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New Finds of the Alanian Graves With Import Goods in the Krasnodar Region

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The problem of the appearance of the early Alans in the East European steppes is one of the topical points of issue of the archaeology of the Early Iron Age. The future role of these nomadic tribes in the European history of the “Great Migration period” lends importance to the study of their earlier culture. Nevertheless, in the only book devoted to the Alan’s history¹ the archaeological monuments of South Russia were not correlated with the sources given by ancient authors. However the barrow-graves (kurgan-graves) of the 1st century B.C.-3rd century A.D. discovered in the North Pontic Region may be identified as “alianic”.

The first attempt to connect these rich kurgans dated from the middle of the 1st to the beginning of the 3rd centuries A.D. with the Alans was carried out by the author². But the Alans appeared in the East European steppes a few decades earlier, probably in the second half of the 1st century B.C. At the beginning of the 1920s M.Rostovtzev marked as a separate type of sarmatian graves, kurgans of the so-called “zubovsko-vozdvidzenski” group discovered in the Kuban region³. In the 1990s some scholars attributed these graves to the Alanian⁴ and connected them with the first wave of Alanian invasion into the North Pontic steppes⁵. One critical essay has added to our idea rather than its refutation⁶. But it

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³ M.I. Rostovtzev, Skifia i Bospor (1925) 570 ff.


⁵ N.E. Berlizov, “Zubovsko-vozdvidzenskaya gruppa i ee mesto v sisteme Cubanskikh drevnosti sarmatskogo vremeni”, In: 2nd Cubanskaya arheologicheskaya konferenciya, Abstracts (-993) 9 ff.

seems our critic did not understand the nature of this contradiction. On the contrary the last finds of the kurgans in the Kuban region seen later than the date and attribution of the graves under discussion.

The first grave was studied in the north-east neighbourhood of Krasnodar near the village of Rassvet (Fig. 1). The secondary grave-pit of the Early Iron Age was introduced into this kurgan of the Early Bronze Age. This narrow rectangular pit was oriented from southeast to north-west, depth 4.24m. The floor of the grave under the skeleton was covered with rotten grass. The male skeleton lay supine, head pointing south-east (Fig. 3). The grave contained the following goods:

1. An iron long sword with the Y-shaped pommel (Fig. 3, 14). On the blade and hilt there are the remains of a wooden scabbard and handle. An iron scabbard-point with three rivets was preserved (Fig. 14). The sword belongs to a rare section II, type 3, subtype 2 according to the classification of I. Marchenko. In the 1st century B.C. similar swords were widespread in the regions of Central Asia inhabited by proto-alanian nomadic tribes. Its appearance in the Pontic steppes can be connected with the migration of the Early Alans.

2. A gold oval brooch-fibula with sea-shell inlay lay at the waist (Fig. 3, 2). The central socket was made by three lines of beaten twisted wires. The border is decorated with two lines of “running waves”, edged with soldered ribbed wire. On the back the tubular catchplate was preserved, a pin was lost. The fibula belongs to a type described by A. Ambroz as a polychrome fibulae with gems inlaid and “geometric ornament”. In the last few years new finds have been added to the Ambros’ catalogue. All these fibulae were found in the graves dating from the 2nd to the middle of the 1st centuries B.C. in the Kuban region exclusively.

The authors mentioned above came to the conclusion that these fibulae were manufactured in Bosphoran workshops for barbarian chieftains, as they were found close to the Asiatic side of the Kingdom. In Bosphoran necropoleis the fibulae of a similar art are not known. The closest parallel to our find was found in 1875 in a destroyed kurgan “Chernyshevskii” near Shchedrinskaya (Kizlyar region, Daghestan). It has a rounded form with the decorated border and central sea-shell inlay. A few examples inlaid with unfigured semiprecious stones and without ornamental peculiarities have been found in the necropoleis of Tanais and Neapolis. The first is the most barbarian town of Bosphorus, the second-the capital of the Scythian Kingdom in the Crimea. All the graves were later than the barbarian kurgans and dated from the 1st century B.C. to the 1st century A.D.

In my opinion the art of fibulae suggests the concentration of the fine earlier examples in Kuban kurgans indicates a development quite the opposite. The rich decorated fibulae

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7 Marchenko, op. cit. 52 ff. Pl. 12.v.
11 State Museum of Georgian History (Tbilisi), Inv. No. 2982. Not published.
12 Ambroz, op. cit. 31 No. 1, 2, 4-8
13 Ibid. 31.
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appeared in the Ciscaucassian region in the 2nd century B.C. These specimens were made either in the Hellenistic states of the Eastern Mediterranean or in Central Asia. The further manufacture of these brooch-fibulae was connected with the Bosporan masters who used these imported fibulae as models.

3. A gold rectangular plaque of gold sheet, with a representation of a fantastical serpentine animal with turned body and avian horned head, lay between the knees (Fig. 3, 11). Under the back part of the “serpent” a goat figure emerges. The second goat is represented inverted. The fore-legs of the first goat merge into the neck and horns of the second one. Under the plaque the remains of the red dye of the textile or skin or a rotten object were preserved.

The complete analysis of the subject and iconography of this plaque are beyond the purview of the present article. I’d like to make some preliminary remarks. The subject and art of this plaque doesn’t have a close parallel. Some features (the turned body, doubled heads of goats etc.) resemble the Sarmatian and Alanian animal style, others (birds’ head, goats’ horns etc.) resemble Celtic art, this is the result of it being manufactured by Celtic masters for nomads. Celtic goods might have come from Galatia-the nearest region inhabited by Celts rather than from the West.

4. A few examples of socketed three-edged arrow-heads soldered together by rust lay near the left foot (Fig. 3). Similar arrow-heads were widespread in the Kuban region from the 3rd century B.C. to the turn of the era.  

5. A whetstone, rounded in cross-section with a hole for a cord lay near the right foot (Fig. 3, 10). Whetstones of similar shape or rectangular in cross-section were spread so widely that it is easy to find analogies in any area and of any period. These tools could not to be used for chronological or ethnic determination of the nomadic graves.

6. The iron knife destroyed by cleaning lay near the right shank (Fig. 3, 13). A second one was found in the north-east part of the pit among the fragments of bronze vessels (Fig. 3, 13, 7). At the flattened tang the remains of a wooden hilt were preserved. All the remarks made above, about the whetstones also apply to knives. Their chronology and typology is a problem for the future to be settled by metallurgical analysis.

Next to the second knife, the bones of a back part of a sheep’s carcass were found which was the usual funeral food for the deceased in the Sarmatian period.

8. A wheeled greyware burnished little bowl was found near the feet (Fig. 3, 8). The bowl has a base concave inside, a ribbed body and a rim slightly hollowed inward. Analogous bowls form part of the distribution of this Ciscaucasia type of ware. The bowls identical in shape without rounded base and larger were classified by I. Marchenko as group II, version I part A, type IV. The offerings with the bowls were dated to the first half of the 2nd century B.C. and to the 1st century B.C. This 100 year chronological discrepancy seems to be the result of the author’s inexact dating methods.

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14 Marchenko, op. cit. 60, 65.  
15 Ibid. 161 Pl. 25, 19.  
16 Ibid. 87, 89.
9. Between the feet and the north-eastern side of the grave-pit a handmade brownware pot with five pebbles and coals inside was found. It has a globular body, bottom concave inside, with its neck lost in antiquity (Fig. 3, 10). These pots were used by the nomads as censers in funerary ritual. The usage of pebbles was borrowed from the settled Maeotic tribes and it served as a protection of kin from the actions of the deceased.\(^{17}\)

Our pot is related to the group of ritual pottery classified by I. Marchenko as type I, version 2 “with stocky body and wide neck”\(^{18}\) and dated from the end of the 3rd to the 1st centuries B.C. The neck of the Rassvet’ pot was probably broken off deliberately, to be converted to a censer.

10. An iron pole with a long rounded pivot, flattened and curved at one end lay between the bowl and the pot. A round dish hammered together with four curved rods was riveted at the other end (Fig. 3, 4). There are no direct parallels to our find. However in the rich nomadic graves of the last century B.C. in northeast Ciscaucasia, five iron poles, so-called “warders” were found.\(^{19}\) Warders all have a sharp end and a model of a “world tree” (*arbor mundi*) surrounded with four deer protomos at the other end. It is assumed that these warders were used as priestly symbols. The remote analogy to Kuban’ warders is provided by the “altars” of tagar culture in South Siberia\(^{20}\) and iron staves from Tadjikistan\(^{21}\).

It seems the nomads had used for their rituals a lower part of an iron candelabra or of a lamp’s stand. Inverted curved legs imitate the protomos of nomadic warders.

11. A small mirror cast of low-grade silver (bilion) lay next to the bowl (Fig. 3, 6). Similar mirrors were classified by A. Khazanov as version “B” and dated from the end of the 3rd to the 2nd centuries B.C.\(^{22}\) New finds and elaboration of the dates have determined A. Khazanov’s chronology. In the Kuban region these mirrors were found in grave offerings dated up to the end of the 1st century B.C. In the Lower Volga and Lower Don region, graves with these mirrors date to the 1st century B.C.-1st century A.D.\(^{23}\)

12. Fragments of a bronze bucket were found in the north-east part of the pit. There are two belts of ornament below the rim, broken by the lyre ornament with runners below the handles. Attachments are thickened and cast with circular relief ornament. Rectangular in cross-section the handles end in unopened buds (Fig. 3, 10, 12).

Similar buckets were widely spread throughout the Greco-Roman world in the last centuries B.C.\(^{24}\) The latest paper on these vessels was written by W. Schiering\(^{25}\). He separat-

\(^{18}\) Marchenko, op. cit. 167 Pl. 35, 102.
\(^{19}\) The list of finds and bibliography see: Raev-Yatsenko, op. cit. 113. I need to supplement our list with a warder which was found in a destroyed kurgan in Voronezhskaya (Ust.-Labinsk region). Not published, Regional Museum, Krasnodar, Inv. No. 3625/40 v.
\(^{20}\) A.I. Martynov, Lesotepnaya tagarskaya kultura (1979) Pl. 54.
\(^{21}\) Drevnosti Tadjikistana. Catalog of Exhibition (1985) No. 597; Yu. Yakubov, “Arheologicheskie pamyatniki Rashta i Darvaza [raboty 1982 g.],” Archeologicheskie issledovaniya v Tadjikistane XXII, 1990, 299 Fig. 3 v.
\(^{22}\) A.M. Khazanov, “Genezis sarmatskih bronzyh zerkal”, Sovetskaya arheologia 1963, No.3 pp. 62, 64.
\(^{23}\) Marchenko, op. cit. 19.
\(^{25}\) W. Schiering, Zeitstellung und Herkunft der Bronzesitula von Waldalgesheim, HambBeItA 5.1, 1975, 77 ff.
ed them into two types on the basis of the handle’s form. The bucket in discussion belongs to the earlier “A” type. These vessels were produced from the 5th century B.C. onwards. W. Schiering classified some variants of the type “A” by the peculiarities of the ornament under the attachments. Our bucket is related to the latest group, which has a lyre ornament and heart-form figures.

13. Next to the bucket, a broken cast bronze cauldron was found. It has a tall hollow stand, two vertical looped handles (only one is preserved) decorated with three knobs and an encircling plastic band simulating the cord-decoration on the body (Fig. 312, 13).

The breaking of the cauldron was connected with the custom of “killing of the grave-goods” widely spread in Eurasian nomadic cultures of the Early Iron Age. The round raised figure below the handle is the typical nomadic “tamga sign.”

The latest published article on the bronze cast cauldrons from south-west Europe contains a comprehensive bibliography on this subject. According to the classification of S. Demidenko, our cauldron belongs to type VI, version 2, subversion B. The closest parallels dated to the 1st century B.C. were found in the Kuban region. The latest finds of the 1st century A.D. and of the beginning of the 2nd century A.D. spread northwards in the Don/Volga steppes. In my opinion these two chronological groups mark consecutive stages of Alanian penetration into the south-eastern European steppes.

14. Stamped bronze hemispherical plaques lay on the sword’s blade and between the sword and the left shank (Fig. 315, 5a). These plaques were used as the decoration of a scabbard or a sword belt.

15. A dress with gold stamped ornaments sewn to it were found in the pit (Fig. 315, 5):
   a) near the skull, and upper arm smooth and corrugated tubulets (Fig. 5b) and round smooth plaques with central circlet (Fig. 5f);
   b) lengthways along the upper extremities and near the pelvis, the cruciform plaques with twelve-lobed rosette and circlet in center (Fig. 5e);
   c) lengthways along the shanks, the twelve- and eighteen-lobed plaques with circlet in center (Fig. 5c,d,g).

These gold plaques were used as dress decoration of the nomads, especially the Sarmatians, and were widely used in the North Pontic region from the 3rd century B.C. to the Early Migration Period. Numerous finds of these plaques in the north-western Caucasus were cataloged by Marchenko. He had classified and dated some types of plaques including our ones. The rosette-plaques (Fig. 5g) belonged to a group A (geometrical), subgroup I (singles), type 1 (round), subtype 4 (with a central circlet), version 6 (little circlet) dated from the first half of the 1st century B.C. The smooth plaques with a central circlet (Fig. 5f) of the same group (A, I, 1, 4), version 2 (a high smooth circlet) were in use from the

26 Ibid. 78 f.
29 Ibid. 126 Fig. 8.
30 Marchenko, op. cit. 140 Pl. 7; 11.
3rd century B.C. to the 2nd century A.D\textsuperscript{31}. The plaques Pl. 2, 2e are of group E (rosette), type 1 (four-lobed) dated from the end of the 2nd century B.C.\textsuperscript{32}.

Judging by the position of these plaques in the grave, they were used as an embellishment of the dress. The form of head-dress could not be reconstructed but it was embroidered and densely covered with the different types of golden plaques. Plaques lying lengthways on the arms were used for embellishing the embroidered sleeves’ seams and cuffs and the plaques lying from the knees to the feet were used to embellish the embroidery of the lower part of the trousers.

Silver and gold threads of this silver and gold-thread embroidery lay across the lower end of the femurs, above and beneath them (Fig. 317). The threads were made of fine silver and gold wires hammered to a thin tape ca. 0.3 mm wide.

Analogous embroiders were reconstructed by S.Yatzenko. According to him the rich nomadic clothes included wide trousers and short (men’s) and long-lap (woman’s) outer-clothes decorated with these plaques and with brocade embroidered along the lap\textsuperscript{33}. His reconstruction was confirmed by finds from the graves of nomadic nobility found in Bactria\textsuperscript{34}. These can be dated to the same time and somewhat later than the zubovsko-vozdvidzenski group one.

**The second grave** was discovered in 1989 in kurgan Nr.1 which is 2 kilometres from Ivanovskaya (Krasnoarmeyskiy district) on the right bank of the Kuban river (Fig. 12). Burial Nr.19 of the sarmatian period was inserted into this kurgan dating from the Early Bronze Age. The form of this burial-pit could not be determined because its fill could not be differentiated from the soil of burial-mound. At a depth of 1.37 m a woman’s skeleton lies supine, head pointed west (Fig. 15). The floor of grave was covered with carbonized rotten grass preserved under the skeleton. The grave was furnished with the following goods:

1. A redware wheeled jug was found near the skull (Fig. 154, 19). The flat handle has a groove on the external surface. A globular body divided from the vertical cylindrical neck with a horizontal roller. The neck is turned slightly outwards to the rim. These closed jugs were classified by Marchenko as group I, type III, version 1. These vessels of local production appeared in the 2nd half of the 3rd century B.C. and were used until the middle of the first century B.C.\textsuperscript{35}.

2. A redware wheeled mug lay near the jug. (Fig. 152, 17). A horizontal rounded handle is attached to the biconical body below the shoulder and joined to the funnel-shaped neck. In shape our vessel lies midway between the two common types of red-ware mugs, one of which has a very closed body but vertical handle (according to classification of I. Marchenko group III, part 1, version 2, type ID)\textsuperscript{36}, the second with the horizontal handle and globular body (group III, part 1, version 1, type VI)\textsuperscript{37}.

\textsuperscript{31} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{32} Ibid. 142 Pl. 9; 11.
\textsuperscript{34} V.I. Sarianidi, Bactrian Gold (1985); Id., Hram i nekropol’ Tillyatepe, (1989) 46 ff.
\textsuperscript{35} Marchenko, op. cit. 156 Pl. 23, 3; ibid. Pl. 117.
\textsuperscript{36} Ibid.164 Pl. 30, 67.
\textsuperscript{37} Ibid. 164 Pl. 30, 64.v.
The closest parallel to our mug was found in the kurgan in Michurina, 5 kilometres from Ivanovski. It was found with an altered (repaired?) helmet of “Montefortino” type\textsuperscript{38}. It seems that both mugs were produced in the same workshop.

Both vessels are typical red-wares which had been produced in the workshops of the Kuban settlements in the Hellenistic and Early Roman period and were widespread in the surrounding areas northward to the Lower Don and Lower Volga basins. The local masters were influenced by pottery produced in the workshops of Asia Minor\textsuperscript{39}. Unfortunately it is very difficult to isolate peculiarities adopted by local masters before there is a complete analysis of the surviving Kuban redware.

3. Near the lower jaw, an amber pear-shaped bead was found. It was destroyed by cleaning (Fig. 5\textsubscript{5}).

4. To the left side of the chest lay an oval gold brooch-fibula (Fig. 5\textsubscript{1}, 20). The central part with amber inlay surrounded by a border with rapported ornament: rounded socket with garnet inlays (only 6 stones were preserved) separated from each of other by soldered wire spirals gathering with four grains; the 5\textsuperscript{th} grain soldered nearer inside. Within the drop-shaped soldered socket the inlay is missing. At the edge there are three perforations for repair. On the back, a double catchplate made of gold plate and a fragment of an iron spring were preserved, the pins were lost. This fibula belongs to a type described above (Rassvet, No. 2).

The back side of the fibula is chiselled with lines in the form of a “tamga-sign”. These signs were widespread in the Pontic steppes and are interpreted as ownership signs of property belonging to nomadic tribes. These chiselled lines may be divided into two groups: the first were made of three crossing long lines, the second of a few short cuts. These groups have close parallels with those on the Pantikapaion stone slab, the so-called “encyclopaedia of signs”\textsuperscript{40}.

The amber inlay had been investigated in the laboratory of amber studies (Warsaw). The infra-red test was negative due to small size of the sample of amber. The microscopic test registered that the transparent red-yellow petrified resin must be Succinit of sea- or earthen origin. I doubt, whether the Succinit (a Baltic amber) was used in the last century B.C. by nomads of the Ciscaucasan steppes. Most likely the amber inlay was made from Arabia or Red Sea amber.

5. Next to fibula, an iron four-edged arrow-head with a tanged rusted hilt was found (Fig. 5\textsubscript{6}, 18). There is one example of a four-edged arrow-head of similar shape in the grave but it has a socketed hilt\textsuperscript{41}. These are new types of regional arrow-heads if their hilt's form is not a result of rusting.


\textsuperscript{39} For the influence of the imported Asia Minors redware see e.g.: I.S. Kamenetzkii, Gorodishcha donskikh meotov (1993), 24 ff.; T. Knipovitsch, “Untersuchungen zur Keramik römischer Zeit aus den Griechenstädtien an der Nordküste des Schwarzen Meers. I. Die Keramik römischer Zeit aus Olbia in der Sammlung der Ermitage”, Materialen zur römisch-germanischen Keramik, 1, 1929.

\textsuperscript{40} Drachuk, op. cit. 105 ff. Pl. VII, 476,477,489-491.

\textsuperscript{41} Marchenko, op. cit. 61 Pl. 15, 34; 109, 3 classified as a group “A”, version III, type III.
6. Lengthways to the left femur lay an iron short sword (Akinakes) with on one-side a grooved midrib on the blade, with a bar-form quillon, antenna-shaped pommel with knobs at the tops (Fig. 53, 16). On the blade and the hilt the remains of a wooden scabbard and grip were preserved.

According to the classification of Marchenko the sword belongs to section II (pommel crescent in general), type 3 (bar-form quillon), subtype 2 (Y-shaped pommel)42 like the Rassvet’s sword described above. Similar swords were spread in Ciscaucasia region from the beginning of the 2nd to the mid-first centuries B.C. i.e. nearly a century earlier than the Alanian penetration. This contradiction is caused by confusion between the classification of different types of swords.

Marchenko and his precursors did not note the swords with the knobs on the pommel’s tops as a separate group. However these swords form a special type spread in the Kuban region only. Marchenko records only two swords with the knobs in his catalogue. It is possible to list many parallels, which unfortunately remained unknown to the scholar.

Three swords were found in the kurgans destroyed by robbers near Dahovskaya (Maikop region) in 1934-35. B. Lunin describes them as “short swords with a crescent ending hilts with knobs at the tops and bar-formed quillon”43. Other examples of these swords were discovered near Vladimirskaia (1990, kurgan 2, grave 6; 1991, kurgan 9, grave 1) and Kurganinsk (1986, grave 108)44. All these finds of swords are concentrated in the Caucasian foothills near the direct and shortest way from the north-east Ciscaucasia to Asia Minor and the Eastern Mediterranean, along river valleys and the Black Sea coast.

Such a distribution of sword finds and the form of the pommels enables one to connect their appearance with Galatian influence. The origin of these knobs, their distribution and transformation by the nomads will be the subject of a separate work.

The funeral rite and the grave-goods suggest an attribution of both these graves to the “zubovsko-vozdvidzenski” group and thus to date them to the 1st century B.C. The imported goods such as the fibulae, bucket, sword and warder belong to the Mediterranean or to centers of production in Asia Minor. Earlier I have expressed an opinion about the penetration of the late La-Tene bronze vessels and other imports to Sarmatia from Galatia in the course of Mithridat’s wars45.

Attention should be called to when the Alanian invasion of Asia Minor began. Archaeological data shows the possibility of their migration from Central Asia to the Pontic region via Asia Minor, where they took part as Mithridat’s allies against Rome. But this is a problem to be discussed in forthcoming works.

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42 Ibid. 52 Pl. 12.
43 B. Lunin, “Serevyannaya chast’ s rel’efnymi izobrazheniyami i grecheskoj nadpis’yu i cteklyannaya chast’ iz nahodok u stanitzy Dahovskoj”, Izvestiya Rostovskogo oblastnogo muzeja kraevedeniya 2, 1940, 33 ff. List of finds, No. II. 7. All finds were preserved in Rostov-on-Don regional muzeum before 1941.
44 I should like to thank Dr. N. Berlizov, Krasnodar for the information about it.
ÖZET
Erken, Alan Mezarları ve İthal Buluntuları

Makalede, Rusya’da Krasnodar Bölgesi’nde ortaya çıkan bir kadın ve bir erkeğe ait iki Alan göçebe mezari anlatılmaktadır. Mezarlar, İ.S. 1. yy’a tarihlendirilmekte ve Alan göçeçinin kanıtlamaları açısından delil oluşturulmalan tartışılmaktadır.

Meyarlıda bulunan fibulalar, bronz kova, kilç gibi ithal malzemeler Akdeniz ve ya da Anadolu ürünü olmalardır. Yine diğer bazı ithal malzeme de Galatia’dan Sarmatia’ya, Roma’ya karşı yapılan savaşlar sırasında Mithridatlar aracılığıyla gelmiştir.

Meyar 1’de ele geçen bir broş-fibula içindeki kehriba Arabistan ve ya Kizildeniz Bölgesi kökenlidir. Ayrıca mezar 2’deki iki kabin, yerel ustalar tarafından Anadolu ustalarından etkilenerek yapıldığı söylenebilir.

Bu veriler işliğinde, Alan göçe Orta Asya’dan Pontus Bölgesi’ne, Anadolu üzerinden yapılmış olmalıdır.
Figure 1  Krasnodar region.

Figure 2  Oval brooch-fibula.

Figure 3  The first grave.
Figure 4  Iron pole.

Figure 5  Gold stamped dress sew-on ornaments.

Figure 6  Small mirror.

Figure 7  Iron knife.

Figure 8  Wheeled rounded greyware burnished bowl.

Figure 9  Handmade brownware pot.
Figure 10  Whetstone.

Figure 11  Gold rectangular plaque.

Figure 12  The decoration of the bronze bucket.
Figure 13  Bronze cauldron.

Figure 14  Iron sword with the Y-shaped pommel and scabbard point.
Figure 15  The second grave.

Figure 16  Iron sword.
Figure 17  Redware wheeled mug.

Figure 18  Iron four edged arrow head.

Figure 19  Redware wheeled jug.

Figure 20  Oval gold brooch-libula.