

НАЦІОНАЛЬНА АКАДЕМІЯ НАУК УКРАЇНИ • ІНСТИТУТ АРХЕОЛОГІЇ НАН УКРАЇНИ



АРХЕОЛОГІЯ

НАУКОВИЙ ЖУРНАЛ – ЗАСНОВАНИЙ У 1947 Р.
ВИДАЄТЬСЯ ЩОКВАРТАЛЬНО

КИЇВ • 1•2025

Головний редактор

ЧАБАЙ В. П., член-кореспондент НАН України, Інститут археології НАН України

Редакційна колегія

БОЛТРИК Ю. В., кандидат історичних наук, Інститут археології НАН України

БУЙСЬКИХ А. В., член-кореспондент НАН України, Інститут археології НАН України

ГАРДІ С. Е., PhD, Університет ім. Рея Хуана Карлоса, Іспанія

ДЖІНДЖАН Ф., професор, доктор хаб., почесний професор університету Париж 1 Пантеон
Сорбонна, Франція

ЗАЛІЗНЯК Л. Л., професор, доктор історичних наук, Національний університет
«Києво-Могилянська академія»

КАЙЗЕР Е., професор, доктор хаб., Вільний університет Берліну, Німеччина

ОТРОЩЕНКО В. В., професор, доктор історичних наук, Національний університет
«Києво-Могилянська академія»

ПЛАВІНСЬКИЙ М. О., кандидат історичних наук, Варшавський університет, Польща

ПОТЄХІНА І. Д., кандидат історичних наук, Інститут археології НАН України

РАБІНОВИЦ А., PhD, Техаський університет в Остіні, Сполучені штати Америки

ФОРНАСЬЄ Й., професор, доктор хаб., Галле-Віттенбергський університет імені Мартіна Лютера,
Німеччина

ШЕВЧЕНКО Т. М., кандидат історичних наук, Інститут археології НАН України (відповідальний секретар)



ARHEOLOGIA

SCIENTIFIC JOURNAL – FOUNDED IN 1947
FREQUENCY: QUARTERLY

KYIV • 1•2025

Editor-in-Chief

CHABAI V. P., Corresponding Member of the NAS of Ukraine, Institute of Archaeology
of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine

Editorial Board

BOLTRYK Yu. V., PhD in History, Institute of Archaeology of the NAS of Ukraine
BUIISKYKH A. V., Corresponding Member of the NAS of Ukraine, Institute of Archaeology of the NAS of Ukraine
DJINDJIAN F., Professor, Dr. Hab., Professor of the University of Paris 1 Pantheon Sorbonne, France
FORNASIER J., Professor, Dr. Hab., Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg, Germany
HARDY S. A., PhD, Rey Juan Carlos University, Spain
KAISER E., Professor, Dr. Hab., Free University of Berlin, Germany
OTROSHCHENKO V. V., Professor, DSc in History, National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy
PLAVINSKI M. O., PhD in History, University of Warsaw, Poland
POTEKHINA I. D., PhD in History, Institute of Archaeology of the NAS of Ukraine
RABINOWITZ A., PhD in Classical Archaeology, University of Texas at Austin, the USA
SHEVCHENKO T. M., PhD in History, Institute of Archaeology NAS of Ukraine (Executive Secretary)
ZALIZNIAK L. L., Professor, DSc in History, National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy

ЗМІСТ

CONTENTS



Статті

РУДИЧ Т. О., КОЗАК О. Д. Населення південно-західної Волині кінця доби бронзи за антропологічними матеріалами з могильника Рованці
VERTIENKO H. V. Scythian *σάγυρις*: Word — Image — Archaeological Object

Articles

- 5 RUDYCH T. O., KOZAK O. D. Late Bronze Age Population of South-Western Volyn Based on Anthropological Material From Rovantsi Necropolis
23 ВЕРТІЄНКО Г. В. Скіфський *σάγυρις*: слово — образ — археологічний об'єкт



Публікації археологічних матеріалів

ZABAVIN V. O., NEBRAT S. H. Barrows near Kalynivka village (Based on Materials of the Mariupol Archaeological Expedition)
КОМАР О. В., БІЛИНСЬКА Л. І., БУГАЙ О. М. Середньовічний скарб срібних злитків зі знахідки поблизу с. Дернове на Сумщині

Publications of Archaeological Materials

- 47 ЗАБАВІН В. О., НЕБРАТ С. Г. Кургани біля с. Калинівка (за матеріалами Маріупольської археологічної експедиції)
80 КОМАР О. В., БІЛИНСКА Л. І., БУНАЙ О. М. A Medieval Hoard of Silver Ingots Discovered near Dernove village in Sumy Oblast



Охорона археологічних пам'яток

TELIZHENKO S. A. Monitoring Archaeological Heritage in the Conditions of War: Damage and Military Use of the Mounds Near Vesela Hora Village in Luhansk Oblast

Protection of Archaeological Monuments

- 110 ТЕЛІЖЕНКО С. А. Моніторинг археологічної спадщини в умовах війни: пошкодження та використання у воєнних цілях курганної групи біля с. Весела Гора Луганської обл.



Методи археологічних досліджень

РАДЧЕНКО С. Б., ЧЕНЦОВ Я. М.
Фотограмметрія у структурі трансдис-
циплінарної археології: приклад моделювання
артефактів із середньовічного степу України

Methodology of Archaeological Research

121 RADCHENKO S.B., CHENTSOV Ya. M. Photo-
grammetry in the Structure of Transdisciplinary
Archaeology: an Example of Modelling Artefacts
from the Medieval Steppe of Ukraine



Хроніка

Євгенія Федорівна Редіна: життя, присвячене
археології

News Review

149 Yevheniia Fedorivna Redina: a Life Dedicated to
Archaeology

© H. V. VERTIENKO* 2025

SCYTHIAN ΣΑΓΑΡΙΣ: WORD — IMAGE — ARCHAEOLOGICAL OBJECT

The term σάγαρις is analysed in the article. This word was used in Classical sources to designate a specific Scythian weapon — a battle-axe. The lexical history of the word, its meaning and translation, as well as the ways of representation of Scythian battle-axes in ancient art and their archaeological realities are discussed.

Key words: battle-axe, σάγαρις, Scythians, Classical sources, lexical history, ancient art, iconography.

In the focus of the article¹ is the term σάγαρις — a word used in Classical sources to designate a specific Scythian weapon. Scholars who have studied the Scythian language have never considered this word (see: Абаев 1979; Тохта-сьев 2005; Кулланда 2016). The goal of this study is fourfold: to establish the lexical history of the word; to clarify its meaning and translation; to visualise this type of weapon in ancient art, and to determine the archaeological, social and functional aspects of the object.

*VERTIENKO Hanna Volodymyrivna — PhD, Senior Research Fellow, Department of Eurasian Steppe, A. Yu. Krymskyi Institute of Oriental Studies, the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine; Academic Visitor, the Faculty of Asian and Middle Eastern Studies, University of Oxford, ORCID: 00-0002-2104-0058, vertana77@gmail.com, hanna.vertienko@ames.ox.ac.uk

¹ The article was written during my research stay at the Faculty of Asian and Middle Eastern Studies, University of Oxford (UK) and the JESH Fellowship at the Institute of Iranian Studies of the Austrian Academy of Sciences (Vienna) in 2024. Preliminary results of this research were presented at the International Scientific Conference *Ver Kyiviens (Sub Umbra Castaneorum)* “Ancient World, Middle Ages, Early Modern Times: History, Religion, Culture”, 18-19 May 2023 (Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv) (Бертієнко 2023b, c. 11-13) and at the seminar of the Institute of Iranian Studies of the Austrian Academy of Sciences on 4 April 2024. I am deeply thankful to Velizar Sadoski (Vienna) and Yuhana Vevaina (Oxford) for useful suggestions, comments and reading the draft of the article. I am also grateful to Jacob Jan de Ridder (Leipzig) for Assyriological consultations.

This is an Open Access article under the CC BY-NC-ND 4.0 license
<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/legalcode.uk>

Lexical History of the Word σάγαρις

The *Greek Etymological Dictionary* compiled by R. Beekes contains this word. There can be only found that it is a “foreign word without an etymology” (Beekes 2010, II, p. 1300; cf.: Chantraine 1999, p. 983). Some scholars believed that σάγαρις does not have an Indo-European origin. However, according to G. Alessio there is a similarity between σάγαρις and Latin *sagitta* ‘arrow’, as well as the non-Indo-European Berberian **zagāya* ‘spear’, and Old Hebrew *səḡōr* ‘spear/javelin’ or a ‘battle-axe’ (Alessio 1944, p. 142-143; see also: Pisani 1947, p. 142-143) in *Psalm* 35.3². The last was originally translated as a ‘weapon’ and later as a ‘spear’ (‘javelin’, ‘lance’, ‘pike’)³, which seems somewhat strange, since the word ‘spear’ (*hă-nîl*) comes before it⁴. The old translation made in 1883 by F. Delitzsch in his commentary to this fragment of the Psalm directly compared this word with σάγαρις (Delitzsch 1883, p. 302; see also: Nicolsky 1927, S. 89, Anm. 5; cf.: Keel 1997, p. 221). The other similar word is Assyrian *šukurru*, traditionally translated as an ‘axe’. However, the *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary* translates this word as ‘spear’ (CAD, 17, p. 23-25). This *šukurru* is probably related to Latin *secūris* ‘axe’ (de Vaan 2008, p. 550) and Proto-Slavic **sekyra* ‘axe’ (Георгиев 1953, с. 109)⁵, from which various designations of this weapon

² See: <https://biblehub.com/text/psalms/35-3.htm> <https://biblehub.com/psalms/35-3.htm#lexicon> <https://www.studydrive.org/commentary/psalms/35-3.html>

³ See: <https://biblehub.com/parallel/psalms/35-3.htm>

⁴ See, for example: Goldingay 2006, p. 487 and fn. ‘b’; Sutton 2018, p. 269; Simango 2022, p. 434, 450. For explanation of *səḡōr* as an ‘axe’, see: Keel 1997, p. 221. In *Psalm* 35.1-3 YHWH it is described with the defensive (‘shield’ and ‘buckler’) and offensive (‘spear’ and ‘axe/javelin/pike’ (?) weapons. For this case Othmar Keels gives as a parallel of the Egyptian representation of Ebla’s god Reshef shown with shield, a spear and a battle-axe on the New Kingdom stela, Chicago Oriental Institute no. 10569 (Keel 1997, p. 220, fig. 302).

⁵ This scholar even proposes an Indo-European loan of Assyrian *šukurru* and Old Hebrew *səḡōr*. In my opinion, such an assumption seems very improbable. Cf. Pisani 1947, p. 143.

developed in many Slavic languages, in particular, Ukrainian *sokyr* (Фасмер 1987, III, c. 592-593). It should be also emphasised for this case to Slav. **sěkti* ‘to cut, mow’ (Derksen 2008, p. 446) and Latin *secō* ‘to cut, mow, sever’ which could be compared with Heb. *śakkīn*, Aram. *sakkīn* (de Vaan 2008, p. 550-551).

There are two independent words for an ‘axe’ in the Greek lexicon. The first, ἄξινη (Liddell, Scott 1996, p. 170), has a similarity to the Akkadian word *ḥaššinu* ‘axe’ (CAD, 6, p. 133)⁶ (cf.: Aram. *ḥaššīnā*), which has led scholars to stress of its borrowing from Semitic languages (Szemerényi 1971, p. 656; Chantraine 1999, p. 875) or, more rarely, *vice versa*. However, R. Beekes believes that “the Semitic and Greek words are loans from an Anatolian language” (Beekes 2010, I, p. 111). The second, πέλεκυς (Liddell, Scott 1996, p. 1357; Boisacq 1938, p. 761-762), has also long been compared with Akkadian *pilakku* which, despite the richness of the lexicon is associated with the nomination ‘axe’⁷, denoted not an ‘axe’, but a ‘spindle’ (CAD, 12, p. 371-373; Kogan, Krebern timer 2020, p. 252).

The Meaning and Translation of the Word σάγαρις

According to the *Greek Dictionary* by H. G. Liddell and R. Scott σάγαρις is a ‘single-edged weapon’ used by Scythians and some other tribes (Liddell, Scott 1996, p. 1579; cf.: Beekes 2010, II, p. 1167). As well, the new *Cambridge Greek Lexicon* translated it as a ‘light battle-axe, used especially by Scythians and Persians, sharpened along one edge’ (ed. Diggle 2021, p. 1257). This word had already existed in the *Greek Lexicon* by Hesychios from Alexandria, who lived between the 5th and 6th centuries AD. The meaning is given there as a ‘single-edged axe’ (σάγαρις · πελέχιον μονόστομον. [φαρέτρα. ἄροτρον] (Hesch., *Lexicon*, 16.1)).

Ancient authors (primarily Herodotus and Xenophon, see below) refer to σάγαρις as a weapon of various Iranian-speaking peoples: Scythians (Herod., *Hist.*, IV, 5.3; 70; Aristarch., *Comment. Herod.*, 10-12; Pollux, I, 138), Sakai (Herod., *Hist.*, VII, 64.2), Massagetae (Herod.,

Hist., I, 215.1; Strabo XI, 8.6), Amazons (Xen., *Anab.*, IV, 4.16; Aristarch., *Comment. Herod.*, 10-12; Strabo XI, 5.1, 8)⁸, Persians (Xen., *Cyr.*, I, 2.9; II, 1.9, 1.16; IV, 2.22; VIII, 8.23; *Anab.*, IV, 4.16; Strabo, XV, 3.19), and Massynoice (Xen., *Anab.*, V, 4.13). Also, the word σάγαρις is used in some other contexts in Athenaeus’ ‘The Deipnosophists’ (12.40) (as the name of the king of the Mariandyni), Lucian’s ‘Anacharsis’ (32) (as a weapon for young warriors’ trainings), and the *Greek Anthology* (6.94) (epigram). Totally *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* has 54 times of using the word σάγαρις in the texts of 21 authors⁹. Chronologically, the last mention of σάγαρις can be considered the Byzantine *Lexicographical Lexicon* of Suda (10th century AD), where it is labelled as ‘a cutter, or an axe’ (κοπίς, ἢ πέλεκυς) (sigma 15.1)¹⁰.

Let us look through the occurrence of σάγαρις in Herodotus’ ‘Histories’. As for the Scythians, Herodotus mentioned σάγαρις twice (*Herod.*, *Hist.*, IV, 5.3 and IV, 70, see: table 1). In both cases he described specific rituals.

The first case concerned the genealogical legend on origin of the Scythians from the three sons of a semilegendary king Targitaus. We learned that the youngest son, Colaxais, took up the golden gifts and among them was a weapon σάγαρις. Then his older brothers agreed to bestow the whole kingdom of Colaxais. After that these golden heavenly gifts were honoured by Scythians every year (*Herod.*, *Hist.*, IV.7).

“According to the Scythians, theirs is the youngest race of people, and they arose as follows. The first man to be born in their then-uninhabited region was named Targitaus. They insist, though I don’t believe it, that his parents were Zeus and a daughter of the Borysthenes river. This Targitaus, supposedly born of these parents, had three sons — Lipoxais, Arpoxais, and Colaxais, who was the youngest. During their reign, golden implements fell into Scythia from the sky: a plough, a yoke, a battleaxe, and a cup. The oldest son was the first to see this and ran up to gather the objects, but as

⁶ The similarity of the Akkadian word *ḥaššinu* with the denotation of ‘iron’ in some Iranian languages should be also noted: Khot. *hīššana*–; Kurdish *hāsin*, *hesin* (Peyrot, Dragoni, Bernard 2022, p. 413).

⁷ Apart from *ḥaššinu*, it is also *kalmakru*, *magšaru*, *pāšat* (*pāštu* and *pāšū*) and *zaḫatū* (Middle Babylonian).

⁸ In Pseudo-Callisthenes’ “Alexander Romance” (III, 27) the term ἄξινη is used instead of σάγαρις to distinguish the Amazon’s ‘axes’ (ὅπλοις δὲ ἐχρῶντο ἀργυραῖς ἀξίναϊς “And they use as weapons silver battle-axes”) (<https://www.attalus.org/greek/alexander3d.html>).

⁹ See: <https://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/index.php>

¹⁰ Cf. Photius, *Lexicogr. et Scr. Eccl. Lexicon*, sigma, 12.1, 495.18; Gr. Pardus, *Gramm. De Dialectis*, 4.629; Anonym. *Lexicographus*, *Lexicogr.*, sigma 3; *Lexica Segueriana*, *Lexicogr.*, sigma 360.24; *Scholia in Xenophontem*, *Sch. Cyri*, 4.4.16, 1; 5.4.13, 1.



Fig. 1. Amazons with a double-bladed axe on the mosaic from Antakya (Antiochus on Orontes), 350–400 AD (Paris Louvre, inv. no. Ma 3457; © Musée du Louvre, after: <https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl010277136>)

he approached the gold burst into flame. When he drew back, the second son came forward, and the same thing happened to him. After Lipoxais and Arpoxais were repelled by the burning gold, Colaxais advanced, and the fire went out, whereupon he took up the golden hoard and brought it home. At this, his older brothers agreed between themselves to bestow the whole kingdom on Colaxais” (Herod., Hist., IV.5; after: Herodotus 2013, p. 174-175).

In the second case, the *σάγαρις* is listed among other weapons, without specifying its material. These weapons were ritually stuck into a certain vessel, the so-called *κύλιξ*, in private rite of “fraternisation”, during which an oath contract was made (Herod., Hist., IV.70).

“Scythians who exchange oaths do as follows. The respective parties pour wine into a large ceramic bowl, puncture with an awl or cut with a knife a small section of their flesh and mix their blood into the wine. Then they dip a sword, some arrows, a battleaxe, and a javelin into the bowl. When this has been done, they utter many prayers, and then those who are exchanging the oath, along with their most trusted followers, drink the mixture of wine and blood” (Herod., Hist., IV.70; after: Herodotus 2013, p. 189).

Let us now see the ways how *σάγαρις* is represented in different translations of Herodotus (in table 1 they are given in chronological order). In the selected English editions, it may be noticed that most scholars give the translation of *σάγαρις* as a ‘battle axe’. A. D. Godley once gives the translation a ‘sword’. R. Waterfield leaves the word *σάγαρις* untranslated, as a technical term. The classical Ger-

man translation by J. Feix uses in the first case the word an ‘axe’ and in the second case the expression a ‘battle-axe’. In the French translation by P. Giguet, there is an ‘axe’ in the first case, and ‘axes’ (in the plural?) in the second. As for the East-Slavic translations, Ukrainian scholar A. O. Biletskyi translates *σάγαρις* as an ‘axe’. The same is true for Russian translations. However, in one case, the weapon *σάγαρις* got an additional adjective, meaning the translation of *σάγαρις* as a ‘two-bladed sharp axe’ (in Russian ‘обоюдоострая секира’) by I. A. Shyshova (e.g.: Доватур, Каллистов, Шишова 1982, с. 101). Probably she copied the meaning for *σάγαρις*, as a ‘double-edged axe’, from I. Kh. Dvoretzky’s *Greek Russian Dictionary* (Дворецкий 1958, II, с. 1459). Before I. Kh. Dvoretzky’s dictionary, there was another *Greek Russian Dictionary* by A. D. Veysman published in 1899, where *σάγαρις* was translated as an ‘axe’, as a weapon of the Scythians and other Eastern peoples. In addition, A. D. Veysman defined *σάγαρις* as ‘bardysh’ that is to say, a specific one-bladed axe (comp.: Вейсман 1899, с. 1119).

Indeed, the *Greek Dictionary* of H. G. Liddle and R. Scott ends the article on the meaning of *σάγαρις*, providing a possible translation as a ‘two-edged axe’ only because of the additional adjective defining ‘axe’ (*σάγαριν ἀμφιθηγέα*) (Liddell, Scott 1996, p. 1579). This case is found only in a late poetic work of the 1st century AD, from the *Greek Anthology* (ΦΙΛΙΠΠΙΟΥ ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΕΩΣ, 6.94 — *The Greek Anthology* 1916, p. 349). Evidence of the existence of such a two-bladed axe comes also from images of Amazons depicted with double-bladed axes, which are known from the Roman period (fig. 1–4). I. Kh. Dvoretzkyi

might have been influenced by this material (cf.: Potratz 1963, p. 126-127).

The “doubtful” translation of the word σάγαρις led to the hypothesis raised by some Scythologists who interpreted σάγαρις exclusively as an axe with two blades. The very few numbers of archaeological finds of Scythian two-bladed axes in the Northern Black Sea region (Шелехань 2012, с. 5-6; Daragan, Polin 2023 p. 18-19, 34-35 (nos. 28–31)) gave additional reasons to V. A. Kisel to argue that Herodotus’ description did not refer to the “Black Sea Scythians”, but to much more eastern tribes of Siberia and Central Asia. Thus, this scholar considers the σάγαρις to be an eastern type of weapon, a *pickaxe* (Кисель 1997; 2008, с. 110-112; 2015, с. 414). The

same object, the pickaxe, is also designated with the Russian word *chekan*¹¹. Unfortunately, similar trends recently became widespread¹². This is reflected even in catalogues of exhibitions like the one under the title “Scythians: Warriors of Ancient Siberia” (eds. Simpson, Pankova 2017).

¹¹ This type of axes needs to be discussed separately and cannot be associated with σάγαρις (Bittner 1987, S. 177, Taf. 14.2, 25, 39.2; Potts 2012, p. 465-466; Вертієнко 2023a, с. 231, 233).

¹² M. M. Darahan and S. V. Polin (2023, p. 1-2, 8, 41, fn. 2) also unreservedly accept the translation of σάγαρις as a “double-sided axe” and link the findings of double axes (labrys-type) in several Scythian burials to the ritual described by Herodotus (Hist., IV, 70). They “return” the Scythians to the Black Sea Scythia. I.e. these authors, like V. A. Kisel, a priori take a doubtful translation of σάγαρις as a “double-sided axe”, trying to link it with real archaeological finds.

Table 1. Variants of translations of σάγαρις in Herod., Hist., IV

Translators	Herod., Hist., IV, 5.3: ... ἐπὶ τούτων ἀρχόντων ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ φερομένα χρύσεια ποιήματα, ἄροτρον τε καὶ ζυγόν καὶ σάγαριν καὶ φιάλην, πεσεῖν ἐς τὴν Σκυθικὴν	Herod., Hist., IV, 70: ... ἀποβάσαντες ἐς τὴν κύλικα ἀκινάκην καὶ ὀιστοὺς καὶ σάγαριν καὶ ἀκόντιον
Giguet P. (<i>Histoires d'Hérodote</i> (1860), 220, 240)	... des objets d'or, envoyés par le ciel, tombèrent en Scythie: une charrue, un joug, une hache , une coupe.	... Ensuite on plonge dans la terrine cimenterres, flèches, haches et javelots.
Mishchenko F. G. (Herodot, <i>Istoriya v devyati knigakh</i> (1888), 305, 334)	... упали с неба на скифскую землю золотые предметы: плуг, ярмо, секира и чаша.	... погружают в чашу меч, стрелы, секиру и метательное копье.
Godley A. D. (Herodotus, <i>In Four Volumes</i> (1928), 203, 269)	... fell down from the sky into Scythia certain implements, all of gold, namely, a plough, a yoke, a sword , and a flask.	... into a great earthenware cup...dip a scimitar and arrows and an axe and a javelin.
Stratanovskiy G. A. (Herodot, <i>Istoriya v devyati knigakh</i> (1972), 188, 204)	... на Скифскую землю с неба упали золотые предметы: плуг, ярмо, секира и чаша.	... в чашу погружают меч, стрелы, секиру и копье.
Dovatur A. I. et al. (Dovatur, Kallistov and Shishova, <i>Narody nashei strany</i> (1982), 101, 125)	... на скифскую землю упали сброшенные с неба золотые предметы: плуг с ярмом, обоюдоострая секира и чаша.	... погружают в килик акинак, стрелы, двойную секиру и дротик.
Biletskyi A. O. (Herodot, “ <i>Istori</i> ” v <i>deviaty knyghakh</i> (1993), 181, 195—196)	...з неба впали на скифську землю зроблені з золота плуг, ярмо, сокира і чаша.	...занурюють у глек меч, стрілу, сокиру і дротик.
Feix J. (Herodot, <i>Historien</i> (2006), 507, 553)	... goldene Werkzeuge vom Himmel in das Land der Skythen: ein Pflug, ein Joch, ein Beil und eine Schale.	... dann tauchen sie Schwert, Pfeile, Streitaxt und Wurfspieß in den Becher.
Waterfield R. (Herodotus, <i>The Histories</i> (2008), 236, 257)	... there fell from the sky on to the Scythia four golden implements: a plough, a yoke, a sagaris , and a cup.	... they dip into the cup an <i>akinakes</i> , some arrows, a sagaris , and a javelin.
Blanko W. (Herodotus, <i>The Histories</i> (2013), 175, 189)	... golden implements fell into Scythia from the sky: a plough, a yoke, a battleaxe , and a cup.	... they dip a sword, some arrows, a battleaxe , and a javelin.
Holland T. (Herodotus, <i>The Histories</i> (2014), 264, 287)	... four objects fashioned out of gold — a plough, a yoke, a battleaxe and a cup — were borne down to Scythia from the sky.	... they dip into the cup a scimitar, some arrows, a battleaxe and a javelin.



Fig. 2. Amazons with a double-bladed axe on the Roman Amazonensarkopag, 320 AD. © Wien Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. no. I 169, photo by the author



Fig. 3. Bust of Amazon Smyrne with a double-axe on a bronze coin, Smyrna, Ionia, 2nd — 3rd centuries AD, after: ed. Tsangari 2011, p. 217, fig. 461



Fig. 4. Amazon Smyrne with a double-axe on a bronze coin, Smyrna, Ionia, 2nd — 3rd centuries AD, after: ed. Tsangari 2011, p. 217, fig. 460

In my opinion, this is based not only on historical and archaeological evidence, but also on political narratives that have certain foundations in Russian culture (see, e.g.: Солнцева 2010, с. 147-159; Христолюбова 2011, с. 43-48). However, not all scholars translated *σάγαρις* in such a way. As can be evidenced in the article by B. A. Litvinsky and I. V. Piankov the word *σάγαρις* was interpreted as a simple single-bladed axe (Литвинский, Пьянков 1966, с. 39).

The tendency to interpret the *σάγαρις* as a pickaxe exists in a series of articles published

by V. P. Nikonorov who examined the data on the combat use and cult of the axe among the Scythians and other Central Asian peoples based on archaeological, written, and visual sources (Никоноров 2014; 2015; Nikonorov 2014). In particular, he tried to correlate the known types of “Scythian axes” with the term *σάγαρις* and concludes as follows: “a comparative analysis of information from the ancient tradition and images of Central Asian and Persian warriors on Achaemenid reliefs and seals, as well as in ancient vase paintings, suggests that the word



Fig. 5. Sakhnivka gold plate, 4th century BC (© The Treasury of the National Museum of History of Ukraine, inv. no. DM-1639, 36.5 × 9.8 cm), photo by D. D. Klochko

σάγαρις meant a specific type of battle axes that are typical for the Eastern peoples exclusively — pickaxes with straight and curved narrow blades”¹³ (Никоноров 2015, с. 398; cf.: Никоноров 2014, с. 105). Let us look at this claim in more detail. For the most part, the conclusions of this researcher seem reasonable, although there are provisions that seem debatable. V. P. Nikonorov continued to interpret the weapon in the hand of the central character on the gold plate of a female headdress from the Sakhnivka barrow (4th century BC, Cherkasy Oblast, Ukraine; Вертієнко 2015, с. 68, мал. 54, 54а; Vertiienko 2021, p. 260-261, fig. 1–3) as an image of an axe (Никоноров 2015, с. 414) (fig. 5). I cannot agree with this interpretation, because it is based on an incorrect drawing made by D. S. Raevskii in 1977 (Раевский 1977, с. 99, рис. 9; 2006, с. 126, рис. 9, 128; cf.: Вертієнко 2015, с. 69, мал. 55, 55с) (fig. 6: b–c). Indeed, the very first drawing of the object in an article jointly published by S. S. Bessonova and D. S. Raevskii in the same year did not contain any axe (Бессонова, Раевський 1977, с. 42, рис. 2) (fig. 6: a). In fact, D. S. Raevskii simply added the (single) blade on the second drawing¹⁴, which he then used in

his monograph (even for frontpiece)(see: Раевский 1977, с. 99, рис. 9 and the cover, reprinted in: Раевский 2006, с. 126, рис. 9; 128). Unfortunately, this “upgraded” second drawing was repeatedly copied in many following articles and books. To my mind, it should be taken out from the list of illustrations of the axe in Scythian art (see: Vertiienko 2021, p. 261, fig. 3).

It is worth noting that in battle scenes the axes are shown with the fighting part down¹⁵. In other cases, V. P. Nikonorov’s quotes insufficiently weighty, and sometimes he uses emotions rather than academic arguments to prove his interpretations. For instance, trying to confirm that the gold plaques from the mound no. 1 near the Aksutyntsi village (4th century BC, Sumy Oblast, Ukraine) show a Scythian holding an axe, not a bow or musical instrument, he notes that “it is difficult to imagine that an aristocratic warrior or a legendary hero could be depicted in Scythian art with a peaceful harp in his hands instead of a weapon” (Никоноров 2015, с. 414, прим. 35) (fig. 7). However, let us recall the image of a Scythian musician with a harp-type chordophone instrument on the abovementioned Sakhnivka plate (Олійник 2003, с. 40-54; Вертієнко 2010, с. 320-332; Вертієнко 2015, с. 100-102, мал. 84, 85; Vertiienko 2021, p. 260-261, fig. 1–3) (fig. 8).

Analysing the message of Quintus Curtius Rufus: “*Dona nobis data sunt, ne Scytharum gentem*

¹³ Hereinafter translated from Russian and Latin by H. V. Vertiienko.

¹⁴ It is known that the plate was curled up *in situ* (Вертієнко 2015, с. 67, мал. 511, 512 (bibliography); cf.: с. 70). However, when it was unfolded it got six fractures. D. S. Raevskii could have seen this plate between two restorations and perhaps these visual effects and folds influenced what he rendered in his drawing.

¹⁵ See the images of the Scythians with axes on a bowl from the barrow no. 3 in the “Chasty kurgany” group 4th century BC) (Алексеев 2012, с. 246, fig. 29, 30; Артамонов 1966, рис. 198).

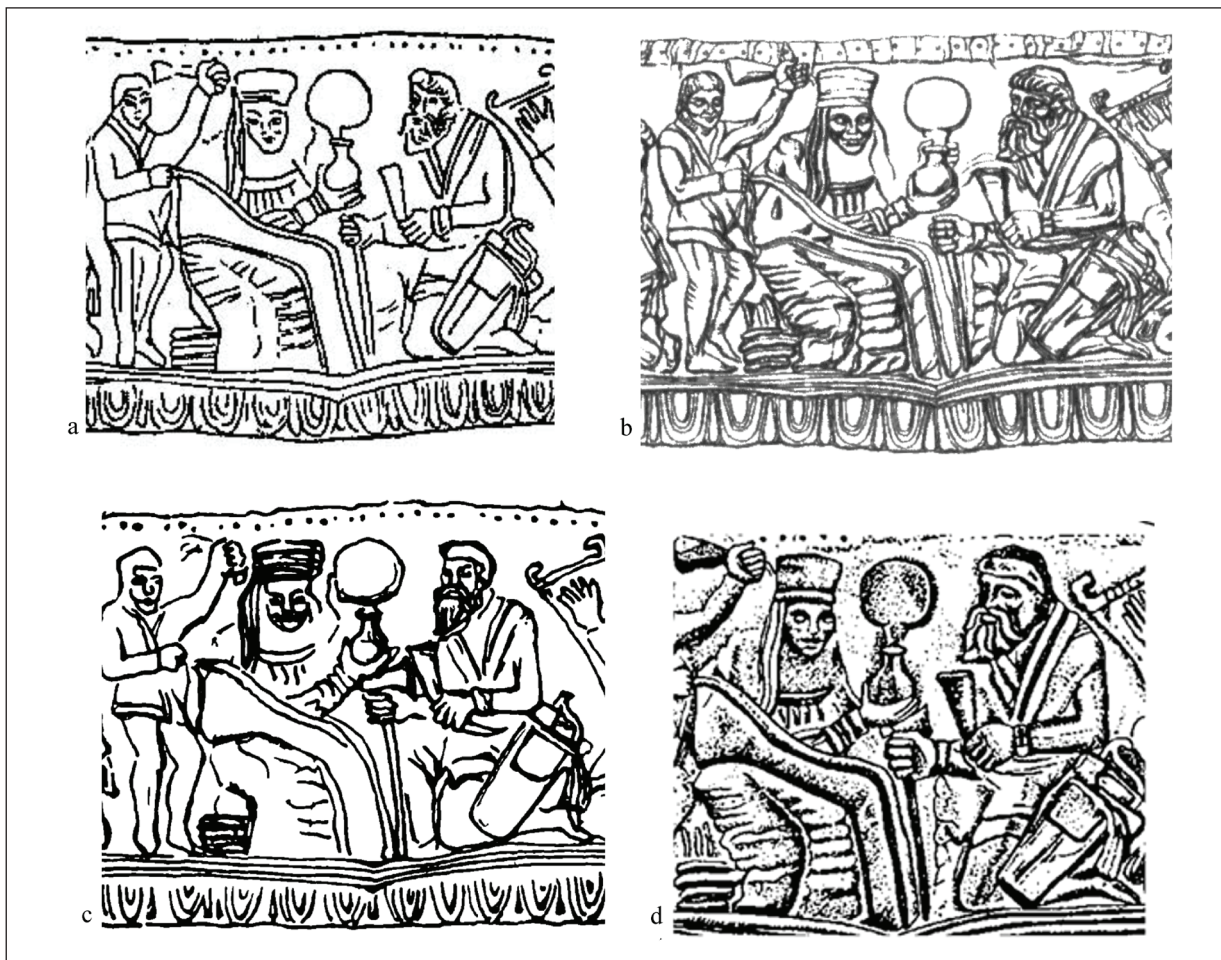


Fig. 6. *a* — the first drawing, after: Бессонова, Равский 1977, с. 42, рис. 2, *b* — a drawing after: Вертієнко 2015, с. 69, мал. 55в; Vertienko 2021, р. 261, fig. 3; *c-d* — an artificial image of an axe in the hand of a Scythian, after: Раевский 1977, с. 99, рис. 9 (*c*), and Никоноров 2015, с. 410, рис. 5.9, Русаева 1997, с. 49, рис. 2 (*d*)



Fig. 7. Gold plaque from the barrow no. 1 near Aksiutyntsi village (4th century BC), after: Никоноров 2015, цв. табл. 24.2

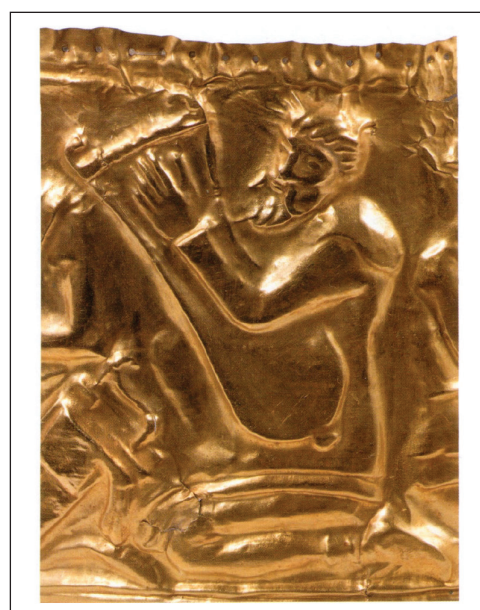


Fig. 8. Scythian musician with a harp on the gold Sakhnivka plate, after: Толочко, Мурзін 1991, с. 378

ignores, iugum boum et aratrum, sagitta, hasta, patera” — “Gifts have been given to us, so that the Scythian race is not ignored, a yoke for oxen, a plough, an arrow, a spear and a bowl” (Curt. VII, 8, 17–18; cf.: Куртций Руф 1993, с. 160, cf.: Хазанов 1975, с. 45, 46), V. P. Nikonorov rightly compares its content with the Scythian “genealogical legend” according to Herodotus (Herod., Hist., IV, 5) (see: Ivantchik 1999, p. 141–192), seeing here references to golden heavenly gifts and writes that “...instead of an axe, there is an arrow (*sagitta*) — an obvious close connection with the ‘Greek’ version of the Scythian genealogical legend by Herodotus, which refers to a bow” (Herod., Hist., IV, 9.5; 10.1) (Никоноров 2015, с. 397). In my opinion, it is rather not a reference to the “Hellenic” version of the Herodotus legend, but a distortion of the original Greek word *σάγαρις* by the Latin *sagitta*, which may have an etymological connection with it.

The fact that *σάγαρις* is a type of an axe is unambiguously indicated by Herodotus himself when describing the weapons of the Sacae, whom he identifies with the Scythians: “Σάκαι δὲ οἱ Σκύθαι περὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι κυρβάσιος ἐς ὃν ἀπηγμένας ὀρθὰς εἶχον πεπηγνίας, ἀναξυρίδας δὲ ἐνεδεδύκεσαν, τόξα δὲ ἐπιχώρια καὶ ἐγχειρίδια, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ἄξινας σαγάρεις¹⁶ εἶχον” — “The Scythian Sacae wore stiff, peaked, felt caps and leather pants, and tarried native bows, daggers and ‘sagaris’ or battleaxes”¹⁷ (Herod., Hist., VII, 64.2; Herodotus 2013, p. 311). In other words, this fragment refers to the weapon in the acc. pl. as ἄξινας σαγάρεις “axes [called] σαγάρεις”. In some Russian translations these two words were rendered as ‘two-bladed axes’ (Доватур, Каллистов, Шишова 1982, с. 163)¹⁸ or “sagaris — [two-bladed] battleaxes”, like, for instance, by G. A. Stratanovskiy (Геродот 1972, с. 332), which has led to certain incorrect interpretations in some works (Кисель 1997; 2008; 2015; Daragan, Polin 2023, p. 1–2, 18, 41, fn. 2).

Another clarification of the type of *σάγαρις* can be found in Xenophon’s *Anabasis* (Xen., Anab., IV, 4.16). In the description of the

captured Persian warrior, a list of his weapons is given, which included a ‘Persian bow’ (τόξον Περσικόν), a ‘quiver’ (φαρέτραν) and a ‘(hatchet-) σάγαρις, like the Amazons’ (σάγαριν οἴαντες καὶ αἱ Ἀμαζόνες) (cf.: Ксенофонт 1951, с. 108; Thomas 2021, p. 127). Commenting on this passage, M. I. Maksimova notes that “with this remark Xenophon shows some familiarity with art. Xenophon must have remembered the images of Amazons and Persians on the famous frescoes of Polygnotus, Mykon and Panenos in the ‘Motley Stoa’ in Athens” (Ксенофонт 1951, с. 272, прим. 18).

The Battle-Axe (σάγαρις) in Ancient Art

The analysis of ancient sources shows that the Ancient Greeks had knowledge of *σαγάρεις* as a specific type of battle-axes depicted on monumental friezes (fig. 9–10), bronze items (fig. 11) and vase paintings among the Amazons (fig. 12–15) (see also: Tyrrell 1984; Man 2017. Cf.: Φιάλκο 2023, с. 115; рис. 2, von Bothmer 1957, pl. LXX, 5b; LXXII, 1; LXXIII, 2; LXXIV, 2; LXXVI, 1c; LXXVII, 1, 2; LXXX, 3; LXXXI, 2–4; LXXV; LXXXVI, 2, 5a; Lissarrague 1990, p. 181, fig. 102, 103; p. 185, fig. 107; p. 186, fig. 109; Fantham 1995, p. 133, fig. 4.4), Persians (vase painting (cf.: Beckwith 2023, p. 11, fig. 4.) and decoration of the so-called Alexander’s sarcophagus (see also: Houser 1998, p. 281–291)) (fig. 16–22), and Scythians (fig. 23–26)¹⁹.

Images of similar weapons carried by Amazons can also be found on the so-called Graeco-Scythian toreutics of the 4th century BC (cf.: Никоноров 2015, с. 410–411, рис. 5). These are the images of an Amazon armed with a single-bladed axe on a golden sword scabbard from the Chortomlyk (fig. 27) and on the gold plate from the Velyka Blyznytsia mound (fig. 28). The images of Scythian warriors leaning with the same single-bladed axes

¹⁶ Hereinafter emphasis in bold by H. V. Vertiienko.

¹⁷ Cf. “the axes of the shaft, which they call sagaris” (Herodotus 1928, III, p. 379); “the battle axes called sagaris” (Herodotus 2008, p. 430); “battle axes known as sagaris” (Herodotus 2014, p. 473); Геродот 1993, с. 316. See also: How, Wells 1912, II, p. 155.

¹⁸ It should be noted that F. G. Mishchenko believed that ἄξινας σαγάρεις are the names of two different types of weapons: “...axes, sagarins” (Геродот 1888, II, с. 167). Cf. his translations in table 1 above.

¹⁹ At the same time, depictions of Greek warriors or heroes with a battle-axe are rare. It can be pointed to the image of a Lapith warrior armed with a battle-axe (labrys-type) in Centauro-machy scene on the Attic red-figure volute-crater (5th century BC) Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Rogers Fund, 1907 (07.286.84) (<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/247964>). Other examples are the scenes of Theseus killing Procrustes with a labrys-type axe, e.g.: Attic red-figure bell-crater in the Wien Kunsthistorischen Museum, inv. no. IV 321 (5th century BC) and red-figured kylikes, London BM 1850,0302.3 (https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1850-0302-3) or E. 36 (Hölscher 2019, S. 88, Abb. 39).

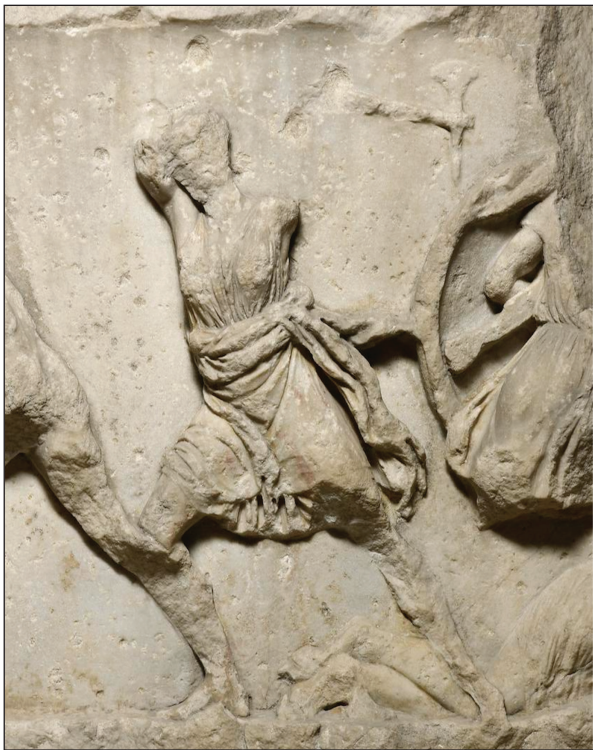


Fig. 9. Amazon with a battle axe. Marble slab of the 'Amazon frieze' of the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus. Sculptor Pytheos (?), the 4th century BC; London, inv. no. BM 1847,0424.4; © The Trustees of the British Museum. Shared under CC BY-NC-SA 4.0 licence



Fig. 10. Amazon with a battle axe. Marble slab of the 'Amazon frieze' of the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus. Sculptor Pytheos (?), the 4th century BC; London, inv. no. BM 1879,0515.1; © The Trustees of the British Museum. Shared under CC BY-NC-SA 4.0 licence

are represented on a silver gilded bowl from the barrow no. 3 of the "Chastye kurgany" group (4th century BC, Voronezh district, Russia) (fig. 29, 30).

One of the most "mysterious" images is the one of the Scythian warriors on the silver gilded cover of a *gorytos* from the Solokha mound (4th century BC, Zaporizhzhia Oblast, Ukraine), where the last figure from the left side in the battle scene is a young beardless Scythian with long hair. He is armed with a single-bladed axe in his right hand and a wicker shield on his left one (fig. 31) (see: Манцевич 1987, с. 73-75, кат. 53; Никоноров 2015, с. 401, рис. 2, 5; Ермоленко 2019, с. 222-223; Полидович 2019, с. 249; Cunliffe 2021, p. 344-345). When Yu. B. Polidovych analysed this warrior's weapons, he wrote the following: *"the axe held by the warrior is not typical for the archaeological/ethnographic reality of the Scythians as we know it (unlike other weapons present in the battle scenes). Not Scythians, but Amazons (in another interpretation — Arimaspians, barbarians) were depicted with such axes both on toreutics objects (sheaths from the Chortomlyk, Chaian and the 8th kurgan from Five Brothers' mounds; a headdress from Velyka Blyznytsia) and in vase painting. All of this, in my*

opinion, indicates that on the gorytos there was depicted not a warrior equivalent to others, but a mythological character" (Полидович 2019, с. 249).

However, according to the abovementioned written testimony of Xenophon, one can conclude that not only mythical Amazons, but also Iranian warriors were armed with similar single-edged axes *σάγαρις* (Xen., Anab., IV, 4.16). As well, in ancient art it may be noticed that the similar battle-axes can be found on images of Amazons, Persian and Scythian warriors, including the *gorytos* from the Solokha mound.

The Archaeological, Social and Functional Aspects of Scythian Battle-Axes

Considering Scythian battle axes without mentioning the archaeological aspect is not appropriate. In the Northern Black Sea region, the single-bladed axes prevailed during the 6th — 4th centuries BC (fig. 32)²⁰. Approximately fifty

²⁰ Cf.: the form of the silver model of a Persian battle axe from the Alexander's sarcophagus (fig. 22).



Fig. 11. Bronze plate (part of equestrian equipment?) depicting an Amazon with a battle axe and a bow. Peloponnesus, the 4th century BC, London, inv. no. BM 1906,0425.6; after: Marshall 1909, p. 158, fig. 11 and © The Trustees of the British Museum. Shared under CC BY-NC-SA 4.0 licence



Fig. 12. Depiction of an Amazon with a battle axe and a bow on a red-figure vessel. Attica, the 5th century BC, New York, inv. no. MMA 56.171.42, accessed: <https://bit.ly/3Z2XTwL>



Fig. 13. Depiction of the Amazons with battle axes on a red-figured dinos. Attica, the 5th century BC, London, inv. no. BM 1899,0721.5; © The Trustees of the British Museum. Shared under CC BY-NC-SA 4.0 licence



Fig. 14. Mythological scene depicting Hercules' meeting with the queen of the Amazons, Hippolyta. Some of the surrounding Amazons are armed with battle axes. Red-figure crater painting Southern Italy, Apulian, the 4th century BC, New York, inv. no. MMA 19.192.81.1, accessed: <https://bit.ly/3LEuInq>

single-bladed axes of different types²¹ and only four double-edged ones (Шелехань 2012, с. 5-6; Daragan, Polin 2023, p. 18; 19; 34: 28, 29; 35: 30, 31; 41) are known (for Scythian battle axes, see: Іллінська 1961, с. 27-52; Мелюкова 1964, с. 65-68; Черненко 1980, с. 88; Грицюк 2009; Шелехань 2012, с. 3-13; Шелехань 2016, с. 15-28; Фіалко 2023, с. 113-126; Daragan, Polin 2023, p. 1-47. For early Caucasian prototypes, see: Погребова 1969, с. 169-187). However, the Scythian monumental sculpture demonstrates different types of axes (Ольховский, Евдокимов 1994, с. 71, 72, табл. 16; 89: 1; 94: 8; 102: 20; 121: 71; 129: 74; 133: 78; 134: 79; 136: 81, 83; 139: 86; 160: 120; 175: 149; Ольховский 2005, с. 172, ил. 21; Молев, Молева 2013, с. 218, рис. 3, 5, 6; с. 173, ил. 22; с. 222, ил. 79; Шелехань 2010, с. 36-37). The attention should be drawn to the axe in the burial of a Scythian aristocratic warrior in the Talaievskyi mound (4th century BC, Western Crimea, Ukraine) (Никоноров 2015, с. 400-401; рис. 2: 1-4; Daragan, Polin 2023, p. 37, no. 45) (fig. 33) which is like a *σαγάρης*-type weapon in art. Another example of a similar type of axes is a single-bladed bronze "votive" battle-axe from the mound no. 18, burial no. 2 near Llove village

(4th century BC, Kherson Oblast, Ukraine) (Daragan, Polin 2023, p. 12-16, fig. 11; 28: 3)²² (fig. 34). One more sample is the image of the similar axe on the "Borysphenes" coins from Olbia (4th century BC, Mykolaiv Oblast, Ukraine) (see: Daragan, Polin 2023, p. 19-22)²³ (fig. 35). It should be noted that the Llove mound is located only 109 km from Olbia and could belong to a tribal chief who exerted military control over Olbia and its *chora* (Daragan, Polin 2023, p. 22). There is also an axe shown on the gold medallion from Chersonesos (4th century BC (?), Western Crimea, Ukraine) (fig. 36). The axe on this medallion find similarity with the image of an axe in the hand of a Scythian on the coins from Kerkinitis (300-290 BC, Western Crimea, Ukraine) (fig. 37).

It should be considered that according to conclusion of M. M. Daragan and S. V. Polin, who studied the role of the axes in the Scythian burial rites of the 5th — 4th centuries BC, "all the

²¹ The newest list collected by M. M. Daragan and S. V. Polin (2023, p. 28-39, table 1) includes 54 finds.

²² B. Brentjes (1996, p. 46) compared the axe from Llove with a similar axe represented as an attribute of god Allat (shown in Parthian dress) depicted on the so-called "Kerberos relief" from the Temple I of Hatra in Mesopotamia (2nd century AD) (Dirven 2013, p. 150, 158, fig. 7).

²³ Cf.: the image of an Amazon's battle axe on the relief from Magnésie du Méandre (temple d'Artémis Leucophryène), 200-190 BC (Paris Louvre, inv. no. Ma 2881.27; Dist. GrandPalaisRmn / Hervé Lewandowski, accessed: <https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl010252236>).



Fig. 15. Image of an Amazon with a battle axe on the white background lekythos. © Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. no. IV 3742, photo by the author

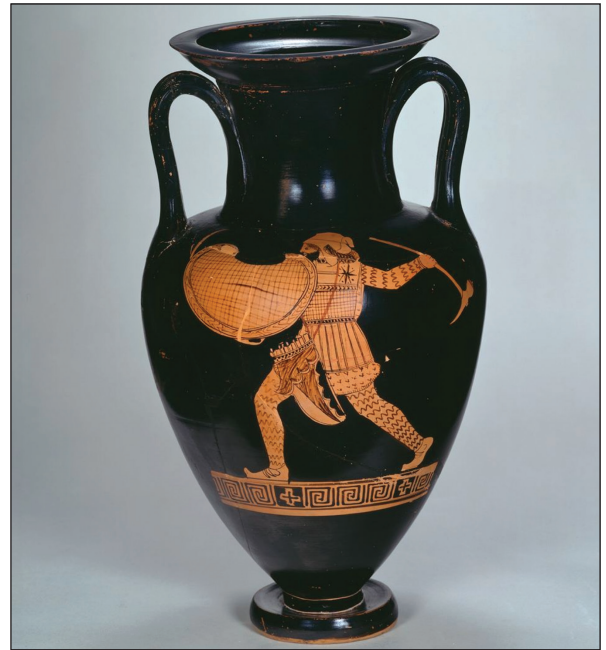


Fig. 16. Image of a Persian with a battle axe on the red-figure amphora, the 5th century BC, Athens, after: Koch, Rehm 2006, S. 164



Fig. 17. Image of a Persian with a battle axe and a bow on the red-figure kylix, the 5th century BC, after: Hölscher 2019, S. 152, Abb. 61

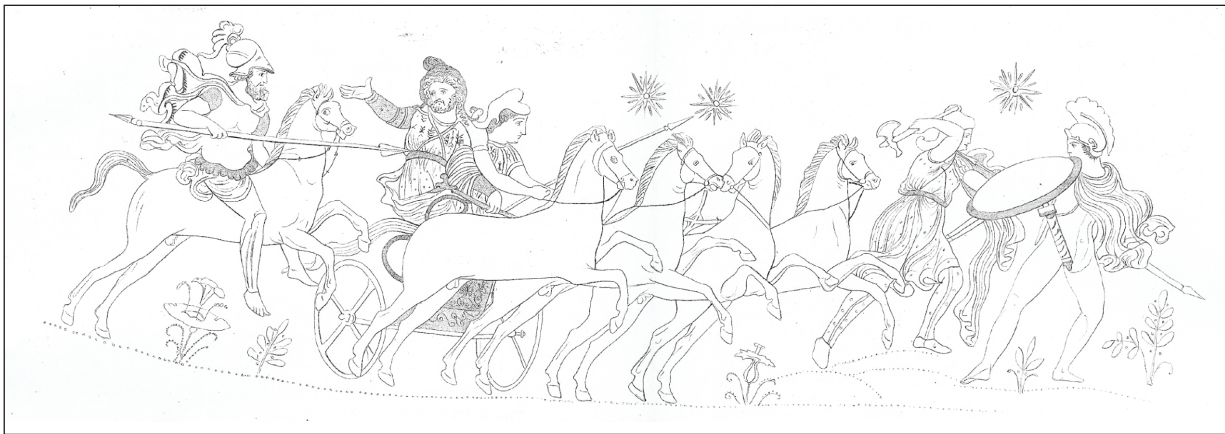


Fig. 18. Image of a Persian with a battle axe, Apulian amphora, the 4th century BC, after: Heydemann 1883, Falttafel



Fig. 19. Image of a Persian with a battle axe on the so-called Alexander's sarcophagus, Sidon, the 4th century BC, Istanbul, after: Graeve 1970, Taf. 39; Schefold, Seidel 1968, S. 34

Scythian burials that yielded iron axes belonged to warriors of relatively low social classes. To this day, nothing unequivocally ties these axes to royal status" (Daragan, Polin 2023, p. 22, cf. also: p. 44). Nevertheless, the images of Scythians with the battle axes are known on the toreutics from high elite burials (Solokha, "Chastye kurgany"). Thus, M. M. Daragan and S. V. Polin also add that "only the bronze votive axes — also found in burials of less wealthy warriors — indicate that the tomb's incumbents were of higher status than ordinary warriors" (Daragan, Polin 2023, p. 22) (such as a "votive" axe from Lvoe). Indeed, it is possible that various types of axes could have an independent symbolic meaning, marking *insignia* of power of different levels of the nomadic military aristocracy: massive and gold-decorated axes had the highest sacred status and were

symbols of royalty. The well-known example of such an object is a unique golden axe from the 1st Kelermes mound (7th century BC), which is a work of West Asian (Assyrian?)²⁴ toreutic masters (Переводчикова 1979, с. 138-155; Черненко 1987; Кисель 1997). As Ye. V. Chernenko points out: "During the stay of the Scythians in the East, the main complex of Scythian offensive

²⁴ For examples of the Assyrian axes in art, see: Herrmann 2017, p. 46, fig. 42 (a fragment of an incised ivory panel from Bagdad, the National Museum ND 1715a); p. 47, fig. 44 (a panel from the Nabu temple); a wall panel relief, London BM 124801a, depicting the battle of Til-Tuba (the battle of the Ulai River) (https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/W_1851-0902-8-a). A. Kavak also stressed two sources with the representations of the king with a bow and an axe (?) (Kavak 2022, p. 273, 274, photo 8 (Naram-Sin rock relief at Darband-i-Gawr); p. 274, photo 9 (a stele of the Babylonian King Marduk-nadin-ahhe)).



Fig. 20. Image of a Persian with a battle axe on the so-called Alexander's sarcophagus, Sidon, the 4th century BC, Istanbul, after: Graeve 1970, Taf. 40 and Schefold, Seidel 1968, S. 35



Fig. 21. Image of a Persian with a battle axe on the so-called Alexander's sarcophagus, Sidon, the 4th century BC, Istanbul, after: Graeve 1970, Taf. 42; Schefold, Seidel 1968, S. 6

and defensive weapons was formed, a complex brought by them in a formed form to the steppes of the Northern Caucasus and the Northern Black Sea after their return to these territories" (Черненко 1987, с. 24). It is obvious that this process could have been accompanied by military lexic's borrowings, as in the case with *σάγαρις* which

indicated similarity to Assyrian name of a weapon *šukurru*.

Conclusions

The analyses of narrative, visual and archaeological sources has led to the conclusion

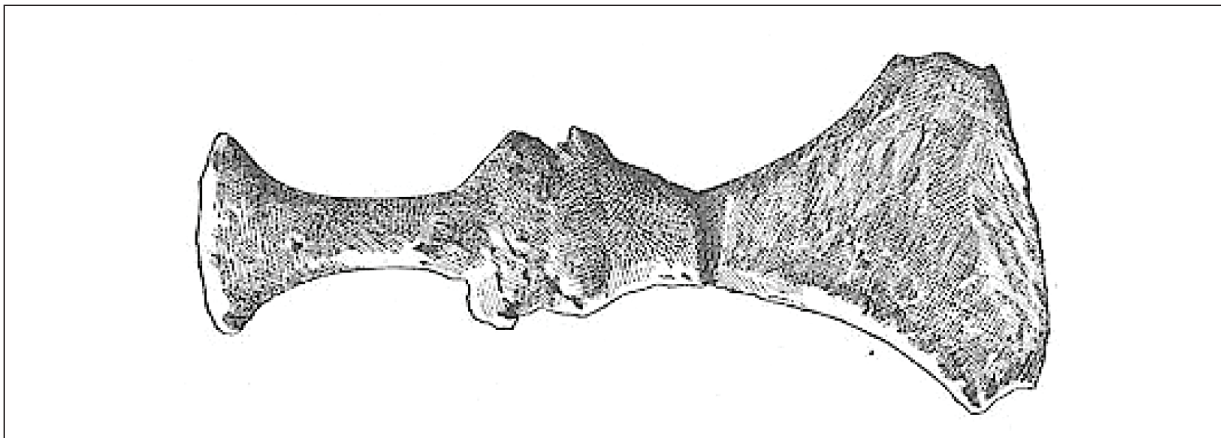


Fig. 22. Silver model of a battle axe in the hands of a Persian warrior on the north side of the Alexander's sarcophagus, after: Hamdy Bey, Reinach 1892, p. 72

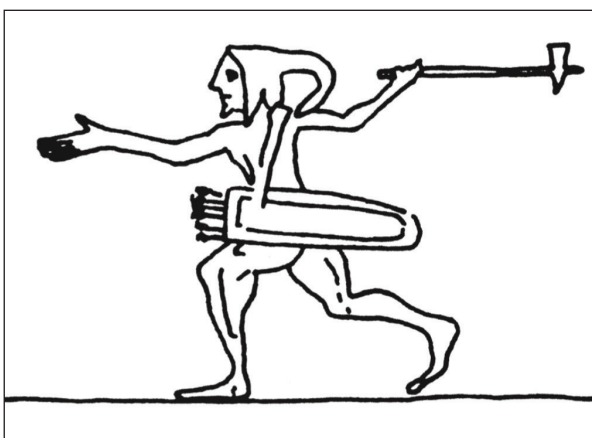


Fig. 23. Image of a "Scythian" with a battle axe on the black-figure kylix from Angers, after: Ivantchik 2006, p. 239, fig. 14

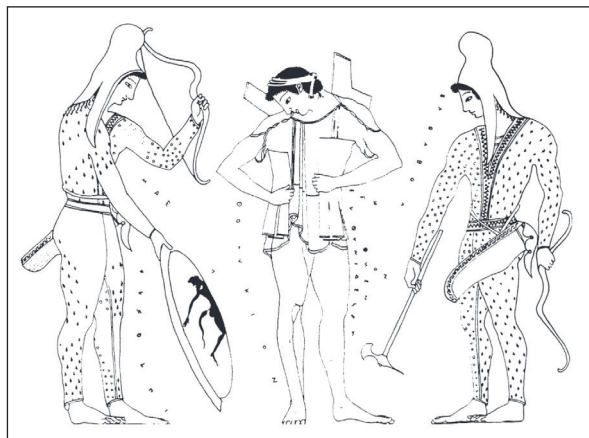


Fig. 24. Image of a "Scythian" with a battle axe on the red-figure amphora from Munich, after: Ivantchik 2006, p. 211, fig. 5

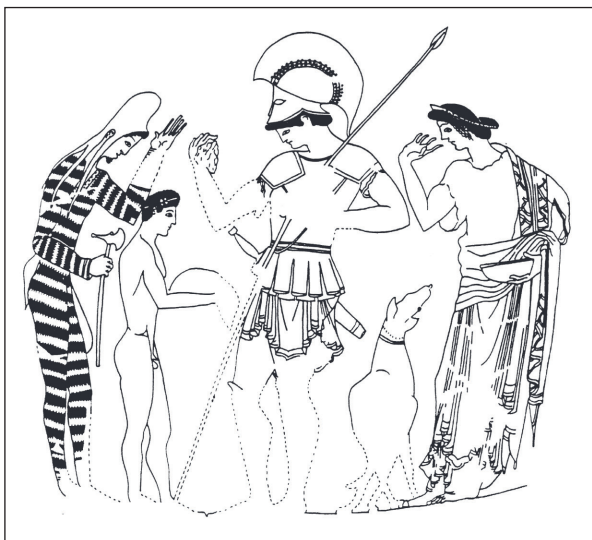


Fig. 25. Image of a "Scythian" with a battle axe on the red-figure amphora from Würzburg (L 507), showing a scene of extispicy, after: Ivantchik 2006, p. 215, fig. 8, Cf.: Hölscher 2019, S. 145, Abb. 56

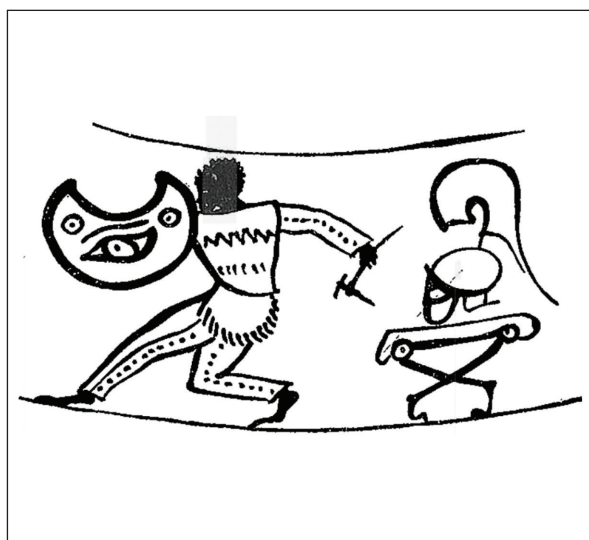


Fig. 26. Image of a "Scythian" (?) with a battle axe and a shield, Athens, after: Lissarrague 1990, p. 179, fig. 101



Fig. 27. Image of an Amazon armed with a battle axe on a golden sword scabbard from the Chortomlyk mound, the 4th century BC; after: Алексеев 2012, с. 218



Fig. 28. Image of an Amazon with a battle axe on the ornamental frieze of a golden plate from the Velyka Blyznytsia mound, the 4th century BC, after: Калашник 2014, с. 157

that the word *σάγαρις* should be identified as a “single-bladed battle axe”. At the same time, Classical sources give the same term *σάγαρις* for the definition of battle axe of all ancient Iranian-speaking peoples, including the Scythians. The same weapon is also attributed to the Amazons. The visual sources in various forms of ancient art (vase painting, monumental sculpture,

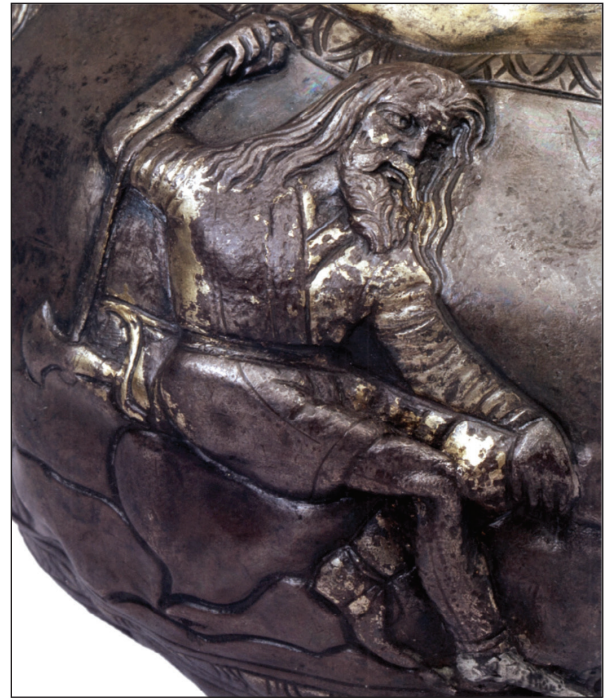


Fig. 29. Image of a Scythian leaning on an axe on a silver gilt bowl from the barrow no. 3 of the “Chastye Kurgany” group, the 4th century BC, after: Алексеев 2012, с. 246



Fig. 30. Image of a young Scythian leaning on an axe on a silver gilt bowl from the barrow no. 3 of the “Chastye Kurgany” group, after: Алексеев 2012, с. 246

sarcophagus decoration, toreutics) show more differentiated types of axes for the same characters, which, nevertheless, in the Classical and Hellenistic period are united by the fact that they are single-bladed axes. It is not until the Roman period that the depictions of a *labrys*-axe for the Amazons can be observed. As for archaeological sources, there are no exact links



Fig. 31. Depiction of a battle scene on the cover of a *gorytos* from the Solokha mound, the 4th century BC; after: Фармаковский 1922, табл. VI; Полидович 2019, с. 249, рис. 10

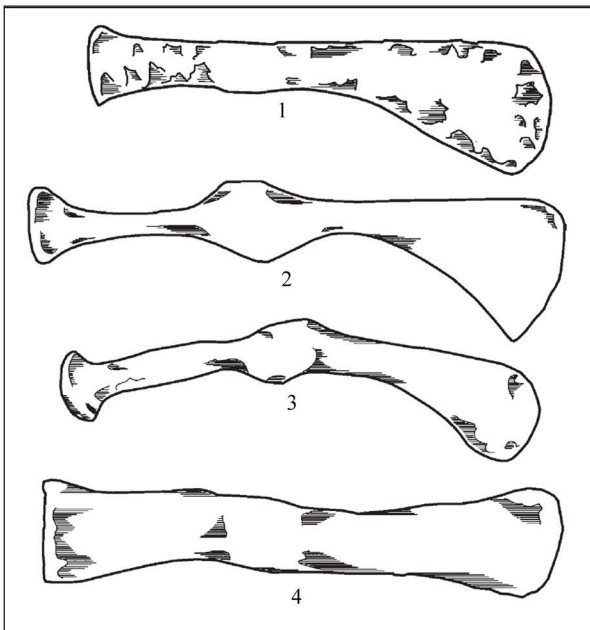


Fig. 32. Typology of the Scythian percussion and chopping weapons by O. Shelekhan. Group I — battle axes: 1 — Starsha Mohyla; 2 — Duplynske; 3 — khut. Shumeiko; 4 — Mala Ofirna, after: Шелехань 2012, с. 4, рис. 1

to the forms represented in art (except for the axe from the Talaievskiy mound). At the same time, the known Scythian battle axes, with rare exceptions, have a single chopping blade, which undoubtedly brings them closer to the images of axes in art. Accordingly, the identification of

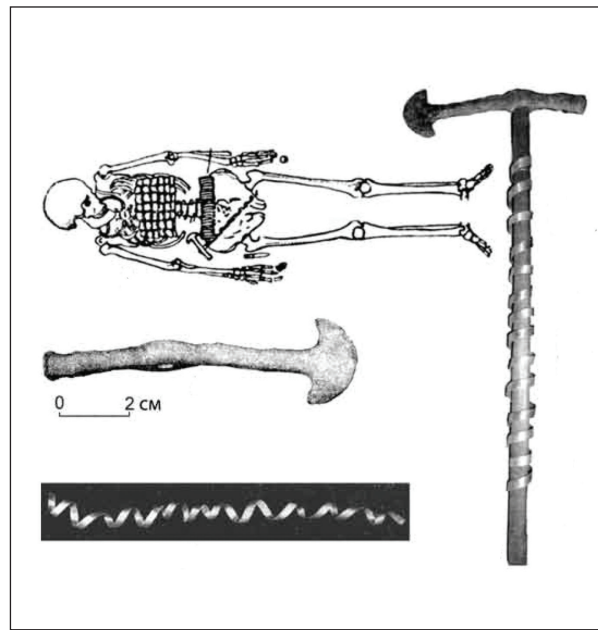


Fig. 33. Burial of a Scythian warrior with a *σάγαρις*-type battle axe from the Talaievskiy mound, the 4th century BC; after: Никоноров 2015, с. 401, рис. 4.1–4

σάγαρις with the double-bladed battle axe or pick is debatable. This word seems to have entered the ancient Greek lexicon from nomadic circles, most likely from the Black Sea Scythians, as a borrowing. Possibly, it could have come into Scythian from Semitic languages during the

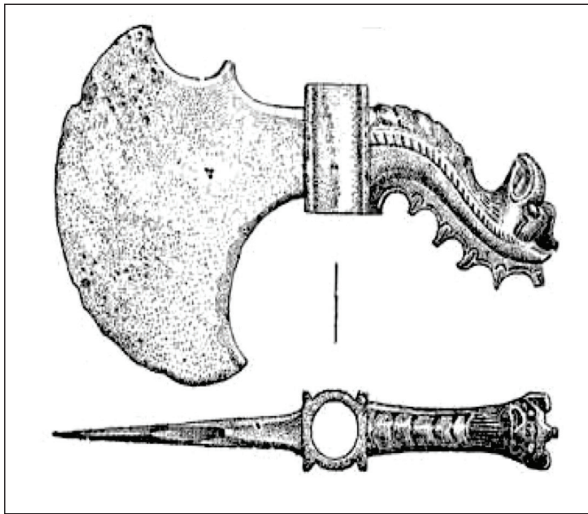


Fig. 34. Axe from the mound no. 18 near Lvove village, the 4th century BC; after: Никоноров 2015, с. 407, рис. 4.10



Fig. 36. Golden medallion from Chersonesus, the 4th century BC (?), after: Никоноров 2015, с. 405, рис. 5.10



Fig. 35. “Borysphenes” coins from Olbia, the 4th century BC, after: Карышковский 1968, табл. I, 1, 2



Fig. 37. Image of a Scythian holding a battle axe on the coin of Kerkinitis, 300–290 BC, after: Daragan, Polin 2023, p. 6, fig. 4.6

West Asian campaigns of Akkadians during the 7th century BC, as indicated by the similarity of *σάγαρις* to Assyrian *šukurru* and Old Hebrew *səḡōr*. Perhaps namely during this time, a battle axe acquired a special cultic significance in the Scythian culture, which can be further seen in

Herodotus' reports (the axe as one of the golden gifts of heaven and its use in an oath contract). Archaeological evidence of such sacralisation could be the golden axe from the 1st Kelermes mound (7th century BC), produced and decorated in Western Asia. It should be emphasised that typologically and functionally, battle axes of the Scythians and other Iranian-speaking nomads were quite differentiated weapons, and therefore the generalised nomination of the name *σάγαρις* to all known types of axes is hardly correct.

- Абаев, В. И. 1979. Скифо-сарматские наречия. В: Абаев, В. И., Боголюбов, М. Н., Расторгуева, В. С. (ред.). *Основы иранского языкознания. Древнеиранские языки*. Москва: Наука, с. 272-364.
- Алексеев, А. Ю. 2012. *Золото скифских царей в собрании Эрмитажа*. Санкт-Петербург: Издательство Государственного Эрмитажа.
- Артамонов, М. И. 1966. *Сокровища скифских курганов в собрании Государственного Эрмитажа*. Прага: Артия; Ленинград: Советский художник.
- Бессонова, С. С., Раевский, Д. С. 1977. Золота пластина із Сахнівки. *Археологія*, 21, с. 31-50.
- Вейсман, А. Д. (сост.). 1899. *Греческо-русский словарь*. 5-е издание. Санкт-Петербург: «Греко-латинский кабинет» Ю. А. Шичалина.
- Вертиченко, А. В. 2010. «Скифский арфист» (к интерпретации одной из сцен сахновской пластины). В: Полидович, Ю. Б., Усачук, А. Н. (ред.). *Изобразительное искусство в археологическом наследии*. Археологический альманах, 21. Донецк: Лебедь, с. 320-332.
- Вертиченко, Г. В. 2015. *Іконографія скіфської есхатології*. Київ: Видавець Олег Філюк.
- Вертиченко, Г. В. 2023а. «Сокира» Мітри та скіфський *σάγυρις*: деконструкція гіпотез. В: Задніков, С., Шрамко, І., Панковський, В. (ред.). *Мистецька стилістика, техніка та змістовність з а доби раннього заліза Європи*. Харків; Котельва: Майдан, с. 220-241.
- Вертиченко, Г. В. 2023б. Скіфський *σάγυρις*. В: *Матеріали Міжнародної наукової конференції Ver Kyivians (Sub Umbra Castaneorum) «Стародавній світ, середні віки, ранній Новий час: історія, релігія, культура», 18-19 травня 2023 р.* Київ: КНУ, с. 11-13.
- Геродот. 1888. *История в девяти книгах*; перевод с греческого Ф. Г. Мищенко. В 2-х томах. Москва: Издание А. Г. Кузнецова.
- Геродот. 1972. *История в девяти книгах*; перевод и примечания Г. А. Стратановского. Ленинград: Наука.
- Геродот. 1993. «*Історії*» в дев'яти книгах»; переклад, передмова та примітки А. О. Білецького. Київ: Наукова думка.
- Георгиев, В. И. 1953. Три слова, обозначающие «топор», и недостатки сравнительно-исторического метода. *Lingua Posnaniensis*, IV, р. 109-110.
- Грицюк, В. М. 2009. *Військо скіфів (озброєння, організація, війни та воєнне мистецтво)*. Чернівці: Місто.
- Дворецкий, И. Х. 1958. *Древнегреческо-русский словарь*. В 2-х томах. Москва: Государственное издательство иностранных и национальных словарей.
- Доватур, А. И., Каллистов, Д. П., Шишова, И. А. 1982. *Народы нашей страны в «Истории» Геродота. Тексты, перевод, комментарий*. Москва: Наука.
- Ермоленко, Л. Н. 2019. О композиционных структурах и иконографических схемах греко-скифского искусства (на примере изделий из кургана Солоха). *Stratum plus*, 3, с. 215-228.
- Іллінська, В. А. 1961. Скіфські сокири. *Археологія*, 12, с. 27-52.
- Калашник, Ю. П. 2014. *Греческое золото в собрании Эрмитажа: Памятники античного ювелирного искусства из Северного Причерноморья*. Санкт-Петербург: Издательство Государственного Эрмитажа.
- Карышковский, П. О. 1968. Ольвийские «борисфены». В: Анохин, В. А. (ред.). *Нумизматика и сфрагистика*, 3. Киев: Наукова думка, с. 62-85.
- Кисель, В. А. 1997. *Священная секира скифов: об одной находке из Келермеса*. Санкт-Петербург: МАЭ РАН.
- Кисель, В. А. 2008. *Σάγυρις* Геродота в арсенале древних кочевников. В: Деревянко, А. П., Макаров, Н. А. (ред.). *Труды II (XVIII) Всероссийского археологического съезда в Суздале*, том II. Москва: ИА РАН, с. 110-112.
- Кисель, В. А. 2015. Историчность «скифского логоса» и автопсия Геродота. В: Чистов, Ю. К. (ред.). *Радловский сборник: Научные исследования и музейные проекты МАЭ РАН в 2014 г.* Санкт-Петербург: МАЭ РАН, с. 406-417.
- Ксенофонт. 1951. *Анабасис*. Перевод, статья и примечания М. И. Максимовой; ред. И. И. Толстой. Москва; Ленинград: Издательство Академии наук СССР.
- Кулланда, С. В. 2016. *Скифы: язык и этногенез*. Москва: Русский фонд содействия образованию и науке.
- Курций Руф, Квинт. 1993. *История Александра Македонского*. С приложением сочинений Диодора, Юстина, Плутарха об Александре; отв. ред. А. А. Вигасин. Москва: Издательство МГУ.
- Литвинский, Б. А., Пьянков, И. В. 1966. Военное дело у народов Средней Азии в VI—IV вв. до н.э. *Вестник древней истории*, 3, с. 36-52.
- Маневич, А. П. 1987. *Курган Солоха. Публикация одной коллекции*. Ленинград: Искусство.
- Мелюкова, А. И. 1964. *Вооружение скифов*. Археология СССР. Свод археологических источников, Д1—4. Москва: Наука.
- Молев, Е. А., Молева, Н. В. 2005. Скифские антропоморфные изваяния Северного Причерноморья. *Вестник Нижегородского университета*, 4/3, с. 15-21.
- Никоноров, В. П. 2014. Боевые топоры и их культ у древних народов Центральной Азии и Ирана (от раннего железного века до раннего средневековья). В: Алёкшин, В. А. (отв. ред.). *Археология древних обществ Евразии: хронология, культурогенез, религиозные воззрения. Памяти Вадима Михайловича Массона (03.05.1929–19.02.2010)*. Труды ИИМК РАН, XLII. Санкт-Петербург: Арт-Экспресс, с. 97-37.
- Никоноров, В. П. 2015. Культ боевых топоров у древних ираноязычных народов: скифы Северного Причерноморья. В: Никоноров, В. П., Алёкшин, В. А. (ред.). *Академическое востоковедение в России и странах ближнего зарубежья (2007–2015): Археология, история, культура*. Записки Восточного Отделения Российского Археологического Общества, III [XXVIII]; Труды ИИМК РАН, XLV. Санкт-Петербург: Контраст, с. 395-424.
- Олійник, О. Г. 2003. Зображення скіфського музиканта на сахнівській пластині. *Археологія*, 4, с. 40-54.
- Ольховский, В. С. 2005. *Монументальная скульптура населения западной части евразийских степей эпохи раннего железа*. Москва: Наука.
- Ольховский, В. С., Евдокимов, Г. Л. 1994. *Скифские изваяния VII—III вв. до н.э.* Москва: ИА РАН.
- Переводчикова, Е. В. 1979. Келермесская секира и формирование скифского звериного стиля. В: Сапрыкин, Ю. М. (ред.). *Проблемы истории античности и средних веков*. Москва: МГУ, с. 138-155.
- Погребова, М. Н. 1969. Железные топоры скифского типа в Закавказье. *Советская археология*, 2, с. 179-188.
- Полидович, Ю. Б. 2019. Сцены сражения на золотом конусе из Передериевой Могила и скифский миф о Коллаксе. *Stratum plus*, 3, с. 229-260.
- Раевский, Д. С. 1977. *Очерки идеологии скифо-сакских племен. Опыт реконструкции скифской мифологии*. Москва: Наука.
- Раевский, Д. С. 2006. *Мир скифской культуры*. Москва: «Языки славянских культур».
- Русяева, М. В. 1997. Інтерпретація зображень на золотій пластині з Сахнівки. *Археологія*, 1, с. 46-56.
- Солнцева, Н. М. 2010. Скиф и скифство в русской литературе. *Историко-культурное наследие. Ученые записки Орловского государственного университета*, 4, с. 147-159.
- Толочко, П. П., Мурзін, В. Ю. 1991. *Золото степу. Археологія України*. Київ; Шлезвіг: Інститут археології НАН України.

- Тохтасьев, С. Р. 2005. Проблема скифского языка в современной науке. В: Cojocaru, V. (ed.). *Ethnic contacts and cultural exchanges North and West of the Black Sea from the Greek Colonization to the Ottoman Conquest*. Iași: Trinitas, p. 59-108.
- Фармаковский, Б. В. 1922. Горит из кургана Солохи. *Известия Российской академии истории материальной культуры*, II, с. 23-48.
- Фіалко, О. Є. 2023. Бойові сокири амазонок Європейської Скіфії. *Археологія і давня історія України*, 2 (47), с. 113-126. <https://doi.org/10.37445/adiu.2023.02.07>
- Хазанов, А. М. 1975. *Социальная история скифов. Основные проблемы развития древних кочевников Евразийских степей*. Москва: Наука.
- Христолюбова, Т. П. 2011. Истоки «скифства» в русской культуре. В: Шиманский, Н. В., Салиева, Л. К., Дорошин, Б. А. (ред.). *Традиционная и современная культура: история, актуальное положение, перспективы. Материалы международной научно-практической конференции*. Пенза; Москва; Минск: Научно-издательский центр «Социосфера», с. 43-48.
- Черненко, Е. В. 1980. Скифские боевые топоры. В: Генинг, В. Ф. (отв. ред.). *Археологические исследования на Украине 1978–1979 гг. Тезисы докладов XVIII конференции Института археологии АН УССР*. Днепропетровск: Издательство ДГУ, с. 88.
- Черненко, Е. В. 1987. Парадный топор из Келермесса. В: Черненко, Е. В. (ред.). *Скифы Северного Причерноморья*. Киев: Наукова думка, с. 19-30.
- Шелехань, О. В. 2010. Зображення бойових сокир на антропоморфних стелах скіфського часу. В: *Проблеми історії та археології України: Матеріали VII Міжнародної наукової конференції (28–29 жовтня 2010 г.)*. Харків: НТМТ, с. 36-37.
- Шелехань, О. В. 2012. Бойові сокири скіфського типу з Північного Причорномор'я. *Археологія*, 2, с. 3-13.
- Шелехань, О. В. 2016. Поховання скіфських воїнів із сокирами з любимівського могильника (за матеріалами Каховської експедиції). *Археологія і давня історія України*, 1 (18), с. 15-28.
- Фасмер, М. 1987. *Этимологический словарь русского языка*. В 4-х томах. Москва: Прогресс.
- Alessio, G. 1944. Suggestimenti e nuove indagini sul problema del Sostrato "Mediterraneo". *Studi Etruschi*, 18, p. 93-158.
- Beckwith, C. I. 2023. *The Scythian Empire: Central Eurasia and the Birth of the Classical Age from Persia to China*. Princeton; Oxford: Princeton University Press.
- Beekes, R. S. P. 2010. *Etymological Dictionary of Greek; with the assistance of L. van Beek*. Leiden Indo-European Etymological Dictionary, Series 10. Leiden; Boston: Brill.
- Bittner, S. 1987. *Tracht und Bewaffnung des persischen Heeres zur Zeit der Achaimeniden*. 2nd ed. München: K. Friedrich.
- Boisacq, É. 1938. *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue Grecque étudiée dans ses rapports avec les autres langues Indo-Européennes*. Heidelberg; Paris: Winter and Klinkcksieck.
- Bothmer, D. von 1957. *Amazons in Greek Art*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Brentjes, B. 1996. *Arms of the Sakas (And Other Tribes of the Central Asian Steppes)*. Varanasi: Rishi Publications.
- CAD — Roth, T. (ed.) 1961–2010. *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*, 1–17. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- Chantraine, P. 1999. *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue Grecque histoire des mots*. Paris: Klincksieck.
- Cunliffe, B. 2021. *The Scythians. Nomad Warriors of the Steppe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Daragan, M., Polin, S. 2023. Axes in the Funerary Ceremonies of the Northern Pontic Scythians. In: Meyer, C. (ed.). *Situating Eurasia in Antiquity: Nomadic Material Culture in the First Millennium BCE*, Arts 12/124 (Special Issue), p. 1-47. <https://doi.org/10.3390/arts12030124>
- Delitzsch, F. 1883. *Biblischer Commentar über die Psalmen*. Leipzig: J. J. August.
- Derksen, R. 2008. *Etymological Dictionary of the Slavic Inherited Lexicon*. Leiden Indo-European Etymological Dictionary Series, 4. Leiden; Boston: Brill.
- Diggle, J. (ed.). 2021. *The Cambridge Greek Lexicon*, 2 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dirven, L. 2013. A Goddess with Dogs from Hatra. In: Peruzzetto, A., Metzger, F. D., Dirven, L. (eds.). *Animals, Gods and Men from East to West. Papers on Archaeology and History in Honour of Roberta Venco Ricciardi*. BAR International Series, 2516. Oxford: BAR Publishing, p. 147-160.
- Fantham, E. 1995. *Women in the Classical World: Image and Text*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Giguët, P. 1860. *Histoires d'Hérodote*. Paris: Hachette.
- Goldingay, J. 2006. *Psalms: Volume 1: Psalms 1–41. Baker Commentary on the Old Testament Wisdom and Psalms*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic.
- Graeve, V. von 1970. *Der Alexandersarkophag und seine Werkstatt*. Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag.
- Hamdy Bey, O., Reinach, T. 1892. *Une nécropole royale à Sidon: fouilles, texte*. Paris: Ernest Leroux, Éditeur.
- Herrmann, G. 2017. *Ancient Ivory: Masterpieces of the Assyrian Empire*. London: Thames & Hudson Ltd.
- Herodot. 2006. *Historien. Erster Band, Bücher I–V*; ed. by J. Feix. Düsseldorf: Artemis & Winkler.
- Herodotus. 1928. *In Four Volumes. Vol. II: Books III and IV*; with an English translation by A. D. Godley. London; New York: William Heinemann & Putnam's Sons.
- Herodotus. 2008. *The Histories*; translated by R. Waterfield; Introduction and Notes by C. Dewald, 2nd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Herodotus. 2013. *The Histories*; translated by W. Blanko, ed. By W. Blanco and J. T. Roberts, 2nd ed. New York; London: W. W. Norton & Company.
- Herodotus. 2014. *The Histories*; translated by T. Holland, ed. by P. Cartledge. London: Penguin Books.
- Heydemann, H. 1883. *Alexander der Große und Dareios Kodomannos auf unteritalischen Vasenbildern*. Halle: Max Niemeyer.
- Hölscher, T. 2019. *Krieg und Kunst im antiken Griechenland und Rom. Vier Triebkräfte kriegerischer Gewalt: Heldentum, Identität, Herrschaft, Ideologie*. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Houser, C. 1998. The "Alexander Sarcophagus" of Abdalonymos. A Hellenistic Monument from Sidon. In: Palagia, O., Coulson, W. (eds.). *Regional Schools in Hellenistic Sculpture*. Oxford: Oxbow Books, p. 281-291.
- How, W. W., Wells, J. 1912. *A Commentary on Herodotus. With Introduction and Appendixes*, 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Ivanchik, A. 1999. Une légende sur l'origine des Scythes (Hdt. IV, 5–7) et le problème des sources du Scythicos logos d'Hérodote. *Revue des Études Grecques*, 112, p. 141-192.
- Ivanchik, A. 2006. "Scythian" Archers on Archaic Attic Vases: Problems of Interpretation. *Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia*, 12/3–4, p. 197-271. <https://doi.org/10.1163/157005706779851408>
- Kavak, A. 2022. Bows Used as Symbols of Military Victory in the Neo-Assyrian Period. *SDU Faculty of Arts and Sciences Journal of Social Sciences*, 56, p. 266-283.
- Keel, O. 1997. *The Symbolism of the Biblical World. Ancient Near Eastern Iconography and the Book of Psalms*; translated from German by T. J. Hallet. Winona Lake: Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Koch, A., Rehm, E. 2006. *Das persische Weltreich. Pracht und Prunk der Großkönige*. Stuttgart: Konrad Theiss.

- Kogan, L., Krebernik, M. 2020. *Etymological Dictionary of Akkadian. Volume 1/1: Roots Beginning with P and B. Preface, Introduction and Dictionary*; in collaboration with O. Linkohr, R. Nurullin, O. I. Şek. Boston; Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Liddell, H. G., Scott, R. 1996. *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 9th ed.; Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Lissarrague, F. 1990. *L'autre guerrier. Archers, peltastes, cavaliers dans l'imagerie attique*. Paris; Rome: Editions La Découverte.
- Man, J. 2017. *Amazons: The Real Warrior Women of the Ancient World*. London: Bantam Press.
- Marshall, F. H. 1909. Some Recent Acquisitions of the British Museum. *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 29, p. 151-167.
- Nicolsky, N. 1927. *Spuren magischer Formeln in den Psalmen*. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Nikonorov, V. 2014. The Parade Hatchet-Klevets from Old Nisa (A Contribution to the Study of the Combat Hatchets and Their Cult in Ancient Central Eurasia). *Anabasis*, 4 (2013/2014), p. 179-232.
- Peyrot, M., Dragoni, F., Bernard, C. B. 2022. The Spread of Iron in Central Asia: On the Etymology of the Word for 'Iron' in Iranian and Tocharian. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 85/3, p. 403-422. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0041977X22000805>
- Pisani, V. 1947. *L'Etimologia. Storia — Questioni — Metodo*. Milano: Casa Editrice Renon.
- Potratz, J. A. H. 1963. *Die Skythen in Südrussland: ein untergegangenes Volk in Südosteuropa*. Basel: Raggi.
- Potts, D. T. 2012. A "Scythian" Pick from Vaske (Gilan) and the Identity of the XVIIth Delegation at Persepolis. In: Baker, H., Kaniuth, K., Otto, A. (eds.). *Stories of Long Ago: Festschrift für Michael D. Roaf*. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, p. 459-470.
- Schefold, K., Seidel, M. 1968. *Der Alexander-Sarkophag*. Berlin: Propyläen Verlag.
- Simango, D. 2022. A Contextual and Canonical Reading of Psalm 35. *Old Testament Essays*, 35/3, p. 433-452. <https://doi.org/10.17159/2312-3621/2022/v35n3a5>
- Simpson, St. J., Pankova, S. (eds.). 2017. *Scythians: Warriors of Ancient Siberia*. London: British Museum Press.
- Sutton, L. 2018. A Position of Honour or Shame? YHWH as an Armour Bearer in Psalm 35: 1-3. *Acta Theologica*, Supplement 26, p. 268-285. <https://doi.org/10.18820/23099089/actat.sup26.16>
- Szemerényi, O. 1971. Review: Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque: Histoire des mots by Pierre Chantraine. I: A—Δ, 1968; II: E-K, 1970. Paris: Klincksieck. XVIII, 305. 307-607 S. 68; 76 F. *Gnomon*, 43/7, p. 641-675.
- The Greek Anthology*. 1961 — *The Greek Anthology*; with an English translation by W. R. Paton. London: William Heinemann Ltd.
- Thomas, D. 2021. *The Landmark Xenophon's Anabasis*; New York: Pantheon Books.
- Tsangari, D. (ed.) 2011. *Myth and Coinage: Representations, Symbolisms and Interpretations from the Greek Mythology*. Athens: Alpha.
- Tyrell, W. B. 1984. *Amazons: A Study in Athenian Myth-making*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Vaan, M. de 2008. *Etymological Dictionary of Latin and the Other Italic Languages*, Leiden Indo-European Etymological Dictionary Series, 7. Leiden; Boston: Brill.
- Vertienko, H. 2021. The Sakhnivka Plate: Scythian Iconography in the Imaging of Eschatological Concepts. In: Vives-Ferrándiz Sánchez, L. (ed.). *Eternal Sadness: Representations of Death in Visual Culture from Antiquity to the Present Time*, Eikon Imago, 10. Madrid (w. ed.), p. 259-270. <https://doi.org/10.5209/eiko.74150>

Г. В. Вертієнко

Кандидат історичних наук, старший науковий співробітник відділу Євразійського степу, Інститут сходознавства ім. А. Ю. Кримського НАН України; гостьовий дослідник, факультет азіатських та близькосхідних досліджень, Оксфордський університет, ORCID 00-0002-2104-0058, vertiana77@gmail.com, hanna.vertienko@ames.ox.ac.uk

СКІФСЬКИЙ ΣΑΓΑΡΙΣ: СЛОВО — ОБРАЗ — АРХЕОЛОГІЧНИЙ ОБ'ЄКТ

У статті досліджено термін σάγαις. Цим словом у класичних джерелах позначали специфічну скіфську зброю — бойову сокиру. Розглянуто лексичну історію слова, його значення та переклад, а також способи зображення скіфської бойової сокири в античному мистецтві та її археологічні реалії. Античні писемні джерела містять однаковий термін σάγαις для визначення бойових сокир усіх давніх іраномовних народів, включно зі скіфами. Цю саму зброю приписують і амазонкам. Образотворчі джерела (вазопис, монументальна скульптура, оздоблення саркофагів, торевтика) демонструють більш диференційовані типи сокир для цих етнічних груп, які, попри те, в класичній та елліністичній період зображуються саме як одностовові сокири. Лише в римський період з'являються зображення сокир-лабрісів у амазонок. Археологічний матеріал не виявляє точних відповідностей формам, представленим в мистецтві (за винятком сокири з Талаївського кургану). Водночас відомі скіфські бойові сокири, за рідкісним винятком, мають одне рубаюче лезо, що зближує їх із зображеннями сокир у мистецтві. Таким чином, σάγαις слід ідентифікувати як «одностовову бойову сокиру», і, відповідно, його ототожнення з двостововою бойовою сокирою або киркою/чеканом, скоріше за все, є некоректним. Етимологія σάγαις дискусійна, але припустимо, що це слово потрапило до давньогрецької мови з кочового середовища, найімовірніше, від причорноморських скіфів як запозичення. У свою чергу, можливо, воно могло проникнути у скіфську мову з семітських мов під час передньоазійських походів VII ст. до н.е., на що вказує схожість σάγαις з асирійським *šukurru* та давньоєврейським *saḡḡr*. Імовірно, саме в цей час бойова сокира набула особливого культового значення у скіфській культурі, що ми бачимо далі в повідомленнях Геродота (сокира як один із золотих дарів неба та її використання в клятвеному договорі) (Herod., Hist., IV, 5.3; 70). Утім, типологічно і функціонально бойові сокири скіфів та інших іраномовних кочівників раннього залізного віку були типологічно диференційованою зброєю, а тому узагальнена номінація σάγαις до всіх відомих типів сокир навряд чи є виправданою.

К л ю ч о в і с л о в а: бойова сокира, σάγαις, скіфи, античні джерела, лексична історія, античне мистецтво, іконографія.

References

- Abaev, V. I. 1979. Skifo-sarmatskie narechiia. In: Abaev, V. A., Bogoliubov, M. N., Rastorgueva, V. S. (eds.). *Osnovy iranskogo iazykoznaniiia. Drevneiranskii iazyki*. Moscow: Nauka, p. 272-364.
- Alekseev, A. Iu. 2012. Zoloto skifskikh tsarei v sobranii Ermitazha. Saint Petersburg: Izdatelstvo Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha.
- Artamonov, M. I. 1966. *Sokrovishcha skifskikh kurganov v sobranii Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha*. Praga: Artia; Leningrad: Sovetskii khudozhnik.
- Bessonova, S. S., Raievskiy, D. S. 1977. Zolota plastyna iz Sakhnivky. *Arheologia*, 21, p. 31-50.
- Veisman, A. D. (comp.). 1899. *Grechesko-russkii slovar*. 5-e izd. Saint Petersburg: "Greko-latinskii kabinet" Iu. A. Shichalina.
- Vertiienko, A. V. 2010. "Skifskii arhist" (k interpretatsii odnoi iz stsen sakhnovskoi plastiny). In: Polidovich, Iu. B., Usachuk, A. N. (eds.). *Izobrazitelnoe iskusstvo v arkheologicheskom nasledii. Arkheologicheskii almanakh*, 21. Donetsk: Leb-ed, p. 320-332.
- Vertiienko, H. V. 2015. *Ikonohrafiia skifskoi eskhatolohii*. Kyiv: Vydavets Oleh Filiuk.
- Vertiienko, H. V. 2023a. "Sokrya" Mitry ta skifskiy σάραρις: dekonstruktsiia hypotez. In: Zadnikov, S., Shramko, I., Pankovskiy, V. (eds.). *Mystetska stylistyka, tekhnika ta zmistovnist z a doby rannoho zaliza Yevrazii*. Kharkiv; Kotelva: Maidan, p. 220-241.
- Vertiienko, H. V. 2023b. Skifskiy σάραρις. In: *Materialy Mizhnarodnoi naukovoï konferentsii Ver Kyivians (Sub Umbra Castanearum) "Starodavnyi svit, seredni viky, rannii Novyi chas: istoriia, relihiia, kultura"*, 18–19 travnia 2023 r. Kyiv: KNU, p. 11-13.
- Gerodot. 1888. *Istoriia v devyati knigakh*; perevod s grecheskogo F. G. Mishchenka. In 2 vols. Moscow: Izdanie A. G. Kuznetsova.
- Gerodot. 1972. *Istoriia v devyati knigakh*; perevod i primechaniia G. A. Stratanovskogo. Leningrad: Nauka.
- Herodot. 1993. *"Istoriia" v devyati knyghakh*; pereklad, peredmovna ta pryimky A. O. Biletskoho. Kyiv: Naukova dumka.
- Georgiev, V. I. 1953. Tri slova, oboznachayushchie "topor", i nedostatki sravnitelno-istoricheskogo metoda. *Lingua Posnaniensis*, IV, p. 109-110.
- Hrytsiuk, V. M. 2009. *Viisko skifiv (ozbroiennia, orhanizatsiia, viiny ta voienne mystetstvo)*. Chernivtsi: Misto.
- Dvoretskii, I. Kh. 1958. *Drevnegrechesko-russkii slovar*. 2 vols. Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatelstvo inostrannykh i natsionalnykh slovarei.
- Dovatur, A. I., Kallistov, D. P., Shishova, I. A. 1982. *Narody nashei strany v "Istorii" Gerodota. Teksty, perevod, kommentarii*. Moscow: Nauka.
- Ermolenko, L. N. 2019. On the Compositional Structures and Iconographic Patterns of the Graeco-Scythian Art: based on the metalwork objects from the Solokha barrow. *Stratum plus*, 3, p. 215-228.
- Illinska, V. A. 1961. Skifski sokry. *Arheologia*, 12, p. 27-52.
- Kalashnik, Yu. P. 2014. *Grecheskoe zoloto v sobranii Ermitazha: Pamyatniki antichnogo iuvelirnogo iskusstva iz Severnogo Prichernomoria*. Saint Petersburg: Izdatelstvo Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha.
- Karyshkovskii, P. O. 1968. Olviiskie "borisfeny". In: Anokhin, V. A. (ed.). *Numezmatika i sfragistika*, 3. Kyiv: Naukova dumka, p. 62-85.
- Kisel, V. A. 1997. *Sviashchennaia sekira skifov: ob odnoi nakhodke iz Kelermesa*. Saint Petersburg: MAE RAN.
- Kisel, V. A. 2008. Σαράρις Gerodota v arsenale drevnikh kochevnikov. In: Derevianko, A. P., Makarov, N. A. (eds.). *Trudy II (XVIII) Vserossiiskogo arkheologicheskogo siezda v Suzdale*, II. Moscow: IA RAN, p. 110-112.
- Kisel, V. A. 2015. Istorichnost "skifskogo logosa" i avtopsiia Gerodota. In: Chistov, Iu. K. (ed.). *Radlovskii sbornik: Nauchnye issledovaniia i muzeinye proekty MAE RAN v 2014 g.* Saint Petersburg: MAE RAN, p. 406-417.
- Ksenofont. 1951. *Anabasis*. Perevod, statia i primechaniia M. I. Maksimovoi; ed. by I. I. Tolstoi. Moscow; Leningrad: Izdatelstvo Akademii nauk SSSR.
- Kullanda, S. V. 2016. *Skify: iazyk i etnogenez*. Moscow: Russkii fond sodeistviia obrazovaniiu i nauke.
- Kurtsii Ruf, Kvint. 1993. *Istoriia Aleksandra Makedonskogo*. S prilozheniem sochinenii Diodora, Yustina, Plutarkha ob Aleksandre; ed. by A. A. Vigasin. Moscow: Izdatelstvo MGU.
- Litvinskii, B. A., Piankov, I. V. 1966. Voennoe delo u narodov Srednei Azii v VI—IV vv. do n.e. *Vestnik drevnei istorii*, 3, p. 36-52.
- Mantsevich, A. P. 1987. *Kurgan Solokha. Publikatsiia odnoi kollektsii*. Leningrad: Iskusstvo.
- Meliukova, A. I. 1964. *Vooruzhenie skifov*. Arkheologiia SSSR. Svod arkheologicheskikh istochnikov, D1–4. Moscow: Nauka.
- Molev, E. A., Moleva, N. V. 2005. Skifskie antropomorfnye izvaianiia Severnogo Prichernomoria. *Vestnik Nizhegorodskogo universiteta*, 4/3, p. 15-21.
- Nikonorov, V. P. 2014. Boyevye topory i ikh kult u drevnikh narodov Tsentralnoi Azii i Irana (ot rannego zheleznoogo veka do rannego srednevekovia). In: Alekshin, V. A. (ed.). *Arkheologiia drevnikh obshchestv Evrazii; khronologiia, kulturogenez, religioznye vozzreniia. Pamiati Vadima Mikhailovicha Massona (03.05.1929–19.02.2010)*. Trudy IIMK RAN, XLII. Saint Petersburg: "Art-Ekspress", p. 97-37.
- Nikonorov, V. P. 2015. Kult boevykh toporov u drevnikh iranoyazychnykh narodov: skify Severnogo Prichernomoria. In: Nikonorov, V. P., Alekshin, V. A. (eds.). *Akademicheskoe vostokovedenie v Rossii i stranakh blizhnego zarubezhia (2007–2015): Arkheologiia, istoriia, kultura*. Zapiski Vostochnogo Otdeleniia Rossiiskogo Arkheologicheskogo Obshchestva. III [XXVIII]; Trudy IIMK RAN, XLV. Saint-Petersburg: Kontrast, p. 395-424.
- Oliinyk, O. H. 2003. Portrayal of a Scythian musician on the plate from Sakhnovka. *Arheologia*, 4, p. 40-54.
- Olkhovskii, V. S., Evdokimov, G. L. 1994. *Skifskie izvyaniia VII—III vv. do n.e.* Moscow: IA RAN.

- Olkhovskii, V. S. 2005. *Monumentalnaia skulptura naseleniia zapadnoi chasti evraziiskikh stepei epokhi rannego zheleza*. Moscow: Nauka.
- Perevodchikova, E. V. 1979. Kelermesskaia sekira i formirovanie skifskogo zverinogo stilii. In: Saprykin, Iu. M. (ed.). *Problemy istorii antichnosti i srednikh vekov*. Moscow: MGU, p. 138-155.
- Pogrebova, M. N. 1969. Zheleznye topory skifskogo tipa v Zakavkaze. *Sovetskaia arkeologiya*, 2, p. 179-188.
- Polidovich, Iu. V. 2019. The Battle Scenes on the Golden Cone from Perederieva Mogyla and the Scythian Myth about Kolaxais. *Stratum plus*, 3, p. 229-260.
- Raevskii, D. S. 1977. *Ocherki ideologii skifo-sakskikh plemen. Opyt rekonstruktsii skifskoi mifologii*. Moscow: Nauka.
- Raevskii, D. S. 2006. *Mir skifskoi kultury*; Moscow: Yazyki slavianskikh kultur.
- Rusiaieva, M. V. 1997. Interpretation of pictures on the gold plate from Sakhnovka. *Arheologia*, 1, p. 46-56.
- Solntseva, N. M. 2010. Skif i skifstvo v russkoi literature. *Istoriko-kulturnoe nasledie. Uchenye zapiski Orlovskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta*, 4, p. 147-159.
- Tolochko, P. P., Murzin, V. Yu. 1991. *Zoloto stepu. Arkheologhiia Ukrainy*. Kyiv; Shlezviih: Instytut arkeologhii NAN Ukrainy.
- Tokhtasiev, S. R. 2005. Problema skifskogo yazyka v sovremennoi nauke. In: Cojocar, V. (ed.). *Ethnic contacts and cultural exchanges North and West of the Black Sea from the Greek Colonization to the Ottoman Conquest*. Iași: Trinitas, p. 59-108.
- Farmakovskii, B. V. 1922. Gorit iz kurgana Solokha. *Izvestiia Rossiyskoi akademii istorii materialnoi kultury*, II, p. 23-48.
- Fasmer, M. 1987. *Etimologicheskii slovar russkogo iazyka*. In 4 vols. Moscow: Progress.
- Fialko, O. Ye. 2023. Battle axes of Amazons of European Scythia. *Archaeology and Early History of Ukraine*, 2 (47), p. 113-126. <https://doi.org/10.37445/adiu.2023.02.07>
- Khazanov, A. M. 1975. *Sotsialnaia istoriia skifov. Osnovnye problemy razvitiia drevnikh kochevnikov Evraziiskikh stepei*. Moscow: Nauka.
- Khristoliubova, T. P. 2011. Istoki "skifstva" v russkoi kulture. In: Shimanskii, N. V., Salieva, L. K., Doroshin, B. A. (eds.). *Traditsionnaia i sovremennaia kultura: istoriia, aktualnoe polozenie, perspektiva. Materialy mezhdunarodnoi nauchno-prakticheskoi konferentsii*. Penza; Moscow; Minsk: Nauchno-izdatelskii tsentr "Sotsiosfera", p. 43-48.
- Chernenko, E. V. 1980. Skifskie boevye topory. In: Gening, V. F. (ed.). *Arkheologicheskie issledovaniia na Ukraine 1978–1979 gg. Tezisy dokladov XVIII konferentsii Instituta arkeologii AN USSR*. Dnipropetrovsk: Izdatelstvo DGU, p. 88.
- Chernenko, E. V. 1987. Paradnyi topor iz Kelermessa. In: Chernenko, E. V. (ed.). *Skify Severnogo Prichernomoria*. Kyiv: Naukova dumka, p. 19-30.
- Shelekhan, O. V. 2010. Zobrazhennia boiovykh sokyr na antropomorfnykh stelakh skifskoho chasu. In: *Problemy istorii i arkeologii Ukrainy. Materialy VII Mezhdunarodnoi nauchnoi konferentsii (28–29 oktiabria 2010 g.)*. Kharkiv: NTMT, p. 36-37.
- Shelekhan, O. V. 2012. Battle Axes of Scythian Type from the Black Sea North Region. *Arheologia*, 2, p. 3-13.
- Shelekhan, O. V. 2016. Burials of Scythian warriors with battle axes from Liubymivka burial ground (based on the materials of Kakhovka expedition). *Archaeology and Early History of Ukraine*, 1 (18), p. 15-28.
- Alessio, G. 1944. Suggestimenti e nuove indagini sul problema del Sostrato "Mediterraneo". *Studi Etruschi*, 18, p. 93-158.
- Beckwith, C. I. 2023. *The Scythian Empire: Central Eurasia and the Birth of the Classical Age from Persia to China*. Princeton; Oxford: Princeton University Press.
- Beekes, R. S. P. 2010. *Etymological Dictionary of Greek; with the assistance of L. van Beek*. Leiden Indo-European Etymological Dictionary Series, 10. Leiden; Boston: Brill.
- Bittner, S. 1987. *Tracht und Bewaffnung des persischen Heeres zur Zeit der Achaimeniden*. 2nd ed. München: K. Friedrich.
- Boisacq, É. 1938. *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue Grecque étudiée dans ses rapports avec les autres langues Indo-Européennes*. Heidelberg; Paris: Winter and Klincksieck.
- Bothmer, D. von 1957. *Amazons in Greek Art*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Brentjes, B. 1996. *Arms of the Sakas (And Other Tribes of the Central Asian Steppes)*. Varanasi: Rishi Publications.
- CAD — Roth, T. (ed.) 1961–2010. *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*, 1–17. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- Chantraine, P. 1999. *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue Grecque histoire des mots*. Paris: Klincksieck.
- Cunliffe, B. 2021. *The Scythians. Nomad Warriors of the Steppe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Daragan, M., Polin, S. 2023. Axes in the Funerary Ceremonies of the Northern Pontic Scythians. In: Meyer, C. (ed.). *Situating Eurasia in Antiquity: Nomadic Material Culture in the First Millennium BCE*, Arts 12/124 (Special Issue), p. 1-47. <https://doi.org/10.3390/arts12030124>
- Delitzsch, F. 1883. *Biblischer Kommentar über die Psalmen*. Leipzig: J. J. August.
- Derksen, R. 2008. *Etymological Dictionary of the Slavic Inherited Lexicon*. Leiden Indo-European Etymological Dictionary Series, 4. Leiden; Boston: Brill.
- Diggle, J. (ed.). 2021. *The Cambridge Greek Lexicon*, 2 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dirven, L. 2013. A Goddess with Dogs from Hatra. In: Peruzzetto, A., Metzger, F. D., Dirven, L. (eds.). *Animals, Gods and Men from East to West. Papers on Archaeology and History in Honour of Roberta Venco Ricciardi*. BAR International Series, 2516. Oxford: BAR Publishing, p. 147-160.
- Fantham, E. 1995. *Women in the Classical World: Image and Text*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Giguet, P. 1860. *Histoires d'Hérodote*. Paris: Hachette.
- Goldingay, J. 2006. *Psalms: Volume 1: Psalms 1–41. Baker Commentary on the Old Testament Wisdom and Psalms*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic.
- Graeve, V. von 1970. *Der Alexandersarkophag und seine Werkstatt*. Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag.
- Hamdy Bey, O., Reinach, T. 1892. *Une nécropole royale à Sidon: fouilles, texte*. Paris: Ernest Leroux, Éditeur.

- Herrmann, G. 2017. *Ancient Ivory: Masterpieces of the Assyrian Empire*. London: Thames & Hudson Ltd.
- Herodot. 2006. *Historien. Erster Band, Bücher I–V*; ed. by J. Feix. Düsseldorf: Artemis & Winkler.
- Herodotus. 1928. *In Four Volumes. Vol. II: Books III and IV*; with an English translation by A. D. Godley. London; New York: William Heinemann & Putnam's Sons.
- Herodotus. 2008. *The Histories*; translated by R. Waterfield; Introduction and Notes by C. Dewald, 2nd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Herodotus. 2013. *The Histories*; translated by W. Blanco, ed. By W. Blanco and J. T. Roberts, 2nd ed. New York; London: W. W. Norton & Company.
- Herodotus. 2014. *The Histories*; translated by T. Holland, ed. by P. Cartledge. London: Penguin Books.
- Heydemann, H. 1883. *Alexander der Große und Dareios Kodomannos auf unteritalischen Vasenbildern*. Halle: Max Niemeyer.
- Hölscher, T. 2019. *Krieg und Kunst im antiken Griechenland und Rom. Vier Triebkräfte kriegerischer Gewalt: Heldentum, Identität, Herrschaft, Ideologie*. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Houser, C. 1998. The “Alexander Sarcophagus” of Abdalonymos. A Hellenistic Monument from Sidon. In: Palagia, O., Coulsen, W. (eds.). *Regional Schools in Hellenistic Sculpture*. Oxford: Oxbow Books, p. 281-291.
- How, W. W., Wells, J. 1912. *A Commentary on Herodotus. With Introduction and Appendixes*, 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Ivantchik, A. 1999. Une légende sur l'origine des Scythes (Hdt. IV, 5–7) et le problème des sources du Scythicos logos d'Hérodote. *Revue des Études Grecques*, 112, p. 141-192. <https://doi.org/10.1163/157005706779851408>
- Ivantchik, A. 2006. “Scythian” Archers on Archaic Attic Vases: Problems of Interpretation. *Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia*, 12/3–4, p. 197-271.
- Kavak, A. 2022. Bows Used as Symbols of Military Victory in the Neo-Assyrian Period. *SDU Faculty of Arts and Sciences Journal of Social Sciences*, 56, p. 266-283.
- Keel, O. 1997. *The Symbolism of the Biblical World. Ancient Near Eastern Iconography and the Book of Psalms*; translated from German by T. J. Hallet. Winona Lake: Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Koch, A., Rehm, E. 2006. *Das persische Weltreich. Pracht und Prunk der Großkönige*. Stuttgart: Konrad Theiss.
- Kogan, L., Krebernik, M. 2020. *Etymological Dictionary of Akkadian. Volume 1/1: Roots Beginning with P and B. Preface, Introduction and Dictionary*; in collaboration with O. Linkohr, R. Nurullin, O. I. Şek. Boston; Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Liddell, H. G., Scott, R. 1996. *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 9th ed.; Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Lissarrague, F. 1990. *L'autre guerrier. Archers, peltastes, cavaliers dans l'imagerie attique*. Paris; Rome: Editions La Découverte.
- Man, J. 2017. *Amazons: The Real Warrior Women of the Ancient World*. London: Bantam Press.
- Marshall, F. H. 1909. Some Recent Acquisitions of the British Museum. *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 29, p. 151-167.
- Nicolsky, N. 1927. *Spuren magischer Formeln in den Psalmen*. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Nikonorov, V. 2014. The Parade Hatchet-Klevets from Old Nisa (A Contribution to the Study of the Combat Hatchets and Their Cult in Ancient Central Eurasia). *Anabasis*, 4 (2013/2014), p. 179-232.
- Peyrot, M., Dragoni, F., Bernard, C. B. 2022. The Spread of Iron in Central Asia: On the Etymology of the Word for ‘Iron’ in Iranian and Tocharian. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 85/3, p. 403-422. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0041977X22000805>
- Pisani, V. 1947. *L'Etimologia. Storia — Questioni — Metodo*. Milano: Casa Editrice Renon.
- Potratz, J. A. H. 1963. *Die Skythen in Südrußland: ein untergegangenes Volk in Südosteuropa*. Basel: Raggi.
- Potts, D. T. 2012. A “Scythian” Pick from Vaske (Gilan) and the Identity of the XVIIth Delegation at Persepolis. In: Baker, H., Kaniuth, K., Otto, A. (eds.). *Stories of Long Ago: Festschrift für Michael D. Roaf*. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, p. 459-470.
- Schefold, K., Seidel, M. 1968. *Der Alexander-Sarkophag*. Berlin: Propyläen Verlag.
- Simango, D. 2022. A Contextual and Canonical Reading of Psalm 35. *Old Testament Essays*, 35/3, p. 433-452.
- Simpson, St. J., Pankova, S. (eds.). 2017. *Scythians: Warriors of Ancient Siberia*. London: British Museum Press.
- Sutton, L. 2018. A Position of Honour or Shame? YHWH as an Armour Bearer in Psalm 35: 1–3. *Acta Theologica*, Supplement 26, p. 268-285. <https://doi.org/10.18820/23099089/actat.sup26.16>
- Szemerényi, O. 1971. Review: Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque: Histoire des mots by Pierre Chantraine. I: A—Δ, 1968; II: E-K, 1970. Paris: Klincksieck. XVIII, 305. 307-607 S. 68; 76 F. *Gnomon*, 43/7, p. 641-675.
- The Greek Anthology*. 1961 — *The Greek Anthology*; with an English translation by W. R. Paton. London: William Heinemann Ltd.
- Thomas, D. 2021. *The Landmark Xenophon's Anabasis*; New York: Pantheon Books.
- Tsangari, D. (ed.) 2011. *Myth and Coinage: Representations, Symbolisms and Interpretations from the Greek Mythology*. Athens: Alpha.
- Tyrrell, W. B. 1984. *Amazons: A Study in Athenian Mythmaking*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Vaan, M. de 2008. *Etymological Dictionary of Latin and the Other Italic Languages*, Leiden Indo-European Etymological Dictionary Series, 7. Leiden; Boston: Brill.
- Vertiienko, H. 2021. The Sakhnivka Plate: Scythian Iconography in the Imaging of Eschatological Concepts. In: Vives-Ferrándiz Sánchez, L. (ed.). *Eternal Sadness: Representations of Death in Visual Culture from Antiquity to the Present Time*, Eikón Imago, 10. Madrid (w. ed.), p. 259-270. <https://doi.org/10.5209/eiko.74150>