Graphic complexes of Central Asia

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Historical processes, which took part in Central Asia at III-I millennium BC were being reflected into the changing of art traditions. Besides the items of decorative and applied arts, there are numerous objects of monumental art in that region – stone statues, menhirs, stag’s stones and petroglyphs. Each period is characterized with the special selection of images and the style: for example at Bronze age there were oxen and faces-masks, than chariots and battle scenes at the pre-Scythian time, stags, riders, scenes of hunt – at Scythian period. All the images are executed in a certain manner. This changing reflects the shift of ethnoses and development of their outlook.

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Central Asia, Rock Art, Scithyans.

Historical processes, which took part in Central Asia, were reflected at the changing of Art traditions. The most numerous art monuments in this region is the rock images – Petroglyphs – the priceless legacy of the past, which indicates the culture, outlook and religion of the ancient societies. Of course not always we can directly connect those voiceless, but picturesque evidences with some specific archaeological culture, not to mention the ethnic identity of it’s creators. Artistic canons and borrowing of artificial traditions often overlap the borders of a single ethnos or culture. Rock art can’t be an item of import trade. They are created by the direct inhabitants of the region. Dating of the rock art is difficult. The main chronological indicators are the artistic style and a set of images.
Petroglyphs of the Stone Age are unknown in Tuva, although in a neighboring Mongolia and Altai some scientists date the cave of Tsanker Aguy and Petroglyphs on the Calguty river as Paleolithic. However this dating is now questioned.

Age of Neolithic also haven’t been represented into graphic art in this region, except the pottery, which decoration shows the highly artistic flair of it’s creators.

First stratum of rock images could be linked with Eneolithic and the Early Bronze age. In the Minusinsk hollow there are images, dated as Eneolithic, executed at Minusinsk style. Their features are the
large size of figures ponderous torso, small head, hanged legs: a bit of schematics coupled with realism. Archaism of those petroglyphs is confirmed also by the set of images, reflecting the world of the primitive hunter (wild ox, moose, bear, wild boar, wild horse, roe, deer - maral).

In Tuva such figures exist on the Saamychyyr Mountains. There are large sized images of the bulls. They are executed with the contour line. There are large bodies small muzzles and horns shown (Figure 1.1).

To the same age we refer the painted images from Yamalyk sanctuary on the south of Tuva, near the border of Mongolia, at the Basin of Inland Lakes (Figure 2). This sanctuary is situated in the dry, saltine steppe with several detached, oddly weathered remains of rocks. Paintings were aligned in two compact clusters: one in the natural rock niche, other not far from the first, on the east side of the rock with the negative slope. Near the rock with paintings some excavations were carried out, by the materials from which we can resume that the land near the Yamalyk sanctuary was been settled from the earlier Neolith to the turn of our era. A painting is executed with the different shades of the red paint and overlaps each other, forming a palimpsest. There are figures of ox, horses, a ram and saltines. These figures are
overlapped by the latest figures of the stags (Late Bronze or an early Scythian time). Figures of the ox are characterized by a specific canon: sharp-pointed legs, triangle bowings on the belly and back, massive body, pointed ledge aback, small muzzle with open mouth, left-shaped ear and an S-shaped horn (Figure 3). Closest analogies for the ox, horse and ram figures from Yamalyk are known in Mongolia, in the Goby Altai, also in the caves nearby the Altai Mountain in Xinjian-Uygur autonomous region of Mongolia, which are also dated as Neolith or Eneolithic.

The oldest cattle-breeders settled across the large space of Eurasian steppes at the age of Eneolithic – Early Bronze age. That was the first wave of spreading the Indo-Europeans to the East, which is being noticed by the monuments of Afanasyeva culture. Cattle breeder’s mythological and ritual beliefs were being formed during that period, where the image of ox played the main role – as an incarnation of the multi-hypostatic deity and his attribute. In the similitude of the bull in the one hand appears the deity of Moon, on the other – the God of Earth, who patronizes Home and Hearth (Fire). In Rig-Veda the concept of the ox is used for designation of the male’s sexual potency, expression of man’s productive forces, so for the Indo-Iranians ox was an embodiment of the Fertility.

Eneolithic layer of the rock art is not distinctly divided from the age of early bronze and introduced by large diversity of images and plots. Alien cattle-breeders mixed with the local population created the Okunev culture, unique in the number of the art monuments. Monumental art, amazing by it’s plastic appears; with complicated mythological content. There are engravings and paintings on the slabs inside the tombs and rock art in the sanctuaries alfresco. Among the funeral inventory a small-shaped artworks are not rare: ritual women figures and engravings on the bone platens, on which only women’s faces are represented, framed by flowing hair, sometimes earrings and a body contour shown. Assignment of such amulets is not clear.

In the Minusinsk area of the Okunev culture more than 200 menhirs and steles are known, part of them represents the synergetic image of the deity or deities (Figure 3). Those deities act in two hypos-tasis in the guise of anthropomorphic creature with oxen or cow’s horns and ears, whose distinctive feature is the third eye; and in the shape of a fantastic beast with long taloned paws, snarling jaws and
long tail. Probably those figures represent the binary pair of the deity-progenitors. Cult of ox also found it’s reflection in this sculpture.

The largest assemblage of the rock art, referring to the same period exists on the shores of Ulug-Khem (Figure 4). A whole system of mythology and ritual notions connected with the big river found it’s embodiment on the rocks. Ritual center was situated at the most narrow place on Yenisey (Ulug-Khem), at the beginning of Sayan so-called “Tube” canyon. This place was suitable for crossing the river and has large rock outputs, covered with the dark shiny crust of “Tan”.

Petroglyphs were concentrated on the both shores of Ulug-Khem, in the left in the rock-art sites Mugur-Sargol, on the right shore in Aldy-Mozaga and Ustyu-Mozaga, in the estuary of Chinge river, and down the Ulug-Khem in the sanctuaries of Bizigtig-Khaya, Mozaga-Khomuzap and other. Foremost specialist of the archeology of Central Asia, Professor Karl Yettmar compared an analogy between those monuments and the valley of the upper Indus, where compatible petroglyphs are presented in the same concentration like on the upper Yenisey. The main image, represented on the Yenisey is the horned masks, representing the spirits-masters of the land and water. They were placed like watching on each other across the waters of Ulug-Khem. Nowadays the sanctuary Mugur-Sargol is completely flooded with the waters of Sayano-Shushenskaya hydropower station. This pattern, which arose at the age of Neolith could be formed under the influence of alien nomads, this is confirmed with the presence of anthropomorphic steles in Yamnaya (Pit grave) culture. Masks remain at the Scythian time as one of the components of Okunevo tradition, which layers at the base of forming the Scythian-Siberian animal style. Masks, for example, were being engraved on the earliest “stag stones”.

Images of Masks are known widely beyond the end of Sayan-Altay – on the lower Amur, on the Inshyan mountains, on the north-west coast of Canada and USA. In Tuva masks are distinct by their variety: different shape of head (round, oval, egg-like, hearth-like), with horns and without, different shape of horns, with the “antenna” lug on the poll, with the “handle” lug under the chin, interior completion (crossing lines, brackets and other) (Figure 1. 9). Behind such variety a differ by the time could stay, also a different semantic contain. On the rocks of Upper Yenisey especially on the Mugur-Sargol and Aldy-Mozaga anthropomorphic faces are most often engraved with the specific signs, - geometrical figures – “fences” and “housings”, cup-like deepening, solar signs, which allows us to consider the masks as a tokens of some deities or a sacred elements. (Figure 1. 12)

Specific engravings of masks are known at the site Bizigtig-Khaya on the Khemchic river. Here we have a huge bird engraved, under the tail of which the egg-shaped masks were being placed (fig.5). From

Figure 4. Mugur-Sargol- Aldy-Mazaga-Ustyu- Mozaga Sanctuary. 2006
the egg of this mythological bird, the universe, divided into Three Worlds was been created. Those worlds were settled by a lot of spirits. One of the masks here has a bull’s horns with the sprouts hanged on them. Such big horns with spurs, the fantastic figures also have engraved on the neighboring slab, leftwards from the bind. Those figures are worn a wide dresses and bearing some sort of wands in both hands. That could be priests or divine heroes.

Within the anthropomorphic characters, which could be referred to the Bronze Age, the image of mushroom-shaped mankind and a mankind with round heads are quietly distinguished (Figure 1. 10). Those figures are often imaged with tails, bearing spears and bows in their hands. Tails has different shapes-wide and long like horses or yak’s, long spurs with a round ending, which are interpreted by many scientists as a bronze mirrors, bags, tambourines or ritual items, connected with shaman’s practice. Sometimes skirmishes between the mushroom-shaped and round headed men are shown, but those scenes are dated as the end of the Bronze Age, because some figures here are imaged in chariots. Although, such
figures present in the compositions with masks. This allows as saying that such image remains during all the Bronze Age. They could be seen on the all rock-art monuments in Tuva.

Generally accepted, the interpretation of those figures as fungi-people, the characters of many mythologies in the world. Mushrooms represent the fallos, the male’s symbol in the Indo-Europeans myths. Vladimir Toporov writes about the connection in myths between the fungi and thunder, lightning, storm, often in their divine embodiments. A lot of many peoples, from Greece to Oceania and America have conception that fungi grow from a thunder. Perhaps such idea could find it’s incarnation on the rocks, and so the fungi-shaped manikins may be the signs of thunder and lightning.

An ox was the central character during the Eneolithic and Early Bronze age. Figures of the bulls with the horns of different shapes and various decorations of bodies are presented in compositions across all the rock art monuments of Sayan-Altai upland. Echoes of this cult could be seen within the myths of Tuvinian: “in the many lakes of Tuva, the lord of the lake lives of Tuva, the lord of the lake lives in the from of ox, which usually couldn’t be seen by a simple human’s eyes, but his roar is heard far away, giving fertility to the land and people”. This cult has common Indo-European’s roots. We can remember here the Ox – Zeus, who kidnapped Europe, Creetean ox, father of Minotaurus, son of the queen Pacifai, the ancient Iranian cult of Mitra, who created the universe by the immolation of the bull, whose skin, bones and blood became the parts of the nature, surrounding us. To implement the connection with the upper, divine world the sacrifice was being used. The conception of reincarnation through the death and sacrifice. Such scenes as sacrifice of the bull could be seen on the rocks of Tuva and Altai. This rite remained nowadays as a Corrida in Spain. On the rocks we see the engraving of several anthropomorphic figures attack an ox with the spears and bows. Here we have a real ancient Corrida. Culture of Eneolith and early Bronze Age opening a new ways of control the wild nature (domestication of cattle, invention of wheel and chariots, metallurgy) contributed the creation of new mythology and it’s spreading through tribes across the steppe passage of Eurasia.

During the time of Late Bronze Age, a new wave of migration happened, which was connected with the resettlement of Indo-Aryan in Central Asia. Them knew the how to build a wagons and chariots, a horse begins to play important role in their household. Inflow of the new population, changing of the outlook, of mytho-ritual system; undoubtly find it’s reflection in art.(Figure 1. 13-17) A chariot can be the
symbol of this time. There are several hundred of images of chariots with two or four wheels, wagons harnessed with horses and bulls, known in Central Asia and Southern Siberia, about two tens of them where discovered in Tuva. Usually those vehicles are represented in plane; in top view harnessed animals are shown from side view. Animals and chariots are shown rather schematically. However, the art style hadn’t changed at once. Firstly, the chariots were included into compositions of Okunev tradition – among bulls, mushroom-shaped figures, mask etc. Schematization of image occurs gradually.

At the end of Bronze Age in Tuva, three artistic styles appeared, named by the most characteristic monuments: ChyrKay style, Chailag style and Varchinskiy style (Figure 1. 18-20). The last one is the most widely spread. Thousands of petroglyphs on the rocks and mound slabs of Minusinsk hollow are executed in this style, and dated as a Bronze Age. These are the multimeter panels of human figures marching one by one, figures of horses, goats, sometimes stags. Figures were being executed by a single line. One line – a body, legs attached to it by the right angle, round or a rectangular head, straight neck. (Figure 6) Such images most likely resemble a signs, capturing some information, addressed by the ancients to the gods and spirits. Images of chariot – the wheel, undoubtedly connected with the worshiping of sun which replaces the previous cult of the Earth and Moon, embodiment of which is ox.

Another character, appearing on the rocks of Tuva and Altai could be dated as same time – this is big, mighty ox with rectangular construction on his back (Figure 1. 4-6). There are anthropomorphic figures or lines often imaged inside those constructions. Often those oxen are kept on leashes by women, weaning wide dresses with geometrical decoration. Such procession was been engraved by the artists of Bronze Age on the rock Bizigtig-Khaya – the unique monument, containing the large layer of petroglyphs of Bronze Age, among which the figures of bulls takes an important place (Figure 7). Oxen with constructions or packs on their backs are engraved in quantities on the rocks of Altai. They are lead not only by women figures but also by anthropomorphic creatures with mushroom-shaped heads, on the oxen backs, besides packs, some constructions are also engraved, resembling the frame of portable household’s yurt. There is
a scene of migration in front of us — migration not only real but mythological also — a traveling from one world to another.

This plot remains in the mythology of Tuvinians, for example the ox from the Sut-Khol lake, which was a son of a simple cow and a master-spirit of the lake appearing in a form of giant bull, he was so big that he could carry 9 yurts on his back. Tibetans perceive a sacred oxen or yaks as a transport for the souls of dead into the afterlife. Clothes of the dead man and remains from a funeral fire were been tied on the animal’s back. The fact of implementation of this image to the Indo-Arian wave of migration is proved with the Iranian myth about the Sarsaok ox. That was a giant bull, on which the people at the time of creation of the world, traveled from one world to another, through the seas and oceans of time. After his resurrection a drink of immortality would be made of him. We can see the clear illustration of that myth on the Rocks of Central Asia.

Besides the chariots, at the time of Late Bronze Age, a stag become the significant character of rock art. Chyrgak style is distributed rather widely — these are the stags with bushy antlers, which crosses forming a saltire (Figure 8). Saltires could be separately imaged on the rock and serve as a sign of stag. Chailag style includes the figures of stags, bulls, goats with solid bodies of the navicular form and antlers of fanciful shape and hypertrophically large sires.

At the time of Late Bronze Age in Tuva there is no items of decorative arts known because at this time they didn’t put any funeral inventory into the tombs. A mound of so-called Mongun-Tayga tape was being built. These are the big on-ground burials-cists inside such mounds, cist is surrounded with the stone rigs, inside which there are 4, 8, 12 or more stone beams (or tracks), and so the whole construction resembles a wheel with spokes. That allows us to speak, that such constructions are the symbols of Sun, reflecting the movement – main essence of Sun. Mounds of that type are called Keriksurs and often connected with steles, named the stag-stones. Classical stag stones are divided vertically into three parts: the upper “face” contains three stripes and rings or earrings on the sides. It’s divided from the middle part with a line or dots – the necklace. Middle part may include the animal figures, mainly the stags. The lower part is separated usually with the line – belt, with weapons hanged on it – the dagger, knife, cleaver and whetstone. Appearance of the stag stones, which area covers the territory of North-West Mongolia, Transbaikalia, Tuva and North-east of Xinjian, marks the beginning of Scythian culture within Central Asia, because those monuments contain the images in Scythian animal style and items of Scythian weaponry also.

Stag’s stones divided into three types: Common-Eurasian (without animal figures), Sayan-Altai type (with realistically images, close to real) and Mongo-Transbaikalian type (with ornamentally stylized figures of the stags) (Figure 9). The earliest stag stones are executed in the Mongolia-Transbaikalian style. They are characterized by the stylized images of (stags) animals with elongated beak-shaped muzzle, often with reduced legs and one, less two large antlers, which “grow” along with ear out of the stag’s eye. This last feature and a small pointed hump on the back are peculiar also for the realistically representation of...
animals. Antlers with falciform sprouts are stretched along the back. Figures of animals are fit one into another covering all the stele’s surface with ornamental pattern.

The brightest samples of Sayan-Altai type of stags stones origins the territory of Tuva. The world known is the stone construction of Arzhan mound (Figure 10). Probably it was been put there as “buried” fragment of willfully broken stele. Only a lower part of pillar-shaped stele fell into the hands of specialist. This part has a right cylindrical form, only a 30 centimeter length and 18 centimeter in diameter. Original size of stone was, presumably not more than one meter. Figures of animals cover all the surface of Arzhan’s stone, forming a belt of images in its lover part. Animals have size not more than 10 centimeter. Mainly that is a figure of wild boars, executed in silhouette technique and with picketage, also two stags, distinct with unusual clearance and grace. They are standing back to back on the tips of the hoofs, and besides that, the all four legs are shown. Weapons, imaged on the Arzhan’s stone, especially a dagger with a ring-shaped pommel and straight crossing refers to the earlier types of Scythian weapons.

Several monumental steles with realistically executed images of stags are kept in the museums of local studies in Minusinsk and Tuva. These are the classical monuments with multfigured compositions, performed at the Scythian animal style, where along with conventionally realistic figures of stags present some images of wild boar, analogies to which are well known by the applied arts from Chilikty mounds in Kazakhstan and Kosh-Pei burials in Tuva.

The stag’s stones are distributed across all the steppe zone of Eurasia, from Ordos to Elba. But stones, which contain all the graphical attributes, so to say “classical” are typical only for the Central Asia, speaking precisely for the Mongolia and Tuva/ This circumstance gives us a reason to search the land native for the stag’s stones and sources of their appearance within Central Asia. Actually here was been formed a ground for the emergence of the graphic attributes, typical for these monuments of the antiquity, I mean the rock art. But the appearance of the idea of stele, menhirs, the vertical dominant itself, yet can’t be interpreted uniquely.

One of the most important attribute of the stag’s stones the figures of the stags. In one is case that is the deer with the beak-shaped muzzle and short legs which seem to be flying upwards. There is a fantastic creature before us – the bird-stag-horse, legends about which remains in the culture of many Siberian peoples. Image of stag-bird is closely linked with the concept of the divine essence of the stag’s
In the second case the stags have more realistic shape, although it is very far from nature. Legs of such stags are bending like on the images of Indian deities or on the stature of Celtic god Cernunnos, which also had a stag’s antlers on the head. Along with those figures an animals with straight legs were being engraved, when the deer’s legs with sharp hoofs seems to be “hanged” under the body so the stag is shown standing on the hoof tips. Head of the stag is shown raised up with the big antler along the back, consisting of semirings and falciform spurs. Such stag has massive muzzle with opened mouth. Stag seems to be “trumpeting”, “roaring”. Both poses never could be met in nature; we can interpret them as sacrificial. Again we have an idea of rebirth of the world thought the death-sacrifice, which is typical for the Indo-European outlook. Stag is the main and the most expressive image of the petroglyphs creation at that period, although this is not a simple stag, but a divine. Within Scythian culture the worshiping of the stag was closely related with cults of Sun and horse. Endonym of Scythians - Saki, in translation from Iranian means “the stag”.

Layer of the rock art of Scythian time is distinct clearly, because those petroglyphs are executed in accordance with the specific rite, which could be noticed during the easily compartment of different categories of monuments of Scythe-Siberian art – petroglyphs, stag’s stones and applied arts. That rite is characterized with the smooth and clear lines and what’s more important – the dynamism, and also the specific selection of images and plots. Hoofed animals were being imaged (stags, goats – ibex), chased by the predators (wolfs, dogs, panthers). Scenes of battles and hunters are also widely spread on the monuments of Scythian rock art. (Figure 1. 21-36)

A lot of figures on the rocks were firstly marked with thin carved line; on the stag’s stones figures could be firstly drown with paint than artist had engraved them – as a wide canvas in early Scythian time, later as a continuous silhouette. Early images are distinguished by a special grace, which is obtained by using a meandering S- shaped line and spirals. The sample of S-shaped line repeats several time into the image, which enforces the effect of plasticity, internal rhythm the motion of the form. This lines creates an outer contour: the lower part of animals body is modeled by S- shaped line, which with the sharp angle transfers into the hip. Haunch is always shown with the stressed knee-joint. The line of neck is also smooth, S- shaped, runs into the shoulder. The same contour outlines the back, which often is formed by two S- shaped lines, which perform a triangle bowing at the place of their contact. So the main silhouette of figures is created, common for the different images both for ungulates and predators. Than this silhouette been supplemented with the species traits. This part is also modeled with the ornamental samples: eye - with the double circle, ear – triangle or leaf shaped, antlers – a curved line, performed by the joining of semi-circles, front spurs shown with the S-shaped meander. Ibex horn shown with semi-circle, ram’s – a spiral, often twisted strongly, even touching an eye, in the predator’s mouth there are teeth (denticules) – triangles.

An image of goat – ibex was popular in Central Asia beginning from Scythian time. Rather figures of goats were mainly shown schematically, primitive. There are many thousands images of ibex and goats known. Some were been discovered in the most unexpected places: in a mountain gorges, just on the stones in steppe. Presumably that was a sign, with which the ancients marked the space around them, so to say, tamed the local spirits.

Favorite plot in the rock art of Scythian age was a scene of hunt, where the rider with bow chases the stag or another beast. This is the ritual hunt, during which the divine hero chase the celestial animal. In event of it’s death, the whole world would be floated by it’s blood. So the ancients pictured to themselves an Apocalypse.

Art of the Scythian time distinguished with the large variability and number of applied art works. Almost all the items – weapons, mirrors, furnishing of clothes, belts, head wearing, est., made of bronze, gold, leather and wood contain an images, executed in Scythian animal style. Even on the mummified bodies of the buried a tattoo in animal style were been discovered. Scythian animal style in the applied arts also differs with the peculiar building of image and specific, selection of images, as in rock art. Style of images also distinct with the laconic, entirety of the picture. There is a selection of specific poses into
which the figures are represented. At the base of building the figures the same S-shaped meander lines, which outlines the contour of the figure and present into the addition details – horns, curves or body or line an independent detail. (Figure 11) Main pantheon of Scythian images in the applied arts consist of the ungulates – these are stag and goat, also the feline predators – lions, panthers and birds of prey – eagle, griffin. With the development of art and mythology the images became more saturated, a lot of mixed, fantastic creatures appear bids – griffins, horses with stag’s heads, predators with elements of ungulates est. Hems of gold amaze with their number and high quality. Most of them are made of the superfine gold sheet. Species traits are clearly shown as the contour of the body with the graceful and plastique line. The items of bone are very interesting, they are executed in style of mysterious pictures: several animal figures are entered into each other, while this the natural proportions of the bodies change; they are represented into the unnatural poses, method of inversion was being used – twisting the figure around its axis and alternation of straight and mirror distorted elements.

At the V century BC the changing in the shaped structure of the works of fine art was being traced. Images of wild boars and animals with bent legs almost disappear. Preference given to the images of predators and birds of prey. Scenes of fighting beasts and anthropomorphic figures are spreading widely. Many works made of gold appear into the funeral complexes. Sore importance is being attached to the items, which were the regales of power and warrior’s dignity (torques, akinaks, gold tabbing, richly decorated belt buckles). That speaks about the changing of the semantic base of art and of modification of social and mytho-religious systems of society.

The later step of Scythian culture – III-II century BC the rock images acquire a new features, keeping the terms of Scythian animal style. Reverberations of this style still remains in the traditional art of Sibe-
rian native peoples and in Central Asia, for example in the execution of clothes, carpets or jewelry. Part of the contour and silhouette rock images could be referred to the later-Scythian lager, representing the stags, goats, horses, camels at the pose of swinging trot, motion, when all four legs are shown, yet more schematically and rough.

Artworks of Scythian time from Tuva (both the items of applied arts and petroglyphs) has many analogies across all the Great “Steppe Belt” of Eurasia. Central Asia appears like a unified world of Sako-Yuechjy’s art. Solidarity of the styles is being traced as in the stag’s stones, as in the toreutics which was a part of the “folk” art locally produced by the artisans. This is very significant for the understanding of the unity of cultural space. For example stags and wild boars on the stone from the Arzan mound has amazing stylistic similarity with the images of that animals from Zaltyryk-Tan on the Ur-Maral river in Kazakhstan. There are a lot of such examples. Monumental art was been copied in the toreutics and conversely. On the mirror from Mayemirskiy mound on Altai the cast figures of stags and ibex could be seen, absolutely similar to the figures on Arzan stone and Ur-Maral rocks. Badge in shape of curled panther from Arzan mound fully, even by it’s size matches with the figure on stag’s stone from Kosh-Pei valley. Certainly the local features remains in the art of different parts of Scythian world. Similar images and plots could be also seen within the Scythians of Northern Pontic on the other corner of Eurasian continent far from Central Asia.

What reason has caused such similarity of cultures on the territory that large? The language, mythology, origin, economy – the nomadic cattle–breeding? It’s hard to answer definitely. Not always we can precisely state that creators of the monuments of ancient art, spoke on the languages of Iranian group, but mainly the basis of this unity was been formed during the Bronze age, when the images of chariots harnessed with horses appeared on the same territory. That was a sign of massive migrations of steppe peoples to the mountainous countries and oasis of Inner Asia, than backwards along the steppe zone of Eurasia to the borders of Europe.

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