

## Scythian Art in Gandhara: A Case Study of the so-called Gold Girdle from Pattan (Kohistan)

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**Abstract:** Among innumerable finds and antiquities discovered from Gandhara, the gold girdle from Pattan, Kohistan is exceptional and incomparable. It is not only valuable in term of metal but also equally significant for the sophisticated iconography, never witnessed in Gandhara before. The profusely decorated and carved gold girdle, under discussion, is the perfect example of the animal style, usually associated with Scythians. The main focus on the present paper is to make comprehensive examination of the animal iconography by making comparative analysis with the archaeological evidences from Eurasian Steppes. In the end some aspects related to study of the gold girdle, its proposed function, dating and impact on Gandharan artistic traditions will also be discussed.

**Keywords:** Eurasian Steppes, Scythian, Girdle, Gandhara, Iconography

### Introduction

From 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C.E to 1<sup>st</sup> century C.E, Scythian established their rule in Gandhara. They were among many groups of the nomads who descended from the Eurasian Steppes in search of new homeland. In Gandhara, Scythians contributions in the field of art, though least studied, are also notable. They introduced certain features which later on became essential part of the subsequent artistic and cultural traditions of Gandhara in particular and South Asia in general. Unfortunately their art in Gandhara has not been seriously explored, defined, studied, and understood. The gold finds from Pattan provide us with a glimpse of Scythian artistic traditions. There are several unsolved elements related to the discovery, comparative iconographical analysis, function and date of these gold finds. In the following an effort has been made to unfold some of these mysteries with reference to comparative analysis of its complex iconography

### Discovery

The preliminary account of the by chance discovery of the gold ornaments from Pattan, Kohistan was published in 1990 (Rahman 1990: 5-6). Pattan is name of one of the three Tehsils of Kohistan district, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, located along side of Karakoram Highway, 50 kilometers to the North of Besham, on the west bank of Indus (Figure 1). The site is in bad state of preservation due to natural and human disturbance. According to the preliminary account, a shepherd woman found two gold ornaments, a hollow bangle (Plate 1) and a girdle (Plate 2). Both these objects were taken to goldsmith who broke them into different pieces. Unfortunately the bangle has already vanished, however the authorities were able to recover the 57 pieces of the gold girdle and deposit them in Museum.<sup>1</sup> The gold girdle is a heavy weight ornament, weighing 16 Kilograms, but we have difference of opinion in term of weight such as according to Dar the girdle weighs 14 kilogram (Dar 2006: 169). Since the discovery

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<sup>1</sup> After the recovery the girdle was housed in Peshawar Museum but presently it is stored in National Museum, Karachi.

the gold girdle has only been referred by very few scholars.<sup>2</sup>

### **The Comparative Study Iconographic Treatment of Bangle**

Talking about the iconographic treatment of these gold finds, it cannot be associated with the indigenous artistic traditions of Indian soil. Not only the subject matter is different but also the execution is all together unusual as compared to the typical South Asian style. The subject matter is more likely nomadic in its nature and presentation and we can clearly identify the profusely overlapped animal imagery. This type of treatment had remained favorite subject of the ancient Eurasian Steppe Culture since time immemorial. We can correlate this gold ornaments from Pattan with that of Eurasian ornaments not only in term of iconography but also in term of the use of precious metal because we have ample finds available several ornaments from the Kurgans of Arzhan, Siberia and Altai Mountains. Majority of the objects found and recovered from these royal graves have very close affinity in term of stylistic and technical properties. However the variety in the representation of animals and other hunting scenes that dominates the Pattan ornaments is very impressive and unique which seems to be the continuation of the Eurasian artistic tradition but in Gandhara context.

### **Depiction of Stag**

The bangle is decorated with scroll motives with the insertion of animals in different postures. The prominent among all are stags and horses (Rahman 1990: 6). The stag is portrayed in sitting position with their heads looking backward. By making comparative analysis of such depiction with rest of the ancient Steppe Cultures generally

and particularly of Scythians, we come to know that this was one of the principal methods of depicting a stag. The root goes back to the Mongolian and Altai Mountains rock carvings dated around 1<sup>st</sup> millennium B.C where one can see the depiction of stag and deer images in several ways<sup>3</sup> (Plate 3). Later on this tradition continued to be copied by the succeeding Steppe Cultures particularly among the Scythians. The one example we have in the form of a gold bangle and the other (Plate 4) from Ispanove, an archaeological site near village of Nahirne, Ukraine, excavated by Mozolevskyi in 1975 (Reeder 1999:152).

### **Depiction of Horse on the Bangle**

Standing horses are depicted on the bangle with head bent down towards a flat wooden vessel (Rahman 1990: 6). This technique of depicting a horse is somewhat different than the regular style of nomads. However, it would not be wrong to suggest that Scythian's iconography is incomplete without horse. This subject was so close to their hearts that even Scythian warriors used to make horse tattoos on their bodies. That's why Scythians are also referred to by many writers as mounted horsemen. Hence they used to bury horses with the complete outfits along with the warriors as is evident from the funerary memorials (Francfort, Ligabue & Samshev 2006: 114-127).

We have ample examples of standing, sitting, running, grazing, and horses being attacked by Tiger and by some other mythical animals. But as a whole the iconography of horse among the Scythians was always neat, clean, beautiful, attractive and impressive.

<sup>2</sup> Cugunov, Parzinger & Nagler 2012, Ray 2009, Dar 2006, Rahman 1990, & Swati 1991.

<sup>3</sup> For more details see Jacobson 2006: 182-195.

## Iconographical Study of the Gold Girdle

### *Human Depiction*

As mentioned above, the gold girdle was broken into many pieces and now we only have the main broken parts. The authorities were unable to recover the small joining pieces and due to which it is not easy to make perfect interpretation of the orthodox iconography. Let us begin our study with the parts depicting human figures (Plate 5 & 6). There are many interesting things to be mentioned about this representation. First of all the style of clothing of all these figure including shirts made of thick and heavy garments with proper decoration, with belt along the waist, narrow trouser, boots and caps all are definitely pointing to the typical Scythians costumes.<sup>4</sup> The other notable thing is the physical properties of these figures showing long faces, long eyes and sharp nose hair style etc; all these also reflect their Central Asian origin. Still most important is the armory that they are carrying which includes bows, arrows and quivers attached to their bodies. Such representation again reminds us of the typical Scythian style where always men used to have these arms and sometimes carrying one extra set of bow, arrow and quiver.

On the gold girdle, the male figures are depicted in action (cf. Plate 5). They are definitely performing some function. Perhaps one of them is fixing or testing his arms while the other is helping his companion. Some time they are depicted in talking, fixing costumes of the companion. This is the usual style that can be observed from the ritual vessels belonging to Scythian (Plate 7). Another example with the similar subject comes from the Silver Ceremonial Vessel from Chastiya Barrow, Tumulus 3 dated again 4<sup>th</sup> Century B.C., (Plates 8.1, 8.2 & 8.3). The iconographical details from these ceremonial

vessels are very much similar to that of the gold girdle from Pattan. For example, movements of the figures, their gestures, body postures, costumes, caps, arrow and bow along with quiver attached with the belts, hair style, physical properties, sitting platform all having striking resemblance with the piece from gold ornament. Another worth mentioning element is the presentation of group of two men in the scene (Rahman 1990: 7). Likewise on ceremonial vessels we can observe group of two men. Finally the resemblance in the shape and style of bow and also the way quiver is attached with the body is quite significant (compare Plate 5 and 6 with 7 and 8).

### *Representation of Tiger while Hunting*

The next important aspect is the depiction of tigers prancing over different animals (Plate 6 & 9). The hunting scene is very well presented by showing the arrogant nature of the tiger hunting the prey with that has already fallen. Some of the animals have fallen while some are about to fall, as they are being pulled down by the powerful grip of the tiger on their gaps. The depiction is executed in such a realistic manner that it seems the artists were very well familiar with the behavior of tiger while hunting. This element again takes us to the homeland of the Scythians in Siberian and Altai Mountainous landscapes where such hunt is a very regular phenomenon. So the Scythians were completely fascinated by the dominating nature of tiger and snow leopards as they had been witnessing these hunts most often (Reeder 1999: 40-43). This finally resulted in the inclusion of tiger and leopards in Scythian art and with the passage of time this aspects biome much stronger. (Plates 10, 11, 12 & 13). The depiction of hunting scenes at regular intervals and even the same was made more

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<sup>4</sup> For more details about costumes see Yatsenko 2001: 73-119.

interesting by introducing variety of subject such as deer, bore, stag being attacked by tiger, lion and leopards. All these representations have close resemblance with the depiction on the girdle. For example the muscular body of the lion presented in the available space, the open jaws, variety in prey and most importantly the depiction of eyes and ears and above all the curling tail. All these aspects clearly indicate deep affiliation with the Scythians.

Apart from such depiction there are many other examples in Gandhara and in other ruling areas of Scythians where we find the depiction of lion head. Most important in this regard are the golden bracelets and armlets torques, and mirrors with the ends terminating in lion's head (Sarianidi: 1985; Dar 2004: 270).

### ***Depiction of Horses in the Girdle***

The depiction of horse we find at least on three different parts of the girdle (Plate 14). The representation is very attractive and reminds us of the healthy and muscular horses of Central Asia, particularly of Altai Mountains. In the ancient nomads Steppes Culture, use of horses became unavoidable as they needed it for their pastoral life. They used it for controlling their herds, for moving one place to another, for fighting, and also for getting meat, leather and milk. In Scytho-Siberian Cultural traditions the horse were also buried with the owners. These have been found in many of the frozen burials of the Scytho-Siberian Period (Huele & Decleir 2000: 17).

Horse were depicted everywhere in Scythian Iconography, starting from the well known comb handle to the tattoos on human body. They are also found from Siberian lands to Central and South Asia, in the great Persepolis Inscription, along with many other Scythian cultural characteristics (Huele and Decleir 2000: 21).

The horses are portrayed on the girdle without their regular riding outfits. These outfits have

been reconstructed by team of archaeologist working at Pazyryk valley in Altai Republic. The introductory details are also given in one of the paper published in 2000 (Tabakaev, Soenov, & Ebel 2000: 33-37).

However it does not mean that such kind of horse iconography is not found elsewhere. We have ample examples of such depictions where horses are represented in free style. The best among all the representations is the Gold Necklace from Tovasta Mohya, (Plate 15) near Ordzhonikidze (Reeder 1999: 326). Here we can say that horses are depicted in different body postures, along with the other domesticated animals. At the same time horse are also shown being attacked by the mythical creature. The remains from the discovery of a royal burial of the Scythian burial in Tuva, Siberia can also be referred to here. The horse golden plaques are much more similar in style (Chugunov, Nagler and Parzinger 2006: 128-131). On these plaques, the seated horses are depicted in a quite unusual posture. Moreover, the iconography of the gold necklace from the same Scythian burial (Chugunov, Nagler and Parzinger 2006: 130), is entirely similar in technique, style, shape and presentation with that of the gold girdle from Pattan.

### ***Depiction of Deer and Stag***

In these parts of the girdle, a large number of seated deer and stag is depicted (Plate 16). Through the comparative study of such representation with rest of the Scythian world, we come to know that it was the most popular method of depicting animals since time immemorial. The earliest such depiction goes back to 7<sup>th</sup> century B.C., found in the Kostromskaia Kurgan near Krasnodar in the Northern Caucasian Kuban region of Russia (Windfuhr 2006: 56-57 & Figure 11). The other earliest such depiction dates back to the late 5<sup>th</sup> to early 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C., found at Kul'Oba Kurgan near Kerch on the eastern trip of Crimea

(Windfuhr 2006: 56-57 & Figure 12). The style is completely Scythian in nature and can be compared with that of the girdle. The sitting position is the same, however, the difference we find in the addition of nine antlers of these earliest stags which have something to do with the mythical believe of the Scythians.

Scythian artists treated each animal in sitting posture, which is very identical. For instance the horses found from the Royal burial in Tuva (Chugunov, Nagler and Parzinger. 2006: 128-130 Figure 2 & 5), and also found from the burials in Ukrain (Reeder 199: 153). We have headdress with the depiction of stag from Ukrain (Reeder 199: 151), golden plaques with the depiction of boars, dogs, leopards from Ukrain ((Reeder 199: 155), golden and bronze plaques from different barrows of Kazakhstan (Ray 2009: 28-29, Plate 84, 85 & 86) and many more. These examples are enough to establish the fact that this was the principal element of Scythian Iconographic traditions and was regularly applied in the depiction of all animals. However the detailed study of the representation of all the animal of this specie that we have in gold girdle is quite similar with that of the gold necklace found from the Tuva (Plate 17). Such depiction we also find on the arms of the Scythians, the best example is the battle axe from Royal Scythian Tombs at Kelermes in the North Caucasus (Farkas 1975: 19-20). Several animals were depicted on different parts of this ceremonial axe, such as on its handle, shaft and head (Plate 18). Stag remained one of the common motifs of Scythian Art and according to some Soviet Scholars the Scythians or Saka name can be interpreted as antler or stag (Farkas 1975: 19-20). This

particular view requires more systematic study because we come across numerous other views regarding the philology of the word Scythian or Saka.

### ***Depiction of Camel, Eagle and other animals***

Of the huge number of the animals depicted on the girdle, representation of the camel is very interesting. Although depicted on few occasions, the details are more than enough to trace its alien affiliation (Plate 17). Looking at this plate and considering the interpretations of the other pieces, not illustrated by Rahman,<sup>5</sup> we have enough evidence to believe that the artists used twin humped camel. From the archaeological evidence of Scythian homeland in different parts of Central Asia, Altai Mountains and Mongolia, we have ample examples of such depiction. The most comprehensive account about the camel imagery in animal art is given by Elena Korolkove that tells us about the depiction of twin humped camels throughout the Eurasian Steppes. Twin humped camels were recorded from the rock carvings of Southern Siberia, bronze gold plaques from the burials of Siberia, Kazakhstan, China, Mongolia, Altai Mountains, Southern Ural and Bactria.<sup>6</sup> The twin humped camel imagery was used in different ways on different material, such as on the handle of mirrors, on the rings and also on the handle of daggers<sup>7</sup> (Plate 20).

Similarly the depiction of eagle in the girdle is also equally important (Plate 19). Here at least four eagles, depicted with spread wings, can be identified. In between the scenes some other animals can also be identified such as stag, tiger, and rabbit (Rahman 1991: 10-11). According to Ellan Reeder the eagle was very meaningful to

<sup>5</sup> In the preliminary accounts Rahman has given the details of the other non illustrated pieces as well. So we find that at least on three occasions (Figure no. 20, 37, 39: 11-14) he has mentioned about the

depiction of twin humped camel along with other animals.

<sup>6</sup> For more details on Camel Imagery see Korolkova 2006:196-207.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid: 203, figure (6).

the Scythians as they found its nature and skills very similar to them (1999: 32-41). The scholar has tried to correlate the qualities and characteristics of eagle with that of Scythians and due to this particular reason it became part of the iconographical traditions of the nomads. The Scythians during their westward journey observed different animals like deer, leopards and eagles falling over its prey. Scythian artists started portraying these animals. The main element was the attacking, dominating and aggressive nature of these animals that made them ideal among the steppe people. This is further evidence by the fact that this bird is still being used by most of the Central Asian Steppe people while hunting.

The tradition of depicting this bird of prey goes back to the late half of 7<sup>th</sup> and early half of 6<sup>th</sup> century B.C where golden plaques with eagle depiction were found from the different barrows of Eurasian Steppe people (Plate 21). These were also used as part of the gold piece of decoration on the garments during 5<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C. The tradition also continued in the late centuries as well. The reconstruction of the male and female costumes base upon the burial finds Ukraine (Reeder 1999: 26-29) and from Tillya Tepe (Schiltz 2008: 219-293, Sarianidi 1998: 20-23), is the best example to understand the richly decorated garments of Scythians.

Rahman's preliminary account gives us description of those pieces which were not illustrated (1999:10-16). He tells us about the depiction of several other animals including ibex, goat, monkey, rabbit, gazelles, dog, bear, and wolf. There would be some other animals like wild boars, panthers etc but perhaps Rahman was not able to identify due to the broken pieces of the girdle (1999:10-16).

Still another interesting feature of the gold girdle is the decorative treatment consisting of floral lines and borders (1999:15-16). It seems that the

artists also tried to provide more beautiful look by inserting floral patterns in the available space. This particular feature is not new because we find Scythians applied this decoration many times on their garment, weapons and jewelry.

## **Summary of the Problems Relating to the Study of Gold Girdle**

### ***Unknown Provenance***

We know that these objects were found just by chance so we do not know the actual provenance which makes it very difficult to know about the context. On the other hand no effort was made later on by the department as well to launch some excavation project on the site even after having such a valuable piece of art in hand. The site was left open to be destroyed by the hands of nature and humans.

### ***Broken Pieces of Ornaments***

The precious metal of these objects also became responsible in the destruction of art as well. After the discover it was taken to local goldsmith who broke it in as many as 54 small pieces. The marks of chisel are still visible on some pieces. Since it was broken into parts so many pieces it became impossible to know about the continuity of the scenes.

### ***Non Gandharan Theme of the Iconography***

The gold finds also could not gain attention of the scholars in Pakistan due to its Non-Buddhist or Non-Gandharan subject of iconography. The preliminary account was written by the Deputy Director, Regional Office, of the Archaeology Department Peshawar, as a part of official duty. Due to this non serious attitude of the scholars we are unable to find sufficient literature that can lead us to the systematic study of this outstanding work of Steppe people.

### ***The Only Example of Animal Art***

The girdle is a true example of the animal art. The way these animals are profusely depicted on the

girdle, is entirely exceptional piece of art. There is no other such example in the entire corpus of Gandharan finds. Such non availability is also another major issue for the study of girdle.

### ***Probable Function of the Gold Girdle***

Present author has used the word girdle which reflects the function of this heavy weight piece of art. Since its discovery there has been difference of opinion regarding the actual function of the object. Apart from its weight, we do not have any other measurement about the width depth and thickness of the girdle. Rahman seems to be convinced that it was used a girdle as he has right away used this term in his article.

According to Swati this gold piece was used as necklace, probably once worn by the huge wooden figure of Bodhisattva Maitraya about 80 or 100 feet in height (Swati 1997: 5).

However present author believes that such objects can be associated with the royal members of the Steppe people. They used to bury these objects with them along with many other valuable objects. This gold piece was most likely used as a necklace and not as girdle. The discovery of a "Royal Burial from Tuva", by the joint investigation project of Russian- German, provides us with the best example of the actual burial practice of Scythians, dated to the second half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century B.C. The deceased man and woman were placed on their left sides (Pl 23) with bent knees and head facing northwest (Chungunov, Nagler and Parzinger 2006: 128-129). The accompanying objects all around the bodies reflect their upper class. Their richly decorated garments, plaques, headdresses, jewelry, mirrors and all other objects helped archaeologists and art historian to reconstruct the appearances of Royal Scythians.

The most interesting part of this burial is the gold necklace around the neck of man (Plate 23). It has very close resemblance with the gold necklace of

Pattan. The manufacturing style of the necklace, its shape and iconography has very close affinity with the present object (Cf. Plates 2 and 23). The similarity leaves no doubt to believe that Pattan gold was also used as necklace. It is further evidence by the reconstruction of Royal figure of Scythian King (Plate 24).

There are some more archaeological evidences which also reflect the use of gold necklace or so called gold torque buried with the dead. For example the tradition of using massive gold torque around the neck was also used in Sargat Culture (Plate 25) as it is evident from the archaeological evidences (KoryaKova 2006: 102-113).

Still another example of using the gold necklace we find in the huge stone figures of warriors wearing a neck ring, helmet, armor, short sword, battle axe, bow and whip (Plate 26). These gigantic stone sculptures, measuring about 6.67 meters, of human beings were usually carved and placed on top of the Scythian burial mounds that itself sometimes reaching the height of seven storey building with a diameter of more than 100 meters at the base (Plate 27).

This tradition of using necklace, torque around the neck of the nobles also influenced the South Asian artistic traditions in the subsequent period. Particular in Gandharan traditions where we find the use of collar as the necessary part of the body ornaments of Bodhisattvas. So according to my point of view base upon the study of the remains of the Royal Scythian burials, the Gandharan artists adopted the concept of decorating the body of Bodhisattvas from these Scythian traditions. By doing so they were able to depict royalty of prince Siddhartha.

### ***Dating of Pattan Necklace***

As far as the dating of this necklace is concerned it is thoroughly based upon the comparative and stylistic study. From the above discussion it must

be concluded that this was definitely manufactured by the Scythian artists and with this respect we can date it to the ruling period of Scythians in Gandhara from 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C to 1<sup>st</sup> century C.E. At the end of the preliminary account of Rahman, we find that same opinion was also given by Dani in his note as chief editor (Rahman 1991: 16-17). Dani also suggested that it belongs to Scythian period, 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C and reflects their march from Chilas to Taxila under the leadership of Maues. His interpretation is also based upon the so called Animal Iconography the roots of which he suggested somewhere in Central Asian or Eurasian steppes. In the other words we can say that his interpretation is also pointing out contributions of Scythians in Gandharan territories.

The other scholars who, Swati (1997: 5) and Dar (2004: 169), are also of the same opinion and relate it with Scythians or so called Sakas of Gandhara.

### Concluding Remarks

The study of the gold finds tells us Eurasian Steppe people left their deep impact on the local

cultural traditions. The need of the hour is to conduct systematic and organized study following the pattern of Central Asian project. Thus we could be able to understand the considerable contribution of the Scythians in Gandhara and its neighboring areas. The gold necklace is living example of the highly skilled artistic traditions of the Scythian Art. The attractive application of the Animal iconography in this gold necklace is still waiting to earn the respect that it deserves. It must be linked with many other South Asian antiquities and should be used as a landmark in understanding the salient features of Scythian art. This would consequently lead us to know much more about these steppe people and also to differentiate between the Scythian and Parthian cultural traditions which have so far being wrongly attributed with each other. Moreover the iconographical details of this gold necklace are the same as we find in Siberia, Mongolia, China, Kazakastan, Afghanistan, Bactria, Iran and further west till Black Sea. Thus we can say that the necklace is the only one glimpse of the meaningful cultural impact of the Scythians on Gandhara art.

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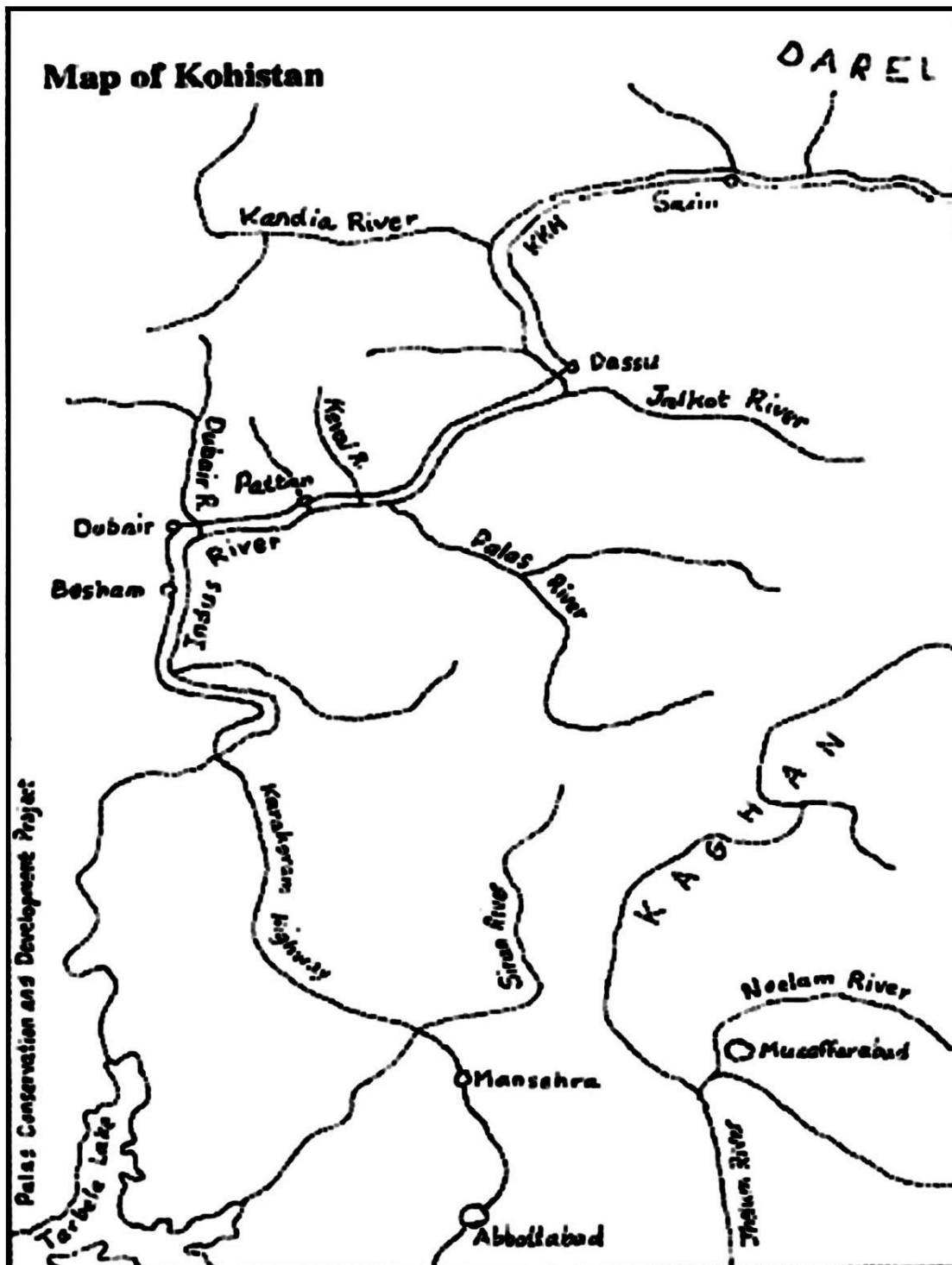


Figure 1. Map of Kohistan, also showing the location of Pattan. From Schmidt and Zarin 2008-295.





Plate 1. Broken pieces of hollow bangle, after Rahman 1990.



Plate 2. Broken Parts of Gold Girdle From Pattan, after Rahman 1990.



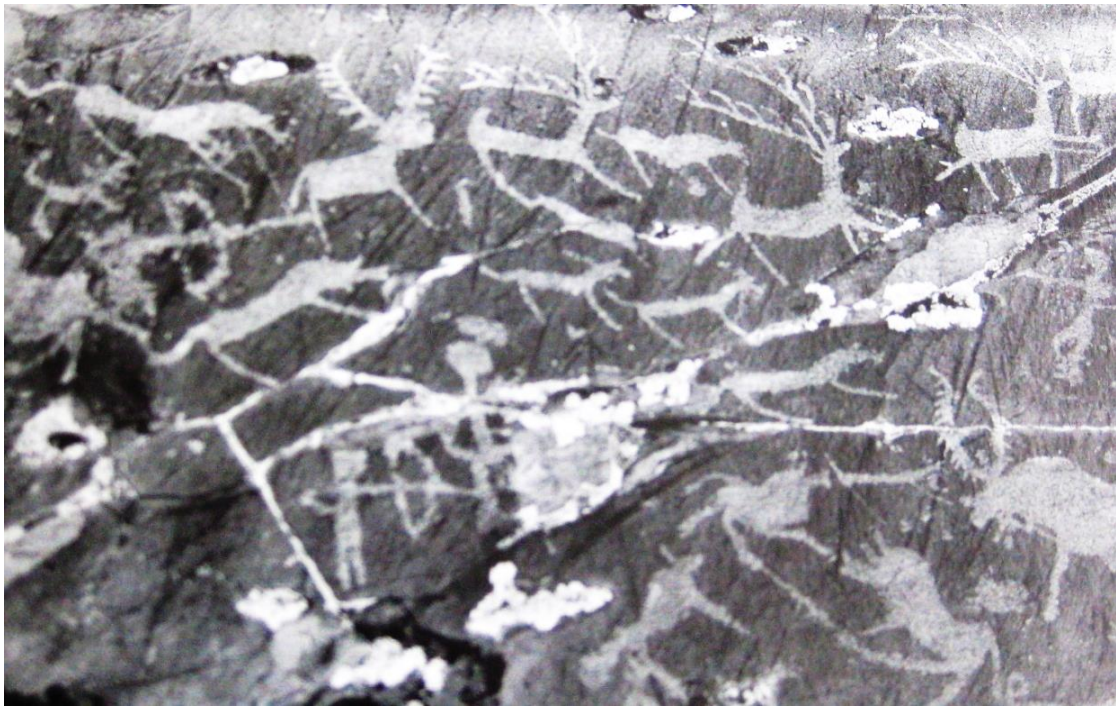


Plate 3. Details of a scene with deer hunt, after Jacobson 2006: 183.



Plate 4. Golden Plaque showing stag sitting with head turned backward, after Reeder 1999: 153.





Plate 5. Showing Figures of Men in Complete Profile, after Rahman 1990.



Plate 6. Showing another figure of man in action, after Rahman 1990.



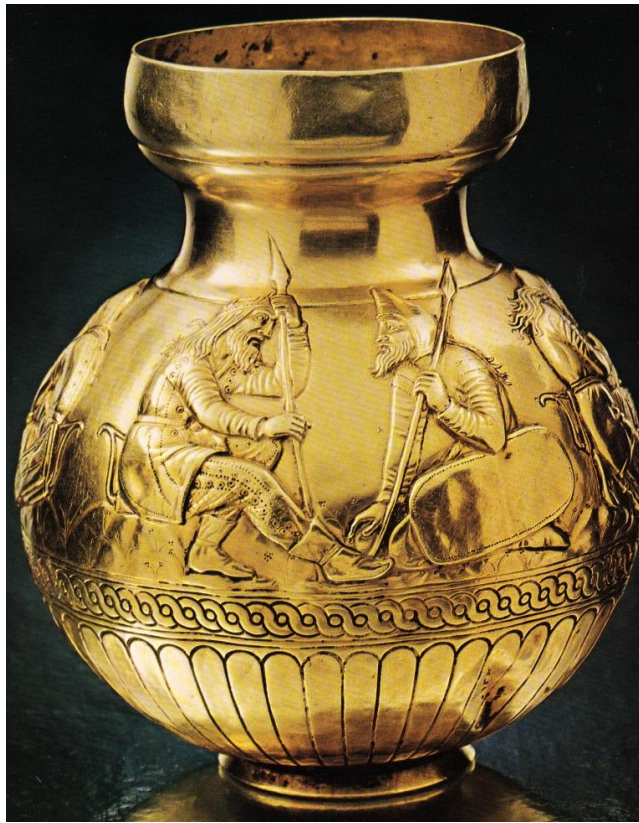


Plate 7. Scythian Ritual Vessel from Kul Oba, after Farkas 1975: 64-67. Plate 17-18.



Plate 8.1



Plate 8.2

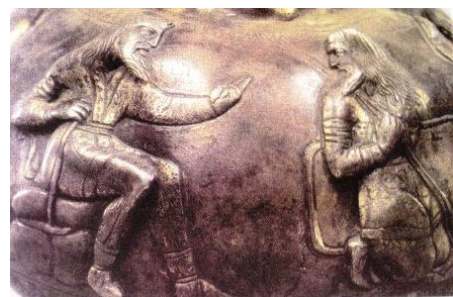


Plate 8.3

Plate 8.1, 2 & 3. Details of the Silver-gilt Scythian Ceremonial Vessel from Chastiya Barrow 4th Century B.C., after Ray 2009: 5.

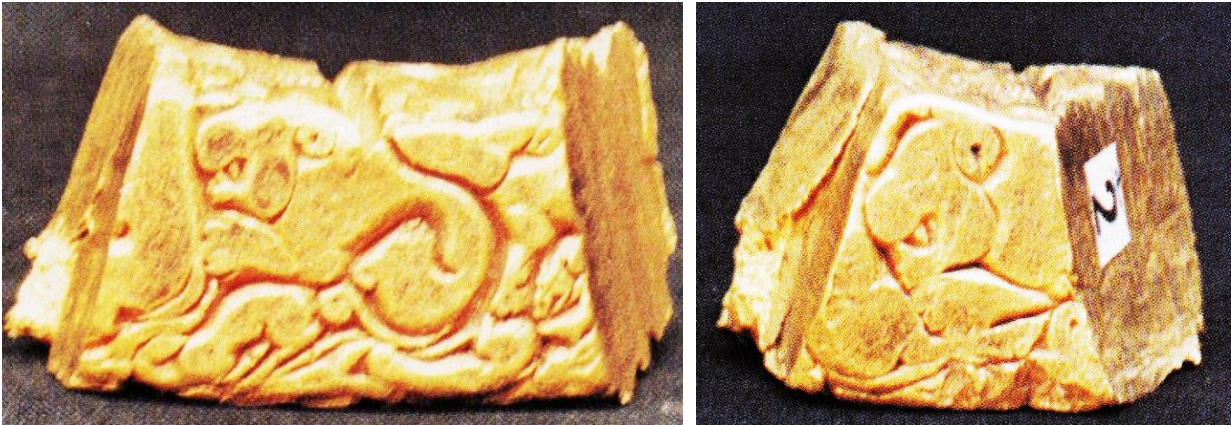


Plate 9. Showing lion in attacking posture, after Rahman 1990.

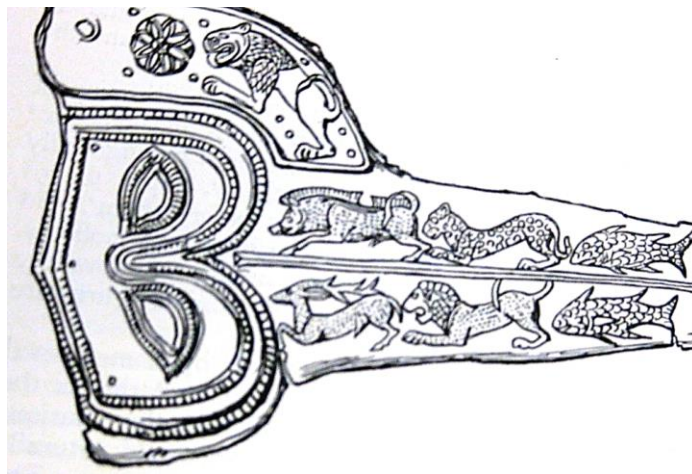


Plate 10. Hunting Scene on Gold Dagger Sheath, after Minns 1913: 239.



Plate 11. Hunting Scene on Silver Parcel gilt, after Minns 1913: 198.





Plate 12. Hunting Scenes on the Gold Quiver Cover, after Chang 2012: 134-35.



Plate 13. Hunting Scene, after Chang 2012: 139.



Plate 14. Showing depiction of Horse in different profiles, after Rahman 1990.





Plate 15. Depiction of Horse on Necklace, after Reeder 199: 327 & Chang 2012: 70.



Plate 16. Representation of Deer and Stag in the Girdle, after Rahman 1991.

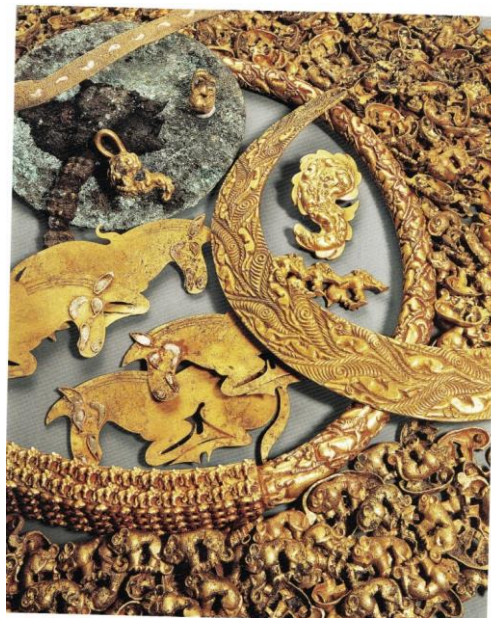


Plate 17. Gold Necklace with other finds from Tuva, after Parziger 2006: 130.



Plate 18. Ceremonial Axe with Animal Depiction, after Farkas 1975: 44-45.



Plate 19. Showing depiction of Eagle, after Rahman 1990: 17-18.



Plate 20. Showing the Camel Imagery on the handle of dagger, after Schiltz 2008: 229.





Plate 21. Showing Depiction of Eagle, from different barrows of Altai Mountains, after Ray 2009: 15, 33 & 34, (Plate 44, 100, 101).



Plate 22. Gold garment decorations from Kosh-Pej barrow 1, 5th cent. B.C., after Ray 2009: 25, Plate 79.



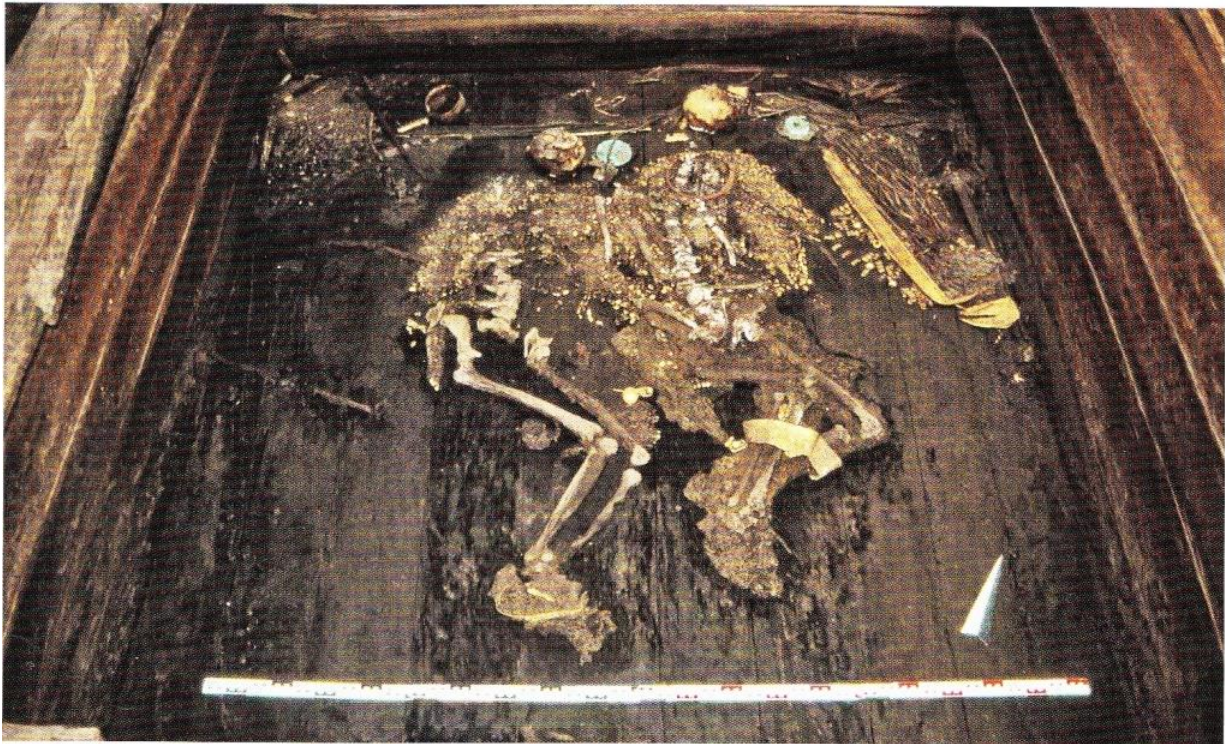


Plate 23. General View of the Arzha 2 burial, after Chungunov, Nagler & Parzinger 2006: 128.



Plate 23. The Gold Necklace from Kurgan, Arzhan 2, after Chang 2012: 121.





Plate 24. Scythian King in Complete Profile, after Chang 2012: 122.

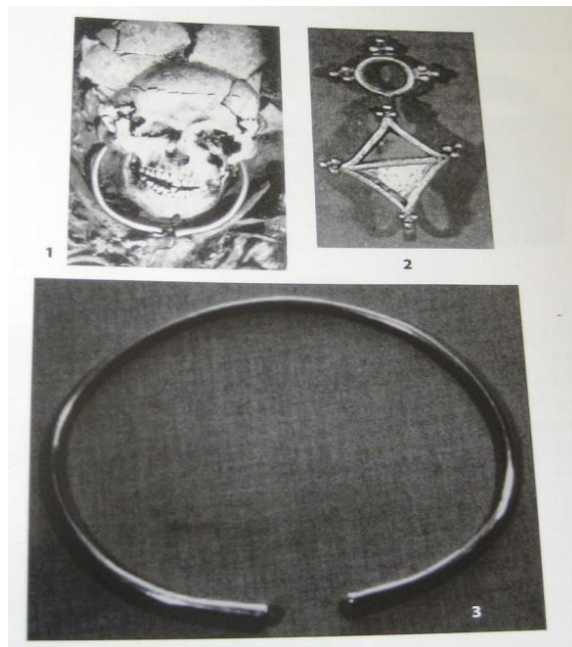


Plate 25. Showing a Massive Gold Torque around the Neck, after Koryakova 2006: 107.



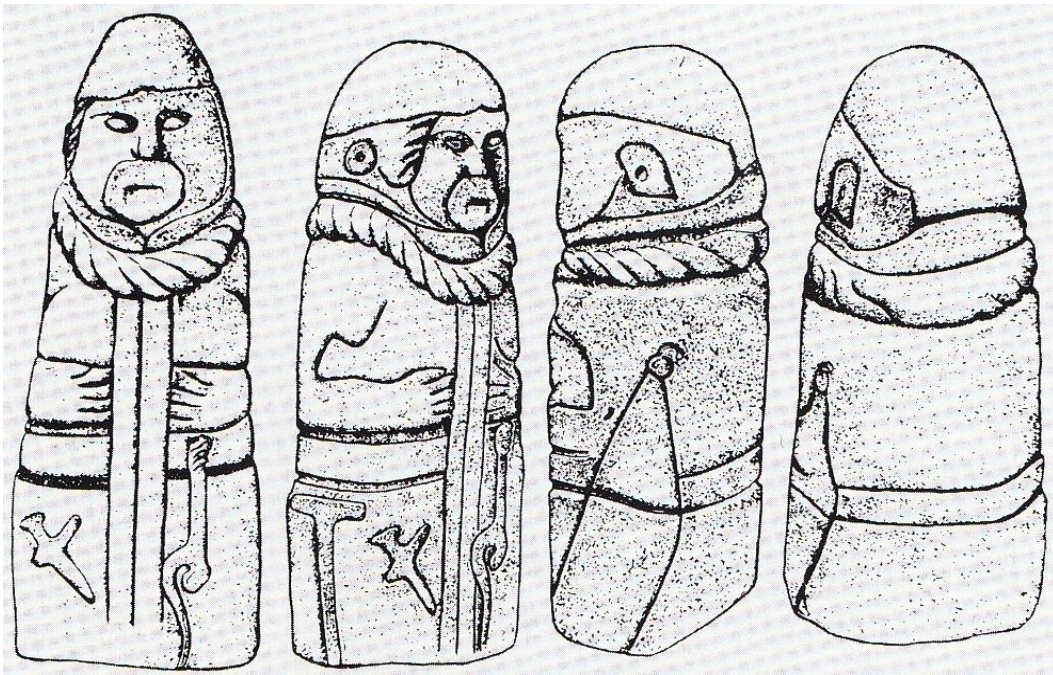


Plate 26. Stone figure of Scythian Warrior, after Rolle 2006: 170.

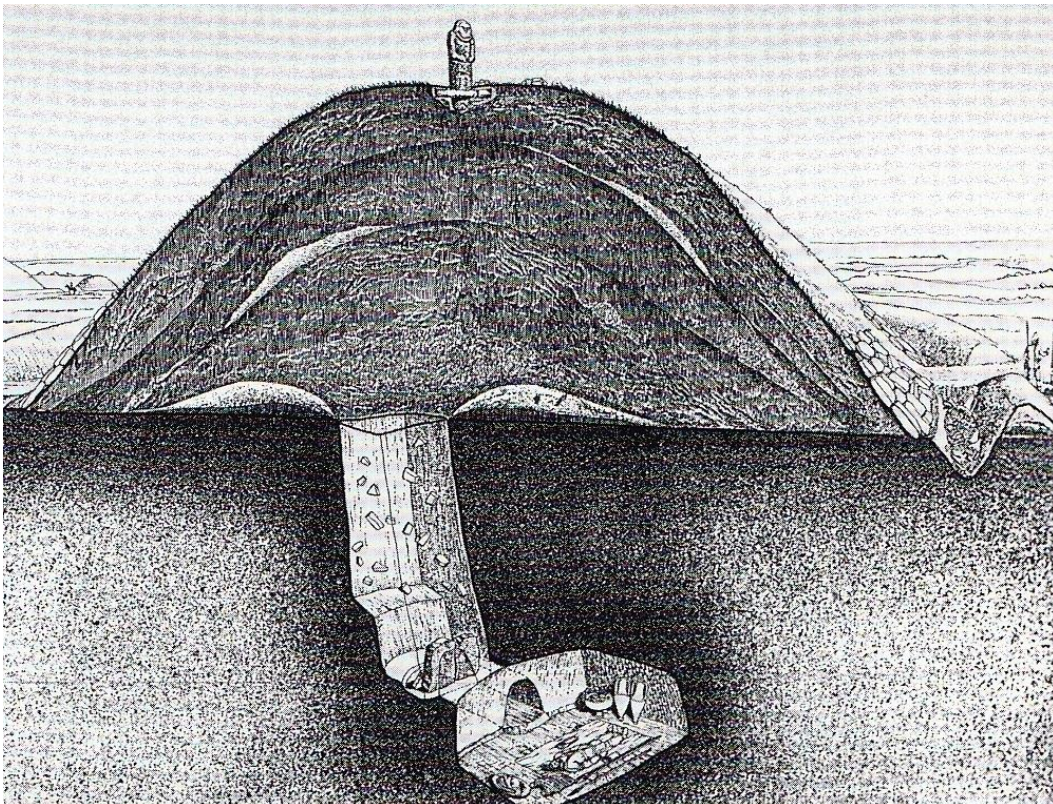


Plate 27. View of the Scythian Burial Mound, after Rolle 2006: 171.