substances on them except ocher⁴⁴. The absence of traces of tar or bitumen as auxiliary material for mounting is even explicitly stated in the publications⁴⁵. The scepter of Suvurovo-2 was covered with a dense crust of caked ocher, which densely covered all burial. It was found on the pelvic bones, but taking into consideration the initially raised position of the buried human body (which is evident in the pose of the skeleton), originally, probably, it was at the waist or even chest level. So, the association of the scepter with genitals, alleged in this case by L.S. Klein, is questionable. The situation in which the scepter of Khvalynsk cemetery was found *in situ* is very indicative: in the men's tomb no.108, at the chest, on the left, a stone drilling hammer was found, and on the right – an ancient scepter damaged in old time⁴⁶. This scepter was split in two by the end of trunnion part, exactly where it was supposed to be protected by a hypothetical handle. According to the available options of reconstruction, the mounting of the scepter was carried out in a way similar to the way of mounting of a flat adze or hatchet. The fact that the peen parts of such a tool are flat and often have cuts and the technical role of the pin are not understood well. Theoretically, it should serve as a stopper (under the feather or under the harness), which prohibited the rotation of the scepter around its axis and its tilting in a plane parallel to the handle. However, what if the pin is on the heel of the trunnion, or if the pins are 3 and the trunnion is curve? It is not surprising that the reconstruction is shying away from discussing any technical inconveniences, sometimes offering "streamlined", but obscure solutions⁴⁷.

⁴² Древнегреческо-русский словарь, Москва, 1958, т.2, p.1456.

⁴³ Л.С. Клейн, *op. cit.*

⁴⁴ The traces of copper were marked on the scepter from the Fitionești, but nobody knows what is their origin, as the scepter was found in a La Tène pit, not in the cultural layer of the Eneolithic period: В. Govedarica, E. Kaiser, *op. cit.*, S.90.

⁴⁵ В.Н. Даниленко, *op cit.*, p.93.

⁴⁶ С.А. Агапов, И.Б. Васильев, В.И. Пестрикова, *Хвалынский энеолитический могильник*, Куйбышев, 1990, p. 44, fig.76.

⁴⁷ В. Govedarica, E. Kaiser, *op. cit.*, Abb. 9–10.

So, maybe the entire situation was really much simpler and we are not dealing with some knobs, but with finished, complete products? What else can be the dentated trunnion if not a handle, the properties of the above-mentioned scepter of Cairaclia? The trunnion of the scepter is the handle, the outstanding pin is a separator, and the short sticks are the finger rest. In this case, the polishing of pins, the deliberate roughness of the scepters and their very unconventional form (ergonomically tailored to fit its owner's hand in each case) is functionally justified.

The pins allow holding the scepter with a hand, reliably and tightly, and in a very fixed position. In a zoomorphic version — a frontal part from the body, and in a rhopalomorphic version — as a real club (fig.4). But the role of such a - as one would think - nonessential component, perhaps, was not restricted. First of all, the significance of the pin, as a key element in the specific gesture, is not excluded. Secondly, a sufficiently long pin could serve not only as a fixer, but as a striking pin as well, allowing combining functions of a short scepter — rod and knuckle-duster. Such objects had been used quite for a long time, judging by the glossing handle of “Suvorovskyi” scepter. The series of small sized items, available among the scepters, which, perhaps, were purposed for teenagers, is interesting.

Abrasions from strapping on the necks of the zoomorphic scepters, first revealed by A.A. Iessen, mentioned above, are remarkable as well. Perhaps, they're analogical components of the scepters of the *rhopalic* type. Signs of such a type of wear have not been always stated in descriptions, but they are well seen on the quality photos of the different types of scepters⁴⁸. Anyway, strapping would not leave abrasions if it was tightly fixed, but they are unavoidable provided the unbound fastening of a belt or rope loop. It could be, for example, a belt rope or something like a sward knot or maybe both. With such simple but practical adjustments, a scepter could be constantly carried at the belt, without the fear of an accidental loss. If necessary, it could be fixed tightly in the hand. It is all that now we can say at least presumably about the ways of carrying the scepters.

The functional sides and the significance of the thing are inseparably connected. Of a fundamental importance is holding these scepters as a mace or a club. The common Slavic **dъrzati* “to hold, to own” dates back to the Indo-European **dheregh* — “to hold tightly”, “strong”. It is compared with the Avestan *dražaitē* “holds, has in its procession, leads⁴⁹. The mace is the most typical “Indo-European antiquity”, legendary weapon, mentioned in the epical stories of many nations, an attribute of an uncountable number of mythological characters. Without setting a task to reveal the semantics of our scepters, we will pay attention only to

⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, Abb.21, 3–4, Abb.22, 4.

⁴⁹ Г.П. Цыганенко, *Этимологический словарь русского языка*, Киев, 1989, p.106.

Heracles⁵⁰, whose early iconography often represents the one who holds the stick — *ρόπαλον* — in the left hand (fig.5).

One should also not miss a key circumstance, that, in case of the Eneolithic scepters, a special role was played by the condition of physical non-integrity, bodily incompleteness of personified character — no matter if it is the fragmentary neck of a horse or if only the genitals are stressed. The head and the genitals, in the archaic traditions, serve as the most significant parts in a ritual sense, and represent the main parts of a sacrificial animal. The Roman ceremony “October Horse” (Equus October) can be a classical example. The bloody “tail” of an October Horse, which was carried after the sacrifice from Campus Martius to the sacred Ruler, obviously, represents the genitals as well. As V. Burkert emphasizes, this assumption develops into certainty due to the fact that there is not enough blood for such a ceremony in the horsetail⁵¹.

There is no doubt that the scepters are things of a sacral purpose. Rare burials of their owners are known in Kalmykia, Volga Region and Northern and Western Black Sea Regions. There is another interesting fact. Scepters are the only thing distinguishing such burials from others, no matter if it is a collective burial, individual cromlech or barrow. However, the poverty of such graves, having as inventory in particular metal, inexplicable by chronological reasons, attracts some attention⁵². Neither copper bracelets nor rings and not even gold were found in the graves. Poverty is especially striking comparing with the burial of the “hoarder” in the burial ground of Dzhurzhuleshta⁵³. There, according to a fair opinion of the authors, an attribute of a real social leader — a wooden rod with horny tip and a shaft decorated with gold was found. Thus, if the people with stone scepters were leaders while alive, they were sacral ones. And there is no wonder that their scepters, found in settlements, appear as ordinary findings. One of the “buildings” in the Cucutenian settlement of Fedeleşeni had become a “house of a chief” because there a scepter was found⁵⁴.

⁵⁰ *Dictionnaire des Antiquités grecques et romaines*, T.3, Paris, 1899, p.119.

⁵¹ В. Буркерт, *Номо Несанс. Жертвоприношение в древнегреческом ритуале и мифе*, in *Жертвоприношение: Ритуал в культуре и искусстве от древности до наших дней*, Москва, 2000, p.440. In this case both deliberate (“pious” interpretations) and unintentional aberrations of the sources took place; in Latin the word *penis* also means a tail.

⁵² Т.Г. Мовша, В.Г. Петренко, *О новоданиловских памятниках Нижнего Поднестровья и Подунавья*, in *Краткие сообщения Одесского археологического общества*, Одесса, 1999.

⁵³ V. Haheu, S. Kurciatov, *Cimitirul plan eneolitic de lângă satul Giurgiuleşti*, in “*Revista Arheologica*”, №1, Chişinău, 1993.

⁵⁴ I. Nestor, *op. cit.*

The burials of such “chiefs” in the Northwest Black Sea Regions belong to the steppe Eneolithic culture, known by two names, as Skelyanskaya culture⁵⁵ and Novodanilivskaya culture⁵⁶. Within the territory of the Volga Region and Kalmykia, the burials with scepters are found in the cemeteries of Khvalynsk culture and in the related sites of Berezhnovsky type⁵⁷. In the natural area of Cucuteni culture or Trypillya-Cucuteni, burials with scepters are unknown, as well as generally the burial ceremony of this culture is still unknown.

Something about the origin of the burial scepters should be added from the petrographic point of view. The scepter from Kasimcha — cretaceous chalkstone — is local⁵⁸. “Suvorovsky” scepter is made of amphibolite, local stone⁵⁹. The connection of the amphibolite of “Suvorovsky” scepter with the Ukrainian crystalline shield is excluded (the discovery of similar works, but which suffered deeper metamorphism, that are the nearest from the burial mound, are situated at 300 km away, along the Dniester to the South Bug).

Most of the scepters were found in the natural area of the Cucuteni-Trypillya culture, including directly in its sites⁶⁰. Sharing the opinion of I.V. Manzura⁶¹, that such finds are not something foreign for this culture, I will give a demonstrative example. The published scepter (fig.3) was made of the same rock as a number of stone artifacts of Berezovka settlement and this raw material, according to the petrographic data, is unambiguously local, from the South Bug, most likely from Zavalyevskoe deposit, which is the nearest to this settlement⁶².

As the diggings of Yasenova Polyana settlement showed, one more Eneolithic culture, which somehow or otherwise fell under the scepter expansion, is pre-Маусоп culture in the North Caucasus⁶³. The scepters showed up in the

⁵⁵ Ю.Я. Рассмакин, *Світ скотарів*, in *Давня історія України*, Т.1, Київ, 1997.

⁵⁶ Д.Я. Телегин, А.Л. Нечитайло, И.Д. Потехина, Ю.В. Панченко, *Среднеэпогівська и новоданилівська культури енеоліта Азово-Чорноморського регіону*, Луганск, 2001.

⁵⁷ И.И. Дрёмов, А.И. Юдин, *Древнейшие поджурганские захоронения Степного Заволжья*, in “Российская археология”, 4, 1992.

⁵⁸ A. Dodd-Oprişescu, I. Mitrea, *Sceptrul de piatră de la Mogoşeşti-Siret, judeţul Iaşi. Problema originii şi datării*, in “Carpica”, 1983, pp. 77-78.

⁵⁹ В.Ф. Петрунь, *Заключение о породном составе...*

⁶⁰ В.А. Дергачев, В.Я. Сорокин, *О зооморфном скипетре из Молдавии и проникновении степных энеолитических племен в Карпато-Дунайские земли*, in *Известия Академии наук МССР*, 1, Кишинев, 1986; F. Burtănescu, S. Turcanu, *Un nou sceptru eneolitic descoperit în Moldova*, in “Traco-Dacica”, XVIII, 1-2, 1997; A. Dodd-Oprişescu, I. Mitrea, *op. cit.*

⁶¹ И.В. Манзура, *op. cit.*, p.255.

⁶² В.Ф. Петрунь, *К археолого-петрографической характеристике энеолитических памятников...*

⁶³ А.А. Нехаев, *Домаикопская культура Северного Кавказа*, in *Археологические вести*, 1, Санкт-Петербург, 1992.

Northwest Balkans, but in which cultures no one knows by reason of the stratigraphical uncertainty of the respective findings⁶⁴.

So, to which culture do the scepters belong? I suppose, sharing the opinion of V.Ya. Kiyashko⁶⁵, that predominantly to no culture, but to all cultures listed above. Remarkable is the fact that discoveries of scepters “in themselves”, beyond certain sites and territories of some definite cultures, are also known. By its nature, the scepter is a transcultural phenomenon and it accentuates the question concerning the place of their origin.

The “schematic” (rhopalomorphic) scepters of the most ancient, eponymous burial grounds of Khvalynsk culture, are recognized as the earliest ones⁶⁶. This conclusion, grounded on serial radiocarbon dating and confirmed by the simplicity of the decoration (they are smooth), does not raise any doubts. It is worth considering that similar scepters may be found in Cucuteni-Trypillya as well; but the most primitive forms may have not been paid attention to up to nowadays by the reason of their obscurity, moreover if they are represented by debris. After all, possible fragments of rhopalomorphic scepters in old Cucutenian collections, unseen before, continue to be found⁶⁷. Anyway, according to the radiocarbon chronology⁶⁸, the appearance of scepters in Khvalynsk culture, most likely falls in the Precucuteni and in the period A of Trypillya culture. A Cucutenian finding of scepters, as it is well known, is associated with the period of Cucuteni A – Trypillya BI. Hence, the old chronological development saves their designation⁶⁹. The rhopalic scepters — horizon Cucuteni A₂₋₃ and Cucuteni A₃ have the most reliable dating. The zoomorphic scepters still have not found a good support in the chronology of this culture, though it can be assumed that they are not younger than the rhopalomorphic type and maybe they had existed in the context of Cucuteni-Trypillian culture even a bit longer. Thus, in one case, a zoomorphic scepter was found in the territory, but beyond the layer of the settlement of Cucuteni A₂ or Cucuteni A₂₋₃ (Fitionești) phase. The second finding was made in the settlement of Cucuteni A₄ phase (in the “house of a leader” in Fedeleșeni). The character of the expansion of the zoomorphic scepters in the Northern and Eastern Balkans coordinates with these last dates. The scepters, which had never been met in the

⁶⁴ В.А. Дергачев, *op. cit.*, p.10 n.

⁶⁵ В.Я. Кияшко, *op. cit.*, p.145 n.

⁶⁶ В.А. Дергачев, В.Я. Сорокин, *op. cit.*; Д.Я. Телегин, *op. cit.*

⁶⁷ F. Burtănescu, S. Turcanu, *op. cit.*

⁶⁸ С.А. Агапов, И.Б. Васильев, В.И. Пестрикова, *op. cit.*, p. 86 n.; Е.Н. Черных, Л.И. Авилова, Л.Б. Орловская, *Металлургические провинции и радиоуглеродная хронология*, Москва, 2000, p.60, table 3-В.

⁶⁹ В.А. Дергачев, В.Я. Сорокин, *op. cit.*; A. Dodd-Oprîțescu, I. Mitrea, *op. cit.*; B. Govedarica, E. Kaiser, *op. cit.*

layers of Gumelnița culture, whose existence ceased synchronously with Cucuteni A₃ phase⁷⁰, were found in its territory within the modern Romania and Bulgaria, unfortunately beyond a definite context.

Scepters were map covered in order to clarify the character of their expansion more than once, beginning with the important work of A. Dodd-Oprițescu and I. Mitrea, who established the first geographical distribution⁷¹. It is advisable to make it one more time, projecting different types of scepters to the natural areas of the cultures. The result enables us to see how the mappings, both for rhopallic (fig.6) and zoomorphic scepters, are difficult (fig.7).

It was not the first time when wide “polarity” in the distribution of both types of scepters was asserted. It’s especially striking the obvious preference of the West in a number of finds of the zoomorphic type of scepters and the circumstance that areas not ascribed to any culture have not been involved in the discovery of such scepters, not even when accidental finds were involved. Among the area of distribution of the scepters, the Trans-Dniester steppes yawn with a wide lacuna. All researches find the present moment as poor in data, every time counting on the future findings. But there, the scepters have not been found up to the present time, though archeologically it is the most studied region of Ukraine. In fact, from the point of view of the model of possible scepters, the “archeological location”, made according to the data of the Homeric epos⁷², exactly this region, and not the area of Khvalynsk culture of the Volga Region, should be considered as a possible ancestral home of the owners of the scepters. But is it right? Maybe the people having the stone scepters performed some specific function and they did not have to stay in the Trans-Dniester steppes, moving from the Volga to the West? It is clear that it is out of the question that such sacral things as the scepters could be the subject of some direct or relay goods exchange.

We must consider the distribution of the scepters at the level of their variants, represented both as single goods and pairs and even as small series of specimens. Such groups include similar and almost identical sculptures. That is why this division, which is further suggested, is more detailed than in German literature on scepters⁷³ and is closer to the approach of the Romanian colleagues⁷⁴. The purpose is to see the issue which A.A. Iessen emphasized about the scepters, namely seeing them as the “production of one manufacture cell” or “workshop”⁷⁵.

⁷⁰ X. Тодорова, *Каменно-медната епоха в България*, София, 1986, p.230.

⁷¹ A. Dodd-Oprițescu, I. Mitrea, *op. cit.*

⁷² В.А. Дергачев, *op. cit.*, p.101 n.

⁷³ B. Govedarica, E. Kaiser, *op. cit.*

⁷⁴ F. Burtănescu, S. Turcanu, *op. cit.*

⁷⁵ А.А. Иесен, *op. cit.*, p.52.

Since a great majority of the scepters have been published and there is no possibility to extend the descriptive part, I present the results in a special cartographic variant (fig.8). I will specify only two improvements.

1) I have not managed to see an unpublished scepter from Kokberek⁷⁶.

2) No matter how minor is the draftsmanship of the fragment from Yasenova Polyana, it does not look like the scepters with cannelures from the area of Cucuteni-Trypillya, but it is similar to the scepter from Maikop⁷⁷. Both these specimens should be emphasized, at least preliminary, as a separate type of scepters. The basalt fragment from a settlement on the Don, Konstantinovka, also belongs to this type. The lateral cannelures are thin and straight⁷⁸.

Maybe the bearers of Khvalynsk culture were the first who used the scepters, when they became familiar with the rhopalomorphic type. But space distribution shows only one thing: the maximal variety of the scepters and the most intensive “creative search” fall on west, mostly in the area of Cucuteni-Trypillya culture (fig.8). We will add to this picture the known petrographic data. The version of the eastern origin of the scepters hangs only by a thin “chronological thread”.

It is significant to note the following: The lacuna regarding the distribution of the scepters is restricted to the regions where, as per N.S. Kotova, a possible center of primary domestication of the horse is localized⁷⁹. There is a steady growth of horse breeding from the Neolithic to Khvalynsk culture to the East, in Kalmykia and Volga Region, where, possibly, there were some domestication centers⁸⁰. The Khvalynsk culture takes the great economically profitable territory, comparable with the known traditional routes of the migrations of the horse herds⁸¹. The area of the simultaneous Novodanylovkaya (Skelanskaya) culture is not less than the area of Khvalynsk and is extended similarly in longitudinal and latitudinal directions. And, on the flanks of Skelanskaya culture, distant from Dnieper, where scepters are found, its traces are minimal. However, both peripheral areas, eastern and western, directly verge on the areas of developed agriculture. Finally, in the west of the area of the scepters, we must remark, as noticed by V.A. Dergachev, the restriction to the area of Cucuteni-Trypillya culture, which is adjacent to the steppe and where before the scepters, the horse bones appeared in the cultural layers. As scepters started, a sharp recession in the

⁷⁶ В. Govedarica, E. Kaiser, *op. cit.*, S.72.

⁷⁷ Д.Я. Телегин, *op. cit.*, fig. 3, 26.

⁷⁸ В.Я. Кияшко, *op. cit.*, fig.1, 2.

⁷⁹ Н.С. Котова, *Неолитизация Украины*, Луганск, 2002, p.56.

⁸⁰ В.А. Дергачев, *О скипетрах, о лошадях, о войне. Этюды в защиту миграционной концепции М. Гимбутас*, p.231 n.

⁸¹ Л.М. Баскин, *op. cit.*, p. 43, fig.6.

appearance of the bones took place⁸². What could be an argument for a stable position of a culture if not a confirmation of a change of the meaning of the horse, its acknowledgement as not only “food”?

The appearance of the riding horse in the Eneolithic, in particular, within the period of expansion of the scepters, did not find confirmation in the artifacts, but is defended by convincing analytical data given by the archeozoologists⁸³ and by the respective chapters of the book of V.A. Dergachev⁸⁴. The reason why this event (riding horse) did not immediately lead to the appearance of horse-breeding is logically explained by specialists as the originally restricted expansion of the knowledge needed for horse training for riding. This knowledge was not bestowed to many people, being the “secret of a clan”, as O.P. Zhuravlev writes⁸⁵. The consequences of mastering the horse riding in the condition of the people from the American continent are well known by the arrival of the Europeans⁸⁶. Among other things, there are changes in the religious system of the aboriginal population, the appearance of the unions of the wizards-veterinarians⁸⁷.

So, who were the owners of the scepters? Who were these people, who traveled along a very vast space and were not associated with wealth in their postmortem existence? Who are they, who possessed the sacral sign of the sacrificed horse?

If we take into consideration all the data mentioned above, there are some answers to our questions. The scepters followed their owners everywhere — in the Balkans, on the Volga, in the Caucasus —, distinguishing these people as representatives of another ethnos. They went in the direction where their sacral knowledge, combining sacral and practical experience as a whole, was needed. It is their knowledge about the horse, distinguishing them according to the signs of their “profession”. These people were natives of the ethno-professional group of “horsetamers” (maybe not only one), members of that clan, which, according to O.P. Zhuravlev, owned the secrets of training. *Scepters are sacral and professional insignias.*

The merits of the people having stone scepters were as great as the developed territory. We'll look once again at the cartography of the scepters, to a peculiar expansion along the line “west-center-east” (fig.6-7). In the beginning of

⁸² В.А. Дергачев, *op. cit.*, p. 277 n.

⁸³ П.В. Пучков, О.П. Журавльов, *Чи існували вериництво і кіннота за кам'яної, мідної та бронзової доби?*, in *Археологія*, 2000, 2, pp. 101-115.

⁸⁴ В.А. Дергачев, *op. cit.*

⁸⁵ О.П. Журавлев, *О появлении домашних лошадей на Украине*, in *Nomadizm a pastoralism w miedzyrzeczu Wisly i Dniepru (neolit, eneolit, epoka brazu)*, Poznań, 2004.

⁸⁶ В.А. Шнирельман, *Происхождение скотоводства*, Москва, 1980, p.190 n.

⁸⁷ *Ibidem*, p.201.

the second millennium BC, on the poles of this axis, two strongest centers of cultural genesis — the Carpathian and Danubian “riding” or “chariot” center and the Volga and Ural “chariot” center will appear⁸⁸. At the dawn of the written European history, there were some well-known nations that were horse riders: the horse archer Thracians, the Scythians, the Sarmatians settled along this axis. I believe that the statement that this historical situation started from the Eneolithic has at least the right to claim the status of a hypothesis.

⁸⁸ В.С. Бочкарев, *Карпато-дунайский и волго-уральский очаги культурогенеза эпохи бронзы*, in *Конвергенция и дивергенция в развитии культур эпохи энеолита — бронзы Средней и Восточной Европы*, Санкт-Петербург, 1995.

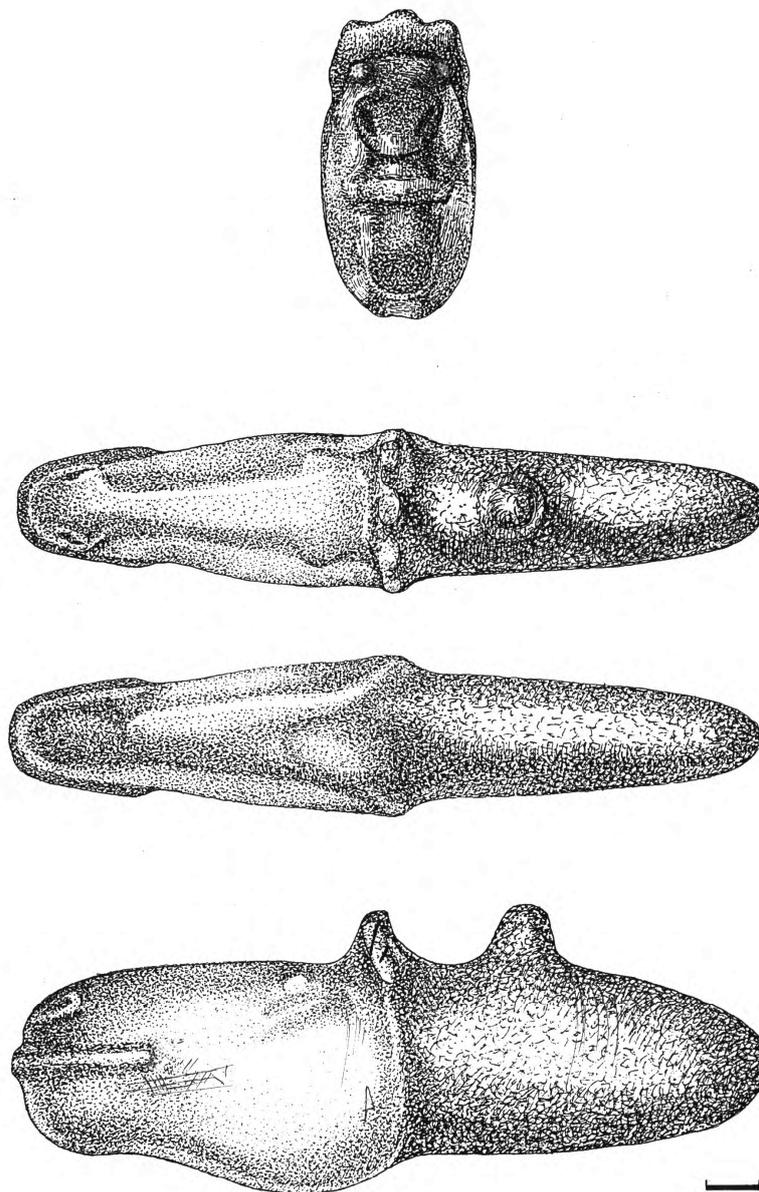


Fig.1. Scepter from the cemetery of Suvorovo-2. Excavation by I.L. Alexeeva.

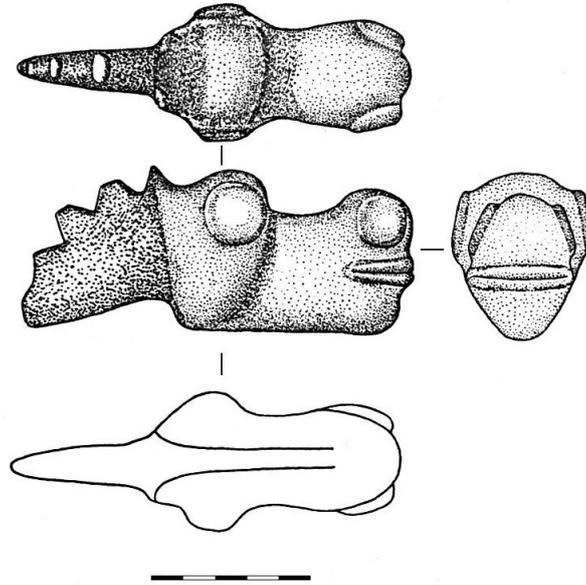


Fig.2. Scepter found in the village of Cairaclia (by N.D. Russev).

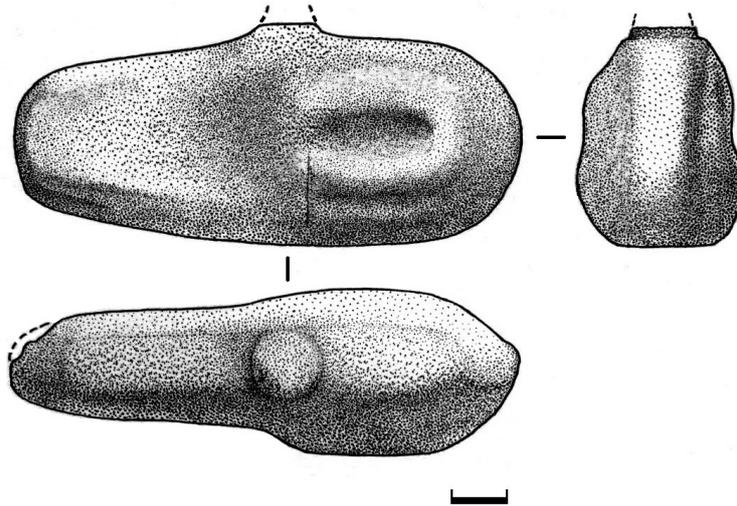


Fig.3. Scepter from the site Berezovka. Found by V.P. Tsybeskov.



Fig.4. The presumable way of wearing the scepters. Samples from the cemeteries of Suvorovo-2 (Ukraine) and Archara (Kalmykia).

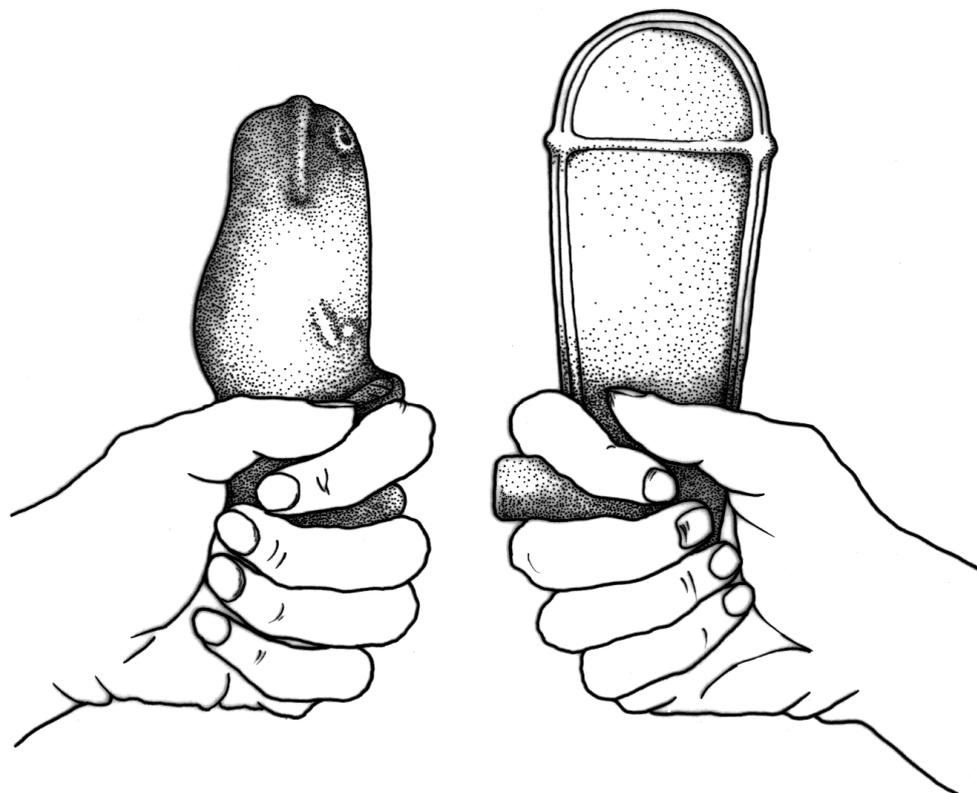


Fig.5. Heracles from Cyprus, holding a mace (*ροπάλον*).

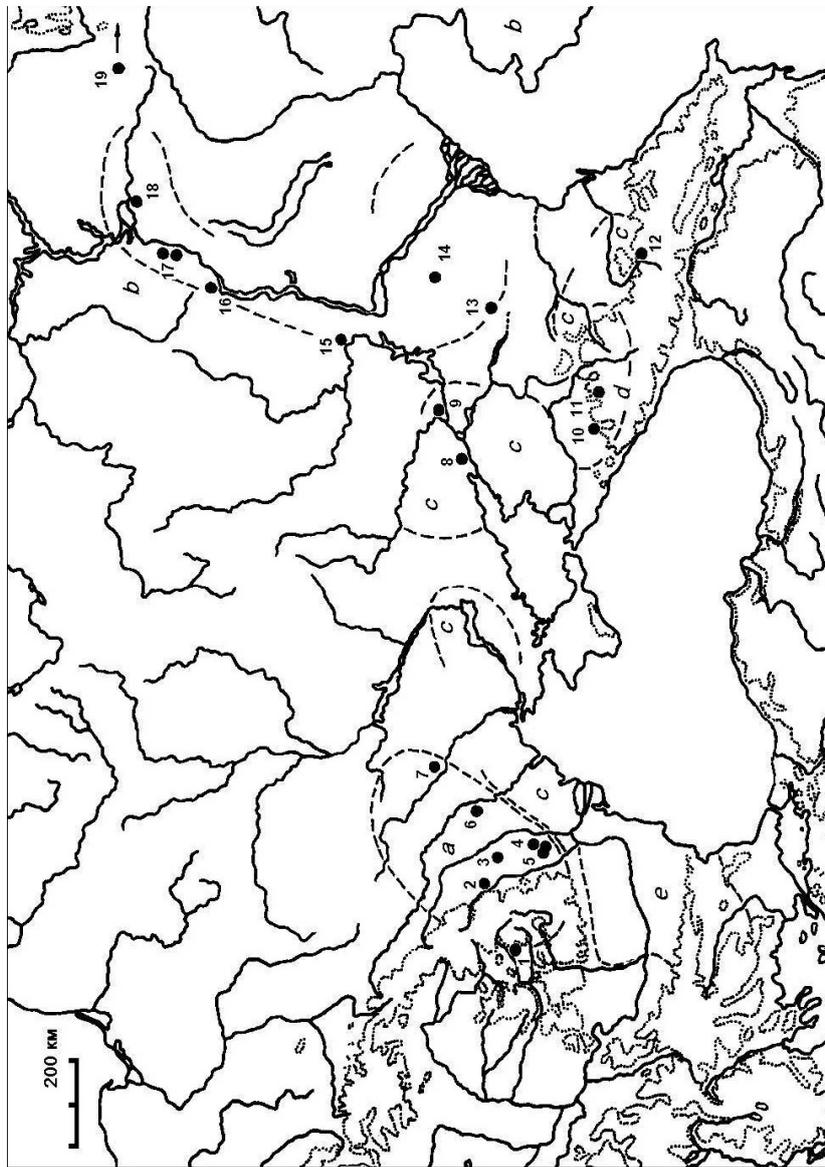


Fig.6. Distribution of the rhopalomorphic scepters (1–19) and the areas of the eneolithic cultures (a–e): 1 - Veleni, 2 - Ruzhinoasa, 3 - Mogosheshti, 4 - Birleshti, 5 - Obirsheni, 6 - Zhora de Sus, 7 - Berezovka, 8 - Rostov-na-Donu, 9 - Konstantinovka, 10 - Maikop, 11 - Jasenova Poljana, 12 - Vladikavkaz, 13 - Archara, 14 - Dzhangar, 15 - Shljachovskiyi, 16 - Hklopkovo, 17 - Khvalynsk cemeteries, 18 - Samara (Kuibishev), 19 - Arkaim; a - Cucuteni A (phase A₃) – Trypillia BI; b - Khvalynsk culture including sites of Berezhnovka type; c - Novodanylovskaya (Skelanskaya) culture; d - pre-Maikop culture; e - cultural complex Gumelnița (phases A2–B1) – Karanovo VI.

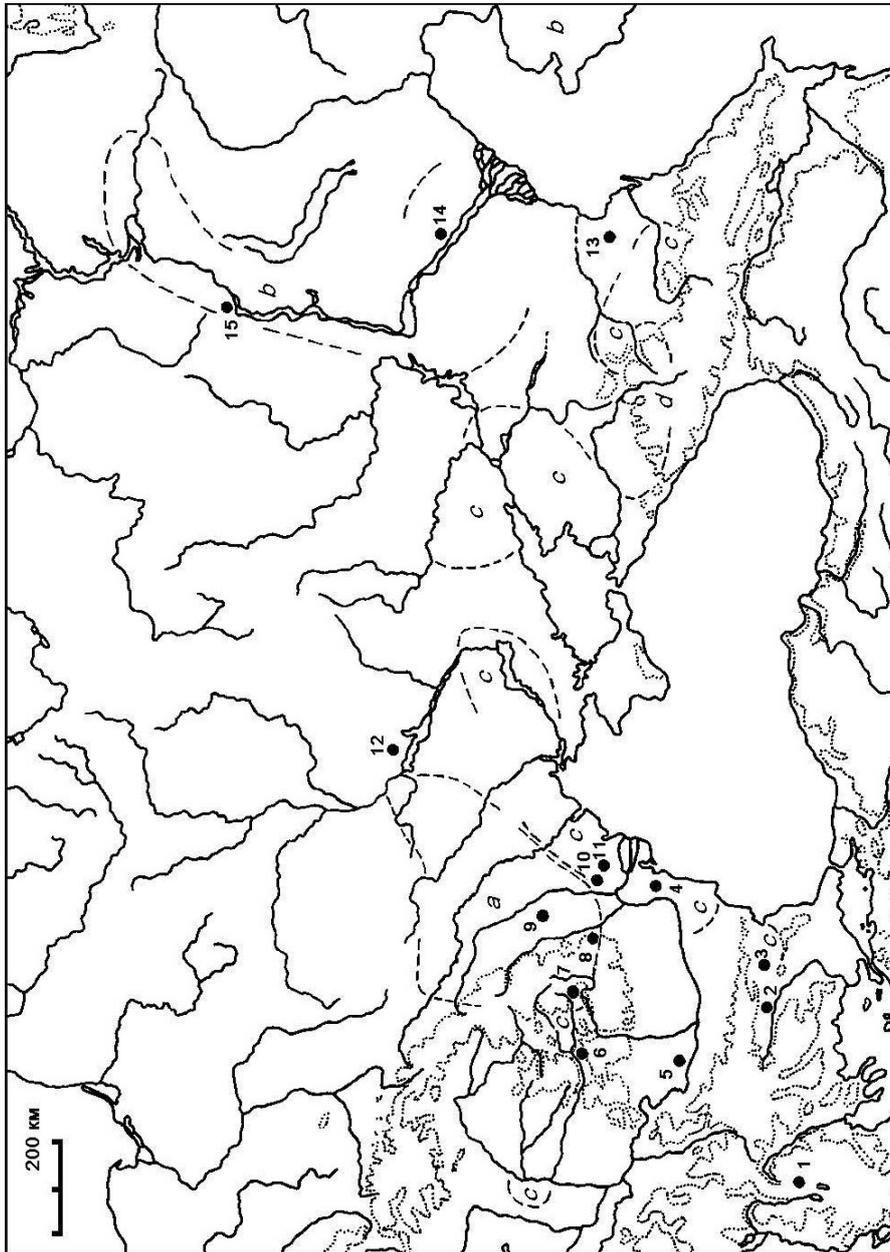


Fig.7. Distribution of the zoomorphic scepters (1–15) and the areas of the eneolithic cultures (a–d): 1 - Suvodol, 2 - Rizhevo, 3 - Drama, 4 - Kasimcha, 5 - Salcuca, 6 - Vincul de Zhos, 7 - Ariushd, 8 - Fitionești, 9 - Fedeleşeni, 10 - Cairaclia, 11 - Suvorovo, 12 - Zolotonosha, 13 - Terekli Mekteb, 14 - Kokberek, 15 - Khlopkovo; a - Cucuteni A–AB – Trypillia BI/BII; b - Khvalynsk culture including sites of Berezhnovka type; c - Novodanylovskaya (Skelanskaya) culture; d - pre-Maikop culture.

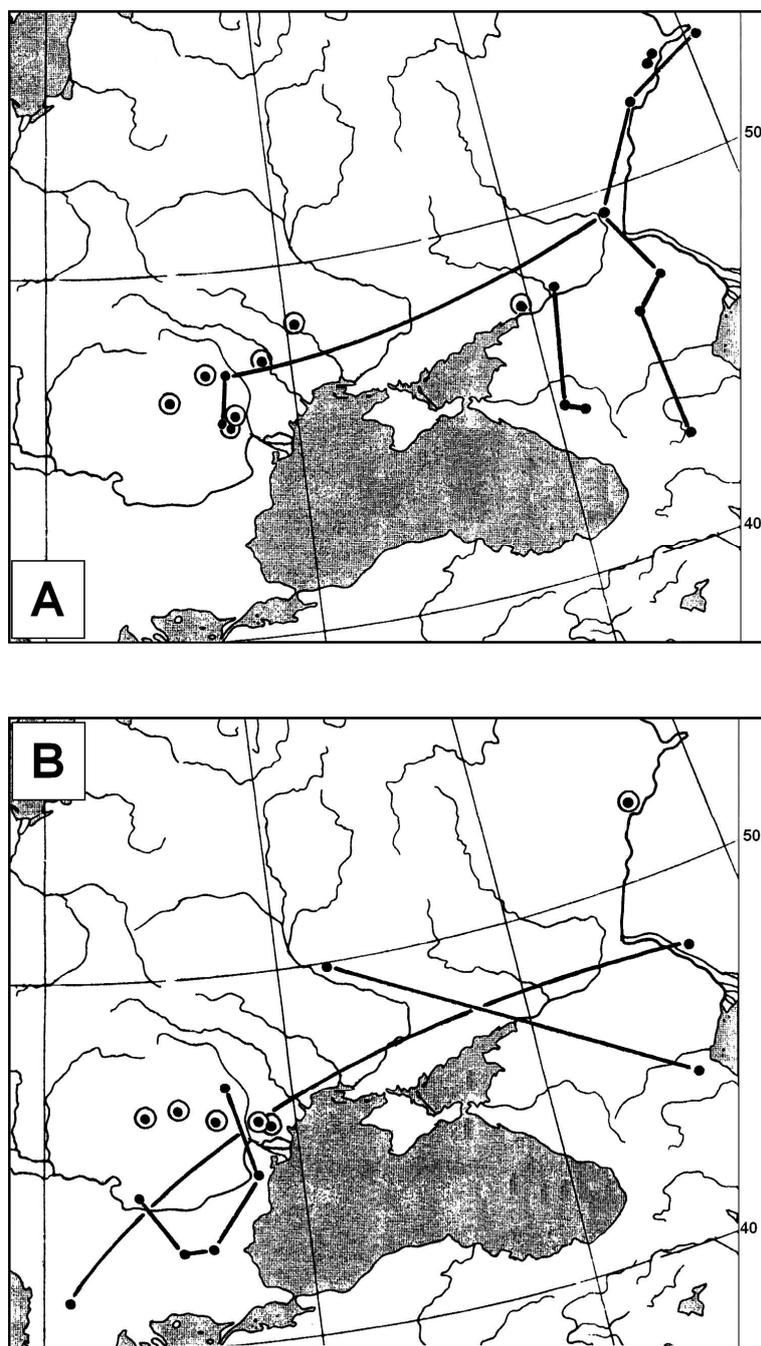


Fig.8. Distribution of the variants of the rhopalomorphic (A) and zoomorphic (B) scepters. The series are marked with lines. The indexes of the finds are given in figures 6–7