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The Origin of Hunnish Cauldrons in East-Europe*

The problem of the relationship between the European Huns (4th-5th Centuries AD) and the Xiognu of Central Asia (3th-2nd Centuries BC) has been dealt with for two centuries already by foreign and Russian scholars. The French historian Deguines was the first to propose the hypothesis about the identity of the aforementioned peoples (Deguines 1748; 1756/1758). This gave rise to an ample discussion in which some scholars supported the viewpoint of Deguines and the others were in opposition.

The history of the problem, as well as that of the question concerning the origin of Huns, who were at one moment considered Turks, at another Mongols or Finns or even Slavs, was profoundly analysed by Inostrancev who insisted upon the identity of Huns and Xiognu and upon their Turkish origin. His work gives an account of all the existing publications at that time on the topic (1926).

During the following years the problem never ceased to raise interest. The greatest contribution in order to single out the Xiognu-Hun link and the relationship between Huns and ancient peoples of the Middle Asia was made by Bernštam. He believed that Huns from East-Europe were the descendants of the Xiognu from Central Asia and conjectured the formation of the Hun people as a complex and long-lasting process. He supposed that part of the Xiognu, which in the 1st Century BC had migrated into Middle Asia, were assimilated with the local non-Mongol population, and later changed its racial type and culture. Then, in the 4th Century AD, this

* A similar paper by the two authors has been, in the meantime, published in *Peterburgskij Arheologičeskij Vestnik*, 3, 1993, with title *Proišhozdenie kotlov "gynnnskogo tipa" vostočnoj evropy v svete problemy hunno-gunnskih svjazej*, pp.73-88

mixed type of the "Xiognu" moved to the West, absorbing on their way the Ural, Volga and even Kama peoples, which deepened the changes in their culture and appearance (Bernštam 1951).

Thus appeared a new hypothesis on the origin of Huns in East-Europe. Gumilev considered them as a mixture of two tribes, Xiognu and Ugrs¹, Artamonov (1962, p.42) subscribes to the same view².

When studying this complicated and disputable question concerning the relations between Xiognu and Huns the scholars issued chiefly from the written and linguistic data disregarding archaeological sources. This can be explained by the lack of any visible resemblance between the monuments of the Xiognu in Central Asia and those of the Huns in East-Europe, which seem rather distant both in space and time. Taking into consideration the chronological gap of 200-300 years between them, it is difficult to expect even relative similarities of the archaeological material on the whole. Nevertheless we infer that only archaeological data can elucidate the problem of cultural relation between the Xiognu and Huns. In order to meet and to mix with other peoples on their way, as they would, the Xiognu ought to have preserved, at least, some traditions of their own culture, which had to leave some trace in their archaeological monuments.

At present, having been accumulated new materials from the territories of Central and Middle Asia, Siberia and East-Europe, the question is again rising in literature. It concerns the necessity to compare more thoroughly the archaeological monuments from the regions that were caught in the whirl of historical events in which both Xiognu and Huns are involving as main participants.

To solve the problem of the Xiognu-Hun link it is important to trace the origin and development of separate categories of remains from the 4-5th Centuries AD complexes in East-Europe, applying the method of typology. Interesting in this respect are the results

¹ Cf. Gumilev (1960, p.242) "the Ural Ugrs were the people, who sheltered the refugees (Xiognu) and enabled them to regain force. It was from the Ugrain territories that Huns started their new campaign against the West... Both peoples mixed and merged into a new one - the Huns".

² The author assumes that the Xiognu, who had come from Mongolia within 200 years "managed to turn into Huns, i.e. to become in point of fact an entirely new people. In the Ural steppes a relatively small hord found itself surrounded by chiefly Ugrian tribes, with which it did not delay to start all kinds of contacts".

by Zaseckaja, one of the authors of the present article, in her classification of arrowheads and in search for their prototypes. They were found not among the local weapons of the former Sarmato-Alanian Culture, but among the Xiognu antiquities of Mongolia, the Transbaikal territory and the materials from Central Asia dating back to the 1st Century AD (Zaseckaja 1983, pp.70-84).

Alongside that, archaeologists have several times marked the so-called "Hunnish-type" cauldrons as having originated in Central Asia. It is to the study of such cauldrons that the present article commits itself (Fig.1). Not incidentally this category of objects has constantly been in the focus of attention since from the first finds. Unfortunately the researchers concentrated their efforts chiefly upon the European cauldrons and much less on their oriental prototypes.

The "Hunnish-type" cauldrons were found for the first time at the end of the 19th Century on the territory of Hungary near the villages of Törtel and Kaposchwöldt, in Slesia near Höckricht, in Russia, in former Simbirsk district (now Uljanovsk district) and near Syktyvkar (Republic of Komi). Within the publications which followed these finds the first question was the one concerning the time when such cauldrons had first appeared in East-Europe. According to the unanimous opinion of the researchers, the time of their spread falls in the period of the great migration of peoples (Rejnecke 1896, p.121; Wosinszky 1891, p.427; Hampel 1895, pp.9-15). Rejnecke was the first to single out the group of cauldrons with high cylindrical bodies from the more ancient south "Scythian" ones. He was able to date them by the accompanying material from the burial near Höckricht.

Furthermore, with the material piling up, the set of questions concerning such finds increased considerably. The main problems were to establish the origin, ethnic and cultural attribution and the functional designation of the cauldrons as well as to reveal the meaning of their decoration.

Even Hampel noticed the oriental origin of the European cauldrons assuming that (like the Scythian ones) they were associated with the culture of nomadic peoples in Siberia and used as ritual vessels during offerings (Hampel 1895, pp.9-15).

Takács agreed that the "Hunnish-type" cauldrons appeared in Europe after the Hunnish invasion and, stressing the cult designation thereof, suggested that the initial shape of the East-European

cauldrons had been adopted from the ancient Chinese sacrificial vessels (1925, p.205). As vessels associated with rituals the cauldrons are described also by the authors of the publications of the finds from Minor Valakhia in Rumania (Nestor & Nicolaescu-Plopsor 1937, pp.178-182). Alföldi, when he was picking the elements characteristic of the culture of the Huns proper, included therein also the bronze cauldrons, pointing to their intra-Asian origin (1932, p.34). The same viewpoint concerning the oriental origin of western cauldrons was strongly supported by Werner (1956). In his specific work on the monuments of the Hun age, analyzing separate groups of objects, including bronze cauldrons, he distinguished the group of Hunnish cauldrons so to form a special "Höckricht type" (by the find in Slesia) and dated them back to the age of Attila's rule. But alongside this, Werner marked the resemblance between the Hunnish cauldrons and the ones of the Sarmatian Culture, comparing the edges on the Hunnish cauldrons with the "cord-type" belts on the Sarmatian cauldrons. He also supposed the mushroom-like lugs on the handles of the Hunnish cauldrons to have continued the evolution of the knob-shaped lugs on the handles of Sarmatian examples. Furthermore, when he spoke of the functional significance of the cauldrons, Werner mentioned both their ritual and routine usage. Noteworthy is his remark concerning the semantics of mushroom-like lugs; he compared them with the similar details on the diadem from the ruined burial near the Khutor (farm-stead) Verkhne-Jabločny, inferring them to symbolize the tree of life. In studying the area of the cauldrons' distribution, Werner pointed out at its unevenness, the finds being dispersed on the territory of Russia and concentrated in Rumania and Hungary (1956, p.57).

Fettich suggested his original interpretation of the cauldrons' decoration. He supposed that the mushroom-like lugs imitate the *fibulae* with a round head and diamond-shaped supports of a South-Russian type, while the ornament shaped in cells reveals the technique of the partitioned enamels of the Hunnish Age (1953, pp.141-144).

Of particular interest is one of the latest works on East-European cauldrons of the Hunnish-type by Kovrig (1973). This article gives a detailed description of the shapes, techniques and ornamental motives of the cauldrons, paying particular attention to the peculiarities of each cauldron which, according to the author,

testify to their having been made in different workshops. But Kovrig also points at a number of details, in some examples absolutely similar, assuming the cauldrons to have possibly come from the same workshop. She also thoroughly considers the questions concerning the function of the cauldrons which, according to many other researchers, are associated with rituals. Interpreting the semantics of mushroom shaped-lugs, Kovrig supports Werner's viewpoint and says that they are to be unravelled sooner as the symbol of the tree of life than the imitation of fibulas.

The final question Kovrig touches upon is when and why the Hunnish-type cauldrons could have been appeared in East-Europe. Unlike several authors who would believe that the cauldrons spread in the West as far back as the first decades of the 5th Century AD, Kovrig, like Werner, associates this phenomenon with Attila's conquest of Pannonia in 445.

New finds have been published at the end of the 1970's and beginning of the 1980's; Zaseckaja (1982, pp.68-78) and Harhoiu and Diaconescu (1984, pp.99-116) undertook an analogous typological analysis of the cauldrons and investigated their origin. One of the finds was found the cave burial near the village of Kyzyl-Adyr in Orenburg district (Fig.2, 1); the other was incidentally discovered in the village of Ionești in Rumania (Fig.1, 8). The Rumanian authors surmised that there may have been a chronological gap in the cauldrons' coming to East-Europe. The first cauldrons of the Hunnish-type may have appeared in the Danube region at the very beginning of the 5th Century. This was probably connected with the campaigns of the Hunnish leader Uldis in 404 and 408; they may have spread later during the period of the Hunnish conquest of Pannonia. The authors further stress that the cauldrons' distribution reflects exactly the sphere of Hunnish expansion from the Urals to France. Besides, departing from the typology of the given cauldrons, the researchers infer that East-European cauldrons must have been produced on the spot, i.e. in the Danube region, where this type reached the peak of its development.

The aim of the present study is to reveal the formative sources of the Hunnish-type cauldrons and to establish their relationship with the cauldrons from the eastern areas dating back to the Hunnish age on the basis of a typological classification, as well as to trace the routes of Xiognu-Hun migrations from Central Asia westwards.

The suggested classification embraces 45 samples of Xiognu-Hunnish cauldrons correlated by 21 indications (Fig.3).

Correlating the cauldrons by the above indications, we singled out two main groups. One of them, Group 1, is somewhat dispersed and indistinct, Group 2 is very compact and distinct. Such a result can be explained because Group 2 represents the cauldrons within rather narrow chronological and territorial limits and includes exclusively the cauldrons dating back to the period when Huns ruled in East-Europe (end of the 4th - beginning of the 5th Century AD); while the cauldrons which make up Group 1 spread over a much vaster territory being in use during 400 years (from the 2nd Century BC to the 2nd Century AD); hence the comparative variety of indications characterizing the cauldrons of Group 1.

The cauldrons of Group 1 have bodies of various shapes, cut-through supporting legs, handles of extremely diverse shapes with curved ends and side lugs (Fig.4, 1-9, 13-15, 18-30, 39-43). The latter are chiefly right-angled or loop-shaped, in some cases wedge-shaped (Fig.4, 39-43). Besides, a number of square handles have wedge-shaped lugs on their upper sides (Fig.4, 21-30), and one jar-shaped cauldron from the Altaj has handles topped by lugs having round caps (Fig.4, 29).

Some cauldrons have vertically positioned handles, other horizontal. Almost all handles have embossed edges both on the inside and on the outside. It is also important that the majority of handles are flat-surfaced and have rectangular cross-sections. The cauldrons of Group 1 are characterized by the body's surface divided into four parts with arc-shaped, rectangular and complex figures (Fig.4, 47-52; Fig.5, 1,2,4,5; Fig.6, 6,7). Some of the cauldrons are ornamented with the belts running around the rim or the shoulders of the body formed by two parallel repoussé lines embracing a wavy or a zig-zag line or a sequence of cross-shaped figures separated by vertical lines one from the other (Fig.4, 62-65; Fig.6, 1-4, 6-7; Fig.2, 4). The majority of the cauldrons at the base of the rim would have an encircling profile line, as if separating the rim from the body.

The second group comprises the cauldrons with bodies of a similar shape, cylindrical, with a rounded bottom and straight or, more often, funnel-like opening in the upper part of the body, with whole supporting legs and shaped like square brackets handles, always

vertically positioned (Fig.4, 10-12, 15-17, 33-38). The outer and inner edges of the handles are topped by mushroom-like lugs, the same lugs being also on both sides of the handles (Fig.4, 44-46).

The cauldrons of Group 2 are also distinguished by their body surfaces divided into four planes, as a rule, with square-shaped figures, sometimes with one or two vertical edges or ornamental broad vertical stripes (Fig.4, 53-59). Like the cauldrons of Group 1, they have a repoussé edge under the rim which separates the neck part from the trunk. This is typical of the cauldrons with both funnel-shaped and straight openings (Fig.1). The ornament looks like "fringe" or "cellular" belts (Fig.4, 63-74).

Though the cauldrons of Group 2 have a lot of common features they fall into two distinct subgroups, depending on whether the handles have or do not have mushroom-shaped lugs on or near them. Subgroup 1 comprises the cauldrons with mushroom-shaped lugs (Fig.3, 32, 38-44; Fig.1, 4-9). The cauldrons of subgroup 2 have neither lugs nor a funnel-shaped rim. But we have tentatively marked it on the drawing with a cross-section that separates the upper part of the trunk at a distance from the rim which equals the height of the rim in the cauldrons of subgroup 1 (Fig.3, 30, 34-37; Fig.1, 1-3).

Let us now compare the cauldrons of Groups 1 and 2. Undeniably, they have marked differences, which lead to separate distinct groups (Fig.3). Quite a number of features are nevertheless common in both groups; first of all the body surface, divided into four parts, characterizing exclusively the Xiognu-Hun cauldrons, while the Scythian and Sarmatian cauldrons display no such features. The lines separating the body surfaces degenerated according to the following typological scheme: from the ones having elaborate configuration, such as arcs or festoon, to a simplified variant, with a square-shaped pattern only.

The disjointed surface on the cauldrons found in East-Europe may well be interpreted as a traditional element of the Xiognu Culture associated with the concept of the four parts of the world.

Similar feature with the Xiognu of Central Asia is encountered not only in cauldrons but also in ceramics. A great number of such vessels were found in the burials of Tuva and Siberia, such as Kokel, Argalykty and Aimyrlyg. They display a great variety of division lines, arc-shaped, right-angled, festoon-like, etc., many

of which are similar to the ornamental patterns on the cauldrons dating back to the Xiognu Culture (Djakonova 1970, Pl.V, VI). The author of the publication describing the cauldron from the Savinovo burial in the West-Siberia (Fig.6, 7) justly compares the pattern on the Sovinovo find, made of feston-like and wavy lines, with the analogous pattern on the clay vessel from the Ivolgino burial (Matveev & Matveeva 1988, p.241, fig.2; Davydova 1985, p.98, fig.4). A spread pattern in Xiognu ceramics is a wavy or zig-zag lines and such a pattern is present on the bronze cauldrons from Group 1 (Fig.6, 4-6-7).

The assumption that cauldrons of the Hunnish times and the finds dating back to the Xiognu period form a *continuum* is supported not only by their disjointed surface but also by the cylindrical shape of the body, the square shape of the right-angled handles, the protruding edges which outline the contours of the handles and the edges of the neck part separating it from the body. All these features are characteristic of both Group 1 and Group 2 (Fig.3, 2). A good example to illustrate the evolution of the shape from earlier to later examples may be the construction of handles with side lugs on two cauldrons, the first of which, dating back to the 1st-2nd Centuries AD, was discovered in the Altaj, and the second comes from the cave burial, dating back to the period of the Hunnish rule in East-Europe, situated near the Kyzyl-Adyr settlement in Orenburg district (Fig.4, 43-44; Fig.2, 1-3).

The cauldron from Kyzyl-Adyr, which according to all the other indications is analogous to the cauldrons of the Group 2 (Fig.3, 32), differs from them in the specific construction of its handles with side lugs. As a rule, though the lugs situated on both sides of the handles form an integral composition with the latter, they are not linked with one another constructively. But the monolithic construction of the handles with side lugs on the Kyzyl-Adyr example is likely to be a further step in the evolution of the earlier constructional and compositional scheme (Fig.4, 43-44).

Also different is the monolithic construction of the handles with side lugs found on the cauldron from Kaposchwöldt (Fig.1, 7). Here we encounter not the evolutionary process but the process of schematization of the model contemporary to the Kaposchwöldt example. Thus, the continuity between the Group 2 and Group 1 seems unquestionable. As in the case of arrowheads of the Hunnish

age, the search for the prototypes of the cauldrons dating back to that period led us to the objects originating from Central Asia. But the comparison of Hunnish-type cauldrons with the analogous objects of Sarmato-Alanian attribution strongly suggests their different origin.

While, as has already been said above, East-European cauldrons of the Hunnish-age are readily traced back to the shapes of Central Asian examples by their morphological features, the Sarmatian cauldrons evidently continue the development of Scythian examples from Siberia (Bokovenko 1977, pp.228-235; 1981, pp.42-52). The difference in the production techniques supports this assumption. As a number of scholars stressed, East-European cauldrons were cast in a two-piece mould together with the handles, the support having been casted separately later either to be welded or riveted to the body. All the "Hunnish-type" cauldrons display vertical side moulding seams (Minasjan 1986, pp.61-78).

Noteworthy results were obtained through mapping the cauldrons, enabling us to discover several regions where they are concentrated: first of all, North China, Mongolia and the Trans-Bajkal region, then the Sajjan-Altaj, Ural and Volga districts and finally the Danube district in Rumania and Pannonia in Hungary (Fig. 7). Apart from these, there are incidentally found single cauldrons. Thus, we know of one such find where a Hunnish-type cauldron was unearthed to the North-East of the group of Ordos cauldrons in Manchuria. Another find occurred between the Sajjan-Altaj and Volga-Ural groups in the above mentioned burial of the 2nd Century BC/1st Century AD, the Savinovo burial in Tumen district which is at present recognized to be the westernmost point of the Hunnish-type cauldrons distribution (Group 1). As the easternmost point where the Hunnish cauldrons' occur (Group 2), we used to consider the Kyzyladyr example of the end of the 4th, beginning of the 5th Century AD. Recently another cauldron of this type was discovered in Ürümqi (West-China). The latter is likely to have resulted from the back flow of nomads along their familiar routes to the East (Érdu 1990). Typologically it is strikingly similar to the European examples³.

³ This cauldron has not been included in our classification since it was discovered after the present article had been submitted to be published; the authors could only mark the find on the map.

It also seems remarkable that the cauldrons referring to the Subgroup 2 of Group 2, without any mushroom-like lugs, proved to be concentrated in the Central Volga region (nos. 33, 35, 37, Fig. 1, 2). One more example was also discovered far to the North from the Volga group, near the town of Syktyvkar in Komi (no. 34, Fig.1, 1). In the West a similar cauldron comes from Slesia (no. 3, Fig.1, 3), which is also far apart from the western Rumanian-Hungarian group of cauldrons. The latter cauldron is different from its eastern analogues without any ornamentation whatsoever.

Three examples of "Hunnish-type" cauldrons were located in the northern littoral of the Black Sea. But being distant from each other they cannot be considered as an integral group. One of them, a complete example, was found in the Lower Don region (no. 38; Fig.1, 4), the fragments of two others were unearthed in the Kuban region (Fig.7, 53), not far from Odessa.

The mapping suggests some conclusions. First of all, it is readily seen that the cauldrons had a marked tendency to spread from the East westward, which is proved not only by the location of the finds but also by the development of their morphological features (Fig. 4). The cauldrons concentrated in some places, taking into account their chronological determination, testify to the fact that their owners would have moved stage by stage. Important in this respect is a chain of cauldron finds in the Danube region, which number eleven finds both complete and fragmentary. The chain begins with the closest to that group cauldron from Moldavia (Sestači village), which matches all the classificational indications (Fig.3, 39-44; Fig.1, 5-9).

The Rumanian-Hungarian group of cauldrons undoubtedly reflects a certain stage in the Xiognu-Hunnish advancement to the West, known from written sources and archaeological material; that is the offensive assumed by some part of the union of Hun tribes, first headed by Rurik in 432, and later by Attila from the North Black Sea littoral to Pannonia. It visually demonstrates the route of the Hun forces along the left bank of the Danube and their arrival in the Tisza basin.

The spread of cauldrons in the Danube region chronologically coincides with the appearance of burials like Novogrigorevka-Pecușyog which, judging by the grave's goods, contained noble warriors of Attila. Being chiefly concentrated in the steppes of the

North-Black Sea littoral they are occasionally met as single complexes on the territory of Moldavia, Rumania and then again concentrating in Hungary (Zaseckaja 1986, pp.86-88).

No less important seem to be the cauldron finds in the Volga-Ural region which partly coincide with the settling area of the Ugrian tribes. The finds mainly consist of cauldrons of subgroup 2 belonging to Group 2 (Fig.3, 30, 34-37; Fig.1, 1-3) which are distinguished by their "fringe-like" ornament. Such ornament was also encountered on a number of cauldrons from the Rumanian-Hungarian region, which are to be included in subgroup 1 of Group 2 (Fig.3, 32, 38-44; Fig.1, 4-9). These facts may well be considered as a confirmation of Gumilev's (1960) and Artamonov's (1962) view concerning the formation of Hun ethnic and cultural unity as an assimilation of Xiognu and Ugrs and of their assumption that it had been from the territory of the Middle Volga region and the Ural that one of the stages of the Huns' migration to the West had begun.

Still, it would be wrong to disregard the possibility that the Xiognu-Huns come from the territory of Middle Asia. Important in this respect is the occurrence of big clay vessels, imitating the East-European bronze cauldrons of the Hunnish-type, found in the monuments of the Jetnasar Culture of the second period, on the banks of the Lower Syrdar'ja (Levina 1966, pp.55-57) (Fig.1). The fact that clay replicas appeared there in the 2nd-4th Centuries AD, as is justly noted by Mandelstam, constitutes an important link in the solution of the problem of Xiognu-Huns relationship.

Mandelstam believes that the replicas' occurrence suggests the prototypes themselves existed in the given region. This, in turn, may testify to some group of Xiognu moved to the Lower Syrdar'ja region in order to live there for a certain period of time (1975, pp.229-235).

Historical data in no way contradicts our conjecture on the stage-by-stage migration of Xiognu-Huns to the West.

An historical outline which can be traced by the written sources of Chinese and then European authors is as follows: before the 3rd Century BC Xiognu (Sunnu) were only briefly mentioned in Chinese literature as nomads living to the North of China; the precise area is not defined. Only the latest archaeological research has enabled us to infer a hypothesis concerning the localization

of the migrations of their owners; in our case the movements of the Hunno-Huns to the West, that have likely been trodden by the earlier nomadic tribes of Scythians and Sarmatians. It is highly probable that such migrations stimulated the construction of the northern variant, running along the line between the taja and the steppe, the Great Silk Road.

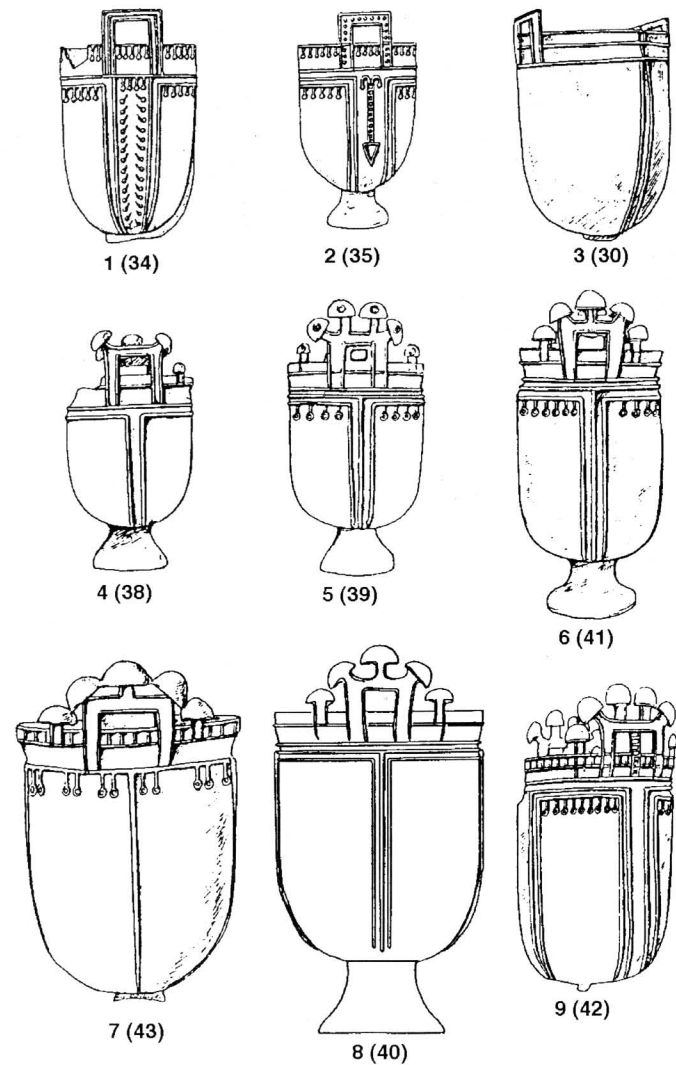


FIG.1: Bronze cauldrons of the Hun epoch, end of the 4th-5th Centuries AD.

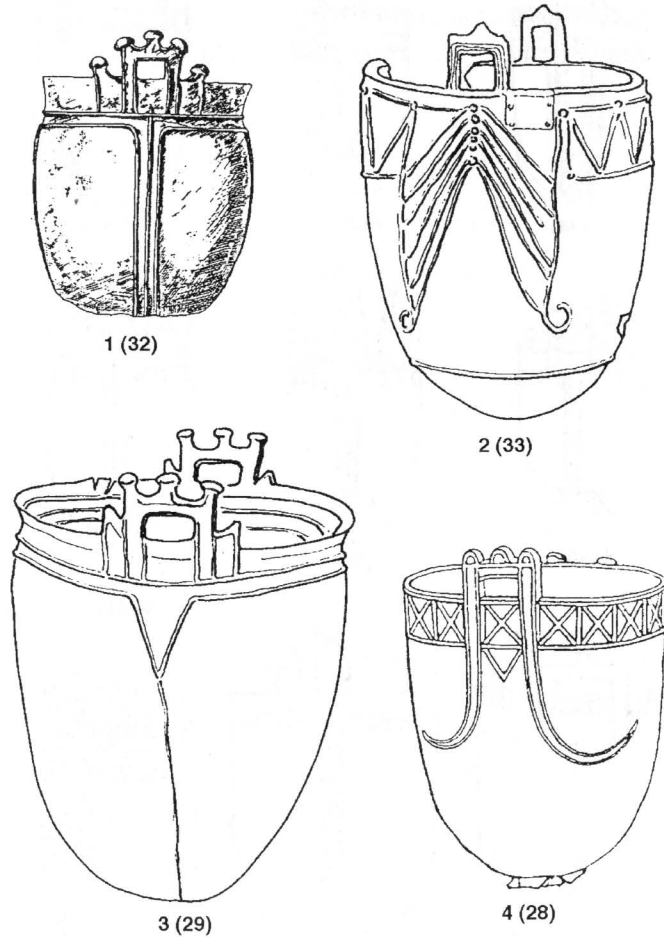


FIG.2: Bronze cauldrons of the Xiognu-Hun epoch, 2nd-3rd Centuries AD.

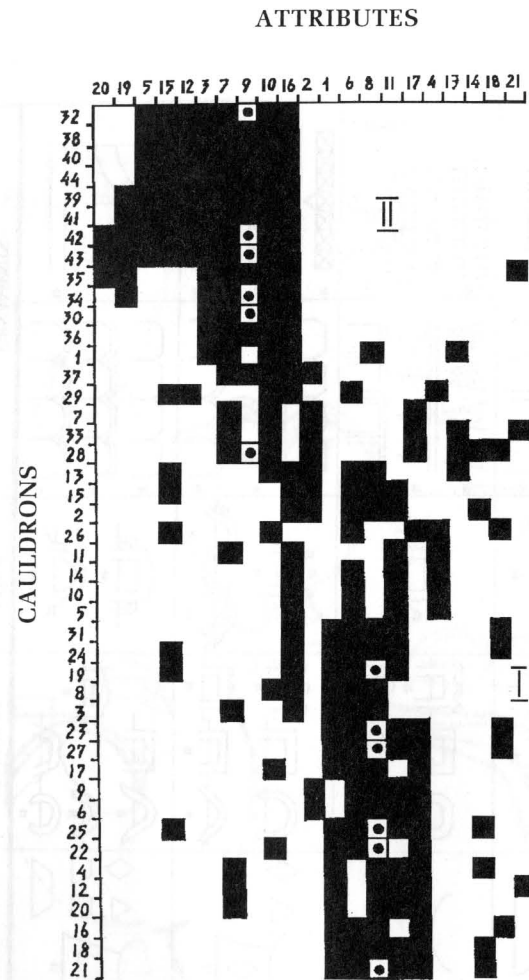


Fig.3: Correlation of Xiognu-Huns cauldrons' characteristics:

1. the body is semispherical; 2. egg-shaped; 3. cylindrical; 4. jar-shaped; 5. the cauldron has a funnel-like opening in the upper part of the body - a rim; 6. the rim has a turned-down brim; 7. the rim has a straight brim; 8. the cauldron has a cut-through leg-support; 9. the support is whole; 10. the handle is shaped as a square bracket; 11. the handles are arc-shaped; 12. there are mushroom-shaped lugs on the handles; 13. the lugs are wedge-shaped; 14. the handles have curve endings; 15. the lugs flank handles; 16. the body surface is divided into four parts with the geometrical figures formed by repoussé lines - the edges; 17. the body is not divided; 18. the ornament is a wavy line enframed in two straight ones; 19. fringe-like ornament; 20. cell-ornament; 21. complex ornament.

	II c.BC - II c. AD		II-III c.		IV-V c.	
	China Mongolia		Siberia Sajan-Altaj		Ural and Volga Regions	
	East and Central Europe					
BODY	1 2 3	4 5	6 7 8	9 10	11 12	13 14
SUPPORT	15 16 17	18 19 20	21 22 23	24 25 26	27 28	29 30
HANDLES	31 32 33	34 35 36	37 38 39	40 41 42	43 44	45 46
LUGS	47 48 49	50 51 52	53 54 55	56 57 58	59 60	61 62
ORNAMENTS	63 64 65	66 67 68	69 70 71	72 73 74	75 76 77	78 79 80

Fig.4: Regional and chronological development of cauldrons' characteristics. The figures mark the variants of the characteristics (attributes).

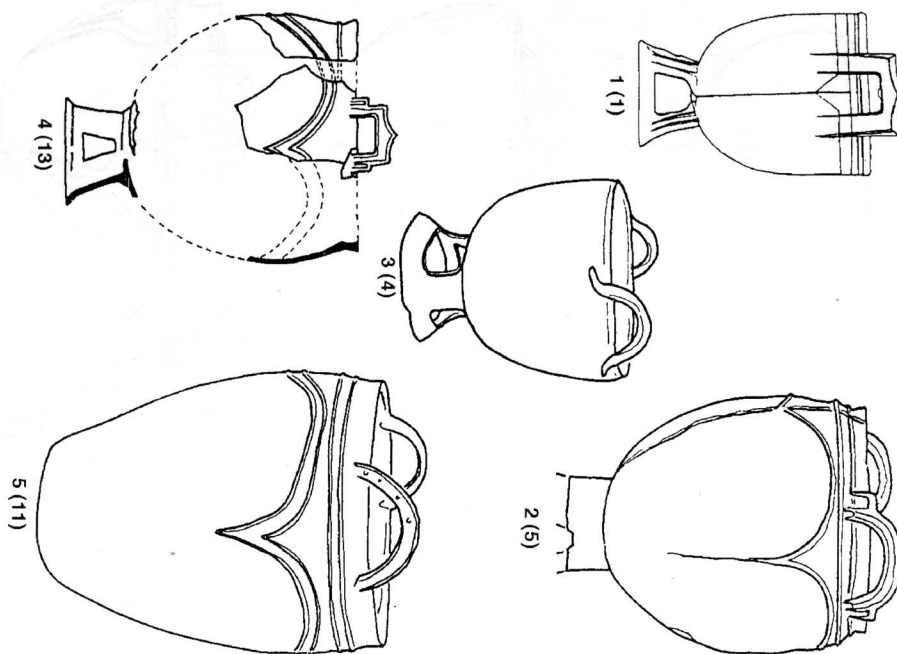


Fig.5: Bronze cauldrons of the Xiongnu epoch.

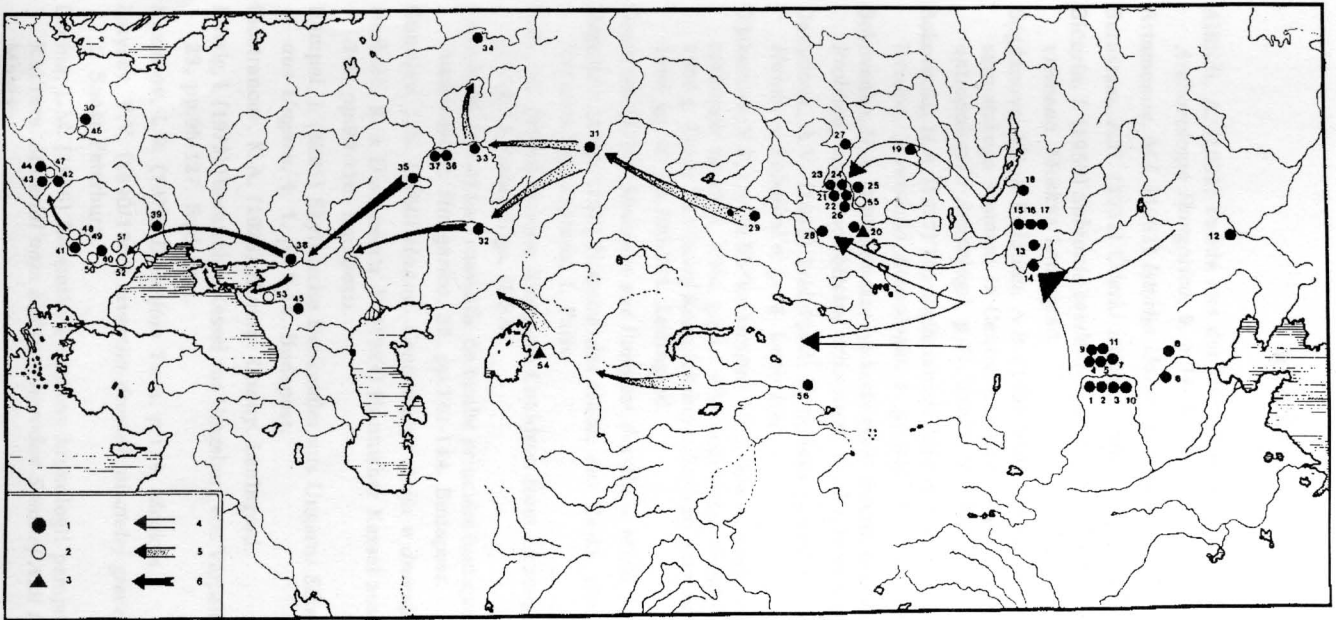
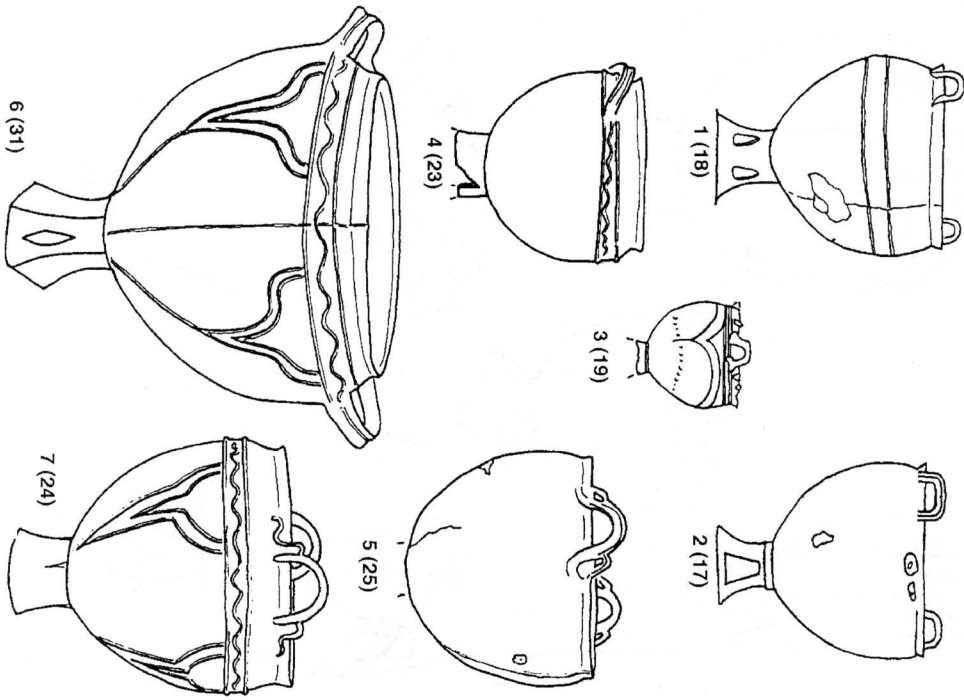


Fig. 7: Map of Xiongnu-Huns spread with appropriate marks: 1. entire cauldrons' locations; 2. fragments; 3. ceramic copies. The arrows show the Hunnu expansions; 4. 2nd Century BC, 1st Century AD; 5. 2nd-3rd Centuries AD; 6. 4th-5th Centuries AD

1-3, 10- North-China (Ordos); 4-5, 7, 9, 11; North-China; 6- Suj-j-An'(China); 8- Dzan'zakou (China); 12- Manchuria; 13- Noin-Ula (Mongolia); 14- Mongolia; 15- Kiran (Mongolia); 16- Cikoj (Bajkal Region); 17- Sava (Bajkal Region); 18- Ivolve cemetery (Bajkal Region); 19- Nizneudinsk; 20- Kokel' (Tuva); 21- Dorina (Minusinsk Region, hereinafter MR); 22-23- MR; 24- Kyzylkul' (MR); 25- Komarkova (MR); 26- Oznacennoe (MR); 27- Krasnojarsk; 28- Bjusk (Altaj); 29- Cernaja Kur'ja (Altaj); 30- Höckricht (Slezia); 31- Savinovka (Tjumen' Region); 32- Kyzyl-Adyr (Orenburg Region); 33- Perm; 34- Syktyvkar (Komi); 35- Osoka (Simbirk Region); 36-37- Aksubaev (Tatarstan); 38- Ivanovskoe (Rostov Region); 39- Sestaki (Moldavia); 40- Ionești (Rum.); 41- Dessa (Rum.); 42- Törtel (Hung.); 43- Kaposchvöldt (Hung.); 44- Várpálo (Hung.); 45- Stavropol; 46- Bennisch; 47- Intercisa (Hung.); 48- Hinova (Rum.); 49- Hortaran (Rum.); 50- Sucidava (Rum.); 51- Cervseni (Rum.); 52- Bosneagu (Rum.); 53- Malai (Krasnodar Region); 54- Altyn-Asar (Kazakhstan); 55- MR; 56- Ürümqi (China).

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