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The fortified settlement in Chotyniec (south-eastern Poland) as part of the military system of forest-steppe Scythia

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Abstract

The functioning of the Scythian enclave on Polish lands can be seen as a cultural phenomenon. The site should be treated as an integral part of the military system of forest-steppe Scythia. This is evidenced by a number of formal features related to the fortified settlement itself, such as its natural defensive qualities, location in an upland area or location, enabling control of the immediate surroundings. At the same time, it is a central point in relation to neighbouring open settlements together forming the so-called Chotyniec agglomeration. It is also worth mentioning archaeological sources, especially military accessories, which fit very well into the cultural canons of Eastern European warriors.

The place known today as the fortified settlement in Chotyniec has been known for a very long time, mainly from the nineteenth-century archival maps, where it was marked with the name "Horodysko" (Fig. 1). The message of this meaningful name was additionally strengthened by terrain conditions (ramparts were visible on the maps, still prominent that time around the entire circuit of the fortified settlement. Archival documentation stored at the Archaeological Museum in Krakow confirmed that this place aroused interest, but at the same time little was known about it. In November 1916, Dr Bruno Kozlowski sent a letter to professor Wlodzimierz Demetrykiewicz, asking for clarifications regarding the visible ramparts, in some cases linked with the castle which was supposedly functioned in Chotyniec. However, this information seems unlikely, because no other evidence indicated that built structures were ever erected there [Czopek et al. 2017: 291]. Later, inventory works were carried out, based on completing the list of archaeological sites within individual areas of the so-called The Polish Archaeological Record and surface survey [Trybala-Zawislak 2019: 265]. In these cases, Chotyniec was repeatedly mentioned as an archaeological site in the twentieth-century literature, but excavations had never been conducted at this place. Moreover, it was one of the main reasons for all speculation regarding the chronology of this interesting localisation. The fortified settlement was usually linked

with historical times with an assigned refugial function, and it was assumed that buildings located inside might have been destroyed by the Tatars, although it was not indicated when exactly it could have taken place [Kotula 1962: 123]. In the 1980s, the dating of this site was again verified, which was artificially divided into two parts one in the area of preserved ramparts and the southern part of the fortified settlement, the other - in the northern part, where there were no traces of any fortifications. Archaeological material collected during surface survey was affiliated with different periods of prehistory and the Early Middle Ages [Czopek et al. 2017: 292-293]. It was only surface survey and excavation research conducted on a very large scale in the Wisznia River basin that in 2014-2018 resolved the problem of dating the settlement in Chotyniec and contributed to the final determination of its cultural attribution as a site included in the Scythian cultural circle, or more precisely its forest-steppe variant [Czopek et al. 2018]. Currently, the research on this extremely interesting complex, along with its entire settlement base, is still ongoing, and the source material on this issue is steadily increasing¹. It cannot be denied that

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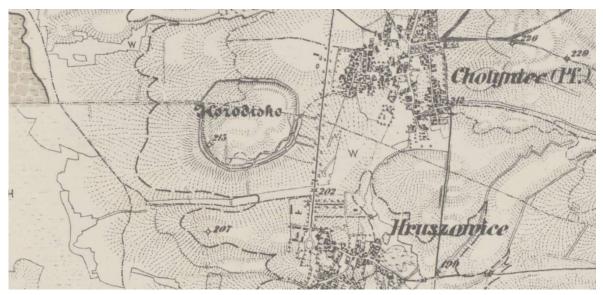


Fig. 1. Location of the fortified settlement in Chotyniec according to an archival map (Franzisco-Josephinische Landesaufnahme (1869-1887): mapire.eu/de/map/thirdsurvey)

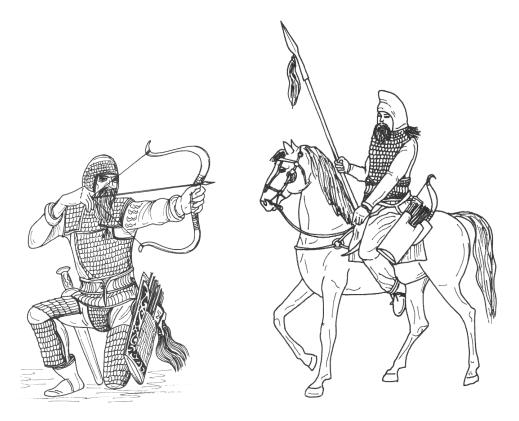


Fig. 2. Scythian warriors - reconstructions based on archaeological sources (according to J. Chochorowski 1999)

this was a breakthrough discovery because it re-evaluated, and in many respects even completely changed, views on the cultural situation in Central and Eastern Europe in the Early Iron Age, i.e. between 8^{th} and $4^{th}/3^{rd}$ centuries BC [cf. Trachsel 2004]. In the history of communities inhabiting areas outside classic civilizations, it is at the same time an almost breakthrough period, and quite restless, marked by the domination of nomadic warrior tribes exerting constant pressure on peoples living on the outskirts of the Great Steppe. That is why the discussed

period is characterized so often in the light of armaments history as well as the methods of warfare [Chochorowski 1999: 308]. Therefore, the discoveries from Chotyniec not only perfectly fit into this issue, but also constitute excellent source material for considerations regarding the military system of forest-steppe Scythia. Hence, let us try to discuss this issue a bit wider.

The territories of Scythia in general include steppe and forest-steppe areas located north of the Black Sea, but apart from this main territory, there is a strict zone

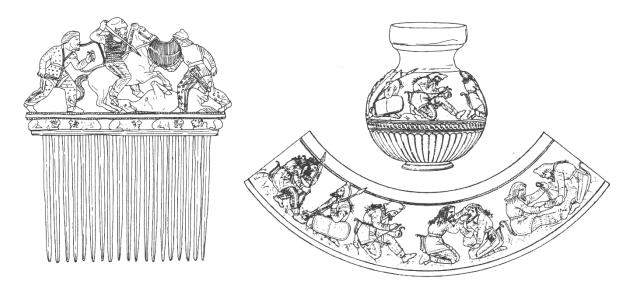


Fig. 3. Gold comb and silver mug with images of Scythian warriors (according to J. Chochorowski 1999)

of influence of Scythian culture, which we can refer to a whole range of cultural units associated with Eastern and Central European areas [Czopek 2007: 118]. The emergence of the Scythians in the forest-steppe and steppe areas of Eastern Europe in the late 8th and 7th century BC, radically changed the ethnic, political and cultural situation in this region, and at the same time had a great impact on historical processes in the central part of the continent. The military pressure of these peoples was closely related to this phenomenon, which opened a new stage of history, especially in the forest-steppe areas of Europe, when communities representing the Scythian cultural model appeared there [Chochorowski 2014: 9, 21]. It includes several basic elements contained in the field of both the material and symbolic culture. This first area is closely connected with military items, i.e. elements of armaments, among which there are characteristic trilateral and trilobate arrowheads, as well as narrow-bladed battle axes and short swords, so-called acinaces. One of the basic attributes of Scythian warriors (Fig. 2, 3) is also stone whetstones that have their permanent place in funeral rites [Burghardt 2012]. No less important are the parts of the horse tack, which can be a kind of crucial evidence of Scythian source collections. These include, first of all, bits and cheek-pieces and small elements of horse harness, often decorated with ornaments referring to zoomorphic motifs [Klosinska 2007: 238-239].

Scythian culture, especially in this territorial context (which is the most important for the fortified settlement in Chotyniec), cannot be considered in its entirety. The most important here is its forest-steppe variant, in which the main symbol of the sedentary lifestyle are huge defensive settlements with an area of hundreds or even thousands of hectares, a kind of commercial, social or production centres, playing also a role of civilization

centres [Chochorowski 1999: 337]. Early Iron Age fortified settlements from the forest-steppe area of Ukraine are undoubtedly the cultural phenomenon of this area, creating a kind of "microworld" that can be characterized in the light of various features, not only functions or sizes, but also its place and time [Ignaczak et al. 2016]. No less important is the location in zones that allow maintaining the most optimal contact with the Greek world [Lawniczak, Ignaczak 2016: 20] and material culture with meaningful examples, among which the import of Greek amphoras is important [Czopek 2019; Trybala-Zawislak 2019]. Structures composed of fortified settlements and surrounding open settlements on the right side of the Dnieper River are treated as manifestations of political associations or federations that aimed at developing common elements of defense. Their arrangement, in the form of clusters, was probably related to the route of communication routes, and therefore located in the main water ridge zones [Ignaczak 2011: 178].

The fortified settlement in Chotyniec fits very well within the scope of the most important features of the Scythian forest-steppe culture outlined above, and this thesis can be confirmed in at least several ways. First of all, the characteristics of the site demonstrate this. Today, it is a place marked by modern human activity and may not look as impressive as it used to be, but it still retains the value of a place with defensive features (Fig. 4). This is mainly indicated by the ramparts currently preserved only on part of the original circuit, in the south-eastern section, on a length of about 530 meters. It is also an area covered with trees, which probably protected the fortifications from being completely destroyed. Despite this, the rampart is still a visible element of the defensive structure - its width at the base is about 30 meters, and the preserved height is 3-4 meters (Fig. 5). We already know that even in this better preserved part, the original

mound of ramparts was levelled in historical times, so the height was even 2-3 meters higher. In other places, there are traces of the fortifications, which now represent the form of a ploughed up layer that used to be the base of the rampart. In the yard, i.e. the enclosure within the inner space of the fortified settlement, elevated and lowered areas are visible, and the height difference is even about 8 m (Fig. 6). This area is now quite heavily processed as a result of agricultural activities, so its original shape could have been even more diverse [Czopek *et al.* 2017].

Fig. 4. Fortified settlement in Chotyniec – drone photography with visible fragment of preserved ramparts



Fig. 5. Ramparts during archaeological research

The largest known fortified settlement of the Scythian cultural circle is located in Bielsk, in the northern part of the Poltava region, and thus east of the Dnieper River, in the territories of today's Ukraine. It is a huge structure, whose ramparts stretch over 35 km, and its area covers 4000 hectares [Murzin 2012]. The ramparts of the fortified settlement in Bielsko are a very interesting example of the fortification system, and the preserved height of embankments in some places reaches up to 10 meters [Shramko 1987: 25-36; fig. 3-9]. This site actually has no equivalents with reference to the European hillfort constructions. Despite the fact that the aforementioned fortified settlement in Chotyniec is much smaller than Belskoye settlement, Chotyniec settlement fits in very well with a group of smaller or medium-sized fortified settlements, occupying a space of just over 35 hectares [Czopek et al. 2017: 297]. It is necessary to remember that in the Scythian world there are known such assumptions with an area of about 5 hectares [Ignaczak 2011: 177]. Moreover, the strategic location for defensive settlements is crucial. The fortified settlement in Chotyniec entirely fulfils this extremely important criterion. It is located on the border of the plateau zone within the Tarnogrod Plateau, with an open space on the valley of the Visznia and San Rivers from the west (Fig. 7). From the east there is a wide zone of the Przemysl Gate, which is the most convenient area for transition between the Carpathians and Roztocze [Trybala-Zawislak 2019: 280].

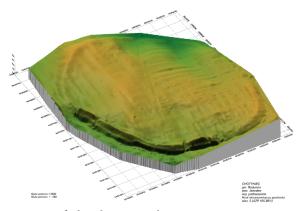


Fig. 6. Fortified settlement in Chotyniec – axonometric projection



Fig. 7. Fortified settlement in Chotyniec with the surrounding area (aerial scanning as part of the ISOK project)

It is also a zone where an important transport route runs along the Dniester-San line, whose importance in Baltic-Pontic contacts in the Early Iron Age is undisputable [Czopek 2011]. No less important are environmental conditions, which also have close links with the East. The forest-steppe zone clearly reaches today's administrative borders of Poland (as a continuation from the West Volhynia), separated only by a narrow strip of forest zone reaching in our area to Roztocze [Makohonienko 2009: 22, 25; Fig. 4]. In this context, the location of the settlement in Chotyniec can be treated as a "gateway" to the world remaining in the east under Scythian domination. On the other hand, from the north and north-east we can notice a clear lowering of the area, including wet-

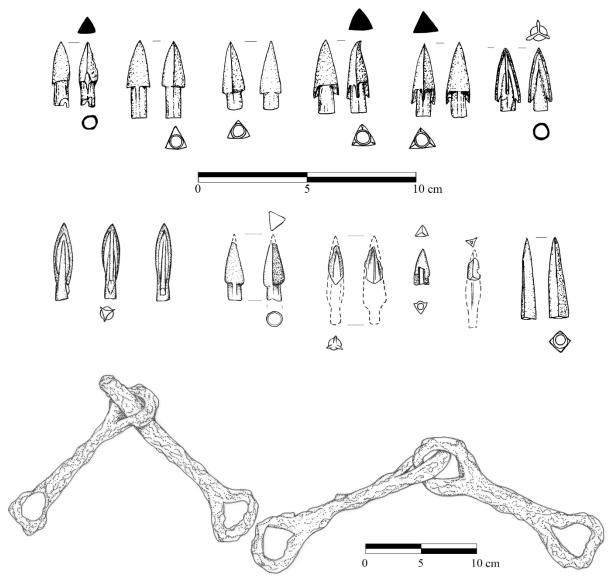


Fig. 8. Military accessories from Chotyniec and Hruszowice - arrowheads and bits (according to K. Trybala-Zawislak 2019)

lands and marshes in the floodplains of the Wisznia and Szklo Rivers, which strengthen the defensive values of this place. Therefore, it can be said that this fortified settlement perfectly fits into the canons regarding fortified settlements known from the forest-steppe zone. One of the most characteristic features is their location in places with natural defensive values, on uplands and elevated areas, or in the immediate vicinity of rivers and wetlands. Ramparts were often erected so that there was a water source within the enclosure or there was free access to it. Moreover, the range of observation and visibility, which should reach at least a few kilometres, was also important. The fortified settlement in Chotyniec fulfils these principles very well, and additionally it fits in well with the thesis saying that even smaller objects of the Scythian world repeat the spatial arrangement of the largest defensive settlements. Hence, it is believed that they were erected according to a specific scheme, regardless of whether they were political centres or typically defensive places [Ignaczak 2012: 178-180]. In terms of these last criteria, we cannot provide a full answer about the function of the fortified settlement in Chotyniec yet, but we certainly know that it is the centre of a particular ecumene. This subject matter is closely connected with the issue of the Chotyniec agglomeration, which is composed of a fortified settlement with open settlements located in its immediate vicinity.

Another important element is the collection of archaeological sources, including the military accessories, which are the most important from the point of view of the discussed issues (Fig. 8). These include a substantial set of arrowheads with a restricted chronology that is established from the second half of the 7th to the first half of the 6th century BC. By the way, the collection of artefacts from Chotyniec is the largest (so far) in relation to the territory of south-eastern Poland [Trybala-Zawislak 2019: 283]. In addition, other items are known from sites located in the immediate vicinity of the settlement, e.g.



Fig. 9. Stone whetstone from Chotyniec

from Hruszowice and Mlyny [Trybala-Zawislak 2019]. An interesting artefact is also a stone whetstone (Fig. 9), which can also be treated as a permanent and significant element of the warrior's equipment.

The archaeological picture of Scythian culture is very complex and difficult to define clearly, but it can be certainly said that one of the main mechanisms joining the Scythian nomadic groups were wars and efficient actions in case of dangerous conditions [Chochorowski 1999: 330, 334]. The only written record describing the culture and life of Scythian warriors comes from the "The Histories" of Herodotus written about the middle of the 5th century BC. Although his credibility can be questioned in many points, it is difficult to resist the extremely suggestive and imaginative descriptions of Scythian war customs: When a Scythian has slain his first man, he drinks some of his blood: and of all those whom

he slays in the battle he bears the heads to the heads king; for if he has brought a head he shares in the spoil which they have taken, but otherwise not. And he takes off the skin of the head by cutting it round about the ears and then taking hold of the scalp and shaking it off; afterwards he scrapes off the flesh with the rib of an ox, and works the skin about with his hands; and when he has thus tempered it, he keeps it as a napkin to wipe the hands upon, and hangs it from the bridle of the horse on which he himself rides, and takes pride in it; for whosoever has the greatest number of skins to wipe the hands upon, he is judged to be the bravest man. Many also make cloaks to wear of the skins stripped off, sewing them together like shepherds' cloaks of skins; and many take the skin together with the finger-nails off the right hands of their enemies when they are dead, and make them into covers for their quivers: now human skin it seems is both thick and glossy

in appearance, more brilliantly white than any other skin. Many also take the skins off the whole bodies of men and stretch them on pieces of wood and carry them about on their horses. Such are their established customs about these things [Herodotus IV: 64, 65; Macaulay 1890].

For the whole community of Eastern European nomadic tribes, the role of a mounted warrior using weapons of unique power, i.e. a recurve bow, was extremely important [Czopek 2013]. Therefore, with regard to archaeological sources, elements of horse tack are also important, including first of all the bits. One such item is known from the settlement in Hruszowice, which belongs to the Chotyniec agglomeration. This is a fairly rare find (taking into account similar artefacts from Polish lands), referred to a stirrup-shaped type, dated to the 7th – a half of the 6th century BC, and representing close analogies in the sets of graves from Western Podolya [Trybala-Zawislak 2019: 284-285].

At this point, it is worth mentioning an extremely interesting concept that concerns the destruction of open settlements and fortified settlements in Central Europe from the turn of the 7th/6th - the end of the 6th century BC [Chochorowski 2014, 32, 41]. This horizon includes the destruction of the fortified settlement in Wicina, located in western Poland (currently Lubuskie Voivodeship) and seen for a long time as the result of the Scythian invasion due to characteristic finds of the military artefacts of Eastern origin. The most important for us is that it is possible to take into account groups of warriors originating from forest-steppe Scythians from Western Podolya who might have taken part in these expeditions [Chochorowski 2014, 41, 43]. It may provoke the question about the possible presence of warriors from Chotyniec in these raids [Czopek et al. in print]. What is more, the issue referring the aforementioned arrowheads registered at the fortified settlement in Chotyniec is extremely interesting. In particular, it concerns iron items with a separate socket and a four-sided (square) head, which are known only from the settlement in Chotyniec so far, and exactly from the destructive layers of the defensive settlement in Wicina [Burghardt 2020]. The convergence of these forms does not have to be treated as a crucial argument, but it can certainly be a premise indicating the possibility of the participation of Chotyniec warriors in the invasions of Central Europe.

Speaking of Eastern European nomad groups, the position of a warrior was relatively high in the social hierarchy, and it often also meant belonging to the upper layers of leaders forming a kind of tribal aristocracy [Burghardt 2017]. We can find good links also in this sense to source materials from Chotyniec. We are dealing here with a specific object connected with rituals and symbolic culture, with cyclical feasts combined with drinking Greek wine. This is evidenced by the unique finds of the first Greek amphoras on Polish territories, coming from centres of their production in Klazomenai and Lesbos. Their dat-

ing was established to the turn of the 7th and 6th centuries BC [Czopek 2019], fits perfectly with the chronological framework designated for the Chotyniec agglomeration with the help of other artefacts, e.g. the already mentioned arrowheads. There is no doubt that the presence of such materials on the fortification in Chotyniec may be associated with the presence of higher social strata, for whom these luxury products of the Eastern Greek production workshops were dedicated. According to some researchers, these goods did not come to the Scythian aristocracy by exchange, but they could have had the nature of special gifts, among which Greek ceramics were treated as part of specific rituals [Nocon 2016: 324]. In this context, the presence of Greek amphoras within the cult object recorded on the fortified settlement becomes very meaningful. We are talking about the so-called zolnik (the ash mound), which is another component of forest-steppe defensive settlements [Gretchko 2010: 36], and the object from Chotyniec fits very well into their characteristics [Czopek 2019]. However, in this case not only antique, high-quality ceramics are important. With reference to the characteristics of Scythian, forest-steppe defensive settlements, equally important were hand-made vessels, which can be described as forms of everyday, common use. These are pots with plastic strips and holes under the edge of the rim and bowls with a characteristic pearl ornament created by not completely pierced holes, as well as cups with high handles. Dozens or even hundreds of just such forms were registered within the settlements, e.g. in Severynivka [Shelekhan et al. 2016] or in Belskoe [Shramko 1987: 107-113; fig. 52], and they prove almost "mass" production of the discussed ceramics. As for the settlement in Chotyniec, their presence has been confirmed by the number of over 15,000 sherds of pottery so far, and it should be noted that the research at this site is still carried out.

In the summary of the above considerations, several factors should be emphasized proving that the fortified settlement in Chotyniec is an exceptional place. Archaeological research conducted here since 2016 allows the researchers to state that now this place can be treated as a permanent element of the military forest-steppe fortification system of the so-called Great Scythia. In this context, its location is extremely important, because it is the furthest northwest defense site being linked with the Scythian culture. Of course, we do not mean the Scythians in the ethnic sense [cf. Czopek 2019: 140], but certainly the presence of a fortified settlement in such a zone should be combined with the population representing the Scythian cultural model and Scythian customs. While talking about a specific zone, one more important issue should be considered. So far, we cannot indicate a direct continuation of this ecumene to the east, i.e. where these genetic relationships should be sought for the Chotyniec agglomeration. With regard to the source materials, of course we can demonstrate a whole set of analogous sources that illustrate a peculiar community of material culture of populations inhabiting the vast borderland of Central and Eastern Europe, but this does not answer the question about the cultural affiliation yet with reference to the aforementioned agglomeration. This question must remain open for now, especially since searching and identifying specific cultural units known in the forest-steppe zone may not be fully justified [cf. Czopek 2020]. The obstacle here is not only the level of progress of field research in western Ukraine, but also methodological factors. The Chotyniec agglomeration may be a separate, so-called "independent" structure of the forest-steppe variant of Scythian culture, and thus the furthest northwest enclave. In a broader cultural context, the fortified settlement can even be treated as a strategic point between the East and West of Europe [cf. Czopek 2019]. Regardless of the doubts that are waiting to be resolved in the context of the research planned for the future, it can already be stated that the fortified settlement in Chotyniec is an important point on the map referring to the military potential of the so-called Great Scythia.

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Grodzisko warowne w Chotyńcu (południowowschodnia Polska) jako część militarnego systemu leśnostepowej Scytii

Słowa kluczowe: grodzisko scytyjskie, system militarny, leśnostepowy krąg kultur scytyjskich, kultura wojowników

Abstrakt

Funkcjonowanie na ziemiach polskich enklawy scytyjskiego świata może być postrzegane jako kulturowy fenomen. Stanowisko to należy traktować jako integralną część militarnego systemu leśnostepowej Scytii. Świadczy o tym szereg cech formalnych dotyczących samego grodziska, jak np. jego naturalne walory obronne, położenie w strefie wysoczyznowej czy lokalizacja umożliwiająca kontrolę najbliższego otoczenia. Jednocześnie jest to punkt centralny w odniesieniu do sąsiadujących osad otwartych tworzących wraz z grodziskiem tzw. aglomerację chotyniecką. Istotne są również źródła archeologiczne, zwłaszcza militaria, które bardzo dobrze wpisują się w kulturowe kanony charakterystyczne dla wschodnioeuropejskich wojowników, takie jak charakterystyczne grociki do strzał czy element oporządzenia jeździeckiego. Obecnie grodzisko w Chotyńcu jest najdalej na północny zachód wysuniętym stanowiskiem obronnym łączącym się z kręgiem kultury scytyjskiej. Nie mamy tu oczywiście na myśli Scytów w sensie etnicznym, ale z całą pewnością obecność grodziska w takiej strefie należy łączyć z ludnością reprezentującą scytyjski model kultury i scytyjskie obyczaje. W szerszym kontekście kulturowym, grodzisko można traktować nawet jako punkt strategiczny pomiędzy wschodem i zachodem Europy, a zarazem ważny element większej struktury odnoszącej się do potencjału militarnego tzw. Wielkiej Scytii.