

It was October of 2010 when the conference entitled «*Inter Ambo Maria: Contacts between Scandinavia and the Crimea in the Roman Period*» was held in the Crimea, in Gaspra village. It was initiated by the Department of Commerce, Transport and Cultural Affairs of Vest-Agder County Council (Norway), «Heritage of Millennia» Non-Profitable Foundation for History and Archaeology (Simferopol, Ukraine), National Taurida University (Simferopol, Ukraine), and Maria Curie-Skłodowska University (Lublin, Poland). Archaeologists of nine states met each other in the Crimea. The conference naturally resulted in the publication of this volume presenting revised papers by its participants.

The selection of the conference topic was absolutely logical. As it was reckoned years ago, the movement of the Goths and other Germanic tribes from Scandinavia to the Black Sea opened the way for contacts between two opposite parts of Europe. These contacts reflected in various categories of artefacts common to Northern Europe and the Black Sea area. Distribution maps of several types of artefacts have been compiled to indicate a definite diagonal line with one end in Scandinavia and another end in the Crimea. Concrete routes of the Germanics from Scandinavia to the Black Sea have also been reconstructed.

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INTER AMBO MARIA

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CONTACTS BETWEEN
SCANDINAVIA AND THE CRIMEA
IN THE ROMAN PERIOD



Vest-Agder County Council
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Institute of Archaeology of Maria Curie-Skłodowska University
“Heritage of Millennia” Non-Profitable Foundation for History and Archaeology

INTER AMBO MARIA

**Contacts between Scandinavia
and the Crimea in the Roman Period**

Collected papers

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EDITORIAL

“It is said that the earth’s circle which the human race inhabits is torn across into many bights, so that great seas run into the land from the out-ocean. Thus it is known that a great sea goes in at the Straits of Gibraltar, and up to the land of Jerusalem. From the same sea a long sea-bight stretches towards the north-east, and is called the Black Sea, and divides the three parts of the earth; of which the eastern part is called Asia, and the western is called by some Europa, by some Enea. Northward of the Black Sea lies Swithiod the Great, or the Cold.” In these words the great Icelandic saga writer Snorre Sturluson introduces his *Chronicle of the the Kings of Norway* in c. 1230. To Snorre and to other saga writers, the significance of Swithiod the Great — *Svíþjóð hin mikla* — lay in it being the Urheimat of Ódinn and the other Norse gods, whom they believed were real people who had once migrated to Scandinavia from this land far away, and turned themselves into kings and gods in the North. This, of course, is a piece of *gelehrte Urgeschichte*, and the origins of this euhemeristic legend are to be found in Medieval scholarly speculative thought, fueled by the faint memory of the lively connections between Scandinavia and the Rus’ kingdom in present day Ukraine and Russia in the Early Viking Age.

But was there ever cultural connections between the Black Sea area and the Baltic-Scandinavian region before this time? To us as archaeologists, the answer must be “yes.” And these connections become visible in the archeological material from AD 200 on.

In October 2010 the conference entitled “*Inter Ambo Maria: Contacts between Scandinavia and the Crimea in the Roman Period*” was held in the Crimea, in Gaspra village. It was initiated by the Head of the Department of Commerce, Transport and Cultural Affairs of Vest-Agder County Council (Norway) Kjell Abildsnes, and the Inspector of Monuments and Sites of the same Department, Frans-Arne Stylegar. In cooperation with the “Heritage of Millennia” Non-Profitable Foundation for History and Archaeology, National Taurida University (Simferopol, Ukraine) and Maria Curie-Skłodowska University (Lublin, Poland), Vest-Agder County Council succeeded to invite to the Crimea archaeologists from nine different European countries. The conference resulted in this volume. It presents papers by the participants of the conference and those colleagues who prepared papers, but who for different reasons were not able to make it to Gaspra. Besides that, we publish studies by two young researchers from the Crimea who have got scholarships provided by Vest-Agder County Council.

The theme of the conference was logical. As it was reckoned years ago, the movement of the Goths and other Germanic tribes from Scandinavia and the Baltic area to the Black Sea opened the way for cultural contacts between across Europe. These contacts are reflected in various types of artefacts common to Northern Europe and the Black Sea region. This goes for glass vessels, buckles, shield bosses and grips, details of costume and ornaments. Moreover, there are parallels regarding burial rites known from excavations of Crimean cemeteries on the one hand and Scandinavian burial sites on the other. In recent years, studies have shown that some Germanic artefacts appeared in the Crimea in the first half of the third century AD, or, possibly, even earlier — at any rate, it happened before written sources document the appearance of the Goths. Later on, migrants from Northern Europe took a very active part in ethnic processes in the peninsula. Throughout the Medieval period,

all written sources refer to the population of the Crimean mountains as “Goths.” Gothic language was used in the Crimea at least to the mid-sixteenth century.

There are distribution maps of several types of artefacts clearly showing a diagonal line with one end in Scandinavia and another end in the Crimea. Specific routes of the German from the Baltic-Scandinavian area to the Black Sea are also reconstructed and demonstrated on maps.

Despite all this, many problems related to contacts between Northern Europe and the Black Sea area remain unstudied or investigated insufficiently. First of all, it is not clear whether the appearance of Germanic artefacts in the Black Sea region is to be interpreted as a result of trade or other kinds of interrelation. The chronology of many types of artefacts needs clarification. There is still no comprehensive analysis of written sources, and no comparison between the written sources and archaeological interpretations. To put it another way, the routes of Germanic migrations to the south are indicated on our maps only as dashed lines, broken in many places.

In order to come closer to the solution of these and other problems, our conference was called and this volume is published.

We are grateful to Anastasiya Stoyanova for her organizational efforts, without which there would be neither book nor conference, Maxim Levada for the preparation of maps, and Nikita Khrapunov for infinite translations.

Igor' Khrapunov
Frans-Arne Stylegar
Editors

TRANSLATION AND TRANSLITERATION

Certainly, there is a number of transliteration systems — each with its merits and demerits. Our intention was consistency — although it is hardly possible to be consistent in all the cases.

For all the personal, ethnic and geographic names we used their common forms, for example provided by the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Because not every name and term used in this volume can be found in it, it was decided to transliterate them using the method of giving the closest equivalent to Greek, Russian, or Ukrainian pronunciation — similar to the patterns of the Chicago style or the Library of Congress. For example, for Russian alphabet: *a* — a, *б* — b, *в* — v, *г* — g, *д* — d, *е* — ye (open syllable, or after soft and hard signs) or *e* (close syllable), *ё* — yo, *ж* — zh, *з* — z, *и* — i, *й* — y, *к* — k, *л* — l, *м* — m, *н* — n, *о* — o, *п* — p, *р* — r, *с* — s, *т* — t, *у* — u, *ф* — f, *х* — kh, *ц* — ts, *ч* — ch, *ш* — sh, *щ* — shch, *ъ* — ' , *ы* — y, *ь* — ' , *э* — e, *ю* — yu, *я* — ya.

As for the colleagues' names, there are few cases when we deviate from this pattern — if we definitely know that he or she prefers alternative spelling. And besides, sometimes scholars' names are given in one form within the paper and in the other in bibliography. A sad but usual situation with persons of East Slavonic origin. That is actually because different publishers use different systems of transliteration.

Names of Greek origin are transliterated from Greek (e. g. Tiberios Ioulios Eupator), of Latin — from Latin (Julius Caesar), except for those having traditional spelling (Diocletian). As for the origin of many place names in Eastern Europe it is not quite clear whether it is Russian or Ukrainian, and the pronunciations in these languages differ, it is decided to use Russian as the basis. A few words (mainly terms) that are absent in English are *italicized*.

English texts of papers by Bitner-Wróblewska, Droberjar, Gundersen, Istvánovits — Kulcsár, Lund Hansen, Martens, and Stylegar are provided by authors, paper by Quast is translated from German to English by Andrew Brown (Mainz), paper by Mączyńska — Urbaniak — Jakubczyk is translated from Polish original to Russian by Maxim Levada (Kiev) and from Russian to English by Nikita Khrapunov (Simferopol), papers by Aibabin, Dushenko, Gavritukhin, Kazanski, Khrapunov, Levada, Magomedov, Shabanov, Vasil'yev, and the Editorial are translated from Russian by Nikita Khrapunov. Russian abstracts to papers by Aibabin, Dushenko, Gavritukhin, Istvánovits — Kulcsár, Kazanski, Khrapunov, Levada, Magomedov, Shabanov, and Vasil'yev are provided by authors, abstract to paper by Mączyńska — Urbaniak — Jakubczyk is translated from Polish to Russian by Maxim Levada, and abstracts to papers by Bitner-Wróblewska, Droberjar, Gundersen, Lund Hansen, Martens, Quast' and Stylegar are translated from English to Russian by Nikita Khrapunov.

ABBREVIATIONS

- ААН — Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae
BAR — British Archaeological Reports
РА — Przegląd Archeologiczny
VAPD — Vjesnik za arheologiju i povijest dalmatinsku
WA — Wiadomości Archeologiczne
АДСВ — Античная древность и средние века
АСГЭ — Археологический сборник Государственного Эрмитажа
ВДИ — Вестник древней истории
ВИ — Вопросы истории
ГИМ — Государственный исторический музей
ЗООИД — Записки Одесского общества истории и древностей
ИАК — Известия Императорской Археологической комиссии
ИГАИМК — Известия Государственной Академии истории материальной культуры
ИРАМК — Известия Российской Академии истории материальной культуры
КСИА — Краткие сообщения Института археологии АН СССР
МАИЭТ — Материалы по археологии, истории и этнографии Таврии
МИА — Материалы и исследования по археологии СССР
ОАК — Отчеты Археологической комиссии
РА — Российская археология
СА — Советская археология
САИ — Свод археологических источников

Aleksandr AIBABIN

THE ELEMENTS OF SCANDINAVIAN BEAST STYLE OF THE BROOCHES FROM LUCHISTOYE

Excavations in the area of the Gothic region of Dory have uncovered expressive evidences that goods with decoration which Bernhard Salin called “Scandinavian beast style I” were spread in the south-west Crimea (Salin 1904). Anatolij Ambroz has supposed that, in this region, the descendants of immigrated Gepid craftsmen produced buckles with corrupted ornamentation in the beast style I, which are evidence that there was “at least 100-years-long” tradition of making such goods in this region (Веймарн, Амброз 1980, рис. 2–3, с. 259–261). He has distinguished, with sound arguments, motifs of Scandinavian beast style I in the ornamentation of large silver buckles with rhombic plate from the south-west Crimea (located near the base of plate images of beast’s heads in profile, with widely open mouth, and paired figures of laying beasts along the edges). Local jewellers only kept impression of borrowed decoration, intentionally varied unclear minor details and greatly distorted some of them (Веймарн, Амброз 1980, с. 249–261, рис. 2–4). These buckles were produced in the second half of the seventh century AD (Айбабин, Хайрединова 2008, с. 20).

Some elements of decoration of the so-called Dnieper radiate headed brooches of type III with border of bird’s heads (Айбабин 1990, с. 22) from the Crimea, Dnieper area, Southern, Central and Northern Europe are more likely borrowed from Scandinavia as well.

Prototypes of brooches of type III were uncovered in vault 36 (burial 7) in Luchistoye. The pair of silver-cast brooches with semi-circular head-plate, wide plated back and rhombic foot-plate with zoomorphic ending are covered with thick layer of gilt. Due to the above, the decoration imitates faceted-and-incised carving. Head-plate and foot-plate are decorated with comma-shaped scrolls. Scrolls of the foot-plate are within diamonds. The head-plate edge is cast with six zoomorphic projections with open bird’s beaks and

trapezoid or rectangular necks. Two central beasts keep in their beaks stylized human head with visible heads or cap, eyes, nose and mouth. The bow has concentric circles with dot in the centre of the ornamental composition. Chain is between two side circles. In between of the central rosette and a head on one side, there is bird’s head with long open beak, and on the opposite side one could suppose some zoomorphic scene of similar topic. Chain fills the empty space. Between the circles and the foot-plate are symmetrical scrolls. Side edges of the foot-plate were decorated with animal’s heads and schematized images of laying animals. There are imitations of holes for blackening made during casting on the base of the head on the end of the foot-plate, on the central and side projections of the head-plate, and on the noses of animal’s heads on the side edges of the foot-plate. The brooches are 17.8 cm long. I do not know brooches completely analogous to those described above. In the first look, Luchistoye brooches look like products by a Scandinavian craftsman. The shape of head-plate and foot-plate of these brooches and such decorative elements as circle and filling ornamental fields on the bow, net ornamentation with scrolls and zoomorphic scenes on the foot-plate edges are represented on many Scandinavian artefacts united by Salin into group I of beast style (Salin 1904, Abb. 116, 117, 119, 128, 129, 134, 394, 395, 472, 502, 519, 523, 534; S. 227, 356). However, the decoration of Luchistoye brooches is made when casting, though Scandinavian ornaments of beast style I are ornamented with faceted-and-excised carving technique. The maker of the published brooches simply imitated triangular mounts for blackening typical for Scandinavian finds. He also greatly misrepresented zoomorphic scene on the bow of the brooches because he did not understand it. The place where these brooches were produced could be discovered from the ornamentation of the bow: chain within the central rosette and front side of the bow. This decorative element



Fig. 1. Brooch from vault 36, burial 7

is typical of the sixth century Gepid brooches from the Danube area (Csallany 1961, Taf. I. 18; XVIII. 4–5; CCXIX. 1–2; CCLXX. 9; Vinski 1972–1973, tab. II. 29–30; III. 35; IV. 36–37, 39; s. 193–194; Werner 1961, S. 32–33, Taf. 34. 29–30). The sixth century Gepid buckles and brooches from Kerch with the same ornamentation were made in the Danube area (Амброз 1968, с. 16–17, рис. 1. 1, 5, 10, 12). The most comprehensive corpus of radiate-headed brooches discovered in Italy includes only one pair of brooches decorated with chain (Bierbrauer 1976, Taf. LI. 1–2; S. 103–104, 151–152, 346). Simultaneously with Scandinavia, buckles and brooches with rhombic plates or foot-plates with decorative elements of beast style I spread in the Danube area (Csallány 1961, Taf. XXXIII. 2; LXXXIII. 1–2; CLXXV. 5; CXCH. 2; CXCV. 4; CXCVI. 7; CCIV. 14–15; CCXLVI. 1; CCLX. 6; Vinski 1972–1973, tab. X. 58; XI. 59; Nagy 2007, Taf. 30–74).

Excavation of vault 36 of Luchistoye uncovered three layers with 18 skeletons (Айбабин, Хайрединова 2008, рис. 18, табл. 108–111). In the top layer, there were burials of three teenagers, adult and baby, accompanied with *amphoriskos* (Айбабин, Хайрединова 2008, рис. 18, 12, табл. 116. 3) of type L. R. A. 10 (Riley 1979, p. 229–230, fig. 48) and typical second half of the seventh cen-

tury solid-cast buckles with oval loop of variants П3–2 (Айбабин, Хайрединова 2008, рис. 18. 1; табл. 112. 3) and П4–2 (Айбабин, Хайрединова 2008, рис. 18. 8; табл. 115. 2) (Айбабин 1990, с. 43, рис. 2. 134, 136) and buckle of variant П10–3 (of the Pápa type) (Айбабин, Хайрединова 2008, рис. 18. 9; табл. 115. 3) (Айбабин 1990, с. 45).

The second layer contained female burial 7 with brooches under analysis and bones of eight persons more: four adults, two teenagers, child and baby. Burial 7 contained: two bronze earrings (fig. 2. 2) near temple bones, beads (fig. 2. 3) on cervical vertebrae, two brooches with the head-plates down (fig. 2. 4) along humeral bones, bronze chain (fig. 2. 7) and bell (fig. 2. 6) in the low part of thorax, iron buckle (fig. 2. 9) and knife (fig. 2. 8) on pelvic bones, bronze bracelet (fig. 2. 10–11) on each arm, and silver finger-ring (fig. 2. 1) near right hip joint. Other burials in layer 2 contained: radiate-headed brooches of Dnieper types I (Айбабин, Хайрединова 2008, рис. 18, 19, 20; табл. 117. 9; 120. 2), II (Айбабин, Хайрединова 2008, рис. 18, 21; табл. 117. 8) and III (with border of bird's heads) (Айбабин, Хайрединова 2008, рис. 18, 18; табл. 121, 1), and solid-cast buckle with oval loop, of variant П4–1 (Syracuse type) (Айбабин, Хайрединова 2008, рис. 18. 23; табл. 122. 4).

Below, under a small layer of ground, there were four burials (of two adults and two teenagers) of the third layer lying on the floor. The latest burial on the floor belonged to adult person (skeleton no. 16) located with the head on fragment of pink-clay amphora of type LR1a from the sixth to the first half of the seventh century (Айбабин, Хайрединова 2008, рис. 18. 25; табл. 111. 2) (Riley 1979, p. 216, fig. 91. 347). In the earlier burial (no. 17), on the low vertebrae, there was buckle with oval loop, of variant 4, similar to those used in the fifth century (Айбабин, Хайрединова 2008, рис. 18. 26; табл. 122. 13) (Айбабин 1990, с. 28; рис. 2. 47).

Taking the stratigraphy recorded in the vault into account, one can suppose that the second layer contained burials from the late sixth to the first half of the seventh century. It was probably the time of when the brooches uncovered from the second layer were manufactured.

For now, brooches from burial 7 are the earliest in the Crimea samples of the jewellery style that shaped after the fall of Gepidia (Айбабин 1990, с. 24; Айбабин, Хайрединова 2008, с. 29–30).



Fig. 2. Vault 36. A — ground plan of burial 7. 1-11 — finds from the burial: 1 — silver finger-ring; 2 — bronze earrings; 3 — beads; 4-5 — brooches; 6 — bell; 7 — bronze chain; 8 — knife; 9 — iron buckle; 10-11 — bronze bracelets. B — female costume from burial 7 (reconstructed by Elzara Khairidinova)

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Александр АЙБАБИН

Элементы скандинавского звериного стиля на фибулах из Лучистого

Резюме

В результате раскопок на территории готской страны Дори выявлены красноречивые свидетельства распространения в Юго-Западном Крыму вещей с декором, отнесенным Б. Салиным к I скандинавскому звериному стилю (Salin 1904). В статье рассматриваются найденные в Лучистом в склепе 36 в захоронение 7 фибулы, украшенные декором I звериного стиля. Они являются самыми ранними из известных в Крыму образцов ювелирного стиля, сформировавшегося после гибели Гепидии (Айбабин 1990, с. 24; Айбабин, Хайрединова 2008, с. 29–30).

Anna BITNER-WRÓBLEWSKA

EAST EUROPEAN ENAMELLED ORNAMENTS
AND THE CHARACTER OF CONTACTS BETWEEN
THE BALTIC SEA AND THE BLACK SEA

Contacts between Scandinavia and the Black Sea region in the Roman period may be confirmed by many archaeological artefacts (see: Werner 1988; Lund Hansen, Przybyła 2010). However, the mechanism of those connections still needs further studies. Paradoxically, the phenomenon concerning mostly the hinterland *inter ambo maria* — east European enamelled artefacts — may have offered inside into that problem. It should be marked on the margin that selected finds of barbarian enamelled ornaments are recorded in Scandinavia (Sweden) and in the Crimea as imports from north or east Europe.¹

From the late second to the fifth century, the finds decorated with *champlevé* enamel were widespread between south-east Baltic Sea and through the middle Dnieper as far as the Black Sea area. The main concentrations of barbarian enamelled artefacts occurred in following regions (fig. 1): north-east Poland (Mazury and Suwałki region), east Lithuania, north-east Estonia and south Finland as well as the upper Oka basin, north-east Belarus, basin of the middle Dnieper and its tributaries. This huge territory did not remain a cultural monolith — on the contrary, it was very differentiated, there were several distinguished archaeological culture units: Bogaczewo and Sudovian cultures (Mazury and Suwałki region in Poland), East Lithuanian Barrow culture (Lithuania), Tarand Graves culture (Estonia), Moshchino culture (upper Oka basin, Russia), as well as Kiev culture (which flourished in nowadays Ukraine, Russia and Belarus). In spite of

this differentiation, it could be treated as a zone of local finds decorated with *champlevé* enamel, called in literature “a circle of east European enamelled artefacts.”

There was a number of different categories of enamelled finds (fig. 2), mostly ornaments and elements of costume (Корзухина 1978), but also drinking horn chains and even spurs (Радюш 2010). Among the ornaments, there are several types of brooches and pendants (e. g. penannular and openwork brooches as well as derivatives of strongly profiled fibulae, *lunula* pendants, so-called big *lunulae*, circular or rhomboid pendants), pectoral plates, finger-rings, bracelets, neck-rings, headbands, pins, as well as elements of chains and belt sets. They were made of bronze, seldom of silver and usually decorated with red, but also yellow, green or white enamel. A final product became spectacular, colourful piece of art, which received its own particular features. It is worth to underline that two identical enamelled artefacts are recorded quite seldom — mostly in the case when a pair of items was found in one place (e. g. pairs of big *lunulae* and triangular brooches from hoard at Borzna — Корзухина 1978, табл. 1). Some of the categories of enamelled ornaments were very popular — as penannular brooches or *lunula* pendants — widespread in Eastern Europe (Корзухина 1978, с. 28–31, 47–48; Jabłońska 1992; Фролов 1980). Some are unique artefacts known from only single find as so-called belt sets from Krasnyj Bor (Pobol 1972).

¹ From Sweden are known single enamelled penannular brooches — found in hoard from Storkåge and at Wigåker (Корзухина 1978, с. 78, with earlier bibliography). Both represent the type characteristic for Finnish lands, Estonia and Finland (type V.3 according to Корзухина 1978 or type III according to Jabłońska 1992). Swedish items are imports from these regions.

From the Crimea are known several triangular brooches with enamel (Chersonesos, grave 3, Kerch — Корзухина 1978, с. 77; Левада 2010, с. 575) and fragment of brooch with crests (called also derivate of strongly profiled brooch or T-shaped one) from Chatyr-Dag, grave 15 (Мыц и др. 2006, с. 15, табл. 19А). All those brooches have their analogies in finds from the middle Dnieper basin and its tributaries. The literature also mentions enamelled artefacts from Skalistoye and Neyzats, but without detailed descriptions (Левада 2010, с. 575, прим. 12).

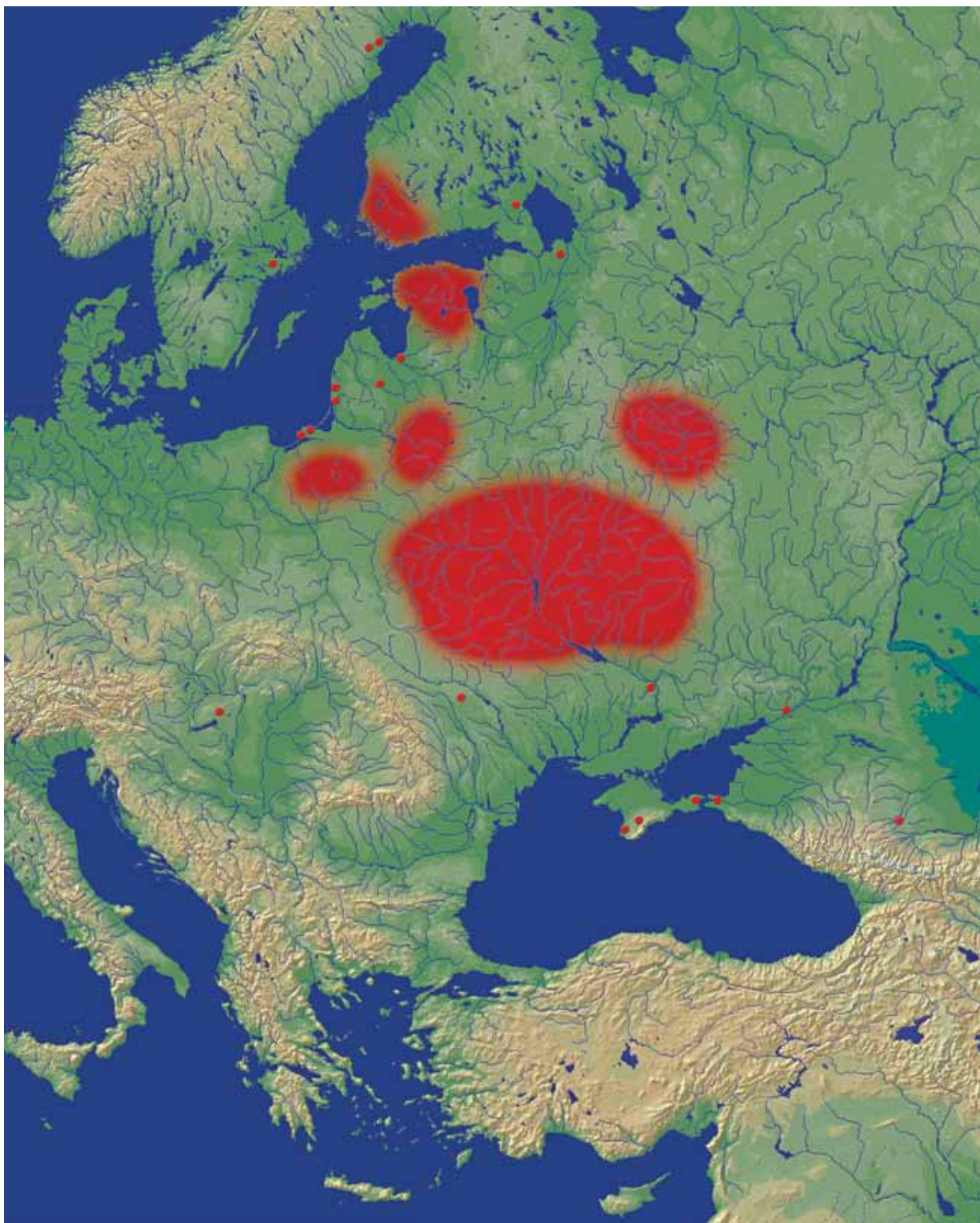


Fig. 1. The main concentrations of east European enamelled artefacts.
Dots mark the single finds out of the regions of concentrations (J. Żabko-Potopowicz)

East European enamelled ornaments have been discussed in numerous publications since the nineteenth and early twentieth century — the main of them are the works by Aleksandr Spitsyn (Спицын 1903), Harri Moora (1934), Aarne Michaël Tallgren

(1937), Pranas Kulikauskas (1941), Galina Korzuchina (Корзухина 1978), П'юа Frolov (Фролов 1969; 1980), Yevgeniy Gorokhovskiy (Гороховский 1982a; 1982b; 1988; Гороховський 1982), Anna Bitner-Wróblewska (1993), Andrey Oblomskiy

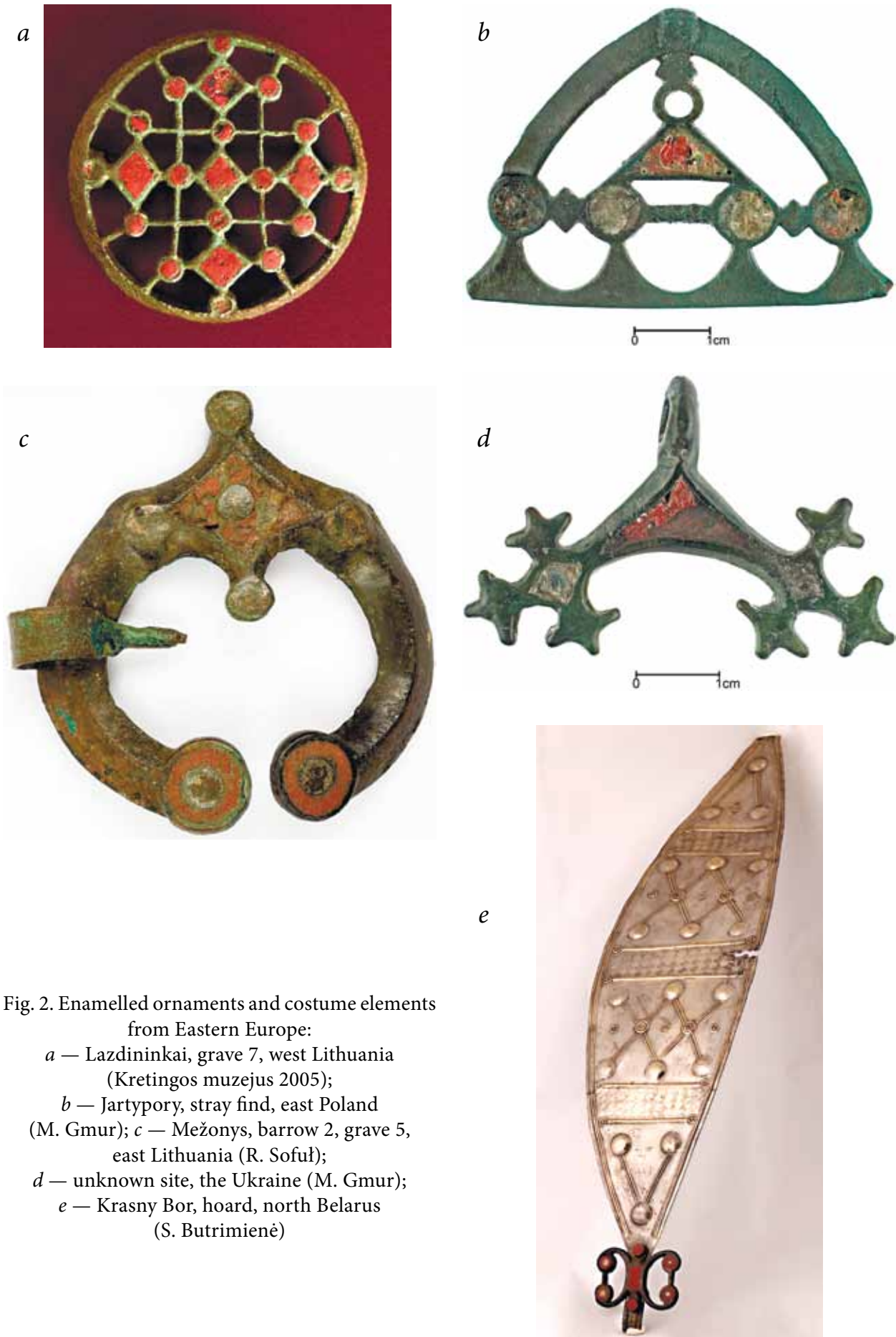


Fig. 2. Enamelled ornaments and costume elements from Eastern Europe:
a — Lazdininkai, grave 7, west Lithuania (Kretingos muzejus 2005);
b — Jartypory, stray find, east Poland (M. Gmur); *c* — Mežonys, barrow 2, grave 5, east Lithuania (R. Sofuļ);
d — unknown site, the Ukraine (M. Gmur);
e — Krasny Bor, hoard, north Belarus (S. Butrimienė)

and Rostislav Terpilovskiy (Обломский, Терпиловский 2007). The researchers concentrated on several topics such as the origin of barbarian enamel, the chronology and typology of the finds, as well as their distribution. Analysing the origin of east European enamelling, all scholars argued that specialized workshops of the Roman empire influenced barbarian jewellers, but the question about the first centre of east European enamelling divided the researchers for decades. There were two areas under discussion, namely Mazury in north-east Poland and the middle Dnieper basin in the Ukraine.

Moora, Estonian scholar, and later some Polish scientists pointed on Mazury what seems to be confirmed by the chronological analysis. There is a number of closed grave complexes from the region in question with good chronological indicators including those with early dating² — to phase B2/C1–C1a. The situation with enamelled finds from the middle Dnieper basin and its tributaries is very different. Many of the finds were recorded, on the one hand, in the nineteenth century without any data about the archaeological context or, on the other hand, in the modern time by private users of metal detectors. According to the internet pages, the increase of the number of new enamelled finds is significant, but the knowledge about their context is very limited.³ The only solution to make more precise chronological investigations seems the way chosen by Gorokhovskiy — to establish the stylistic sequences of development of Kiev culture

enamels confirmed by dated finds (e. g. well-dated settlements layers at Kartamyshevo 2, Bobrava, Obolon', Kiev).⁴ Other researchers followed his way (cf.: Обломский, Терпиловский 2007).

Paradoxically, the question of chronology of Kiev culture enamels might have been solved from “outside”, studying the neighbours, Wielbark and Przeworsk culture grave complexes with finds of *champlevé* enamels (Bitner-Wróblewska 1993).⁵ Well-dated graves of both cultures with enamelled artefacts imported from the middle Dnieper basin offer the insight into chronology of east European enamelling.⁶

Concluding the discussion about the first centre of east European enamels, it seems that in both regions in question — Mazury and the middle Dnieper — the production of local enamelled ornaments had started equally early, in the second century.

Another problem turning scholars' attention remains the identification of different east European workshops, based only on the distribution of different categories of artefacts supplemented by their chronology, because the traces of enamel production become very rare (see below). However, the stylistic analysis of the archaeological materials combined with analysis of distribution of particular types of enamelled finds might have been very helpful in regional studies of artefacts in question. It is possible to point out a number of ornaments with

² A series of graves with enamelled artefacts and chronological indicators (sites in the former East Prussia, investigated before 1945, with their German names): Babięta I / Babienten, grave 50 — enamelled finger-ring with A.96 (Moora 1934, S. 81); Babięta II / Babienten, grave 312a — *lunula* pendant with crest brooch of Mazurian type (Åberg 1919, S. 154; Moora 1934, S. 81, 86, Abb. 14); Babięta / Babienten, grave 57 — penannular brooch with imported plate fibula (Nowakowski 1985, s. 73); Bargłów Dworny, grave 4a — penannular brooch with *Manschentenarmringe* (Kaczyński 1981, s. 183–184, rys. 4. 1); Bartlikowo / Bartlickhof, grave 29 — enamelled finger-ring with A.100 (Kemke 1900, S. 113, Taf. III. 10; Moora 1934, S. 80, Abb. 7); Mojtyny / Moythienen, grave 66 — rhomboid pendant with belt-end fitting Raddatz J.II.3–4 (Hollack, Peiser 1904, S. 54, Abb. VI, IX, XII); Netta, grave 81 — penannular brooch with single-barbed spearhead (Bitner-Wróblewska 2007, p. 26, pl. XLII); Spychówko / Klein Puppen, grave 129 — enamelled finger-ring with A.96 (Moora 1934, S. 81).

³ Recently published hoard from Sukhonosivka seems to be an exception (Левада 2010).

⁴ Until now, there is no other so comprehensive and logical chronological system for east European enamels as Gorokhovskiy's one.

⁵ As explained friar Guglielmo da Baskerville, a hero of “Il nome della rosa” by Umberto Eco (Milano 1980) — to understand the puzzle of the edifice-labyrinth one should study it from outside.

⁶ Brulino-Koski, grave 11 — fragment of enamelled pendant with A.168 (Czarnecka 1991; Bitner-Wróblewska 1993, p. 127); Dworaki-Pikoty, skeleton grave — a pair of enamelled brooches with crests with bracelet with thickened terminals (Podczaszyński 1883, p. 89–92, pl. IV; Bitner-Wróblewska 1993, s. 127–128); Dytynychy, grave VI — *lunula* pendant with tendril brooch (Смішко, Свешніков 1961, с. 93–94, рис. 4. 5–10; Bitner-Wróblewska 1993, p. 126); Gródek Nadbużny 1C, grave 61 — *lunula* pendant with A.162 and three-layer comb (Kokowski 1993a, s. 45–48; Kokowski 1993b, rys. 50; Bitner-Wróblewska 1993, p. 126); Łajski, grave 3 — *lunula* pendant with derivative of strongly profiled brooch of Mazovian type (Bitner-Wróblewska 1993, p. 126); Masłomęcz, grave 294 — penannular brooch with brooch similar to A.127 (Schätze... 1995, S. 288, Abb. 45).

enamel, which concentrate in particular regions, being probably produced there (fig. 3). For example, finger-rings Beckmann 26 occurred almost exclusively in Mazury. The same concerns *lunula* pendants with openwork body (type III according to: Фролов 1980). In east Lithuania, we can find specific variant of the so-called big *lunulae* and penannular brooches with enlargements (type V according to: Jabłońska 1992). There is a special Estonian type of penannular brooches (type III according to: Jabłońska 1992) concentrated in Estonia and south Finland. Typical for Estonia are also neck-rings with discs decorated with enamel. Triangular brooches as well as derivatives of strongly profiled fibulae (called T-shaped by Gorokhovskiy) were recorded in the area of the Ukraine and Russia — the former in both Kiev and Moshchino cultures, the latter in Kiev culture.

There is also no doubt that all those workshops remained in close connections with each other. It could be observed studying imitations of certain types of enamelled artefacts found far from their concentration areas (e. g. openwork triangular brooch without enamel from Salaspils Mārtiņšala in Latvia — Skarby 2007, s. 546) or analysing the details of particular ornament which often joined features from different regions. A good example could be an openwork triangular brooch from Grunajki / Gruneyken cemetery (fig. 4), Mazury (north-east Poland) (Tischler 1879, S. 210–211, Taf. XI [V]. 1). It is not a local ornament, but an import from the Kiev or the Moshchino cultures, from the regions of the middle Dnieper, Desna or upper Oka basins. As the design of triangular brooches is so differential, it is not easy to point out any direct analogy being exactly the same as Grunajki fibula. The investigations should concern particular elements of the brooch in question and the analogies should be found for these particular elements — openwork geometric ornament, zigzag decoration, the shape of the foot-plate, and the presence of a disc with silver inlay.

The openwork decoration of Grunajki brooch is tripartite — the upper level with two triangles with circular enlargements, the middle one with a triangle and the lower level with rectangular crosspiece. The motive of two rows of triangles is recorded both in the upper Oka basin (see items from Moshchino hoard at: Булычев 1899, табл. IX. 1; X. 1, 5–8) and in the middle Dnieper basin (Корзухина 1978,

табл. 1. 1–2; 5. 6–8; 6. 2–3; 7), but it seems that the latter region features more complicated openwork decorations. Therefore, this element of Grunajki brooch appears to be connected with the upper Oka territory (the Moshchino culture). The next characteristic, namely the zigzag motive in the lower part of the fibula, finds its analogies in the Dnieper basin among triangular brooches and other enamelled artefacts as so-called big *lunula* pendants (Корзухина 1978, табл. 1. 3а, в; 6. 2, 6; 8. 1; 11. 8).

The simple triangular foot-plate is typical for the upper Oka basin, however the other distribution centre also produced this foot shape (cf.: Булычев 1899; Корзухина 1978). Nevertheless, it should be underlined that foot-plates from the Dnieper basin usually represent much more developed forms, often with additional enlargements.

The presence of disc in the lower part of the Grunajki brooch appears to be very rare pattern of brooches in question. There are two specimens from Moshchino hoard featured such element (Булычев 1899, табл. X. 5–6), but two others with a disc were found in Kiev culture area: at Uman' and in the hoard at Shishino 5 settlement (Обломский, Терпиловский 2007, рис. 137. 3; 151. 1).

Grunajki brooch has silver inlay covering the disc in the lower part of the item what is not common feature among triangular brooches as well as enamelled ornaments in general. Recently, this pattern has been discussed by Maxim Levada (Левада 2010, с. 580–583, рис. 21). He noticed the concentration of this feature in the southeast Baltic Sea region, however he did not turn attention to the popularity of silver inlay⁷ on the bronze ornaments in the Balts environment (cf.: Vaitkunsienė 1981; Bliujienė 1999).

Summarising the investigations of origin of Grunajki brooch, it should be underlined that its own unique design makes the answer very difficult. It was produced in east European workshops, but it is hard to point out one region. This conclusion concerning the example of Grunajki item may be repeated in the case of many other finds from “a circle of east European enamelled artefacts”.

Unexpectedly, the explanation of such phenomenon as influences from different regions in one item — as shows example of Grunajki brooch —

⁷ It is worth to point out that in several cases — when the analysis of the chemical composition have been done — “silver inlay” turns out to be tin (Bliujienė, Petrauskienė 1989, p. 34–35; Volkaitė-Kulikaiskienė, Jankauskas 1992, p. 140; Bitner-Wróblewska, Bliujienė 2003, s. 123–124).

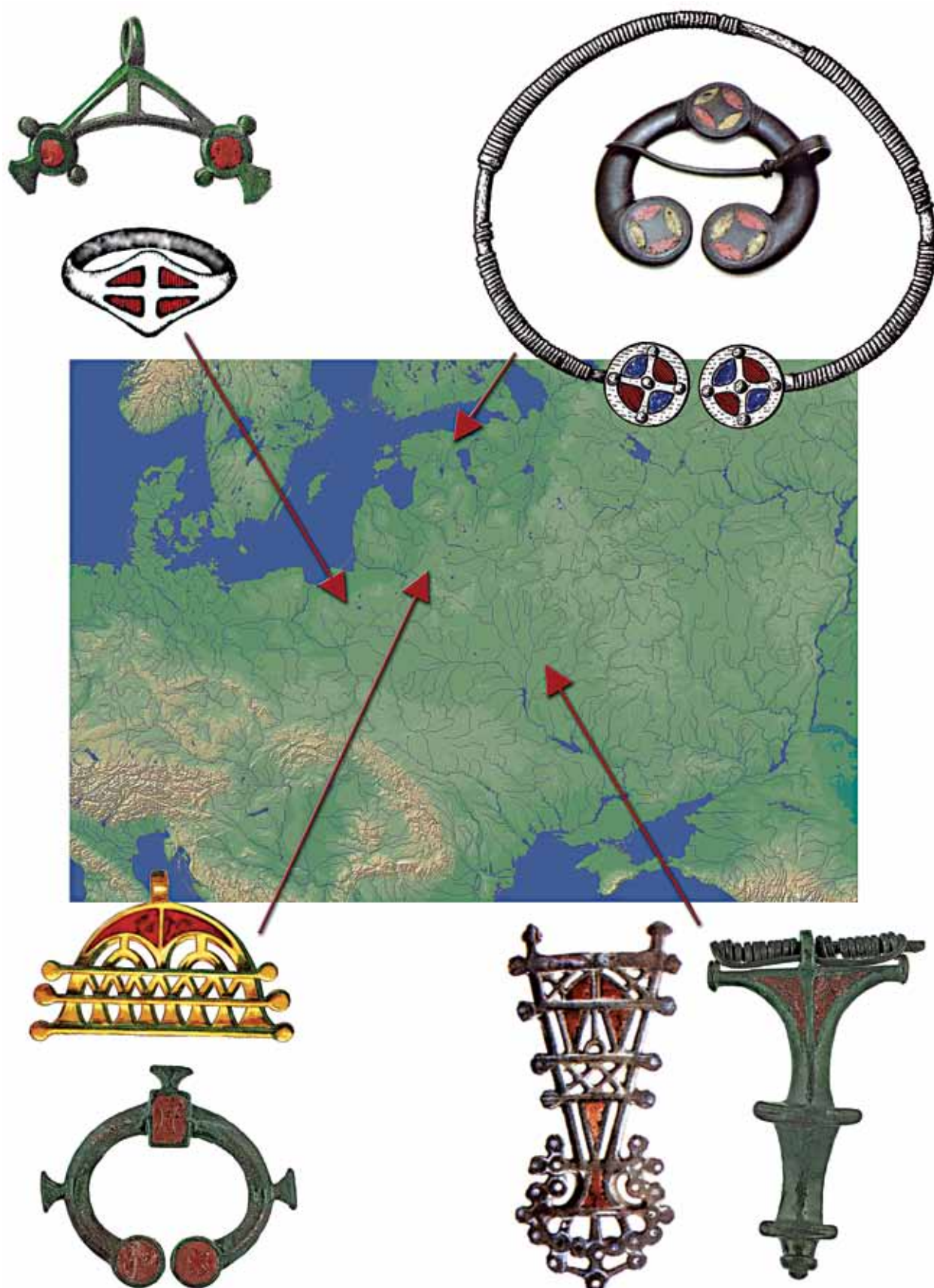


Fig. 3. Enamelled ornaments characteristic for particular regions (J. Żabko-Potopowicz)

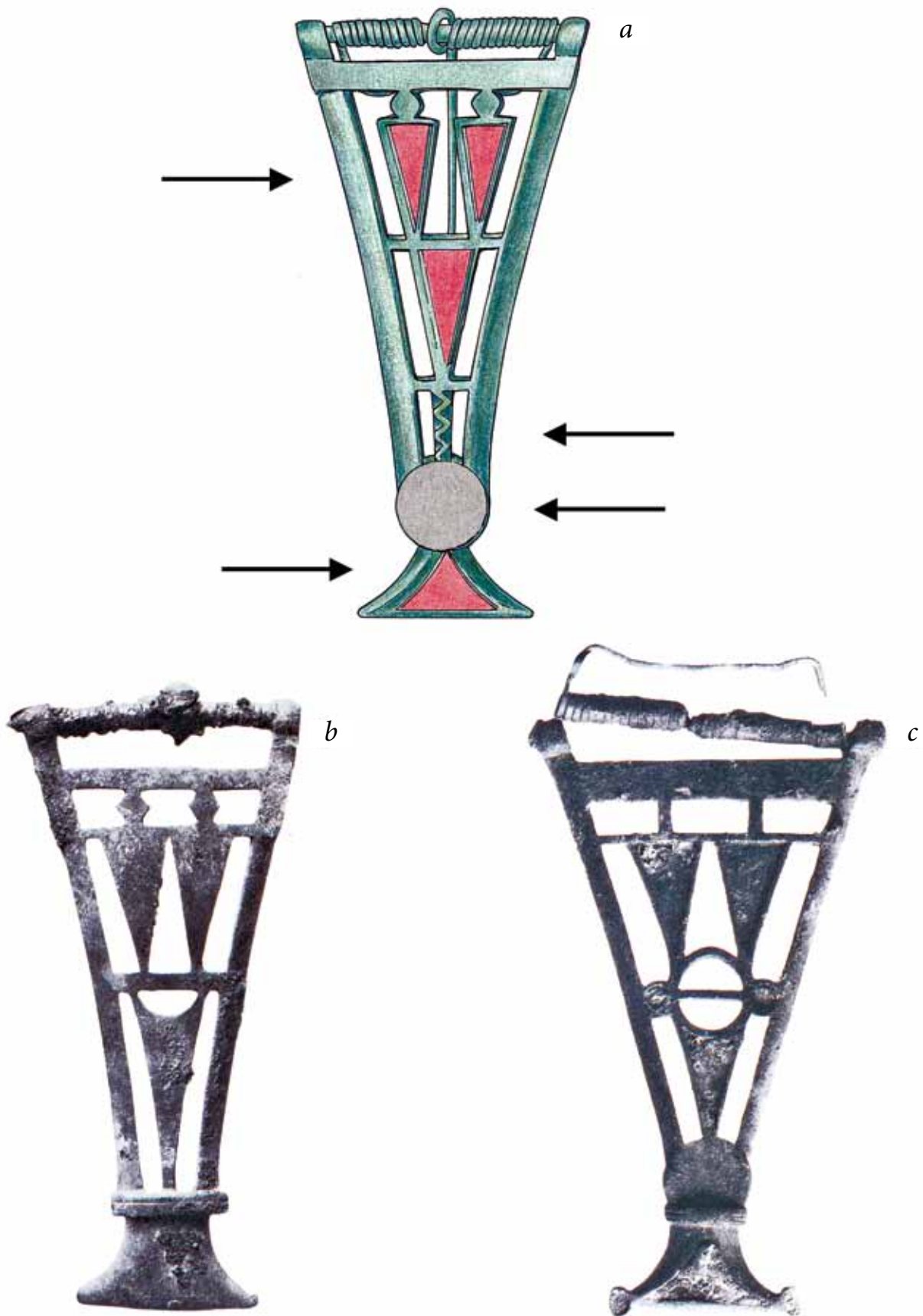


Fig. 4. Triangular brooch from Grunajki / Gruneyken and its analogies: *a* — brooch from Grunajki with marked open-work geometric ornament, the zigzag decoration, the foot-plate and disc with silver inlay (G. Nowakowska); *b, c* — triangular brooches from Moshchino hoard (Булычев 1899)

as well as other questions concerning the east European enamelling may have been found in investigations from different perspective, from technological viewpoint. It was possible thanks collaboration with Teresa Stawiarska from the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw — the results we published recently (Bitner-Wróblewska, Stawiarska 2009). Our study included analyses of techniques of execution of the metal body (also the method of executing of cells to be filled with enamel later), chemical composition of the metal, methods of obtaining vitreous enamel and analysis of its chemical composition. The sample of 19 pieces may have been not very big, but we can treat it as a representative because it includes rather wide range of forms, both the “mass production” and rare enamels as well as it includes both barbarian enamels from different regions (West Balt culture circle and Kiev culture) and — for comparison — pieces imported from the Roman empire. This gives us an opportunity to compare the output from the two main centres of enamel production — Mazury-Suwałki and the Dnieper region. Furthermore, the enamels date from different periods of prehistory, starting from the close of the early Roman period on to different segments of the late Roman period. The identified raw material-alloy groups⁸ could be a reflection mainly of technological tendencies, to a lesser extent they point to the origin of the metal. Chemical composition of the enamels was investigated using XRF (X-ray fluorescence) and atomic absorption spectrometry (AAS).

It helped us to identify a series of regularities and drew attention to some features of the enamels, comparing imported specimens and locally produced pieces,⁹ but also to make some interesting observation concerning east European enamels. Chronological analysis of our barbarian enamels and comparison of their technological level did not furnish evidence on the impact of dating the indi-

vidual pieces on the quality of their execution or other tangible differences. Moreover, no significant dissimilarity was observed in enamels originating from the Balt territory and the lands on the Dnieper. In both these areas, we have enamels which vary in the level of craftsmanship (fig. 5) — compare penannular fibulae from Netta and Bargłów Dworny from the Balt territory (Bitner-Wróblewska 2007, p. 26, pl. XLII, CXXV, 3; Kaczyński et al. 1987, S. 89, N. 179, Abb. auf S. 33) or *lunula* pendants from the Ukraine (Kaczyński et al. 1987, S. 91, N. 190–191, Abb. auf S. 40; Обломский, Терпиловский 2007, с. 129, рис. 147. 11–12) in the middle Dnieper. There also are artefacts with elements evidently done by different people.

For example regarding the pectoral from Szwajcaria cemetery (Kaczyński et al. 1987, S. 90, N. 181, Abb. auf S. 40), north-east Poland (Suwałki region), we notice that its two openwork discs are of different size and design, but after careful observation we can see that they also differ in their execution technique (fig. 6). Shorter disc was cast in closed mould using the lost wax method and the openwork decoration and cells for the enamel were made on the casting stage, while in the case of longer disc the openwork patterns were excised after casting. The design is irregular, asymmetrical, with sharp edges. Both discs were decorated with powder enamel, however in the shorter one the decoration was done much more carefully. Both discs must have a different origin, each produced by different craftsman. Imaginably, the damaged pectoral was repaired in a local workshop, the missing disc replaced with another one, which the local craftsman had enough skill only to model, with varying success, on a superior piece from a specialised workshop.

Beside one of the discs from Szwajcaria pectoral there is also another item (among the analysed sample) with an exceptionally high standard of execution, namely an enamelled disc — element of a

⁸ There are seven groups: tin-lead bronze, lead-tine bronze, zinc bronze, pure brass, brass with some small additions, lead brass, and alloy of four components (Bitner-Wróblewska, Stawiarska 2009, s. 317–320, tab. I).

⁹ Imported pieces, all without exception, were cast in closed moulds using the lost wax method; locally produced pieces were produced using the same method or in open moulds. Imported enamels are marked by careful execution; where this could be observed, cells for enamel were made during the casting stage. In east European enamels, pits for enamel either were made during the casting stage or were excised after casting (cold or hot). The comparison of properties of the enamel in both groups shows that in general imported finds were decorated with powder enamel, though locally produced ones almost exclusively with fragmented glass. Also evident were differences in the degree of precision taken in casting the pieces and applying the enamel. Analysis of chemical composition of the enamel revealed no significant differences between the group of imports and locally produced pieces — in both cases the enamel was either sodium or ash glass, although the latter variety definitely dominated among east European finds. Red coloured enamel visibly prevailed in the latter group, tinted by adding copper and small quantity of lead.

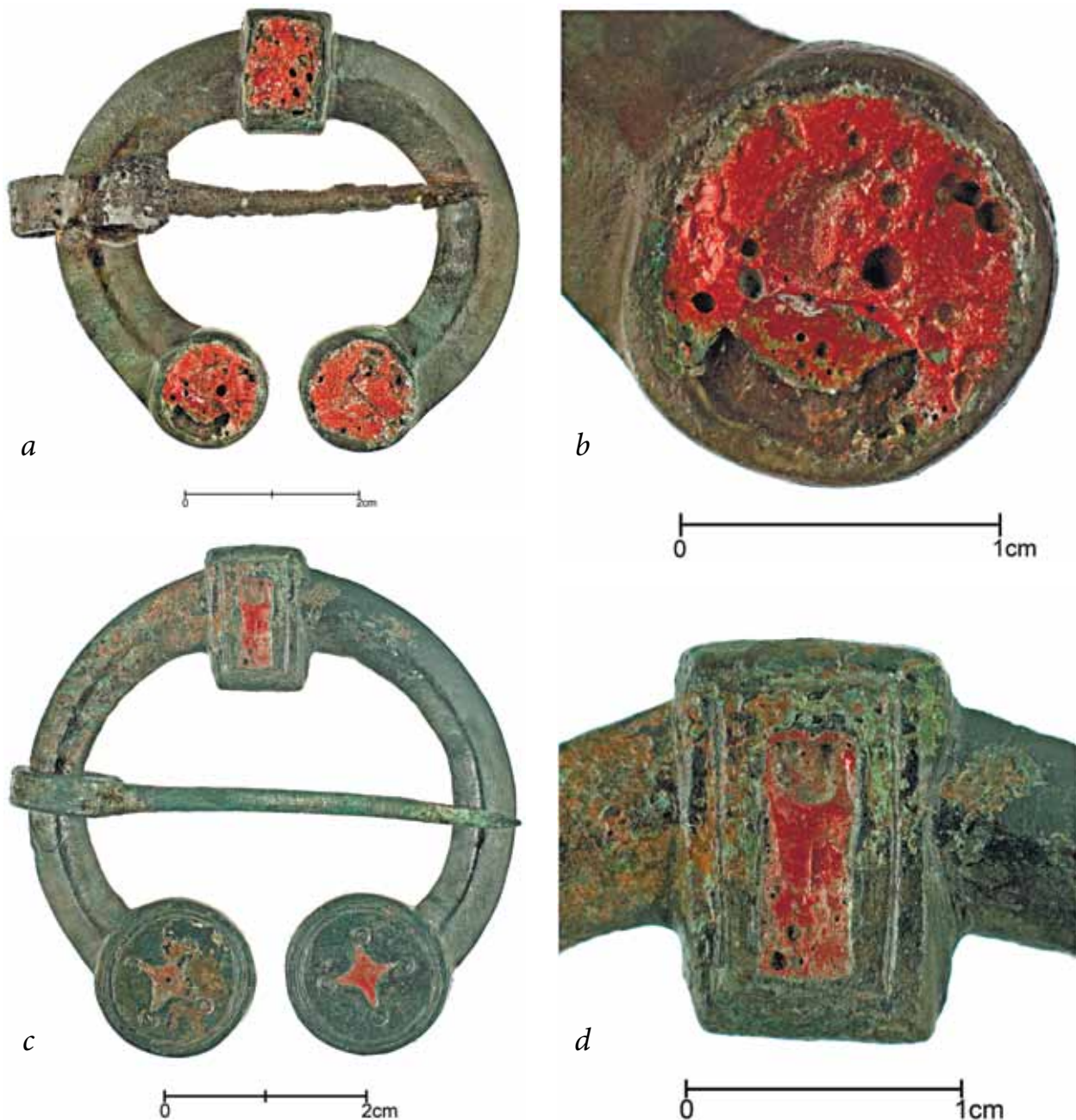


Fig. 5. Penannular brooches and their details:
a-b — Netta, grave 81; c-d — Bargłów Dworny, grave 4a (M. Gmur)

belt set from Krasnyj Bor (Pobol 1972). The level of execution of this disc is in obvious contrast with careless execution of the wire band to which it was fixed (fig. 7). All traces of working were removed with great care from the former, from the disc with enamel. Its material — lead brass — recalls the alloy of imported pieces observed in the sample analysed. The disc from Krasnyj Bor was decorated with powdered enamel, in two colours, applied with utmost care. The craftsman must have been a high class specialist. In addition the riddle of the origin and function of the unique pieces from the Krasnyj Bor

hoard we get another — the sources of its individual elements, especially those coated with enamel.

Those differences in level of craftsmanship observing in one final product or comparing different finds of barbarian enamels could be explained by imagining the existence of two trends in enamelling in Eastern Europe. One of these would be documented by evidence from a settlement at Abidnia (Adamenka), in northern Belarus — production in “stationary” workshops which catered to the local community (Терпиловский, Абашина 1992, с. 174–175; Поболь, Наумов 1969; Поболь,

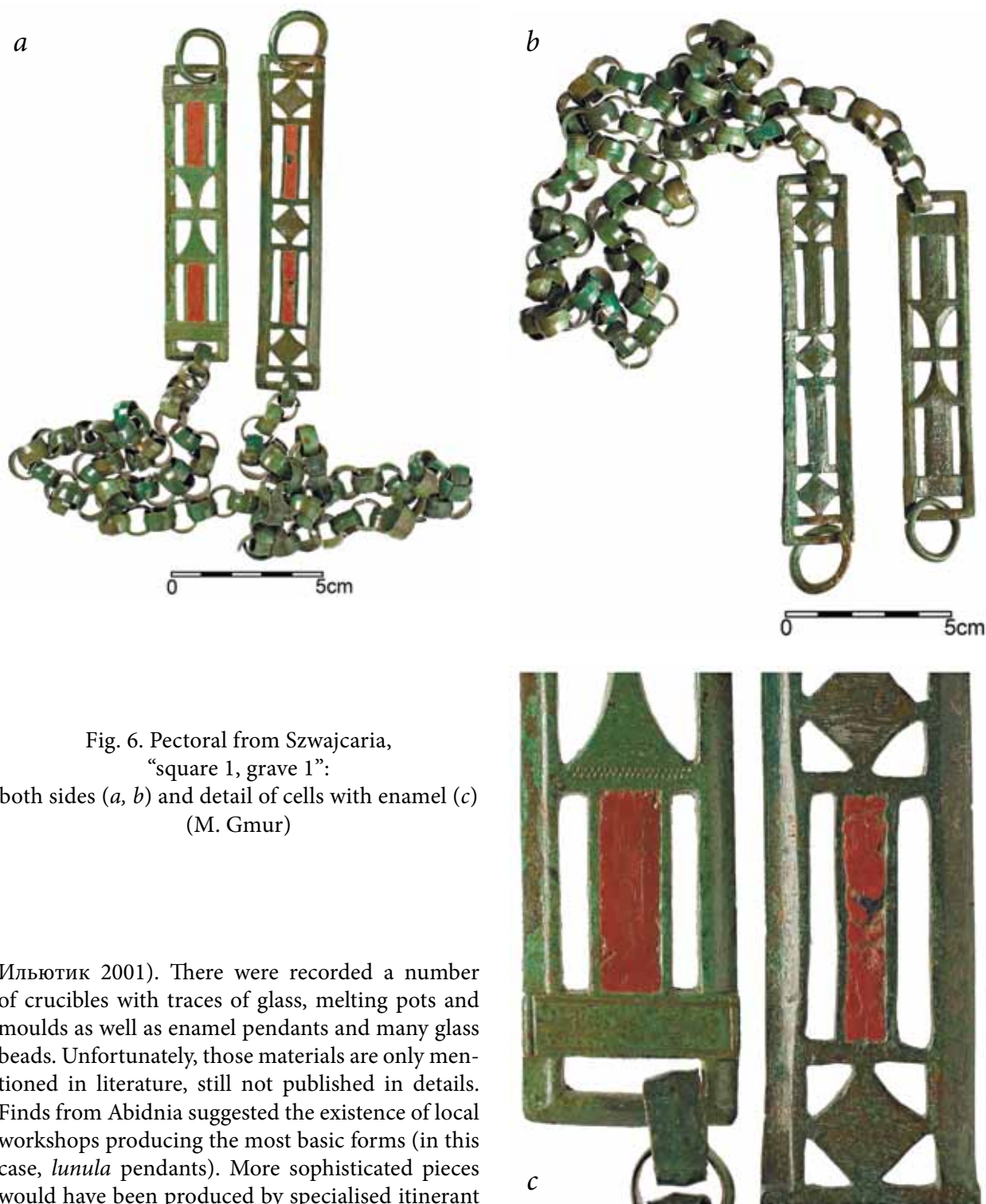


Fig. 6. Pectoral from Sz wajcaria, “square 1, grave 1”: both sides (a, b) and detail of cells with enamel (c) (M. Gmur)

Ильютик 2001). There were recorded a number of crucibles with traces of glass, melting pots and moulds as well as enamel pendants and many glass beads. Unfortunately, those materials are only mentioned in literature, still not published in details. Finds from Abidnia suggested the existence of local workshops producing the most basic forms (in this case, *lunula* pendants). More sophisticated pieces would have been produced by specialised itinerant craftsmen, who nevertheless also differed in their level of skill (see differences in the level of execution of some of the analysed enamels).

If we accepted the existence of travelling enamellers, we could explain the marked differences shown by east European enamels produced, imaginably, to individual commission. Itinerant craftsmen would have been responsible for spreading new ideas from one region to the next, something which is well documented by evidence from ar-

chaeology on the borrowing of stylistic inspirations and on existence of interregional forms. A good example remains the custom to decorate different categories of enamelled artefacts with enlargements. Various types of pendants, plates and triangular brooches were decorated with mostly circular enlargement decorations, often very developed, “baroque” ones. Those finds are wide-

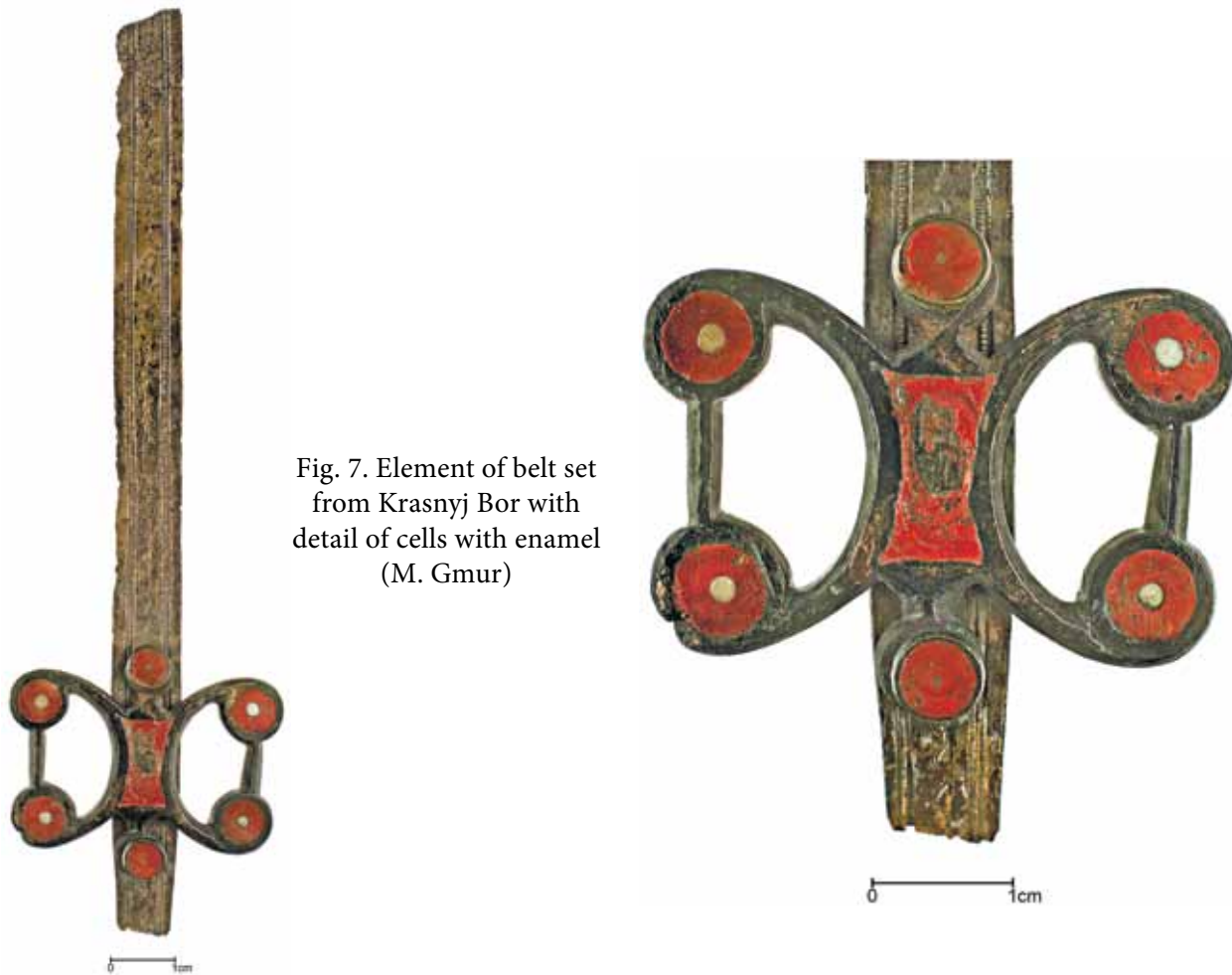


Fig. 7. Element of belt set from Krasnyj Bor with detail of cells with enamel (M. Gmur)

spread from Mazury and Lithuania as far as the Dnieper and Oka basins (cf.: Корзухина 1978; Фролов 1980).

Identical or very similar enamelled specimens occurred in one region may reflect both the presence of one workshop which distributed its products and the presence of itinerant craftsmen in the local scale. Such situation we can observe in the case of developed triangular brooches from Sukhonosivka and Berbenitsy found in the middle Dnieper basin (Левада 2010, с. 578, рис. 18. 1–4) or big *lunula* pendants from north-east Lithuania (Puzinas 1938, p. 54–55, fig. 40. 1–2, 4–6; Kulikauskas 1941, p. 43–64, fig. 1. 2–4, len. X. 1–4; XI. 3). Those specimens were done evidently by the same jeweller.

Another confirmation of direct, lively contacts among different east European enamels centres appears the phenomenon of local imitations of forms typical for the regions situated even rather distant. It could be well illustrated by mentioned above triangular brooch from Latvia and an example of finger-rings type Beckmann 26, variants *a* and *b* with rhomboid central part decorated with enam-

el. They are characteristic almost exclusively for the Bogaczewo culture (Mazury — see references above, in footnote 2), but their imitation — with open-work central part instead of cells for enamel — occurs in *tarand* grave in Estonia, at Truuta (Laul 2001, av. 143, j. 57. 5).

The scale and the significance of the phenomenon of travelling enamellers may have offered insight not only into the production and distribution of local enamels, but generally it turned our attention to the mechanism of connections in this part of Europe *inter ambo maria*. Unfortunately, it has not been yet recorded any graves of jewellers with traces of activities in enamel, but there are a number of goldsmith and smith graves known in *Barbaricum* (Kokowski 1981; Henning 1991, with earlier literature). This phenomenon occurs in Scandinavia and the area of *Barbaricum* to the north of the Alps, between the Rhine basin and the Vistula basin. In Eastern Europe, such graves remain very rare — exceptions are the barrow with smith grave from Novofilipovka in the east Ukraine (Михайлов 1977) or grave with moulds

at Paprotki Kolonia in Mazury¹⁰ (Belavec, Bitner-Wróblewska 2010, s. 170, rys. 6). The evidences of travelling craftsmen have been discussed in literature many times as one of the aspect of mobility of people and specimens in the past (cf.: Werner 1970; Das Handwerk... 1981; Das Handwerk... 1983). A support one could find in the written sources, namely in Eugippius work¹¹ — *Commonitorium de Vita Sancti Severini*. Eugippius was born around 467 AD, probably in Noricum. *Vita Severini* was written in the beginning of the sixth century (around 511–512 AD), but it concerns the history of life of St. Severinus in Noricum in the

fifth century, between 453 and 482 AD. There are also information about the Germanic tribes living in the Roman provinces, namely Rugieri tribe and the Ostrogoths. At the court of Rugieri king Giso stayed, not at his own will, a foreign jeweller (Eugippius *Vita Severini* cap. 8).

Although our knowledge about travelling craftsmen remains very poor, the suggestion of their existence is accepted in the literature. In the case of east European enamel production, they may have been a good explanation of the character of this production. It will also help us to better understand the mechanism of connections *inter ambo maria*.

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¹⁰ On the margin, it is worth to mention that in the Balt environment a lack of graves of smiths and goldsmiths may reflect the differences in burial and social customs in comparison to the other part of *Barbaricum*. The presence and position of jewellers and smiths had been not underlined in grave furniture in the Balt land; however, there is another group of craftsmen which found its reflection in burial rituals, namely carpenters. Specialized woodworking tools are relatively common elements of grave inventories from the Roman period. Carpenters might have been important in the Balt society. In some cases, such tools were recorded in rich, well-furnished burials. A good example remains grave 28 at Dubravka/Regehnen in Samland, where there is a rich woodworking set consisting of two planes, an axe, several chisels and wedges in association with a rich assortment of weapons: three spearheads, a shield-boss and a battle knife (*Dolchmesser*), belt mounts and a crossbow tendril brooch (Raddatz 1993, S. 177–178, Abb. 17–18). A similar tool set was noted at Kovrovo/Dollkeim, grave 15, dated by a pair of eye brooches of the Prussian series (Raddatz 1993, Abb. 15).

¹¹ *Eugippe, Vie de Saint Séverin* (translation and comments by Philippe Régerat in: Sources Chrésiennes. No. 374. Paris 1991). Polish translation by Kazimierz Obrycki in: Źródła Monastyczne. No. 13. Kraków 1996.

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Анна БИТНЕР-ВРУБЛЕВСКАЯ

Восточноевропейские украшения с эмальями и характер контактов между Балтийским и Чёрным морями

Резюме

Хотя о контактах между Скандинавией и Причерноморьем в римское время свидетельствуют многие археологические находки, однако для понимания механизма этих связей требуются дальнейшие исследования. Парадоксальным образом существует явление, связанное в основном с зоной *inter ambo maria*, — восточноевропейские вещи с эмальями — которое может пролить свет на суть данной проблемы.

В конце II–V вв. вещи, украшенные эмалью в технике *champlevé*, были широко распространены на территории от юго-восточной Прибалтики до Среднего Поднепровья и Причерноморья. Недавние исследования технологической стороны восточноевропейских эмалей могут ответить на некоторые вопросы, касающиеся распространения варварских изделий с эмальями и различий в уровне мастерства, которые наблюдаются на одном готовом изделии или же при сравнении разных находок варварских изделий с эмальями. Это можно объяснить, предположив, что в Восточной Европе существовало два направления в изготовлении эмалей: были локальные мастерские, где делали самые простые формы, тогда как более сложные вещи изготавливали специализировавшиеся на них бродячие ремесленники, причём они, тем не менее, отличаются по уровню мастерства.

Приняв гипотезу о существовании бродячих мастеров, изготавливавших эмали, мы сможем объяснить выраженные различия, выявленные у восточноевропейских эмалей, сделанных, как можно предположить, по индивидуальным заказам. Бродячие же ремесленники несут ответственность за распространение новых идей из одного региона в другой, что хорошо обосновано данными археологии о заимствовании стилистических идей и существовании межрегиональных форм.

Eduard DROBERJAR

**ON CERTAIN AMULET PENDANTS IN THE SHAPE
OF MINIATURE POTS, OCCURRING BETWEEN
THE BLACK SEA REGION (PONTUS EUXINUS) AND SCANDINAVIA**

In the Roman period, the whole Barbarian territory featured a rich variety of types of pendants (for a general overview, see for instance: Beilke-Voigt 1998), usually with diverse functions. Their enormous variability as regards material and morphology enables us to use pendants-amulets for chronological purposes, to reconstruct costumes, and for various matters of a cultural and historical, social and cultic nature. They often served as talismans to ward against the forces of evil and some types almost exclusively occur as cremation gifts with women, girls and children. With some pendants, the function is predictable, for instance club-shaped or prism-shaped pendants resembling the club of Hercules are connected with the cult of the Germanic god Donar who, as they had much in common, used to be identified with the vegetative deity worshipped by the Romans under the name *Deus Hercules* (Werner 1964; 1972). Last but not the least, the pendants-amulets are of great importance for the study of long-distance interregional contacts. Thanks to the Sarmatians, amulets-pendants of organic provenance reached the Germanic tribes in Central Europe mostly in the fourth century, such as conches of the *Murex Trunculus* and *Cypraea* type (Schulze-Dörrlamm 1986; Kokowski 2001, 206, p. 211–213). Andrzej Kokowski (1997, p. 102) admits the Sarmatian origin of the axe-shaped types which later reached the east Germanic tribes and the Germanic tribes located around the river Elbe. The lunar pendants (Maćczyńska 2005; Магомедов 2010) and amulet capsules (Vida 1995; 2009) also help to trace contacts between the Black Sea region and Central and Western Europe especially from the Later Roman period and during the Migration period.

A very interesting group in terms of tracing contacts between the Black Sea region, Central Europe and Scandinavia during the Roman period are metallic pendants shaped like miniature receptacles (fig. 1), especially bucket-shaped (“Eimer-Berlock”) and pot-shaped (Beilke-Voigt 1998, p. 51–88, map

11–19; Бажан, Каргапольцев 1989), and amulet capsules (“Amulettendose”) (Czarnecka 2010).

Although isolated examples of the oldest metallic bucket-shaped pendants appear in Central Europe back in the Late La Tène Magdalensberg (fig. 1. 2–3; Deimel 1987, pl. 107. 12, 15), their origin can be followed back to the Crimea and the north Black Sea region in the second and first centuries BC (Бажан, Каргапольцев 1989, с. 164). It is generally admitted that especially pendants from the north Black Sea region gradually progress into Central Europe and Scandinavia under the Scythian-Sarmatian influence in stages B1c and B2a, i. e. from the end of the first century AD, and their occurrence in these areas before that has not been confirmed. In the north Black Sea region, however, their importance gradually waned until the migration of the Wielbark culture to the south-east toward the Black Sea in the third century AD. This theory has been confirmed by the Russian archaeologists Igor’ Bazhan and Sergey Kargapol’tsev (Бажан, Каргапольцев 1989).

Sometimes wooden buckets are seen as the models for bucket-shaped pendants of the Early Roman period (Heiligendorf 1959, p. 49; Beilke-Voigt 1998, p. 72) and their production in Central Europe and Scandinavia was common especially in the Later Roman period (Zeman 1956; Heiligendorf 1958; Szydłowski 1986). With other types, the models correspond to bronze, clay and even glass vessels (Beilke-Voigt 1998, p. 73–74). As it is likely that the bucket-shaped pendants were used as talismans to preserve what were probably organic substances or perfumes, their transfer in the form of finished products is more probable than in the form of imitations of actual vessels. This is also assumed to be the case because they are similar in appearance and were produced in large series from various metals, depending on the social status of the bearer.

Other metallic pendants have also been known to occur in the north Black Sea region which imitate the actual models, such as Sarmatian bronze

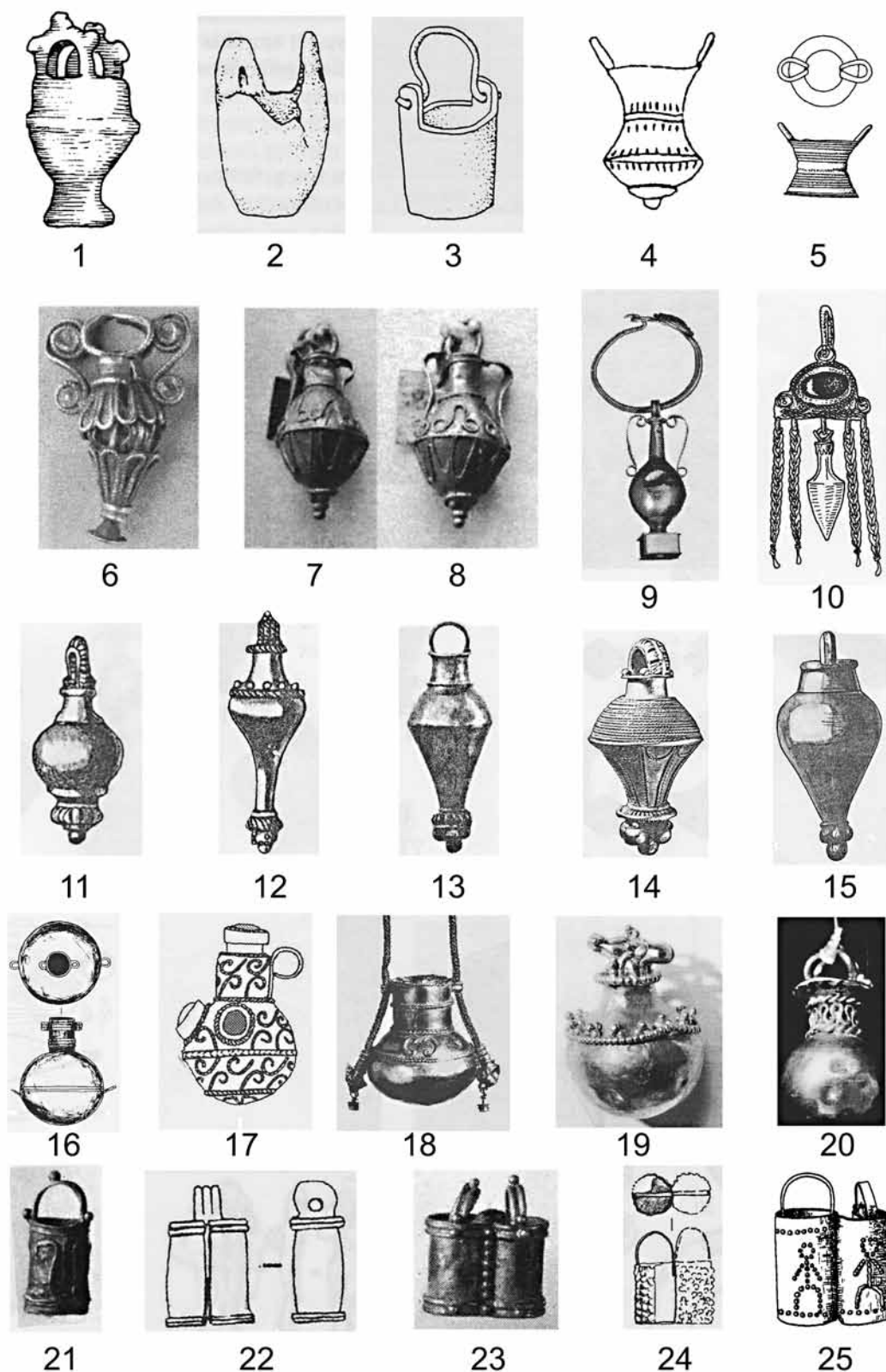


Fig. 1. Examples of various shapes of metallic pendants in the form of miniature receptacles.

Not to scale.

- 1 — Tiflisskaya, Russia (Simonenko, Marčenko, Limberis 2008);
 2–3 — Magdalensberg, Austria (Deimel 1987); 4 — Gamla Uppsala, Sweden (Nicklasson 1997);
 5 — Nydam, Denmark (Bemmann, Bemmann 1998); 6 — Pereyezdnyaya, Ukraine (Мордвинцева,
 Трейстер 2007); 7–8 — Staraya Osota, Ukraine (Мордвинцева, Трейстер 2007);
 9 — Kerch, Crimea, Ukraine (Мордвинцева, Трейстер 2007);

cauldrons with vertical handles (fig. 1. 1) from stage B of the Sarmatian culture (Simonenko, Marčenko, Limberis 2008, pl. 80,8). Similar pendants with vertical handles also occur in Scandinavia no earlier than in the Later Roman period, for instance in Nydam (fig. 1. 5; Bemann, Bemann 1998, Abb. 28. 35; pl. 2. 35) or Gamla Uppsala (fig. 1. 4; Nicklasson 1997, p. 260–261, fig. 8). The different dating and profiling of these pendants prove not only that different models were used, but also the fact that other diverse shapes could be produced in small quantities independently of the place and time.

This is especially true with gold pendants, whether separate, in necklaces or in earrings (fig. 1. 6–10), which occur in the north Black Sea region as miniatures of classical amphorae mainly in the first and early second century AD (Simonenko, Marčenko, Limberis 2008). These shapes are remarkably reminiscent of the gold pear-shaped pendants (“Berlocker,” fig. 1. 11–15) which were quite common amongst the Germanic tribes in Central Europe and Scandinavia in the Early Roman period, especially in stages B2 and B2/C1 (Müller 1956; Andersson 1990). Similar spherical pendants with collets (Kokowski 1991, p. 116, fig. 5), frequently occurring especially in the Wielbark culture and rarely in Scandinavia, may have been modelled on the older gold vials from the north Black Sea region (Мордвинцева, Трейстер 2007, т. I, с. 51–55; Мастыкова 2009, с. 89, 311, рис. 107).

A particular type of metallic double-bucket-shaped pendants (fig. 1. 23–25; 2) which occurs in the Crimea and the wider north Black Sea region has not been found elsewhere (Beilke-Voigt 1998, p. 69, map 15, pl. 33. 3–4; Мордвинцева, Трейстер 2007, I с. 96–97) and the cited German researcher designated it as type J. It is made of both gold and of bronze and known particularly from sites, which date back to the first and early second century AD. Decorated or plain pendants occur in the chrono-

logically and geographically identical area as their simple bucket-shaped equivalents. However, their area of occurrence is especially similar to that of the Egyptian earthenware pendants of roughly the same shape (fig. 1. 22; Гопкало 2008, с. 43, таб. IV. XVIII. 2; Пуздровский 2007, рис. 143. 1–5.7). From this one can derive that they could have been influenced by these oriental products. Some of them, especially the gold ones, tend to be lavishly decorated with filigree (Мордвинцева, Трейстер 2007, т. III, таб. 28. A76.1; 42. A292.4). One of the duplicate bucket-shape pendants even had a hallmark featuring two figures (Simonenko, Marčenko, Limberis 2008, таб. 72. 2g).

The following is a list of double-bucket-shaped pendants, Ines Beilke-Voigt’s type J:

1. Кепа (Karelia, Russia): Beilke-Voigt 1998, S. 243, N. 3060.
2. Levadki (Crimea, Ukraine): Мыц и др. 2006, рис. 12. II. 10, 16.
3. Lipovets (Ukraine): Shchukin 1989, pl. 31. 7; Simonenko, Marčenko, Limberis 2008, таб. 72.2g.
4. Scythian Neapolis (Crimea, Ukraine): Сымонич 1983, таб. XLV. 6, 13.
5. Olbia (Ukraine): Мордвинцева, Трейстер 2007, т. II, с. 127; III табл. 55. B29. 6. 2.
6. Оpushki (Crimea, Ukraine): Храпунов, Мульд, Стоянова 2009, с. 82, 92, рис. 20. 10; 34. 39.
7. Kerch–Pantikapaion (Crimea, Ukraine): Beilke-Voigt 1998, S. 243.
8. Tanais (Russia): Шелов 1961, таб. XXXV. 5.
9. Ust’-Al’ma (Crimea, Ukraine): Древние сокровища... 2005, с. 16, № 17; Мордвинцева, Трейстер 2007, II с. 91; III таб. 42, A292.4; Пуздровский 2007, рис. 57. 11; 144. 20.
10. Ust’-Kamenka (Ukraine): Shchukin 1989, pl. 33. 4; Beilke-Voigt 1998, Taf. 33. 3.
11. Ust’-Labinskaya (Russia): Beilke-Voigt 1998, S. 243.
12. Zavetnoye (Crimea, Ukraine): Мордвинцева, Трейстер 2007, II с. 31, no. A76.1; III таб. 28, A76.1.

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- 10 – Sokolova Mogila 1 (near Kovalyovka, Ukraine), grave 3 (Simonenko, Marčenko, Limberis 2008);
11 — Rządź, Poland, type I (Müller 1956); 12 — Møllegaard, Denmark, type II (Müller 1956);
13 — Bulbjærg, Denmark, type II/III (Müller 1956); 14 — Sølyst, Norway, type III (Müller 1956);
15 — Hansdorf, Germany, type IV (Müller 1956); 16 — Kugul’, western burial vault 3, Russia (Мастыкова 2009); 17 — Nogaychinskiy barrow, Crimea, Ukraine (Мордвинцева, Трейстер 2007);
18, 21, 23 — Olbia, Ukraine, a barrow (Мордвинцева, Трейстер 2007);
19–20 — Sweden (Statens Historiska Museum, Stockholm);
22, 24 — Ust’-Al’ma, Crimea, Ukraine (Пуздровский 2007);
25 — Lipovets, Ukraine (Shchukin 1989; Simonenko, Marčenko, Limberis 2008)

13. Zolotoye (Ukraine): Бажан, Каргапольцев 1989, с. 164, 165, рис. 1,4–5.

Rosette pendants, notably more articulate, are a type related to the duplicate bucket-shaped pendants. Beilke-Voigt (1998, p. 69–70, map 16) refers to them as type L (fig. 2. 7; 4. E2). They occur mainly with the Germanic tribes around the river Elbe and in the Przeworsk culture in the Later Roman period, especially in stage C2. It is assumed that their origin lies in the north Black Sea region where they were supposed to emerge by extending the duplicate and triplicate shapes (Beilke-Voigt's type K). The only occurrence of type K is from the Crimea, namely Scythian Neapolis (Beilke-Voigt 1998, S. 69). However, rosette pendants from the Early Roman period were not found in this area. The oldest shapes originate from the Przeworsk culture grave fields in Opatów (Godłowski 1959) and Drochlin (Kaczanowski 1987, s. 73–74, tab. XXVIII. 27–28) which can be dated to no earlier than C1b.

So far, the oldest rosette pendant to be identified (fig. 2. 7) came from the large cremation field of the Suebian Germanic tribes from the Early Roman period in Třebusice, Central Bohemia, grave no. 712 (unpublished). The iron artefact was found together with two other pendants: a gold artefact — probably a “Berlock” (fig. 2. 5), and a bronze amulet capsule (Fig. 2. 6). A clasp with eyelets of the so-called Prussian series (Andrzejowski, Cieśliński 2007, p. 282–286, fig. 4) indicates phase B2/C1, i. e. the end of the second century AD. This grave in clay urn contained iron keys, an Östland type bronze bucket and other fragments; it belonged to a woman of adult age (Droberjar, in print).

The amulet capsule found in Třebusice is also an interesting occurrence (fig. 2. 6; 3. 1). It consists of two decorated parts (hemispheres) connected with a circumferential strip, on top of which there was originally a loop for hanging. Both hemispheres were connected with iron rivet and small quartz stones were found in the space inside. Similar pendants (fig. 3) originate from the Wielbark culture (Wielbark: fig. 3. 5; Skowarcz: fig. 3. 2), the Masłomęcz group (Gródek: fig. 3. 4) and the Germanic Elbe region (Stendal: fig. 3. 3). They were also decorated in a similar manner in the form of small plastic balls or ribs. Although these pendants are somewhat similar to some Amulettendose shapes (Czarnecka 2010, p. 230, fig. 1. 10, 13) and occur at the same time, namely in B2/C1 or C1a, they could not be opened. Their contents could not therefore be changed, unlike with the Amulettendose. Some

of them, for instance in grave 2 in the Himlingøje grave field (Lund Hansen 1995, p. 154, 156, fig. 4. 25), contained a bucket-shaped pendant, flax strings, grains and other organic matter. The amulet capsule from Slovak site of Záhorská Bystrica (Kraskovská 1965, p. 382, fig. 115) contained an alabaster bead with a bucket-shaped pendant.

List of amulet capsules, Stendal type (fig. 3):

1. Stendal (Germany): Leineweber 1997, Taf. 36. 10.
2. Třebusice (Czech Republic), grave 712: Droberjar, in print.
3. Skowarcz (Poland): Schindler 1938, Abb. 3, 5; Andrzejowski 2001, s. 70, rys. 10b.
4. Gródek (Poland): Andrzejowski 2001, s. 70, rys. 10a.
5. Wielbark (Poland), grave 259: Andrzejowski, Martens 1996, p. 37, pl. VII.

Some women's graves of the Roman period contained wide range of different pendants (fig. 4). Quite often, amulets shaped like miniature receptacles, bucket-shaped pendants and amulet capsules played an important role as magical protection. They usually contained various organic substances or perfumes.

On the basis of the selected grave units, the following can be summarised:

- 1) The great diversity of the pendants indicates that graves for women and girls were lavishly equipped over the whole Roman period, and were sometimes emphasised with gold artefacts (fig. 4. E).
- 2) Different amulets organised as the outfit of alone woman spread from the north Black Sea region where it was confirmed in the Early Roman period (fig. 4. A–C) towards Central Europe and Scandinavia where, on the contrary, they were typical for the Later Roman period (fig. 4. D–F).
- 3) One can see this habit spreading from the Late Scythians and, mainly, Sarmatians towards the Germanics (the eastern group, Elbe group and the northern groups). The Sarmatians themselves could mediate the contacts and could be the bearer of new social and cultic customs in the second century and the early third century (for instance: Vaday 1989, p. 54–63, 114, fig. 330).
- 4) Amulets from sea material and stone (cowrie shells — fig. 4. A6, C7, F6; sea snails — B3; jade — fig. 4. D4) or organic matter (wild boar's fang — fig. 4. C6; walnut — fig. 4. F3) often occur among metallic pendants. Each amulet in the whole set probably had a symbolic meaning, and all of them together constitute a certain unit. Similar sets usually do not contain miniature tools.

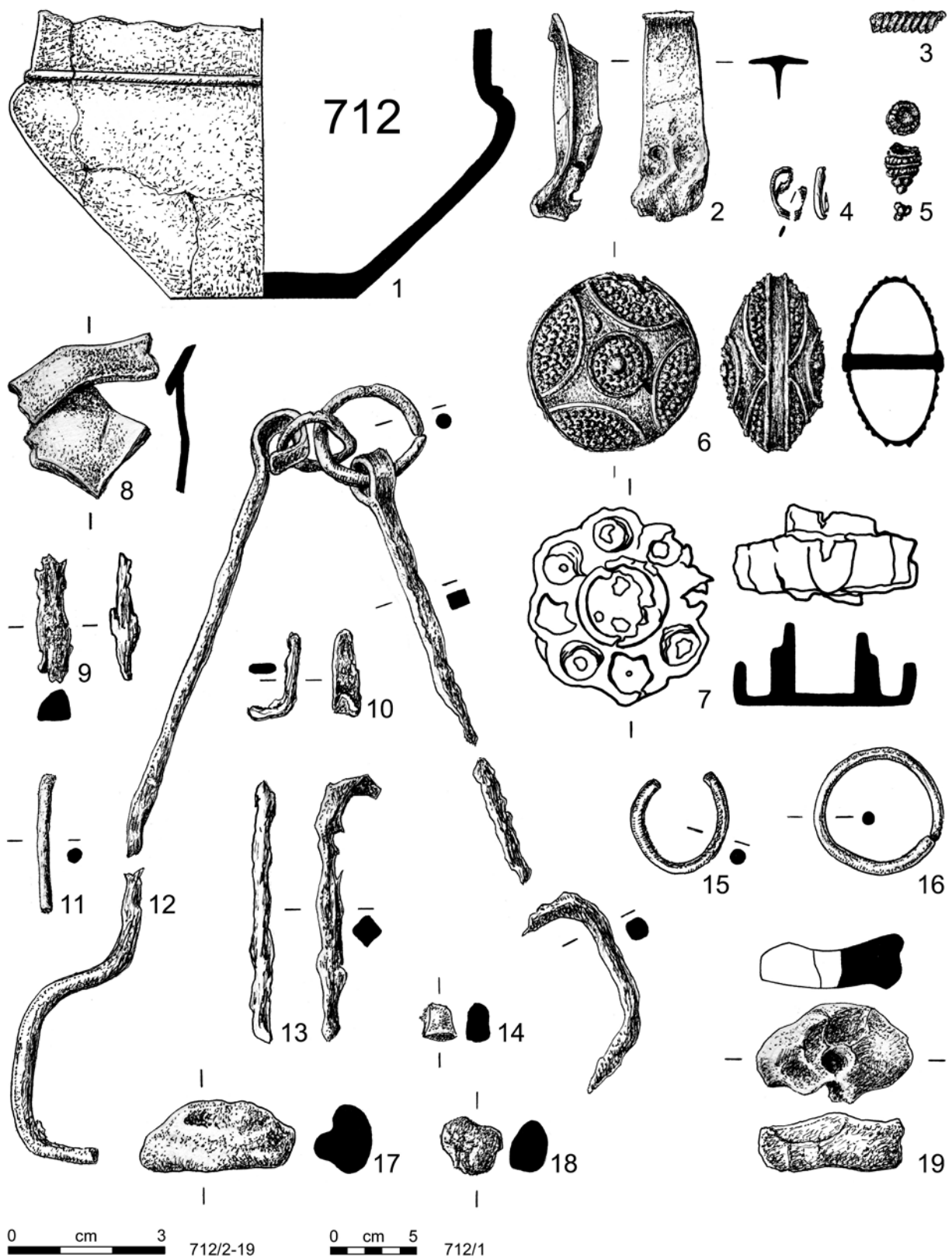


Fig. 2. Třebusice (Central Bohemian region, Czech Republic),
cremation grave 712 (Droberjar, in print)

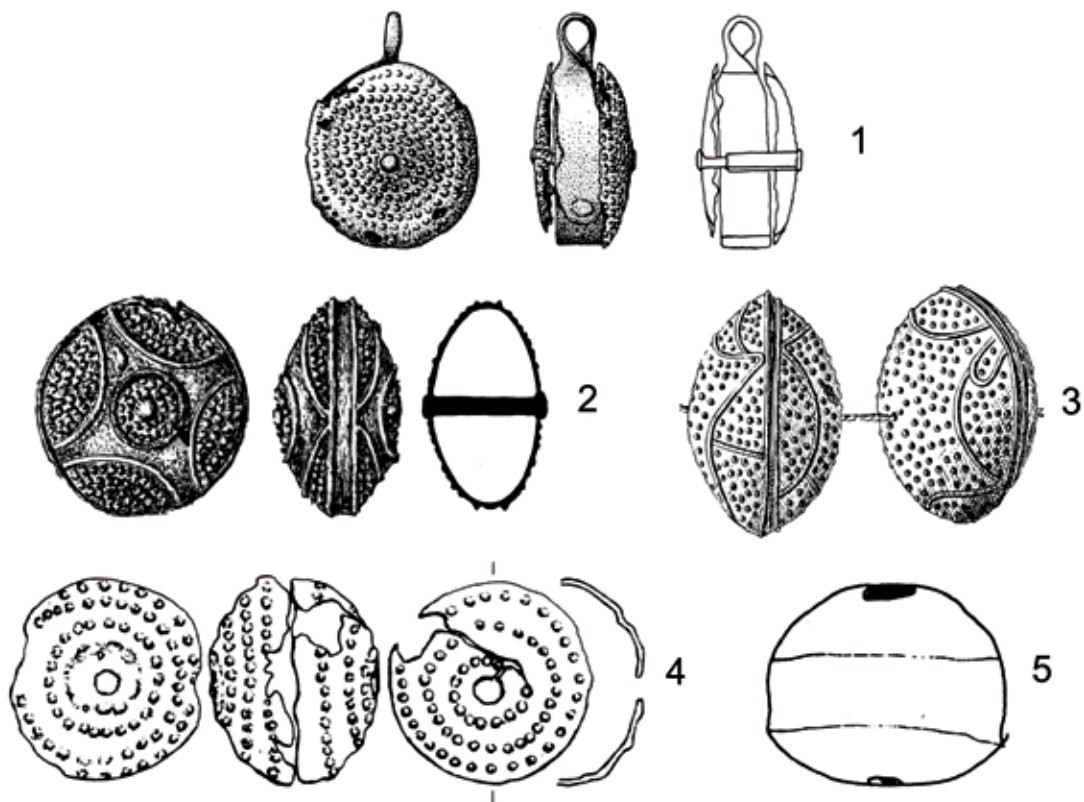
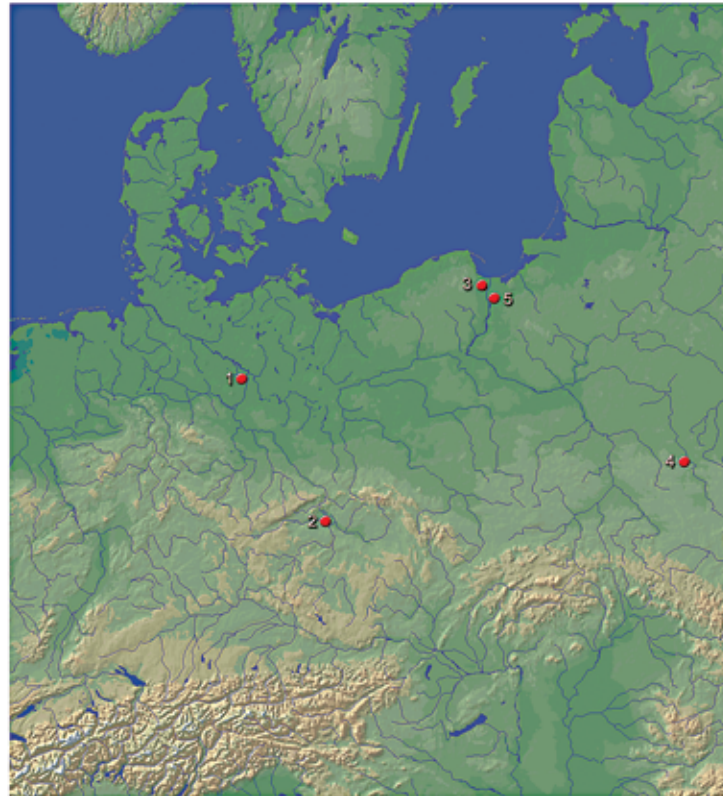


Fig. 3. Amulet capsules, Stendal type. 1 — Gródek, Poland (Andrzejowski 2001);
 2 — Skowarcz, Poland (Schindler 1938); 3 — Stendal, Germany (Leineweber 1997);
 4 — Třebusice, Czech Republic (Droberjar, in print);
 5 — Wielbark, Poland (Andrzejowski, Martens 1996)



Fig. 4. Combination of various pendants-amulets in graves from the Roman period including the occurrence of bucket-shaped pendant. A — Lipovets, Ukraine, barrow, chronology: A3 (Simonenko, Marčenko, Limberis 2008); B — Ust'-Kamenka, Ukraine, barrow 18, grave 1, chronology: A3 (Simonenko, Marčenko, Limberis 2008); C — Tiflisskaya, Russia, barrow 20, chronology: B (Simonenko, Marčenko, Limberis 2008); D — Himlingøje, Denmark, grave 2, chronology: C1b (Lund Hansen 1995); E — Haßleben, Germany, grave 8, chronology: C2 (Becker 2008); F — Žiželice, Czech Republic, grave, chronology: C3 (Blažek 1995)

5) Identifying regularities with more universal applicability as regards the composition of pendants-amulets in the equipment of one grave unit in a territory which is as large as the area between the north Black Sea region and Scandinavia would require more time and space. Here the author has merely tried to outline some of the issues which relate to the aforementioned pendants.

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Эдуард ДРОБЕРЬЯР

О некоторых подвесках-амулетах в виде миниатюрных горшков, встречающихся между Причерноморьем (Pontus Euxinus) и Скандинавией

Резюме

Металлические подвески в виде миниатюрных сосудов (рис. 1), в особенности ведёрок (“Eimer-Berlock”) и корзинок, а также амулетницы (“Amulettendose”) образуют группу вещей, весьма интересную с точки зрения контактов между Причерноморьем, Центральной Европой и Скандинавией на протяжении римского времени. Хотя отдельные экземпляры древнейших ведёрковидных подвесок появляются в Центральной Европе в позднелатенском Магдаленсберге, линию их происхождения можно проследить до Крыма и Северного Причерноморья во II–I вв. до н. э. Особый тип двойных металлических ведёрковидных подвесок (тип J по Veilke-Voigt; рис. 1. 23–25; 2), которые встречаются в Крыму и, шире, в Северном Причерноморье, в других местах не известны. Они изготовлены из золота и бронзы и известны, в частности, на памятниках, датированных I – началом II в. н. э. Орнаментированные и неорнаментированные подвески появляются там же и тогда же, когда и подобные им простые ведёрковидные. Однако зона их появления особо близка зоне распространения подвесок приблизительно той же формы из египетского фаянса (рис. 1. 22).

Подвески в виде розетки, очевидно более сложной формы, представляют собой тип, более связанный с двойными ведёрковидными подвесками (тип L по Veilke-Voigt; рис. 2. 7; 4. E2). Они появляются главным образом у германских племён, живших вокруг озера Эльбе, и в пшеворской культуре в позднеримское время и особенно в период C2. Считается, что их происхождение связано с Северным Причерноморьем, где, как полагают, они и произошли от двойных и тройных подвесок (тип K по Veilke-Voigt). Единственный известный случай подвески типа K происходит из Крыма, из Неаполя скифского. Однако в этом регионе не найдены подвески в виде розетки раннеримского времени. Древнейшие формы происходят из могилы № 712 в большом поле погребений-кремаций швабских германских племён раннеримского времени в Тршебусице в центральной Богемии (рис. 2. 7; хронология: B2/C1) и полей погребений пшеворской культуры (Опатув, Дрохлин), которые можно отнести ко времени не ранее C1b.

В некоторых женских погребениях римского времени найдено много разнообразных подвесок (рис. 4). Важную роль в качестве магических оберегов довольно часто играли амулеты в форме миниатюрных сосудов или ведёрковидные подвески и амулетницы. В них обычно хранились различные органические материалы или косметические средства. Большое разнообразие таких подвесок указывает на то, что на протяжении всего римского времени в погребения женщин и девочек опускали разнообразный инвентарь, а иногда подчёркивали их особый статус золотыми вещами (рис. 4. E). Различные амулеты, образующие женский убор, распространялись из Северного Причерноморья, где они достоверно датируются раннеримским временем (рис. 4. A–C), в Центральную Европу и Скандинавию, где они, наоборот, характерны для позднеримского времени (рис. 4. D–F). Можно усмотреть распространение этого обычая от поздних скифов и, главным образом, сарматов к германцам (восточная группа, эльбская группа и северные группы). Сами сарматы были посредниками в этих контактах и носителями новых социально-культурных обычаев во II – начале III в.

Anton DUSHENKO

THE FINDS OF COMPOSITE SINGLE-SIDED COMBS OF SCANDINAVIAN LOOK IN THE TERRITORY OF MANGUP¹

The idea of the existence of contacts between Mangup site of mediaeval town and Scandinavia is not new. The first archaeological investigation of the site with great original plan were provided by non-professional archaeologist, Privatdozent of St. Petersburg University Fyodor Braun, who specialised in Runic script. In this scholar's opinion, Mangup was a residence of the kings of the Goths, whose descendants were local Gotho-Greek princes. In order to prove his hypothesis, Braun organised archaeological excavations in Mangup plateau in 1890 (Браун 1983, с. 16–20).

Nowadays the results of long-term archaeological research by the team of V. I. Vernadskiy National Taurida University combined with written and epigraphic sources account allow one to set up the main stages of Mangup history as follows: pre-fortress (second half of the third to the first half of the sixth century), early Byzantine (second half of the sixth to the first half of the eighth century), Khazar (second half of the eighth and the first half of the ninth century), *theme* (second half of the ninth to the first half of the eleventh century), Theodoro (fourteenth to the third quarter of the fifteenth century), and Turkish (1475 to the late eighteenth century) periods (Герцен 2003).

My present research continues a series of publications of the collection of worked bone and antler discovered by the excavation of Mangup (Душенко 2009; Душенко 2010). Composite antler combs are relatively rare found in mediaeval sites in the south-west Crimea, Mangup in particular. At present, among the materials from the ancient town there are only two fragments of combs of the type made of antler of European red deer (*cervus elaphus*).

The first artefact is a fragment of side plate of composite single-sided comb (fig. 1. 1). The plate is trapezium-shaped, wedge-shaped in cross-section, with its outer edge rounded and sur-

face polished on either side. There still is a part of mounting hole for fastening with horizontal plate (3 mm in diameter). Dents are missing, the interspace between them is 0.5 mm. The plate is 40 mm high. The find originates from layer no. 2 of the excavation area in the upper reaches of Lagernaya ravine, on the esplanade of a wall in the second line of fortifications. This context developed in Theodoro period of the history of Mangup, that is from the second half of the fourteenth to the third quarter of the fifteenth century (Герцен 2008, с.29–30). However, a great part of the finds from the layer consists of early mediaeval materials, which probably should be interpreted as residual (Герцен 2008, с. 29–30).

The second artefact originates from the second half of the sixteenth to early eighteenth century layer in the excavation area at St. Constantine's church; it has already been introduced to the scholarly circulation (Душенко 2009, с. 438–439; рис 2. 17). The area of buildings near St. Constantine's church is a multi-layer site reflecting all major stages of Mangup mediaeval town (Герцен и др. 2007, с. 233–234). This is also fragment of side plate of composite single-sided comb, trapezium-shaped, with mounting holes for fastening with horizontal plate (3 mm in diameter). Dents are marked out but not sawn through, so this plate was manufacturing waste. The panel is 24 cm high. Similarly to the first case, the most part of the materials in the context of this artefact are early mediaeval finds obviously related to the third and fourth horizons of building at the area around St. Constantine's church that date from the ninth and from the second half of the sixth to the mid-seventh century respectively (Герцен и др. 2007, с. 235).

There are several classifications of single-sided composite antler combs based mainly on morphology and ornamentation (Давидан 1962;

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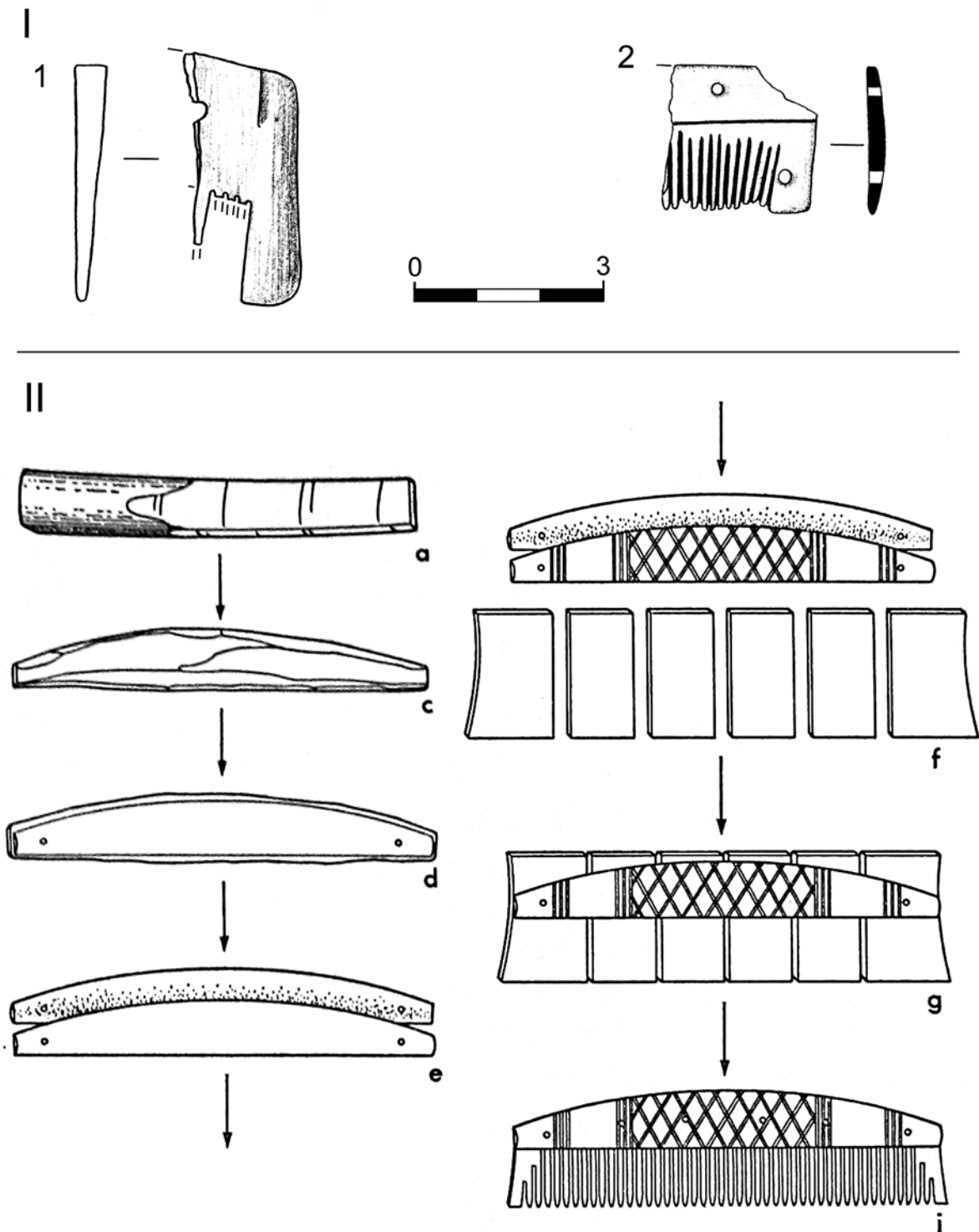


Fig. 1. I — Combs excavated in the ancient town of Mangup;
 II — Manufacturing process diagram for composite single-sided antler combs (Ulbricht 1978, Abb. 3)

Cmielowska 1971; Ambrosiani 1981; Smirnova 2005). Unfortunately, both plates from Mangup are fragmented so that they cannot be attributed to any of the types determined by scholars.

I know only one find of single-sided comb of the type in the south-west Crimea, outside Mangup site of mediaeval town: this horizontal plate was excavat-

ed in the port area of mediaeval Cherson and published by Alla Romanchuk; it dates from the ninth to eleventh century (Романчук 1981, с. 89, 91; рис. 4. 63). The main distribution area of this type of combs is located far to the north including the Ancient Rus' territory and Northern Europe, Scandinavia in particular. Single-sided composite antler combs

are recorded in the ninth to eleventh century layers in Belaya Vezha (Флерова 2001, с. 39–40; рис. 2. 9–12). Plates similar to those from Mangup were used for making combs in Staraya Ladoga, of the first and second type by Ol'ga Davidan; they date from the seventh to eleventh and from the ninth to eleventh century respectively (Давидан 1962, с. 98–101, рис. 1–3), combs of types A and B from Birka cemetery (Ambrosiani 1981, fig. 9), the eleventh to twelfth century combs from Northern Poland (Chmielowska 1971, s. 144), combs of class 1 from Novgorod (Smirnova 2005, fig. 2.5). This way, taking the fragmentary nature of the combs into account, the chronology of single-sided composite combs from Mangup should be within the period from the ninth to eleventh century.

The researchers usually relate the origin of this type of composite single-sided combs with Scandinavia (Tempel 1972, p. 58; Ambrosiani 1981, p. 21, 34; Давидан 1999, с. 172), whence this type of goods spread to the Northern Europe and Rus'. Kristina Ambrosiani proposed three possible distribution mechanisms for antler combs:

— combs were an article of trade, so they could be delivered by merchants from production centres to other regions;

— combs could be produced in local centres according to the same or similar technology;

— combs could be produced by travelling craftsmen who worked and sold products of their work in different regions (Ambrosiani 1981, p. 38).

For the case with fragments of composite combs from Mangup materials, second possibility seems more probable: it foresees movement of technologies rather than goods. The plate from the area near St. Constantine's church is obviously a manufacturing waste, so it was locally made. This inference finds extra argument in the fact that fragments of European red deer's antlers are known among osteological materials from the ninth to eleventh century horizons in Mangup site of mediaeval town (Герцен 2008, с. 96). It is also possible that the first and the second distribution mechanisms existed simultaneously: one or few combs came to Mangup as merchandise, and local craftsmen imitated original artefact later on.

The finds of combs of Scandinavian look in Mangup cannot be evidence of direct contacts between this ancient town and Northern Europe in general and Scandinavia in particular. Such contacts should be confirmed by both written sources account and larger archaeological materials. However, such a fact could indicate indirect trade and cultural contacts between the regions through the area *inter ambo maria*.

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Антон ДУШЕНКО

**Находки составных односторонних гребней скандинавского облика
на территории Мангупа**

Резюме

Идея контактов между Мангупом и Скандинавией не нова. Первые масштабные раскопки памятника были проведены специалистом по скандинавской рунической письменности Ф. А. Браунном, руководствовавшимся идеей существования на плато Мангупа резиденции готских конунгов.

Предлагаемая работа продолжает серию публикаций коллекции изделий из кости рога, найденных в ходе археологических исследований памятника. На данный момент среди материалов Мангупа известны два фрагмента односторонних составных гребней из рога оленя. Находки происходят из горизонтов «феодоритского» и «турецкого» периодов с большим содержанием материала более раннего времени. На основании аналогий фрагменты гребней следует датировать в пределах IX–XI вв. Более точная датировка невозможна ввиду их фрагментированности. Основная зона распространения рассматриваемого типа односторонних составных гребней включает территорию Древней Руси и Северную Европу. Происхождение этого типа изделий обычно связывают со Скандинавией. Факт находок гребней скандинавского облика может указывать на наличие косвенных торговых и культурных контактов между регионами через зону *inter ambo maria*.

Igor' GAVRITUKHIN

**CUT GLASS BEAKERS WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF STUDIES
IN THE CONNECTIONS BETWEEN THE SOUTH
OF EASTERN EUROPE AND SCANDINAVIA IN THE LATE PERIOD
OF ROMAN INFLUENCE AND THE GREAT MIGRATION PERIODS**

The presence of similar glass vessels from the fourth and fifth centuries in Scandinavia and in the south of Eastern Europe is a long-known and long-discussed fact. In this paper, I am going to summarise a part of the materials and observations in this field of research taking it as the background to offer some new possibilities of interpretation of the data. For the time being, it is reasonable to concentrate on two groups of glass vessels. The first one (Hans Jürgen Eggers's type 230, or Günter Rau's Kowalk type, or Eldrid Straume's type I) is the most numerous form of glass vessels in the south of Eastern Europe, especially in the Chernykhov culture, in the late period of Roman influence. At the same time, these vessels were not rare in Scandinavia and some regions in Central Europe. Although the second group (some forms traceable within Eggers's type 237, Rau's type Högom or Straume's types VII and IX) is also represented relatively wide in the aforementioned areas, it is demonstrative for a later period, the Great Migration. It allows one to analyse the relations between the cultural provinces of interest in dynamics and with mass materials, thus raising the validity of hypotheses explaining the mechanisms of such relations. Future detailed investigations of other groups of artefacts would allow one the correctness of the results obtained and, certainly, to enlarge them.

Kowalk type

Eggers (1951) has distinguished this group of vessels and has called them type 230. Modern knowledge of the chronology and distribution of such beakers is based on Rau's studies published in the first half of 1970s and amended not so long ago (Rau 1972; 1973; 1975; 2008). He has merged them into Kowalk type and has demonstrated that these vessels appeared in the end of the period we call C2 in Central Europe (i. e. the late third or early fourth

century), that they were most widespread in the late period of Roman influence (basically, the second and third quarters of the fourth century), and that they were also known a bit later, though their chronology, with one exception, did not step out the fourth century. The main area of these vessels was determined from the shore of the Norwegian Sea to the zone of the Chernyakhov culture reaching the north-west Black Sea coast in the south; only few specimens are known outside this strip.

Straume's fundamental study supplies a new, verified catalogue of the finds of Eggers 230 vessels in Scandinavia (fig. 1A); she suggested to establish, among this array (type I of her classification), series A and B (B has 3 individual variants) differentiated by cut and polished design, wall thickness, and other details (Straume 1987, S. 28–33). Series IA was dated to the final of phase C2 and phase C3 of Scandinavian scale (from the late third or early fourth century to the fourth century), and series IB — to phase C3 and early phase D1 (fourth to early fifth century). She also clarified some attributions of similar vessels outside Scandinavia (Straume 1987, S. 31–32, Abb. 2). Simultaneously and later on, important additions to this study were published (Näsman 1984; Lund Hansen 1987; Stjernquist 2004a, with extra bibliography).

Teresa Stawiarska has produced a valuable research providing basic catalogue of glass vessels from the Roman period in the territory of Poland thus making a large contribution to the list of finds of Eggers 230 vessels (fig. 1B. b) and dating them from Central European phase C2 (second half of the third and early fourth century) to phase D1 (360/370 — ca. 410 AD) (Stawiarska 1999, s. 147–151, 291–298, mapa 1, 3). For several specimens, she has compared the data of morphological classification of vessels with chemical analysis of their glass thus enlarging the database created by other

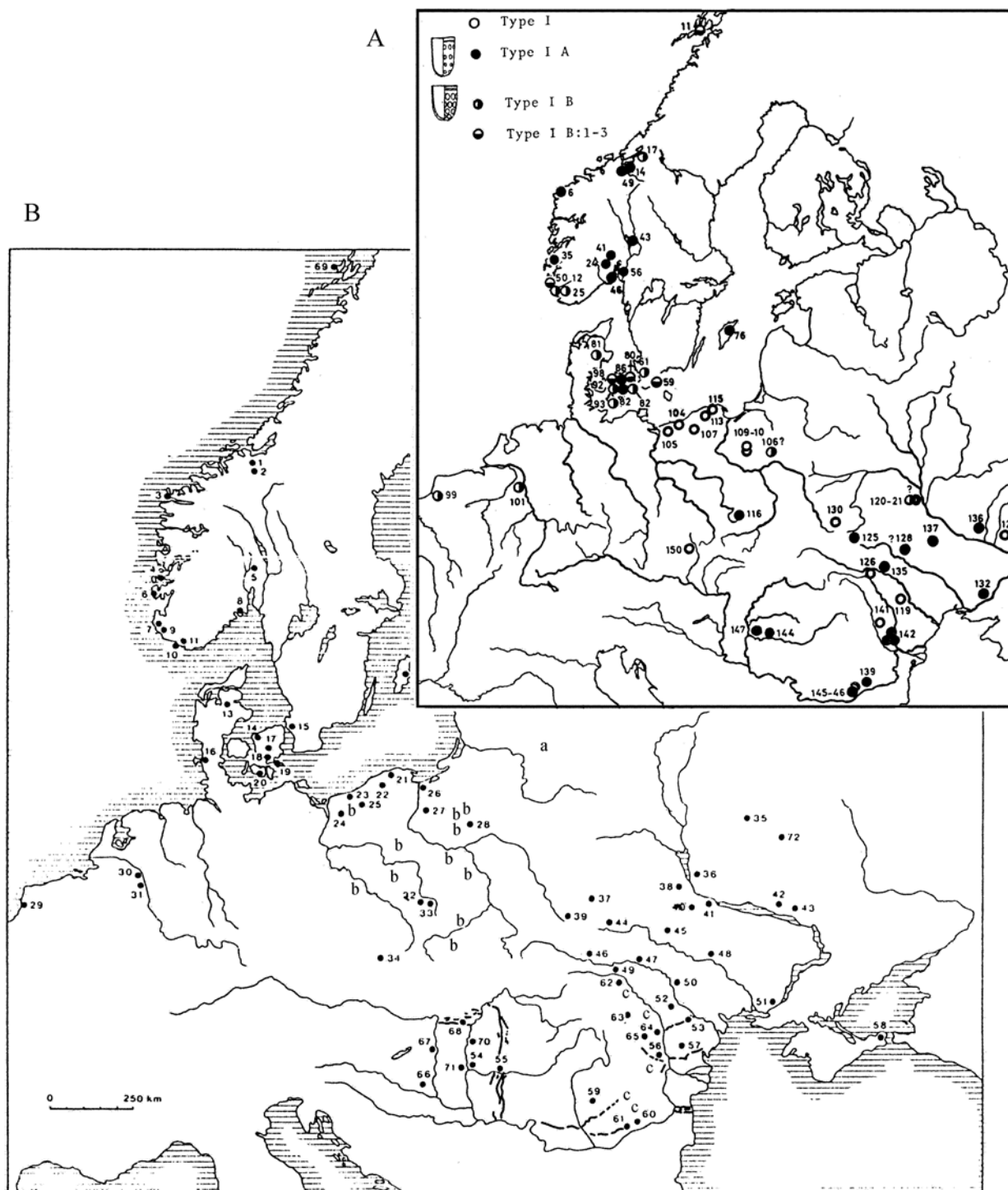


Fig. 1. Distribution of Kowalk and similar beakers

A — type I after Straume 1987;

B — type Kowalk after Vaday 1994 (based on: Werner 1988, and Rau 1972, with amendments).

Additions: *a* — after Лыханс 2001; *b* — after Stawiarska 1999; *c* — after Pánszél, Dobos 2007

scholars (Stawiarska 1999, s. 148, 149, 324–326; Stjernquist 2004b, with references to other studies).

Nowadays, some new important clarifications of the distribution map for Kowalk beakers have been published. Andrea Vaday has demonstrated

that they were not rare in the Middle Danube area (fig. 1B; Vaday 1994, p. 104, pl. IV). In this context, one should take into account a find from the territory of Hungary without precise location (Barkóczi 1988, S. 105, N. 166). A fragment from the terri-

tory of Eastern Lithuania became known (fig. 1B. a; Лухтанс 2001, с. 26, рис. 3. 1). Comprehensive works on the finds in the territory of Romania and Moldavia are published, with clarified catalogues and maps (fig. 1B. c; Gomolka-Fuchs 1999; Pánszél, Dobos 2007, p. 68–70, 78–80; the finds not recorded there see at: Şovan 2005). Regarding the chronology and other aspects of studies of Kowalk beakers, the above-mentioned researchers generally relied on the above-mentioned studies.

Vladislav Kropotkin's research remains the basis for studies of the finds from the former USSR territory (Кропоткин 1970); it lays in the background of almost all the attempts to compile general distribution maps of several types of glassware including those under my present analysis (fig. 1). The most important supplement of this catalogue has been developed by Erast Symonovich, who also mentions heterogeneity of vessels with cut ovals (Сымонович 1977, с. 181). Although Yuliya Likhter continued studies in this direction, her efforts were poorly reflected in published materials (Лихтер 1988; Лихтер, Гопкало 2007). Her dissertation on glassware in the Chernyakhov culture was defended in 1987 and, unfortunately, remains unpublished, though the researcher turned to studies of other materials. The number of Eastern European finds considerably rose in recent years, which was the reason for me to create a new catalogue of Kowalk beakers east of the river Prut (catalogue 1; fig. 2). I can state that these vessels are known almost in every area of the Chernyakhov culture under systematic exploration, though there are "white spots" reflecting the rarity of the sites in the steppe zone or the lack of comprehensive wide-square excavations (especially of cemeteries) in some territories.

Recent Igor' Khrapunov's finds in the cemeteries of Druzhnoye and Neyzats in the Crimea outline the south-eastern border of the main distribution zone for Kowalk beakers (for the artefact from Kerch, see my commentary to Catalogue 1). Closest analogies in the Chernyakhov culture and the lack of such ware in the areas of strong Roman influence in the Crimean coast allow me to put these artefacts (fig. 3. 18, 24–26) into the context of the Chernyakhov-Crimea connections. Obvious morphological and technological differences between the beakers mentioned and numerous provincial Roman vessels discovered in the Crimea in the same sites and even in the assemblages with Kowalk beakers (see Catalogue 1: Druzhnoye, Neyzats) clearly show that vessels of interest could not be analysed within the frames of usual Roman

imports. The finds of such and similar vessels in the sites from the territory of the Empire are isolated and are clearly out of the context of usual provincial Roman types of glassware, so modern researchers explain the presence of them as a result of barbarian influence, for example from the area of the Chernyakhov culture (Barkóczi 1988, S. 105; Gomolka-Fuchs 1992).

There also are isolated finds comparable to Kowalk type in Asia (Stawiarska 1999, s. 149; Gomolka-Fuchs 1999, S. 137; both with bibliography). The study of these and other shapes of glass vessels in the zone of Sassanid Iran and its influence, as well as their connection with cut glass vessels from the territory of Europe under my present analysis makes a special problem which I am not able to discuss in this paper.

Different theories were produced concerning the origin of the Kowalk type. It was related to south-eastern influence (Gunnar Ekholm), Rhine workshops, or a wider circle of workshops in the Roman empire (Fritz Fremersdorf, Nina Sorokina, Kropotkin, Symonovich, and others); it was considered a product of Roman craftsmen having skill of the level belonging to the circle of imperial "capitals" (Likhter); it was correlated with workshops in forests east of the Carpathians, similar workshop in Komarovo (Rau) or other centres in the zone of the Chernyakhov culture (Ulf Näsman, Gudrun Gomolka-Fuchs); the possibility of both Eastern European and Scandinavian origin of some artefacts was accepted (Straume), etc. (see for the reviews: Rau 1972, S. 126–128; Щукин, Щербакова 1986, с. 193; Stawiarska 1999, s. 150; Stjernquist 2004a, p. 161; 2004b, p. 121–122).

It seems that Joachim Werner (1988) was the first to propose to look at Kowalk type of beakers within the framework of traditional relations between the Germanics of Scandinavia and their relatives who participated in the formation of the Chernyakhov culture. This opinion was accepted by many researchers, but it is clear now that its framework could not explain multiple finds of these vessels outside the mentioned "arc": in the sites of the Przeworsk culture (from Silesia to the Middle and Upper Vistula) or in the basin of the Tisza where Sarmatians predominated (fig. 1B). One should take into account that in the zone from the Middle and Upper Oder to the Upper Dniester area, the fourth century burials are almost all cremations, though in some territories they are hardly known, which probably reflected in the number of determinable finds.

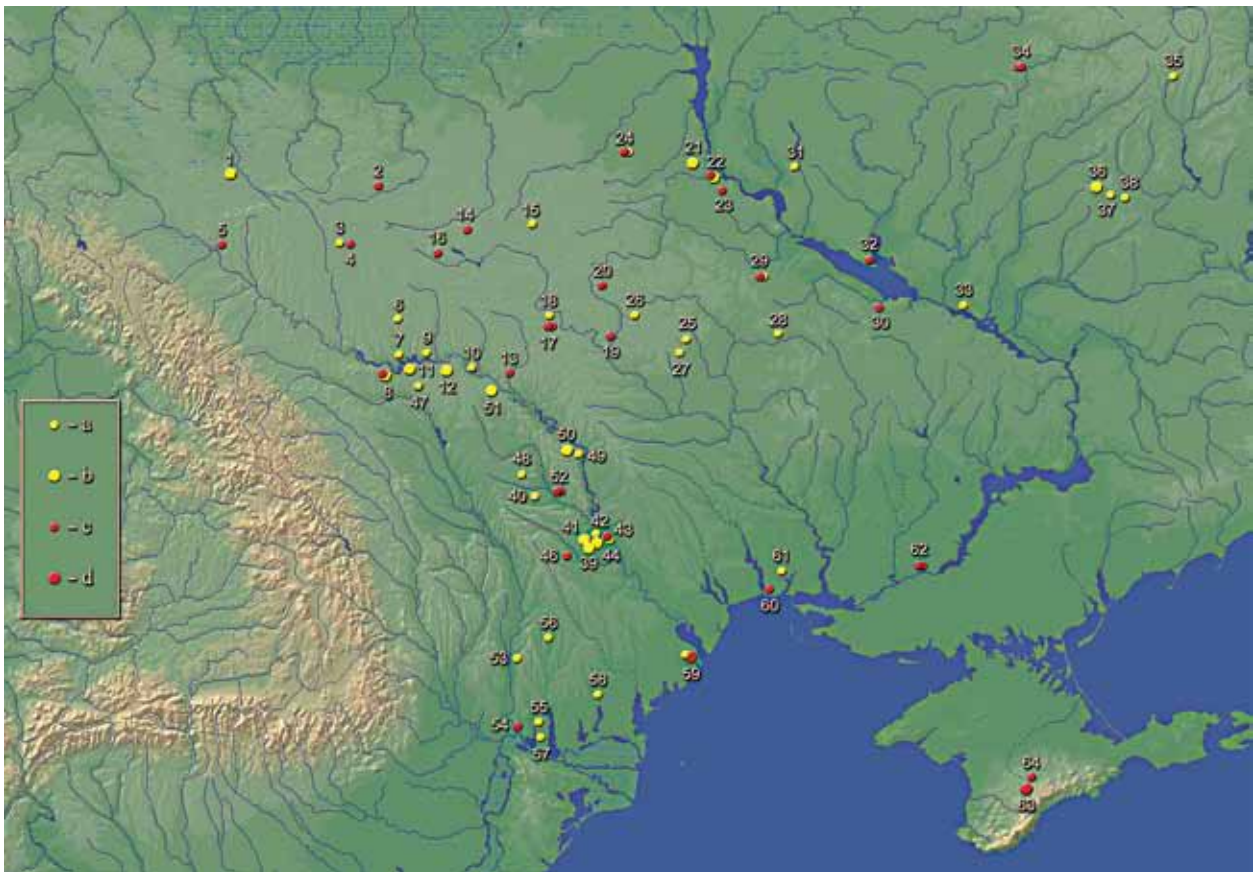


Fig. 2. The finds of Kowalk beakers east of the Prut river (see Catalogue 1)

a — isolated fragments; *b* — five fragments or more; *c* — complete vessel or large, reliably attributable fragment; *d* — three complete vessels or more.

- 1 — Ripnev; 2 — Lepesovka, 3 — Cherneliv-Rus'kiy; 4 — Romanivka; 5 — Zaliski; 6 — Dumanov;
 7 — Luka-Vrublevetskaya; 8 — Oselivka; 9 — Teremtsy; 10 — Kozlov; 11 — Komarov;
 12 — Romankovtsy; 13 — Vily Yarugskiye; 14 — Gnatki; 15 — Petrikivtsy; 16 — Lesovyye Grinevtsy;
 17 — Kurniki; 18 — Shershni; 19 — Kosanovo; 20 — Skitka; 21 — Velikaya Bugayovka; 22 — Obukhov;
 23 — Chernyakhov; 24 — Chervonoye; 25 — Legedzino; 26 — Slobodishche; 27 — Ryzhavka;
 28 — Maslovo; 29 — Zhuravka; 30 — Stetsovka; 31 — Sosnova; 32 — Zhovnino; 33 — Kompaniytsy;
 34 — Sumy; 35 — Khokhlovo; 36 — Voytenki; 37 — Shlyakh; 38 — Timchenki; 39 — Bălțata;
 40 — Zăicani; 41 — Budești; 42 — Cosnița; 43 — Delacău; 44 — Cimișeni; 46 — Dănceni;
 47 — Caracuseștii Noi; 48 — Petrești; 49 — Solonceni; 50 — Odaia; 51 — Pokrovka; 52 — Ciocîlteni;
 53 — Cucoara; 54 — Giurgiulești; 55 — Etulia; 56 — Comrat; 57 — Nagornoye; 58 — Kholmokoye;
 59 — Belen'koye; 60 — Koblevo; 61 — Tiligulo-Berezanka; 62 — Nikolayevka (Kazatskoye);
 63 — Neyzats; 64 — Druzhnoye

The Roman empire was located outside the main distribution zones of Kowalk beakers, and this make impossible to view these vessels as the results of different methods of import, articles of which are relatively numerous in the cultures of Germanic and Sarmatian circle. Such beakers are also absent to the east and north of the cultures of Germanic circle: glass vessels are almost absent there (individual exceptions just underline the rule). Especially demonstrative is that Kowalk beakers are not discovered in the relatively well-investigated area be-

tween the Rhine, Oder and Upper Danube where groups of West Germanics lived. Apparently, the zone with a number of Kowalk beakers (fig. 1–2) is restricted to considerable habitation area of North and East Germanics, as well as western groups of the Sarmatians.

It was mentioned many times that both morphological details and composition of glass allow one to divide the beakers of Kowalk type into several series and variants. According to modern data, the real picture is even more complicated than

represented in the most detailed classification by Straume (for example: Stjernquist 2004a; materials according to Catalogue 1). Creation of the new typology of Kowalk and similar beakers is the task for a future research. However, the data in possession states that there were few workshops belonging to the same environment that contributed to the similarity of their view and the specificity of the distribution zone of this ware.

Concerning the chronology of Kowalk beakers, it is generally accepted that they are most typical of the period synchronous to phase C3 of Central European timeline (Rau 1972; 2008; Straume 1987, S. 29; Lund Hansen 1987, S. 88–89; Tejral 1992, and below). Earlier and later finds are relatively small in number and specific.

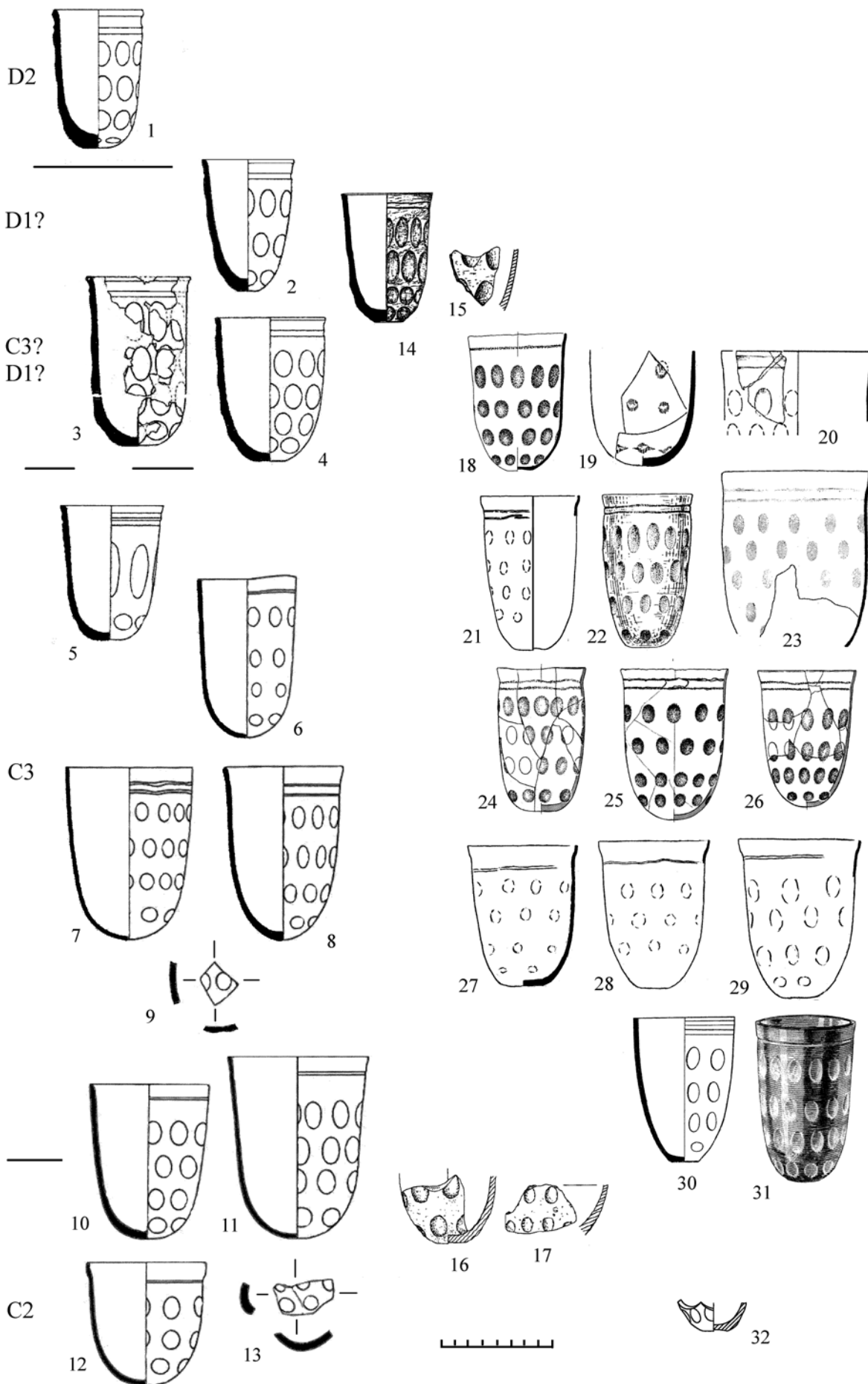
In Scandinavia, Straume mentions three assemblages with vessels of type I, related to the late phase C2 (Straume 1987, S. 29, 31, N. 24, 43, 76), though one vessel (fig. 3. 12) has proportions close to bowls and one vessel (fig. 3. 13) is represented by fragments with rather thick walls that does not allow one to imagine its shape. The beaker of obviously “classical” Kowalk type is presented only in Vallstenarum (fig. 3. 11). Although its chronology is based on analogies to some artefacts from this burial that are known in C2 assemblages, its later chronology is also possible, as Rau put it (Straume 1987, N. 76; Шаров 1992, с. 174–175; Rau 1972, S. 133). Apart from the glass vessel, doubts in the early date are raised by a fibula with band-shaped bow, analogies of which are typical of assemblages later than phase C2 (Schulze 1977, Gr. 3), as well as specificity of the fibula with striated rings mentioned by Straume. Ulla Lund Hansen supplies this list of early Eggers 230 vessels in the region with one more find (fig. 3. 10), though according to Straume its chronology is rather wide, within the late phase C2 and phase C3 (Lund Hansen 1987, S. 88; Straume 1987, N. 35).

In the territory of Denmark, Lund Hansen mentions the vessel from burial IV/1948 in Himlingøje among the earliest Eggers 230 specimens, but this is the only find in the assemblage datable within phases C1b–C2 only because the chronology of the site established generally according to other materials (Lund Hansen 1987, S. 88, 210, 413). Besides, this is thick-walled vessel with two layers of glass of different colour and large cut ovals clearly distinct from those under my present analysis, so Straume interpreted it as a special variant and Rau righteously does not include it in Kowalk type (Straume 1987, S. 30, N. 80; Rau 1972, S. 187, N. 112).

In Poland, Stawiarska has attributed two Eggers 230 vessels to phase C2: one is represented by relatively thick-walled bottom (fig. 3. 16), another by wall fragments (fig. 3. 17); their date is based on the chronology of ceramic ware, which in the second case is rather fragmented (Stawiarska 1999, s. 147, num. 174–175). One should take into account that this is the case of settlements of the Przeworsk culture, where the attribution of ceramic assemblages synchronous to phase C3 causes great difficulties because the upper chronological limit of ceramic sets ascribed to phase C2 is rather vague (see for example: Dobrzańska 1990; Rodzińska-Nowak 2006). Among the Central European finds, Eggers 230 type is related to fragments of a vessel from Leuna (see for example: Шаров 1992, с. 175), though experts reasonably abstained of definite attribution of them (cf.: Lund Hansen 1987, S. 212; they are absent in catalogues and maps by: Rau 1972; Straume 1987, and others).

There are several timelines of the Chernyakhov culture built upon different selections of materials and different sets of chronological indicators (Kazanski, Legoux 1988; Гороховский 1988; Шаров 1992; Гей, Бажан 1997; review at: Щукин 2005, с. 112–116, 161, 236–254; and in: Гавритухин 2006; for new variants of timelines see: Petrauskas 2003; Гопкало 2006; all the studies with bibliography). Nevertheless, researchers almost unanimously (the discussion concerns individual assemblages or chronology of individual variations of artefacts) emphasise the period of its formation (often with more detailed division) corresponding to Central European phases C1b and C2. They also distinguish the period of its climax with the sub-period synchronous to classical sets of the Central European phase C3, and the sub-period of appearance of artefacts that are demonstrative for phase D1 in Central Europe. Finally, they also establish the period of the final of the culture with domination of types typical of phase D1 and variations derived from them. Some scholars consider that this period is synchronous to phase D1 (360/370–400/410 AD, according to: Tejral 1997) or even to its early period, others (and I think it more correct) synchronise it with the early phase D2 (fourth quarter of the fourth to the early fifth or first quarter of the fifth century) under the circumstances of relative isolation from the main centres determining the styles typical of phase D2.

In the zone of the Chernyakhov culture, there is only one thick vessel bottom in early assemblage (from the period of the formation of the culture)



(fig. 3. 32), which could be a variant of Kowalk type. All existing chronological schemes for the Chernyakhov culture relate beakers of the types Kowalk and Eggers 230 to the period of the climax of the culture, mainly to its early sub-period synchronous to Central European phase C3. This is confirmed by the selection available to me: Kowalk beakers were often discovered together with fibulae of variant 3 of series Ambroz 16/2. I and synchronous fibulae, buckles, amphorae Shelov F, combs Thomas III, and other finds, abundantly presented in assemblages from the period of climax of the culture (Catalogue 1). Kowalk beakers were never discovered in assemblages doubtlessly from the final of the Chernyakhov culture (see its chronological indicators at: Kazanski 1992; Гавритухин 1999; 2000, с. 261–279; 2007, с. 9–24; Gavritukhin 2003). Kowalk beakers in the Chernyakhov and Sarmatian assemblages west of the Prut river known to me date to the same period.

Crimean assemblages are demonstrative, too. Although burial vault 275 from Neyzats was in use for relatively long time, Igor' Khrapunov proved that it was the fourth century (Khrapunov 2008). All the finds from it with (similarly to Kowalk beakers) analogies in the Chernyakhov culture belong to the period of the climax of the Chernyakhov culture. One beaker from Neyzats vault 275 (fig. 3. 24) is related to burial I located at the side wall of the vault being probably one of the earliest in it. Another beaker (fig. 3. 26) was in the compact accumulation of finds at the entrance to the vault and is probably related to a later period of its use. The third beaker (fig. 3. 25) was in a large accumulation of artefacts at the wall opposite to the entrance to the vault; the formation of this accumulation probably lasted long in course of the use of the vault. Grave 3 (vault) from Druzhnoye contained a beaker (fig. 3. 18) and the artefacts analogous to the finds from vault

275 in Neyzats, as well as later ones (for example: Храпунов 2002, рис. 73. 9, 11, 14, 15). This vault was in use up to the end of the cemetery, because it has empty space for planned but not made burials. However, vault 3 started to be used not among the latest graves of Druzhnoye cemetery (Храпунов 2002, с. 72). The Druzhnoye beaker is assembled of fragments discovered in the fill of the vault, so it could be related to the beginning or end of its use. Although late finds from Druzhnoye and Neyzats are synchronous to the final of the Chernyakhov culture, one should take into account that the cemeteries of this circle were replaced with cemeteries of the circle of Luchistorye and Skalistoje (Храпунов 2002, с. 79–80) also having the finds from the final of the Chernyakhov culture.

Beakers of Straume's type I in reliable assemblages from the Great Migration period are known only in the north of the area of Kowalk type. The latest in Scandinavia is the beaker from Vestly (fig. 3. 1; Straume 1987, N. 50) of specific local variant (Straume's IB2). Its prototypes could be the specimens that appeared in Scandinavia in phases C3 or D1 (as on fig. 3. 3, 6 — shape, fig. 3. 2–4 — design of the top). Variants that are not known in south areas of distribution of Kowalk beakers (fig. 3. 2–5) probably belong in Scandinavia to the late phase C3 and early phase D1, though few of them existed in phase D2. In Central Europe, there is only one fragment of vessel from phase D1 (360/370–400/410 AD according to: Tejral 1997), probably Eggers 230, discovered in Polish Pomerania (fig. 3. 15; Stawiarska 1999, s. 147, 293–294, num. 167). Among the latest vessels from the same region, Straume mentions a beaker from Witkowo (fig. 3. 14) because of the chronology of B-shaped corrugated buckle, though she forgets that Witkowo finds originate from two assemblages (possibly from different periods) which exact composition remains unknown



Fig. 3. Kowalk beakers and similar vessels within dated assemblages.

Phases of Scandinavian timeline on the left.

1–13 — in Scandinavia (Straume 1987, type I);

14–17 — the earliest and latest in Poland (Stawiarska 1999);

18–31 — in the Chernyakhov culture and in the Crimea (see Catalogue 1).

1 — Vestly; 2 — Føyna; 3 — Hallem; 4 — Håland; 5 — Føre; 6 — Saetrang; 7 — Ven; 8 — Tveitane;

9 — Gisman; 10 — Rommeltvedt; 11 — Vallstenarum; 12 — Hunstadt; 13 — Tommelstad;

14 — Witkowo; 15 — Dębczyno 6, pit-house 47; 16 — Zofipole, kiln 29; 17 — Pivonice, house 67/1960;

18 — Druzhnoye, grave 3; 19 — Kurniki, burial 4; 20 — Obukhov 1, unit 24;

21 — Vily Yarugskiye, burial 3/1953; 22 — Dănceni, burial 224; 23 — Kosanovo, burial 22/1961 (37);

24–26 — Neyzats, burial vault 275; 27–29 — Belen'koye, burials 209, 47, and 8;

30 — Oselivka, burial 15; 31 — Nikolayevka, burial 8; 32 — Lepesovka, house III

(Straume 1987, S. 31; Stawiarska 1999, s. 292, num. 164).

Summing up this review, I can offer the following observations. Prototypes of Kowalk beakers appeared in phase C2. They were mostly thick-walled artefacts; complete vessels include ones of bowl-like proportions (fig. 3. 12–13, 32, and possibly: fig. 3. 16–17). These vessels are not numerous and do not form stable series; they are relatively widespread, at least from Scandinavia to the north-west of the Chernyakhov culture. The most part of Kowalk beakers existed during phase C3; especially demonstrative and dominant was Straume's variant IA (fig. 3. 6–8, 18–29). The possibility of appearance of a few specimens of "classical" Kowalk beakers including variant IA in the late phase C2 could be supported by one find with disputable date and another find that could be dated from phase C3 (fig. 3. 10–11). In last decades of the fourth century, beakers of variant IA obviously were not produced, though some vessels could still be in use. From the second half of the fourth century, they were replaced by local variations of thick-walled Kowalk beakers and thick-walled cut beakers of other types.

Late shapes of cut glass vessels in Scandinavia — Black Sea zone

Such vessels are discussed to the most full extent in studies by Rau (1972; 1973; 1975; 2008) and Straume (1987). These scholars have produced ideas and observations that become the framework for investigations of aspects of such vessels in corpora and reviews of local groups of finds (Сымонович 1977; Росохатский 1987; Лихтер 1988; Бруяко, Левинский, Росохатский 1992; Stawiarska 1999; Gomolka-Fuchs 1999; Бакуменко и др. 2002; Петраускас, Пастернак 2003; Лихтер, Гопкало 2007; Pánszél, Dobos 2007; Никитина 2008, с. 76–81), in works discussing Roman imports (Кропоткин 1970; Näsman 1984; Lund Hansen 1987; see also reviews at: Stjernquist 2004a; 2004b), and in numerous publications of individual sites and finds (some are mentioned in Catalogues 1 and 2). There are studies dealing with individual types (for example: Гавритухин 1999; 2000, с. 273–278; 2007, с. 13–18, 49–53; Stjernquist 2004b).

Among this array of finds, there are *thick-walled vessels without pronounced bottom part*. They belong to types and variants of relatively compact distribution zones or represented by individual finds. According to Straume, they are types II (fig. 4A. 12; Eggers 231; isolated find), III (fig. 4A. 10; Eggers

232; two finds in Denmark and one in Germany; Гавритухин 2007, с. 15), IV (fig. 4A. 7–9; Eggers 233, Dybeck and Nystrup according to Rau; south of Norway, one in Przeworsk culture, Stawiarska 1999, num. 192), V (fig. 4A. 2; Eggers 235, Rau's Foldvik; mainly in Scandinavia, individually in Germany), X (fig. 4A. 1; Åros according to Rau; in Scandinavia and Germany). All of them date from phases C3 (most part) and D1 according to Scandinavian timescale and analogously in the continent (basically second half of the fourth and first half of the fifth century). This list, in the north of Europe, could be supplied with vessels which Straume calls variant IB3 (as on fig. 4A. 14) and a few pieces more. Other types and variants of vessels from this circle dating within the same chronological frames (type Ługi, Tírsgor 179, Černjachov 160 according to Rau, etc.) are known only in the Vistula-Oder region (for example: fig. 4A. 4) or in the zone of the Chernyakhov culture (for example: fig. 4A. 5–6, 11, 15–19). They include local series (for example: fig. 4A. 15–16, 17–18; Гавритухин 2007, с. 17–18); their analysis is something for the future.

Thick-walled vessels with pronounced bottom part or profiled bottom are even more variant. There are evolution lines demonstrating how the profile of bottom part becomes more complicated (fig. 4B, bottom to top; Гавритухин 2007, с. 16–17, 51). In Scandinavia, this circle includes isolated variations dating within phases C3 (fig. 4B. 17–18), C3 or D1, that belong to a local shape represented by finds from Southern Norway (fig. 4B. 9–10; Straume's type VI; Eggers 236; series Bremsnes of type Ługi according to: Гавритухин 1999) and that developed most likely on the base of Scandinavian shapes (for example: fig. 4B. 17).

The final of the period of Roman influence or the very beginning of the Great Migration period (within the mid-fourth and early fifth century) was the time of archaic vessels with pronounced bottom part in the territory of Poland (for example: fig. 4. B. 19–21; Stawiarska 1999, s. 151, num. 186, 189a, 195). The materials are still not sufficient to determine their local shapes or to put them to a wider context.

The most finds of the circle under analysis in the sites of the Chernyakhov culture are out of assemblages with narrow chronology. Artefacts with more "developed" typology belong to the latest assemblages of the Chernyakhov culture (fig. 4B. 8; Гавритухин 1999, с. 53; Gavritukhin 2003, p. 127–128) or have analogies in assemblages from the Great Migration period in other areas (fig. 4B.

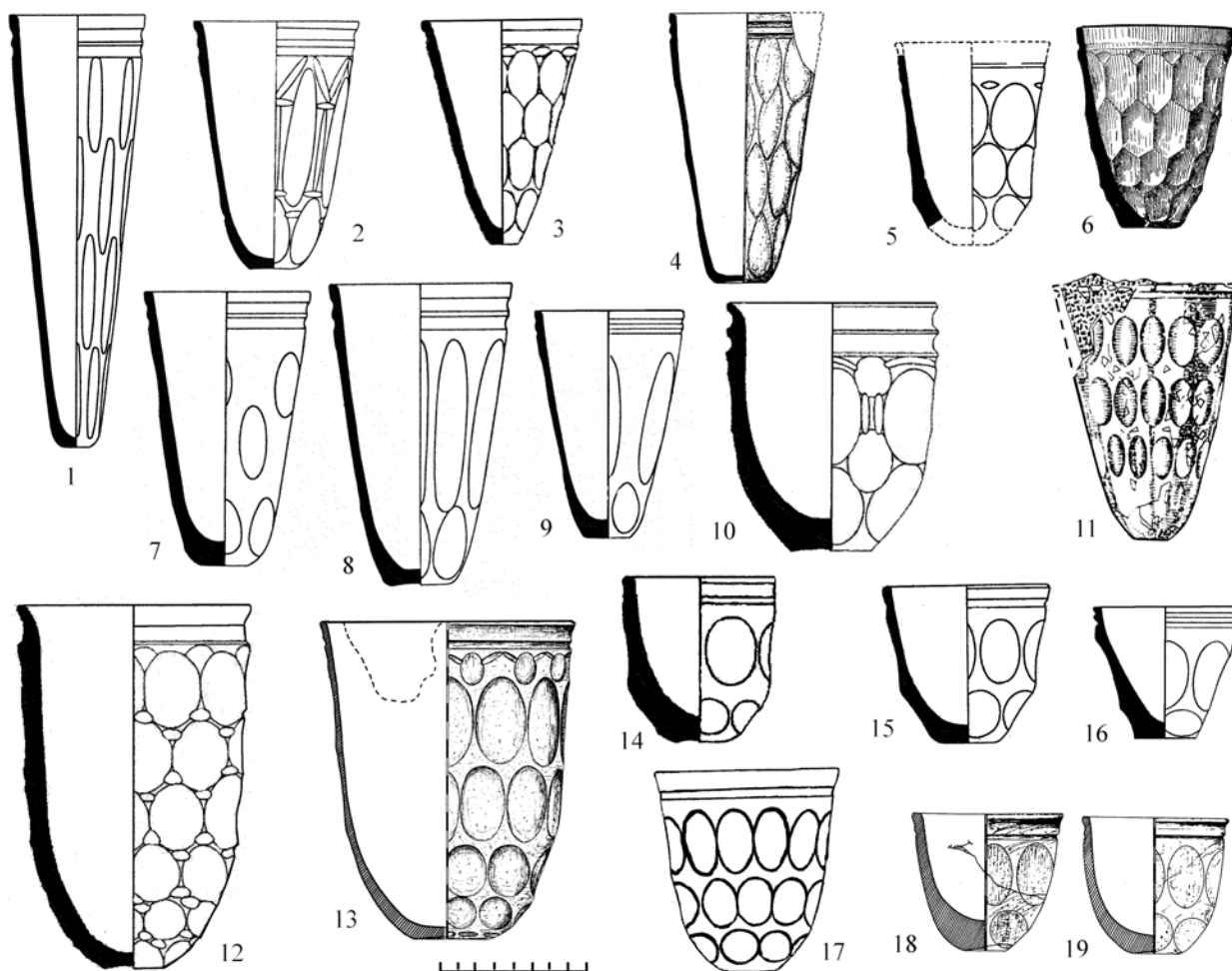


Fig. 4A. Specimens of thick-walled cut-glass vessels with non-pronounced bottom part
 1 — Åros; 2 — Foldvik; 3 — Lund; 4 — Ługi; 5 — Bârlad — Valea Seacă, burial 506;
 6 — Tîrghșor, burial 179; 7 — Nystrup; 8 — Dybeck; 9 — Glamsland; 10 — Killerup;
 11 — Zhuravka, burial 60; 12 — Varpelev; 13 — Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Köln;
 14 — Borrby; 15 — Lazo (Slobodzia-Chișcăreni), burial 36; 16 — Oselivka, burial 86;
 17 — Chernyakhov, burial 160; 18 — Miorcani; 19 — Tecuci.

1-3, 7-10, 12, 14 — after Straume 1987; 4 — after Stawiarska 1999; 5, 15 — after Gomolka-Fuchs 1999;
 6 — after Гавритухин 1999; 11 — after Symonovich (in the archive of the Institute of Archaeology
 of the Russian Academy of Sciences); 13 — after Rau 1974; 16 — after Лихтер 1988;
 17 — after Гавритухин 2007; 18-19 — after Rau 2008

11-13; see below for series Søvtedt). “Archaic” vessels with pronounced bottom part (fig. 4B. 22-24) are typologically close to the above-discussed finds from the territory of Poland and Scandinavian phase C3 (fig. 4B. 19-21, 17). Their dating within the middle or second half of the fourth century (late period of the climax of the Chernyakhov culture) is supported by their typologically late appearance in comparison with Kowalk beakers.

For now, I have discussed local types; types, series and variants of vessels represented by relatively small number of specimens or which could not be related to minor typological units. For the topic of this paper interesting are vessels represented by

more demonstrative and numerous series known both in the Chernyakhov culture and Scandinavia: **Straume’s types VII and IX**. Straume’s type VIII deserves special analysis which I am planning to do in a special paper (see some observations and materials at: Гавритухин 1999, с. 57-60; Gomolka-Fuchs 1999, S. 139-140; Stjernquist 2004b).

In the paper published more than ten years ago (Гавритухин 1999), I divided the beakers of Straume’s type VII, taking Rau’s and other researchers’ observation into account, into conical shape called Högom (related to Rau’s types Högom — Gavrilovka 5 and Kl. Koslau 6) and truncated-conical one called Ługi (corresponding to Rau’s types

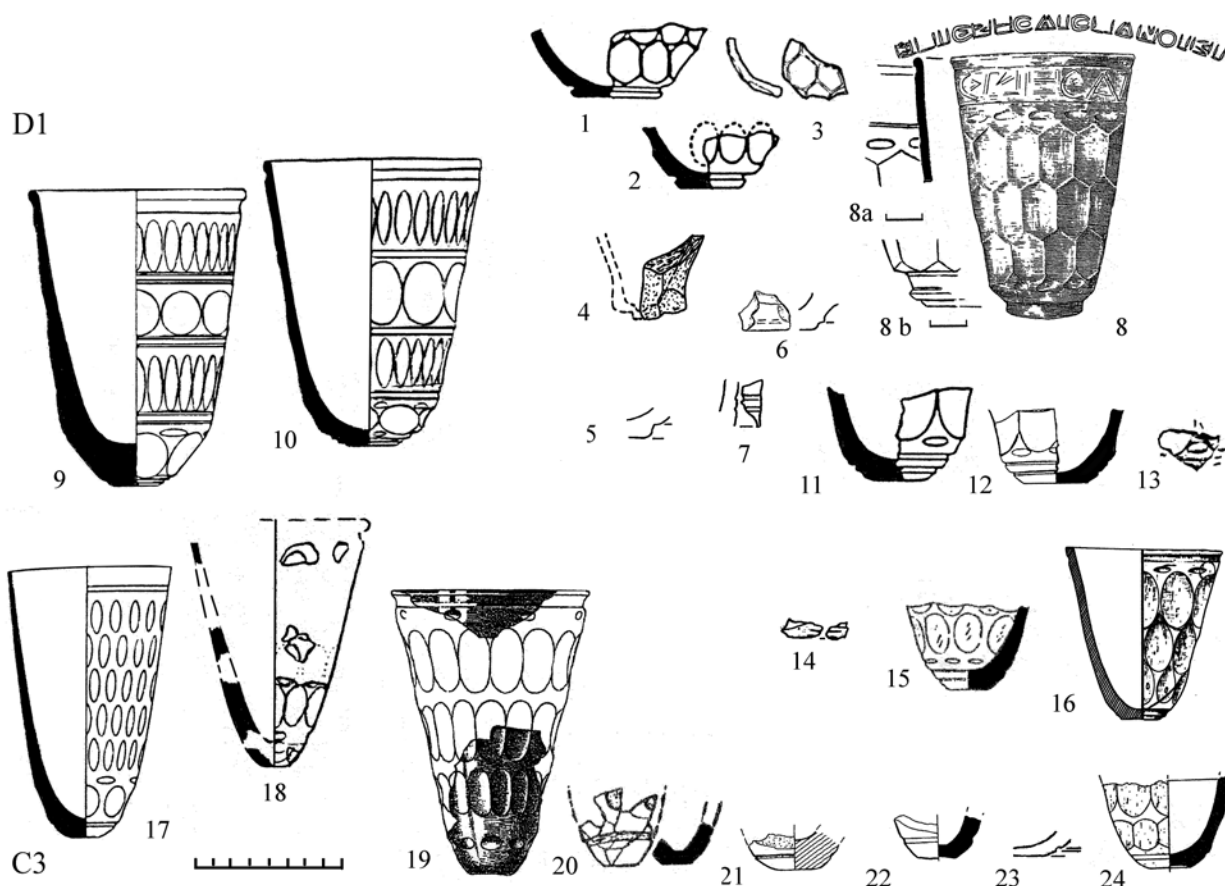


Fig. 4B. Variants of profiles of bottom parts of thick-walled cut-glass vessels

1–2 — Olbia; 3 — Chersonesos; 4 — Moshanets; 5, 23 — Voytenki; 6–7, 14 — Dumanov;
 8 — Ranzhevoye, burial 14; 9 — Gjerla; 10 — Bremsnes; 11 — Komarov; 12 — Golovchino;
 13 — Budești; 15 — Khlopkov; 16 — Bârlad — Valea Seacă, burial 112; 17 — Maele; 18 — Espedalen;
 19 — Kozłówko, burial 6/1890; 20 — Modła, burial 64/1981; 21 — Łęgonice 1, house 1/1973;
 22 — Kanev; 24 — Velikaya Bugayovka.

1–3, 7, 14–15, 22–24 — after Гавритухин 2007; 4–6, 8, 11–13 — see Catalogue 2;
 9–10, 17–18 — after Straume 1987; 16 — after Rau 2008; 19–21 — after Stawiarska 1999

Ługi and Tîrșor 179 and including vessels of similar shape), and divided both these types into series. New materials and observations allow me to introduce some corrections into the pattern offered.

Within Högom type, there were several series (see Catalogue 2): Goroshevtsy (or “classical” Högom), divided into variants; Lazo (the only find); and Øvsthus (now I think that there is only one specimen of the type). Concerning the series of Lund (conical, without pronounced bottom), I have pointed out the heterogeneity of these finds, and it was later confirmed by more concrete information of the beaker from Alba Iulia that became available to me recently (Гавритухин 1999, с. 49, № 1; Pánszél, Dobos 2007, no. 32). Correct typological attribution of these vessels (they are close to the circle of vessels with non-pronounced bottom

part, see above) requires extra information, including the finds in more definite archaeological context. In the light of new finds and observations, it would be more correct to interpret Kozłówko series with its several variants (it would be correct to enlarge it with the artefact from Modła, which was earlier included into Øvsthus series; fig. 4B. 20) as a special type divided into series including those of local character (e. g.: Гавритухин 2007, с. 16; Петраускас, Пастернак 2003, с. 68).

Ługi type includes typologically demonstrative and relatively numerous series of Søvtedt (Catalogue 2). Bremsnes series is a local Scandinavian shape, most likely related to local traditions (Straume’s type VI, see above). Regarding Ługi series of this type (fig. 4A. 4, 6), heterogeneity of the specimens was already mentioned (Гавритухин 1999, с. 52).

It is obvious now that it should have division and that these vessels should be analysed in the context of other shapes with not pronounced bottom part (see above). The Ługi vessel does not have reasons to be analysed in the connection with Scandinavian-Black Sae context of interest.

For the uniformity of terms, I indicate Straume's type IX as "Hebnes" type. It is so typologically pronounced and compact, that now I have no convincing arguments to separate it as a series. Now I can enlarge the list of such vessels for the area very important for our topic (Catalogue 2).

In the Chernyakhov culture, classical shapes of Högom type are presented at least in five assemblages dating from its final period (fig. 5. 16–20) according to the buckles with the tongue projecting forward (Goroshevtsy 4; Mihălășeni 175), or the buckles with the tongue rounding full height of the circular frame (Gavrilovka 5), or large buckle with cuts on its tongue (Mihălășeni 296), or large radiate-headed fibulae and large bow fibulae with returned foot (Gavrilovka 5, Mihălășeni 369), or arrowhead typical of the assemblages of Hunnic circle (Goroshevtsy 4) (see: Гавритухин 1999, с. 51; 2000, с. 274–276, 279; 2007, с. 22–23; Gavritukhin 2003). Most likely, a find from late Chernyakhov horizon (Ib) of the settlement of Yassy-Nikolina belongs to the same period (Гавритухин 1999, с. 51). Burials 117 and 450 in Mihălășeni with vessels under analysis (fig. 5. 23–24) could belong to this or earlier (the climax of the Chernyakhov culture) period. Such vessels sometimes were the only find in assemblage (Ranzhevoye 12). Although the beaker from burial 84 in Bârlad — Valea Seacă (fig. 5. 22) is similar to those under analysis, its foot is only pronounced by a line of facets thus obviously being a sign of archaism (cf. fig. 4B. 18–19). The composition of finds sends this assemblage to the final period or the late period of climax of the Chernyakhov culture. A sample of specific series-variation Lazo (fig. 5. 15) dates from the final of the Chernyakhov culture (Гавритухин 1999, с. 51).

In Scandinavia, three artefacts of classical shape of Högom type (fig. 5. 7–9) appear in assemblages from phase D2 of local timeline (Straume 1987, S. 89–90, 110) and one such find (fig. 5. 14) in assemblage of disputable chronology. Although Straume (1987, S. 109) proposed to attribute the latter one to the final of the Roman period (fourth century), her arguments were far from being undisputable, so this assemblage could belong to the Great Migration period (Гавритухин 1999, с. 51; 2000, с. 273–274). A sample of specific series-variation

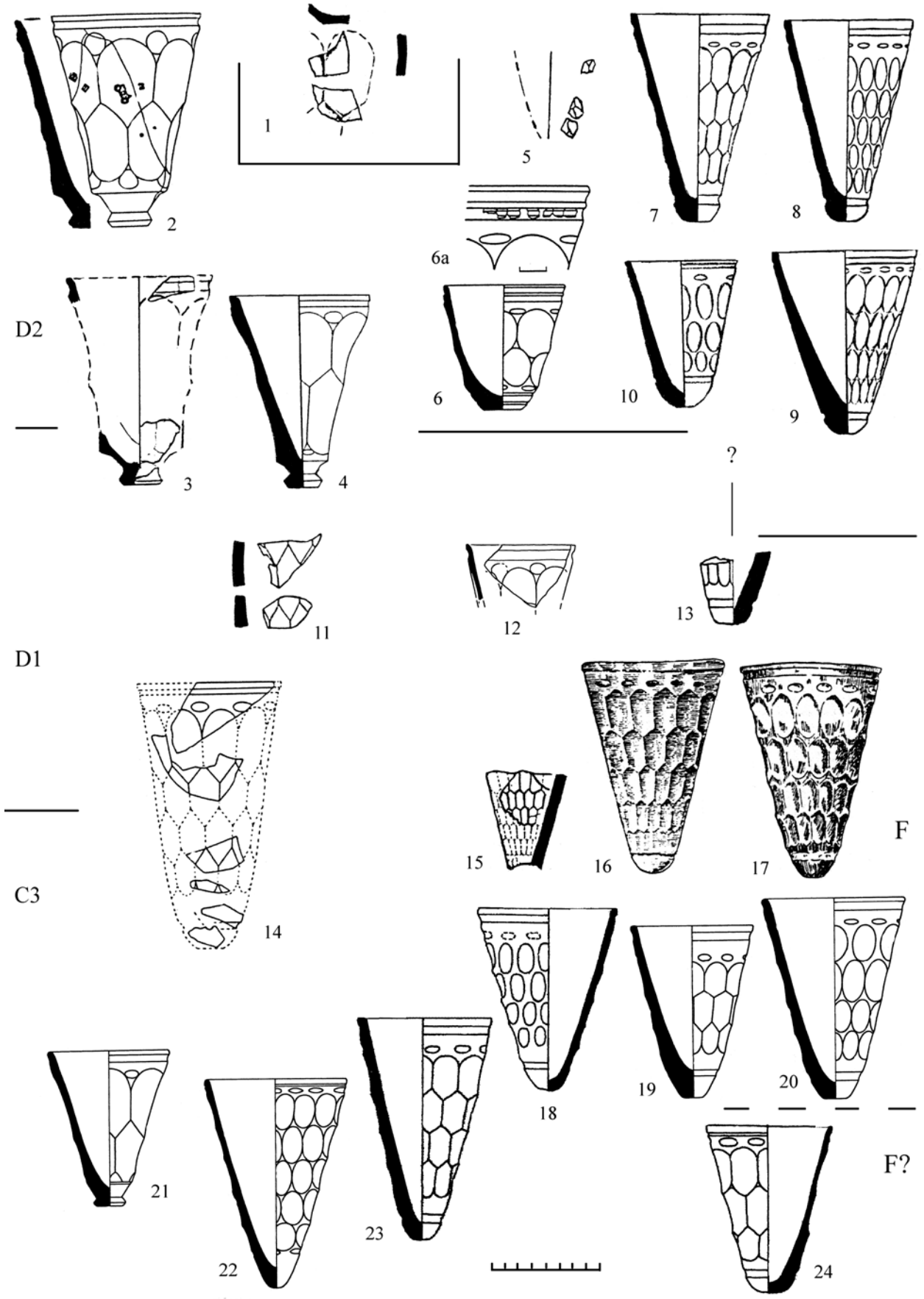
Øvsthus (fig. 5. 10) originates from an assemblage of phase D, or more likely D2, of Scandinavian timeline (Straume 1987, S. 104).

The only find of definitely recognizable fragment of Högom beaker in the Crimea (fig. 5. 13) is made out of assemblage, in the site of the "Luchistoye-Skalistoye" circle from the Great Migration period (not earlier than the late fourth century; see above, in the discussion of the chronology of Kowalk beakers in the Crimea, and in: Гавритухин 1999, с. 51).

Vessels of the type of Hebnes in Scandinavia (fig. 5. 2–4) appeared in one assemblage from phase D2 and in two assemblages dating from the whole length of phase D of local timeline (Straume 1987, S. 86, 88–98). Fragments of a vessel probably of the same type (fig. 5. 1) are also known in the sixth century assemblage (Straume 1987, S. 112–113). The attribution of Izvoare find (fig. 5. 21) to Chernyakhov burial IX is sometimes disputed, though this site contains no materials of other cultures from the Great Migration period (Gomolka-Fuchs 1999; S. 139; Гавритухин 1999, с. 54; Pánszél, Dobos 2007, no. 43, with bibliography). Recently, another fragment of a vessel of the type under analysis was discovered in the Chernyakhov culture settlement east of the Carpathians (fig. 4B. 4). Although the number of vessels of the type could be larger (Catalogue 2), they also are within the context outlined.

Beakers of Søvtedt series were discovered in Chernyakhov sites many times (fig. 4B. 11–13), but out of assemblages. It should be noted that all these sites contained materials of the final period of the Chernyakhov culture or they did not make such an attribution impossible (see for example about other glass vessels in these sites at: Гавритухин 1999). According to the bottom profile, these vessels belong to relatively late shapes, and variation of Ranzhevoye (fig. 4B. 8) close to them originates from an assemblage of the final of the Chernyakhov culture (see above). The only find of "classical" artefact of Søvtedt series within an assemblage is at the same time the only find in Scandinavia (fig. 5. 6). It dates from phase D2 of local timeline (Straume 1987, S. 100).

The fragment from Jakuszowice (fig. 5. 12) could belong to a vessel of either the type similar to Hebnes or (more likely) of series Søvtedt of type Ługi. Although it was discovered in early mediaeval pit (unit 337), there also were a shard of glass beaker of Snartemo type and fragments of ceramic ware of the Przeworsk culture. Most likely, these finds originate from the site dating from about the first half of the fifth century, which was destroyed



and its materials were re-deposited (Гавритухин 1999, с. 53; Stawiarska 1999, num. 187). In Poland, there is another fragment of vessel belonging to the circle under interest (fig. 6. p; from burial 84 of the cemetery of Masłomęcz 15), but, according to its relatively thin walls and peculiarities of the design of its top part, it belongs to a specific series or variation (Гавритухин 1999, с. 57, 64, № 41; Stawiarska 1999, num. 152). Top part of the vessel from Turawa (Stawiarska 1999, num. 189) could belong to beaker of Högom type, although it is also possible that it belonged to an artefact similar to the vessel from Kozłówko (fig. 4B. 19) as it has been noticed by Stawiarska, or to another type of vessel (it deserves attention that its vertical ovals are small).

The circle of vessels of interest is related to fragments decorated with densely adjoined to each other surfaces of cut decoration often composing an ornament of hexagons alike honeycomb (Straume's type VIIA). Hexagons could be of relatively small size as on Högom vessels, or vessels similar to the finds from Tırğsor, Lund, Ranzhevoye (fig. 4A. 3, 6; 4B. 8) and other shapes (for example, fig. 4B. 1–3). Sometimes, areas of cutting are visibly larger as those on the vessels of type Hebnnes and series Sõtvedt of type Ługi and of vessels of other forms (for example: fig. 6. o, r; Catalogue 2). Although these fragments have different width of walls and some other features, they definitely belong to the single stylistic context. Here I do not have a possibility for a detailed analysis of these finds, but for the needs of my present topic, I should point out the following.

The Chernyakhov culture sites contain dozens of fragments of glass vessels decorated with cut hexagons (see fig. 6. VII A; Catalogue 2; catalogues and maps at: Гавритухин 1999, с. 54–56, рис. 16. VII; 2007, с. 18, 53, рис. 8. V–VI). They originate from several assemblages from the final period of the Chernyakhov culture, but basically are discovered

out of assemblages, on the sites undoubtedly having Late Chernyakhov materials or with possible chronology in the finale age of the culture. Such finds are recorded in all the regions with sites of the final period of the Chernyakhov culture, though they are absent in territories with no reliable materials from its final ages (e. g. in Volhynia). I do not know fragments of glass vessel decorated with cut hexagons from Central Europe. In Scandinavia, they are few in number, and discovered from assemblages from phases D1 and D2 of local timeline (fig. 5. 5, 11; Straume 1987, S. 91–92, 108).

I have good reasons to relate the formation of Sõtvedt series with the context of the Chernyakhov culture. It includes relatively numerous vessels of shape and ornamental scheme similar to other series (for example, fig. 4A. 15–16, 18–19); I can also mention direct prototypes of main elements of bottom decoration (for example: fig. 4B. 15–16). Similar decorative elements could be discovered among the finds from Poland (for example: fig. 4B. 19), but there are no vessels of series Sõtvedt, except for the only find from Jakuszowice (fig. 5. 12). I can point out vessels similar to prototypes of series Sõtvedt in Scandinavia as well (for example: fig. 4A. 14; Straume 1987, N. 59, 83), but their typology is clearly far from that of our interest than the mentioned artefacts from the Chernyakhov culture. Series Sõtvedt is represented in Scandinavia by the only find, very close to numerous artefacts in the Chernyakhov culture, but of obviously later chronology. Finally, only the Chernyakhov culture has numerous variants indicating the environment related to Sõtvedt series (fig. 4B. 5–8; Catalogue 2).

The formation of type Högom is also related to the continent with its spectrum of possible prototypes (for example, fig. 4B. 19–20, 22; 4A. 11). The absence of finds of type Högom in Central Europe as well as its closest prototypes and archaic forms in Chernyakhov sites (fig. 5. 22, 24) are arguments



Fig. 5. Beakers of type Högom, series Sõtvedt of type Ługi, type Hebnnes and similar to them within dateable context (see Catalogue 2).

Phases of Scandinavian timeline on the left, of Chernyakhov timeline on the right

(*F* — final period, *F?* — probably final period, the end of the period of climax is also possible).

1–11, 14 — in Scandinavia: 1 — Ottarshögen; 2 — Snartemo; 3 — Hogstad; 4 — Hamre; 5 — Lunde;

6 — Sõtvedt; 7–8 — Högom; 9 — Kvasseheim; 10 — Øvsthus; 11 — Amunde; 14 — Havor.

12 — in Southern Poland: Jakuszowice, unit 337. 13 — in the south-west Crimea: Skalistoje.

15–22 — in the Chernyakhov culture: 15 — Lazo (Slobodzia-Chișcăreni), burial 28;

16 — Gavrilovka, burial 5; 17 — Gorshevtsy, burial 4;

18–20, 23–24 — Mihălășeni, burials 369, 175, 296, 450, 117;

21 — Izvoare, burial IX (?); 22 — Bârlad, burial 84

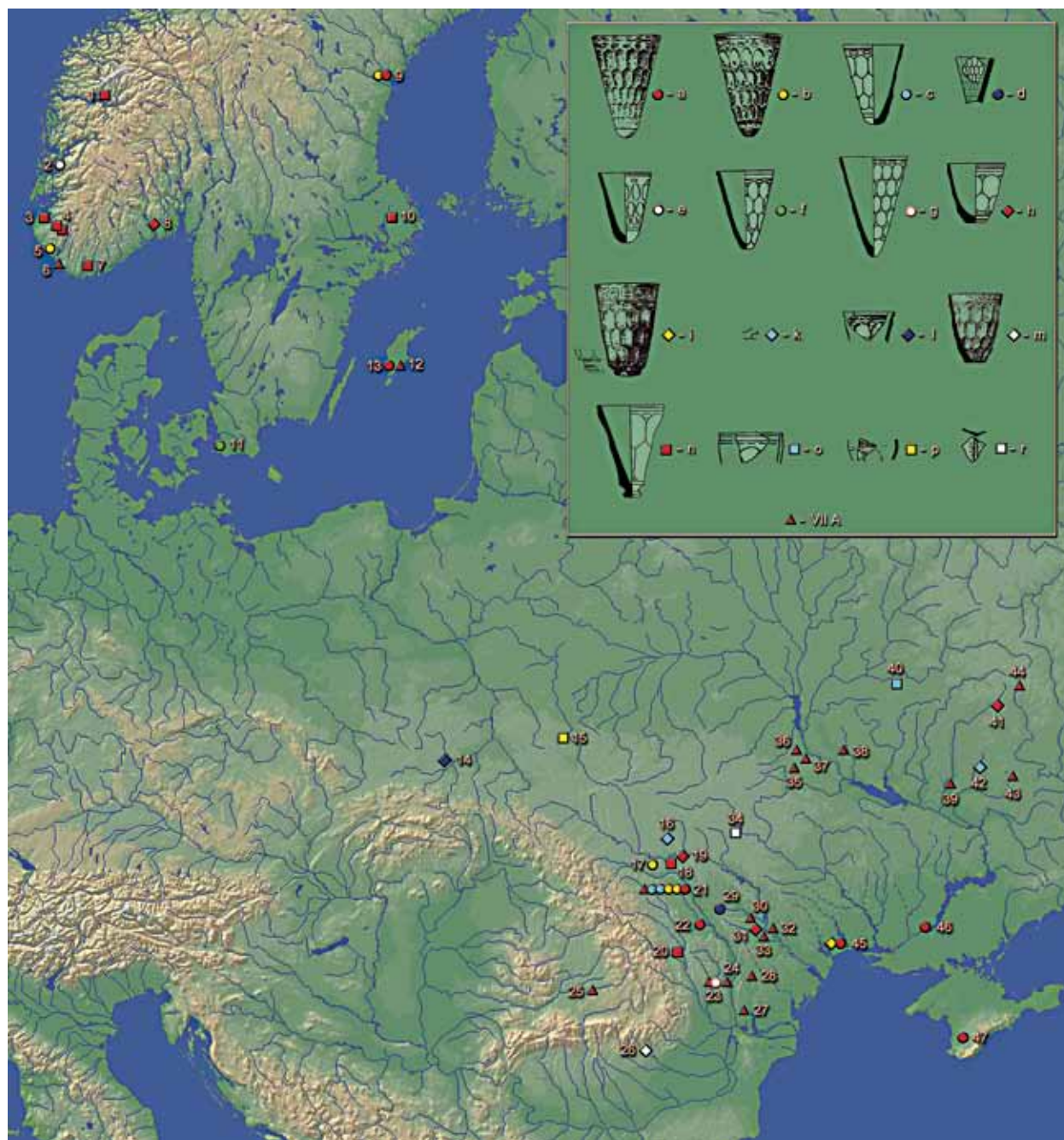


Fig. 6. Distribution of thick-walled cut-glass beakers
of the “Chernyakhov-Scandinavian” context (see Catalogue 2).

- a-g* — type Högom; *a-c* — series Gorshevtsy (“classical” Högom), variants: *a* — A, *b* — B, *c* — C;
d — series Lazo; *e* — series Øvsthus; *f* — series Lund; *g* — with slightly pronounced bottom part;
h-m — type Ługi; *h* — series Søvtedt; *i* — series Ranzhevoje; *k* — bottoms of the circle;
l — probably series Søvtedt; *m* — series Tîrşor; *n* — type Hebnes; *o, p, r* — individual shapes.
1 — Hamre; 2 — Øvsthus; 3 — Hogstad; 4 — Hebnes; 5 — Kvasheim; 6 — Lunde; 7 — *Snartemo*;
8 — Søvtedt; 9 — Högom; 10 — Ottarshögen; 11 — Lund; 12 — Amunde; 13 — Havor; 14 — Jakuszowice;
15 — Masłomecz; 16 — Dumanov; 17 — Gorshevtsy; 18 — Moshanets; 19 — Komarov; 20 — Izvoare;
21 — Mihălăşeni; 22 — Iaşi; 23 — Bârlad; 24 — Murgeni; 25 — Bratei; 26 — Tîrşor; 27 — Cialăc;
28 — Comrat; 29 — Slobodzia-Chişcăreni (Lazo); 30 — Zăicani; 31 — Budeşti; 32 — Delacău;
33 — Bălţata; 34 — Kurniki; 35 — Grebinki; 36 — Velikaya Bygayevka; 37 — Derevyannoye; 38 — Sosnova;
39 — Dubina; 40 — Chervonny Yar; 41 — Golovchino; 42 — Voytenki; 43 — Zapadnya;
44 — Khokhlovo; 45 — Ranzhevoje; 46 — Gavrillovka; 47 — Skalistoye

about the Chernyakhov context was the origin of type Högom. The Chernyakhov culture actually has the concentration of the finds of vessels ornamented with small cut hexagons, which style is obviously related to type Högom. Theoretically, Scandinavian materials synchronous to Chernyakhov ones could also show a chain of formation of type Högom (fig. 4B. 18; 5. 14), but these artefacts are isolated, they visibly stand out from synchronous local series (cf.: fig. 4B. 17, 9–10, and the mentioned vessels without pronounced bottom part). Finally, late Scandinavian finds of type Högom (fig. 5. 7–9) are close to numerous Chernyakhov finds rather than to the above-mentioned early Scandinavian artefacts (fig. 5. 16–18, 20, 23; Гавритухин 1999, рис. 1).

The formation of Hebnes corresponds to the complication of the design of bottom part of vessels, well-observable on the example of several finds from the south of Eastern Europe (fig. 4B. 1–5, 8), but ill-reflected by artefacts typical of the north of Central Europe and Northern Europe. The appearance of shape of body and sharply pronounced foot demonstrative for Hebnes type could be traced also for several series of vessels ornamented with large plastic medallions and attributed to Kosino type by me and some individual shapes corresponding to a part of artefacts of Straume's type VIII (see: Гавритухин 1999, с. 57–61, рис. 10. 31–32; 11; 12. 1–39, 48, 49). As I have already mentioned, detailed analysis of these vessels requires a specific paper; for the question of interest, it is enough to mention that none of researchers relate the genesis and production of vessels of type Kosino to barbarian environment of the Vistula-Oder region or Northern Europe. We should take into account surprising typological compactness of vessels of type Hebnes, though their chronology argues against the idea that Chernyakhov finds originate from Scandinavian ones.

Obviously, Hebnes type of vessels belongs to the same context as Högom type and Søvtedt series. Their shaping is related to the Chernyakhov culture where they were spread in its final period, that is in the early Great Migration period. The appearance of such vessels in other zones of habitation of East and North Germanics is only partly explainable as the preservation of the heritage of the environment related to the development of production of Kowalk beakers. In most cases, there are reasons to talk about direct relations with the Chernyakhov culture, although in new forms, related to the specificity of new historic situation.

Discussion

Here I would like to summarise the above-cited materials and observations from the point of view of possible interpretations and aspects of understanding the complete picture as general entity.

Kowalk beakers are the first mass type of glass vessels typical of barbarian environment proper. Apparently their prototypes are related to bowls decorated with cut ovals, which are represented in a series of Germanic (including elite) assemblages from Central European phase C2 (Rau's type Sakrau II; see also above, in the discussion of the chronology of Kowalk type). Although these vessels are not often, they appear in a large territory from Scandinavia to the north-west areas of the Chernyakhov culture. First specimens of "classical" Kowalk type appeared in this environment probably by the late phase C2 or early phase C3, and seemingly in different places.

Mass production of Kowalk vessels was in the period synchronous to Central European phase C3 (ca. 320/330–370/380 AD). Without direct evidence, it is not possible to establish the location of workshops where such beakers were produced. By all appearances, there were several workshop inter-related directly (via the contacts between craftsmen) and/or via similar tastes of their customers, including many groups of North and East Germanics and west groups of the Sarmatians. North-western connections of the Chernyakhov culture as far as Scandinavia developed in the period of mid-third century migrations and resulted in its own formation, they could explain only a part of the mechanisms of uniformity of this environment the same. The finds on the sites of the Przeworsk culture deserve special study: do they reflect contacts with the Chernyakhov culture known from other sources, or connections with the North? Another question is about the distribution mechanism of Kowalk beakers among the Sarmatians in the Tisa area and related to them Quadi in present-day Moravia (fig. 1B. 34). The question why such vessels are absent amidst the West Germanics in the area from the Rhine to the Elba basin inclusive requires special attention as well.

There are other series of vessels with cut ovals that developed in the same environment as Kowalk type. From the middle and especially in the second half of the fourth century, in different parts of the above-mentioned zone, there was a tendency towards mass production of vessels with thicker walls decorated with denser cutting, sometimes with complicated profile. On the one hand, this indicates

the preservation of common environment, though on the other hand, the dominance of local series and big number of individual variations indicate a relatively deeper isolation of the workshops oriented on service to isolated groups only, located within a space that sometimes was more "transparent." One should certainly keep in mind that Kowalk beakers have simple appearance, so it is hard to establish their local variations. However, even this situation allows one to agree that the weakening and modification of the "bundles" of traditional relations developed; it can be proved by other categories of finds (combs, fibulae, etc.).

Rau was actually right when he arranged types of glass vessels characteristic of the North and East Germanic cultures into evolution-typological line. New researches and materials show that the picture was more complicated, so if a priori statement based on this pattern is too linear, it could result in mistakes. A more detailed analysis allows one to ascertain that many types and variants of glass vessels form lines of evolution within barbarian cultures, or at least this evolution was firmly connected with their environment, though this environment was not isolated, it changed.

In the south of Eastern Europe, the Great Migration period started with the appearance of the Huns west of the Don (the problem of the appearance of the Huns in Europe and aspects of their expansion in Caucasus and the Volga-Ural regions are out of the frames of this paper) and with the migration of a part of the Goths into the Roman empire in 376 or a bit later. However, the Chernyakhov culture continued to exist: this stage of it (its final) included the distribution of glass vessels of the most complicated shapes and ornamentations. The Romans' loss of control over the Lower Danubian frontier could explain it only partially, because prototypes of new shapes of glass vessels obviously originate from Chernyakhov samples of earlier period. Although we do not know where exactly were the workshops serving to Chernyakhov population located, the development of some shapes of glass vessels of interest is undoubtedly related with Chernyakhov environment.

The process of the Great Migration involved also groups related to the Goths, who remained at place, as well as the peoples living north and north-west of them. It was reflected in the invasion of Radagaisus' different hoards as far as Italy in 405–406 AD, the appearance of the array of the Vandals, Suebi and Alans in Gallia in 409, and other events. From 420s AD, the consolidation of the Hunnic realm started

to establish control over many groups of barbarians in Central and Eastern Europe; it was accompanied with concentration of human potential closer to the Roman border that put pressure on the empire until the death of Attila in 453. All this changed previous ethnocultural landscape and the structure of connections, including the distribution of glass vessels.

The mentioned above, but not reflected in written sources, migrations of the period explain the end of the Chernyakhov, Wielbark, and Przeworsk cultures. For some Chernyakhov and Wielbark sites, partial synchronization with Central European phase D2 (380/400 — ca. 450 AD, according to: Tejral 1997) is possible, though they do not have indicators of phase D2/D3 (ca. 420/430–460/480 AD). Although some Przeworsk sites are known until the late fifth century, such sites are only few of them — this coincides with data of mass migration of the Vandals, one of the most important people of the culture, to the west.

In present-day Poland, most part of glass vessels typical of the Great Migration period does not have direct analogies in the Chernyakhov culture thus reflecting the continuation of tendency to deeper closeness of markets for the workshops and, possibly, turbulences of the period. Isolated Chernyakhov analogies (Jakuszowice) could be explained as a result of the formation of new routes of connections within the Hunnic realm. This is also confirmed by analogies to some other artefacts from the Great Migration period in Jakuszowice. Although the vessel of Kosino type (Straume's type VIII) from Piwonice points on south contacts, it has no connection to the Chernyakhov culture.

In relation to Scandinavia, the presence of a large number of late Chernyakhov analogies requires explanation taking into account the large empty zones between the areas of some types of vessels (fig. 6). One should bear in mind that, in the Great Migration period, there were well-documented contacts between Scandinavia and cultures adjoining the Baltic and North Sea or mediated by them. It is important to note that the most analogies to glass beakers from the final stage of the Chernyakhov culture (last decades of the fourth or first decades of the fifth century) in Scandinavia date to phase D2 (there, about the second half, but not earlier than the middle of the fifth century) or do not make such a chronology impossible, so they belong to the period when the Chernyakhov culture did not exist.

Straume has pointed out that in Scandinavia some vessels of interest from phase D2 are repaired, which indicates their value and length of storage.

However, vessels of such types reliably dated to Scandinavian phase D1 are literally few in number, and they are not known from reliable assemblages from phase C3 (fourth century). Hence, in Scandinavia there were more finds of glass vessels considerably later than the period of their mass existence than in assemblages of that very period. I can hardly agree with this conclusion because such a picture does not appear with many other types of vessels. Finally, if only few types of vessels were considered especially valuable, my question is about the reason of their special value.

Attempts to establish older chronology for the finds of vessels of Straume's types VII and IX in Scandinavia are explainable by researchers' logical desire to harmonize their chronology with the date of typologically close vessels in the continent. However, the existing set of facts does not allow one to level the mentioned asynchrony. This is not actually possible, even if one revises the chronology of the Chernyakhov culture to make it younger and Scandinavian timeline to make it older. I think that it would be more correct to search for the answer to the question how can we explain the asynchrony and territorial gap between analogous glass vessels in the Chernyakhov culture and Scandinavia in the Great Migration period.

Let us analyse possible solutions for this problem.

As scholars point out many times, in course of the migrations, the East Germanics kept for long a set of elements of their traditional costume, though they quickly changed the set of pottery and turned to use of what was by local population. Actually, many fibulae and buckles of Chernyakhov and Vistula types and types developed against their background are well known in the areas where the migration of the Goths, Vandals and other East Germanics recorded in written sources including the Balkans, Italy, Gallia and Spain. However, in these areas there is no ceramic ware typical of the Germanics (with Chernyakhov pottery-making being the most highly developed among the barbarian cultures), though their usual types of glassware were recorded in a few points not far from the imperial border. Naturally, the change of the assortment of pottery was accompanied with the loss of market for products of some workshops with complicated and efficient technologies. Hence, many craftsmen had to abandon their craft or discover new customers with tastes not very different from the products offered. As it was mentioned in the discussion of Kowalk beakers, the strip of land from Scandinavia

to the Chernyakhov culture included also an environment that conditioned similar tastes to glass vessels. When the period of instability started in the continent in the areas related to this environment, there was no such turbulence in Scandinavia, though local groups of population were neither passive not isolated.

The Hunnic realm started the creation of a new environment of comparative stability, but not all were satisfied with existed realities. One can remember the efforts of Vinitharius' Goths to make their own policy, which was oppressed by Balamber's Huns with the help from other Gothic groups. In the period of zenith of the Hunnic realm under Roas, Bleda and Attila, one of important points to negotiate with the Romans was extradition of refugees; it indicates that escaping was a rather popular form of resistance to the regime. Besides the Empire, insurgents could escape far to the north, to the lands free from the Hunnic control. It was certainly important for the refugees to find the new environment as close to their own culture as possible. Scandza, considered ancestral land by many (or all) East Germanics, was the best place to escape from the point of view of close cultural environment and inaccessibility for the Huns.

The models proposed are not alternative; they would rather supplement each other. Regarding to the vessels of interest, they offer a quite probable explanation how some types of beakers ceased to exist in the Chernyakhov culture in course of its fall, but from the first half (close to the middle) of the fifth century these vessels became popular in Scandinavia. Thus, one can understand territorial gap between the areas of these types of vessels.

This hypothesis cannot reply all the questions now. For example, it is not clear whether the migration of some group of customers of some products changed the location of workshops. However, the reply is related to our progress in studying a global problem: which was the nature and localization of shops producing glass vessels for the North and East Germanics in this and previous epochs?

Certainly, each find of a beaker of Straume's type VII or IX does not make an unambiguous evidence of the presence of someone from the Chernyakhov culture. This is only the case of migratory impulse related to the renaissance of some types of goods in other culture. It should be underlined that I do not think it correct to use this hypothesis as a universal explanation for other cases. On the contrary, in my point of view, such a supposed migration was not mass but related to one active and not numerous

Germanic group. The spread of other, even close, types of glass vessels like Kosino or Mălăești (according to: Гавритухин 1999; Straume's type VIII) certainly has another explanation (observations for one of such interpretations see: Stjernquist 2004b).

In addition to the considerations presented, I can hardly keep myself of some observations on the topic of Gaspra conference, even though I understand the doubtfulness of attempts to relate archaeological data to concrete historical events (precisely, to reconstructions based on fragmentary data of written sources) and their reflections in epos.

I will speak of the Heruli, the people that recently attracts attention of many colleagues interpreting Scandinavian analogies in the zone of the Chernyakhov culture and in the Danube area (see for example: Левада 2006; Иванишевич, Казанский 2010). Let me remind you some generally known data related to their history.

According to Jordanes' account, the Heruli, similar to many East Germanic peoples, originate from Scandza (Iord. *Get.* 23), i. e. Scandinavia. They played important role in the campaigns in the end of Scythian Wars, many of which were maritime, and those with participation of the Heruli were related to the Maiotis (i. e. Azov Sea; for the corpus of data see: Лавров 2000). Even for the authors who tried to glorify the Goths, the conquest of the Heruli (or limitation of their independency) who lived, according to Ablavius, near the Maiotis, by the Gothic king Ermanaric, was not a simple task (Iord. *Get.* 117–118). After that, the Heruli probably were subordinated by the Huns and moved west; at any rate, they are recorded among the participants of the battle of Nedao (ca. 454 AD), which laid the end to the Hunnic power over Central Europe (Iord. *Get.* 261). From the second half of the fifth century onwards, the Heruli lead permanent wars with their neighbours (Procop. *Bell. Goth.* 2. 14. 1, 8–11). The Heruli consisted of several groups that often supported different powers hostile to each other; in result, first group of the Heruli found itself at the Upper Danube, second with Odoacer, then with Theodoric and his successors in Italy, third with the Gepidae, then in the Danubian provinces of Byzantium (in Illyria), and a part of latter with the Gepidae again (Iord. *Get.* 242; Procop. *Bell. Goth.* 2. 14. 23–33; 15. 36; 3. 33. 13–14; 34. 42–43).

Important for my present topic are evidences of extraordinary — even for that time — unsociability and mobility of the Heruli. Procopius of Caesarea mentioned few cases when the Heruli turned to the north, to the isle of Thule (i. e. Scandinavia). In the

early years of Justinian's reign in Byzantium (i. e. after 527 AD), they, when lost their king, sent their ambassadors there for a new ruler (Procop. *Bell. Goth.* 2. 15. 27–30). The thing is that, being defeated by the Langobardi (in the period when Anastasios reigned in the Empire, i. e. in the late fifth or early sixth century), numerous group of the Heruli headed by the royal family left for Scandinavia (Procop. *Bell. Goth.* 2. 15. 1–4). After the retirement of Narses in 539, Herulic troop, being a part of his army in Italy, also moved northward, reached the land of the Veneti (west groups of the Slavs, lands of which laid on the way to Thule known to the Heruli), whence almost all of them, after the negotiations, returned to the land of the Empire (Procop. *Bell. Goth.* 2. 22. 5–8). Could these raids be along the way paved before, when Herulic group might return to Scandza because they were unhappy with the Hunnic rule or, for example, were in conflict with the groups subordinated to the Huns (similarly to Goths of Vinitharius, etc.)?

Criticizing romantic attempts to prove the historical background of Scandinavian tales of Odin's ancestral home and of the As people east of Tanais (the Don or the Severskiy Donets and the Don), many scholars suppose that they reflect some real things related to the presence of the Vikings in Eastern Europe in the period of the shaping and climax of the Ancient Rus (ninth to eleventh century). Although this layer probably reflected in sagas, I believe that the above-mentioned accounts originate from earlier period. What we do know of the Heruli extremely easily finds parallels in characteristics of Odin and his fellows down to minor details. The sagas mention aggressiveness of berserks even on the background of traditions of the time and their poor military equipment. This is very similar to specific warlike and savageness of the Heruli in comparison with other Germanics and their light weapons (Iord. *Get.* 18, 261; Procop. *Bell. Goth.* 2. 14.8–10, 27, 29, 35; idem *Bell. Pers.* 2. 25, 27). Cremation rite, established by Odin according to the legend, could be related to the Herulic cremation, which differs them from the other Germanics known to the Romaioi in the fifth and sixth century (Procop. *Bell. Goth.* 2. 14. 2–5).

Although these parallels certainly could not be considered indisputable argument, if one raises the question of possible prototypes of the image of Odin in Scandinavian sagas, they are not worse — and I think they are better — than others are. If one thinks in this direction, why does not one remember the already discussed phenomenon of coinci-

dence of the finds of glass beakers of Straume's types VII and IX in Scandinavia and in the Chernyakhov culture, as well as other archaeological data?

Here I should refer to the circle of sites from the second half of the third and early fourth century AD in the forest-steppe area east of the Dnieper, as far as the Severskiy Donets river, which are determined as "early Chernyakhov" or "Boromlya horizon." Although their interpretation is disputable (for the materials and discussion see: Обломский 2002; 2009; Любичев 2008a; 2008b; all with bibliography), the researchers agree that these sites record the appearance of new active population close to the people of the Chernyakhov culture from other areas of its formation (including a group of analogies pointing on the sites in the Middle Dniester area). From the period of climax of the Chernyakhov culture (synchronous to Central European phase C3) onwards, this region belonged to the Chernyakhov culture by all the characteristics. I think that the people of the mentioned antiquities included the Heruli, which exact location was not known to our informers (Jordanes and others), though it was close to the areas not far from the Maiotis. The changes in the period of climax of the Chernyakhov culture reflect some new community known as Ermanaric's realm. It is known that a part of this process was the establishment of control over the Heruli.

In the Hunnic period, Chernyakhov population moved westwards from the east. Let me remark that the most close analogies to above-described Scandinavian finds of glass beakers in the zones of the final stage of the Chernyakhov culture concentrate north-east of the Carpathians, especially within compact (a bit more than 100 km in diameter) area between the upper reaches of the Siret and the Dniester rivers (fig. 6. 17–21). Most likely, there was a group of Chernyakhov population related to this region; it also bore the impulse to Scandinavia recorded by few types of glass beakers. There also were small cemeteries clearly reflecting migrations within the Chernyakhov culture (for example, Goroshevtsy with beaker of Högom type; published completely at: НИКИТИНА 1996). This area is a part of the zone where many researchers discover analogies to the finds from eastern areas of the Chernyakhov culture (see for example: Магомедов 2001, с. 43, 59, 143–144; Гавритухин 2007, с. 20, 23–24, with extra bibliography). The existence of traditional connections makes clear the route of migrations, so it is quite probable that the Heruli, or a part of them, in their movement westwards in

the Hunnic period, made a stop in this area of the Carpathians for some time, and from there small group of them migrated to Scandinavia.

Considerable part of Chernyakhov population (including the Heruli) under the Hunnic power moved closer to the Danube and became independent (losing some traditions simultaneously). When it became necessary, some of the descendants of Chernyakhov people could turn to their tribesmen in Scandinavia not only backed by ancient legends of ancestral home but also using the beaten road and the connections recently renewed. As far as we know, the Heruli were those who did that several times. They probably kept tales of the land around Tanais and remote campaigns, that already became epic (cf. the period of the Scythian wars), which, in Scandinavia, could become a source for tales of Asgard and Odin's wars before he went to the west. It is also notable that some of the early Chernyakhov (or Boromlya horizon) sites mentioned above are located east of the Severskiy Donets river and not in the Lower Don (according to the legend, there was the Land of the Vans).

I am far from the idea that we can reach total coincidence between archaeological data and written sources. The idea of the sources of epos and myths as real events only is even more alien to me. However, it would not be correct to infer that different forms of representation of history have nothing in common.

Catalogue 1 Kowalk (Eggers 230) beakers east of the Prut river

The places are listed following Latin alphabet, with no regard to diacritical marks; other popular Latin transliterations and most common in archaeological scholarship Russian names are also cited. Assemblages of the same site are arranged in numerical order, taking into account the reliability of the glass vessel identification. As for the burial rite, only the fact of cremation is indicated; as for buildings, if it is above ground — it is important for the attribution and understanding of the reliability of the assemblage with the glass vessel. The indication of fragment estimates that the attribution is *hypothetical* to this or that extent. For extra bibliography, see: Кропоткин 1970.

This and other already published catalogues of Kowalk beakers in the territory under analysis are based on Кропоткин's catalogue and map (Кропоткин 1970, рис. 21). However, he mapped *all the vessels with cut ovals* not depending on

their type. The finds of types definitely other than Kowalk are not in this catalogue. These are: **Chernyakhov**, burial 160 (fig. 4A. 17; **Černiachov**, **Черняхов**; Кропоткин 1970, № 940. б; Rau 1972, N. 47. b; Straume 1987, Abb. 2, N. 120; Гавритухин 2007, с. 17, рис. 7. 16); **Chervonnyu Yar** (fig. 6. o; **Červonyj**, **Червонный Яр**; Кропоткин 1970, № 972; Rau 1972, N. 53; Straume 1987, S. 31; Гавритухин 1999, с. 66, № 84, рис. 6. 75; corrected in: Гавритухин 2007, с. 18, рис. 8: 1); **Kerch** (**Kerč**, **Керчь**; Кропоткин 1970, № 1327, with caption to fig. 79. 8 incorrectly indicating no. 1322; Rau 1972, N. 60; Гавритухин 2007, с. 18, рис. 7. 21); **Leski** (**Лески**; Кропоткин 1970, № 994; Rau 1972, N. 49; Смиленко, Брайчевский 1967, с. 59, рис. 16. 10); **Pereyaslav-Khmel'nitskiy**, burial 5 (**Perejaslav-Chmelnickij**, **Переяслав-Хмельницкий**; Кропоткин 1970, № 937; Rau 1972, N. 52; Сымонович 1977, с. 180, рис. 1. 7; Straume 1987, S. 31); **Popenki** (**Попенки**; Кропоткин 1970, № 1020; Rau 1972, N. 65; Straume 1987, S. 31).

No doubts, this catalogue will become larger after one looks through all the unpublished or partly published collections; I was able to do that in a restricted way only. I am grateful to Leonid Mosionzhnik and Roman Rabinovich for their help in localization, correction of spelling of several place names, and other information on the finds in Moldavia, Oleg Petrauskas and Oksana Gopkalo for various valuable information about several finds in the Ukraine, as well as to other colleagues whom I mention in description of individual finds.

Bălțata (**Балцаты**; fig. 2. 39)

Cemetery II, layer. Two fragments from 1963–1964 excavations. *Bibl.*: Рикман 1988, рис. 18. 11–12.

1955–1956, 1963, 1973–1975 excavations of cemeteries I and II and settlement VII uncovered a number of fragments of glass vessel; although publications do not allow one to attribute them precisely, by all appearances, there were several Kowalk vessels among them. *Bibl.*: Рикман 1975, с. 110–114 (*characteristics of the site and bibliography*); Федоров, Рошаль 1981.

Belen'koje (**Беленькое**; fig. 2. 59)

Burial 8. Complete vessel (fig. 3. 29; from the original); with two buckles. *Bibl.*: Росохатский 1987, с. 144–145, рис. 1. 1–3.

Burial 47. Complete vessel (fig. 3. 28; from the original); with two fibulae (Ambroz 16/2. I, variant 3). *Bibl.*: Бруяко, Левинский, Росохатский 1992, с. 149–150, рис. 1. 1–3.

According to the excavator Aleksandr Rosokhatskiy, and this has been checked with the collection of the Belgorod-on-Dniester Regional Museum, there also are complete vessels from unpublished burials 114, 207, 209 (fig. 3. 27; from the original), large fragments from burials 96 and 113, and, possibly, small fragments of a beaker of the same type from burial 127.

Budești (**Будешты**; fig. 2. 41)

Settlement, building 2 (above ground). Fragments; with fragments of glass vessels of other types (thin-walled, probably of a bowl; thick-walled, with cut ovals densely to each other), fibula (Ambroz 16/2. I, 3rd ["south"] variant), needle, whetstones, knives, beads, spindle whorls, etc. *Bibl.*: Vornic 2006, p. 34–40, fig. 15, 16 (probably Kowalk type on fig. 15. 4(?), 6, 8).

Cemetery layer and, probably, finds from non-documented burials. Fragments. The list according to Vlad Vornic and figures indicated according to his publication do not coincide completely. *Bibl.*: Кропоткин 1970, № 1007; Rau 1972, N. 69; Straume 1987, Fig. 2, N. 119; Vornic 2006, p. 212–213, fig. 110. 11–13, 15, 18; 127. 1–2(?), 3–7, 15.

Caracușenii Noi (**Новые Каркушаны**; fig. 2. 47). Excavation trench II/1977, layer. Fragment. Unpublished excavations by Emmanuil Rikman, information by Rabinovich.

Cherneliv-Rus'kiy (**Чернелив-Руський**; fig. 2: 3). Vladimir Telishchak, who is preparing materials of Igor' Gereta's excavations for publication, informs that there were small fragment from top part of a vessel (wall about 4.5 mm thick) with relatively wide cut strip and fragment of large oval below in burial 301a and fragments with thicker walls and cut ovals in burials 155 and 311.

Chernyakhov (**Černiachov**, **Черняхов**; fig. 2. 23). Burial 225. Complete vessel, non-documented assemblage. *Bibl.*: Кропоткин 1970, № 940. в; Rau 1972, N. 47. c; Straume 1987, Abb. 2, N. 121.

Chervonoye (**Червоное**; fig. 2. 24). Unit 2

Burial 5. Complete vessel; no other goods. *Bibl.*: Петраускас, Шишкин, Бабенко 2009, рис. 1.

According to Petrauskas, fragments of vessels of the type were also excavated from two unpublished burials.

Cimișeni (**Чимишены**; fig. 2. 44). Settlement; unpublished excavations by Mark Shchukin and Oleg Sharov. The latter informs that there was a number of shards comparable to Kowalk type.

Ciocîlteni (**Чиколтены**; fig. 2. 52). Burials 2 and 13. Complete vessels. Not published, information by Aleksandr Levinskiy.

Comrat (Комрат; fig. 2. 56). Settlement. Kropotkin mentions vessels with cut ovals, but fragments of six vessels, available to me in the collection of the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography (Chişinău), belong to other types; it is possible that I have seen not all the materials. *Bibl.: Кротопкин 1970, № 1011; Rau 1972, N. 68.*

Cosnița (Кошница; fig. 2. 42). Settlement, pit 2. Fragment. Corrected according to the collection of the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography (Chişinău). *Bibl.: Рикман 1969, рис. 3. 3; 1975, с. 107, рис. 26. 3.*

Cusoara (Кокоара; fig. 2. 53). Settlement II, pit-house 1. Fragment. Unpublished, though mentioned. Corrected according to the collection of the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography (Chişinău). *Bibl.: Рикман 1975, с. 53.*

Dănceni (Данчены; fig. 2. 46). Burial 224. Complete vessel (fig. 3: 22); there also was comb (Thomas III), spring of silver fibula, beads, pendants, needle-case, spindle whorl, ceramic vessels. *Bibl.: Рафалович 1986, табл. XXXIX, XXXVIII: 3–9.*

Delacău (Делакеу; fig. 2. 43). Fragments are mentioned (Кротопкин 1970, № 1008; Rau 1972, N. 67). Three pieces are identified according to the publication.

Building 5 (above ground), fireplace 1. Fragment; with whetstones, awls, spindle whorl, etc. *Bibl.: Рикман 1967, с. 181, рис. 5. 8.*

Settlement, excavation trench 3. Top fragment of the vessel. *Bibl.: Рикман 1967, с. 191, рис. 5. 4.*

Surface find from the settlement. Fragment. *Bibl.: Рикман 1967, рис. 15. 8.*

Druzhnoye (Дроозноуе, Дружное; fig. 2. 64). Grave 3. Infill in the burial vault chamber. Complete vessel assembled of fragments (fig. 3. 18); with glass vessels of other types (provincial Roman), buckles and other elements of belt fitting, ornaments, weapons, horse bits, knives, whetstones, spindle whorls, numerous ceramic ware, including Pontic red slip ware and light-clay amphorae (Shelov's type F) with dipinti, etc. *Bibl.: Храпунов 2002, с. 15–16, 57, рис. 69–73 (the beaker: рис. 71. 14).*

Dumanov (Думанов; fig. 2. 6). Unpublished Kropotkin's excavations of 1978–1983; the materials are stored in the Institute of Archaeology of the Russian Academy of Sciences; I am preparing a publication of them.

Burial 15. Two melted fragments about 5 mm thick (cremation).

The cemetery layer contained many cremations, partly destroyed. Melted shards of at least two vessels (walls about 2 and 3 mm thick).

Etulia (Етулия; fig. 2. 55). Burial 22. Fragment; no other goods (cremation). *Bibl.: Щербакова 1981, с. 112, рис. 2. 10.*

Giurgiulești (Джурджулешть; fig. 2. 54). A layer of Stâna lui Ion settlement. Top fragment of vessel. *Bibl.: Levițki et al., 2005, fig. 7. 1.*

Gnatki (Гнатки; fig. 2. 14). Burial. Complete vessel; the assemblage is not published except for glass beaker (by Kropotkin) and three ceramic jugs (by Iona Vinokur and Andrzej Kokowski); Kropotkin's archive contains photo of several ceramic vessels (Institute of Archaeology of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow); Petrauskas informs that Nadezhda Kravchenko's archive contains data of several artefacts (Pedagogical University, Kiev). *Bibl.: Кротопкин 1970, № 989; Rau 1972, N. 45; Straume 1987, Abb. 2, N. 125; Винокур 1972, рис. 30; Kokowski 2007, rys. 85.*

Koblevo (Коблево). Burial 25 (fig. 2. 60). Top part; with *denarius* of Trajan, minted in 103–109 AD, and fragments of ceramic ware including light-clay amphora. *Bibl.: Сымонович 1979, с. 90, рис. 14. 3.*

Khokhlovo (Хохлово; fig. 2. 35). Settlement 2, surface find. Anna Nekrasova informs that the picture of the fragment in the publication is incorrect: it is decorated with two vertical ovals, located horizontally, not far from, though not adjoining each other. *Bibl.: Кротопкин, Обломський 1991, с. 82, 83, рис. 4. 8.*

Kholmskoye (Холмское; fig. 2. 58). Settlement III, layer, close to hoard of coins of Constantius II (337–361 AD). Fragment; with other fragments of a glass vessel (the publisher thinks that they belong to one vessel, not Kowalk, though this attribution is disputable). *Bibl.: Росохатский 1987, с. 147, рис. 2. 3–6.*

Komarov (Комаров; fig. 2. 11). Settlement, with a workshop related to production of glass vessels (not Eggers 230). Although Kropotkin mentions fragments with cut ovals, published (not all) artefacts belong to other types (cf.: Straume 1987, S. 31). Likhter mentions at least five finds of fragments of Kowalk vessels, and she worked with the great part of the collection. *Bibl.: Кротопкин 1970, № 1003; Rau 1972, N. 72; Безбородов 1964; Straume 1987, Abb. 2, N. 126; Лихтер, Гонкало 2007, с. 194.*

Kompaniytsy (Компанийцы; fig. 2. 33). Fragments are mentioned by Kropotkin (Кротопкин 1970, № 968; Rau 1972, N. 55; Straume 1987, Abb. 2, N. 127), Nekrasova has identified two pieces from the collection that survived.

Burial 27. Fragment; with a fragment of glass vessel, most likely of another type, glass token, fragments of ceramic ware (cremation). *Bibl.*: Некрасова 2006, с. 107, рис. 61. 20–23.

Burial 224. Fragment; with beads, bell, fragments of ceramic ware (cremation). *Bibl.*: Некрасова 2006, с. 116, рис. 83. 1–5.

Kosanovo (Косаново; fig. 2. 19). Petrauskas has checked the old publications with available materials and has made a new publication of the assemblages and finds that survived in result. Burial 22–1961 (37 in other numeration). Almost complete vessel, bottom missing (fig. 3. 23); with three fibulae (Ambroz 16/2. I, variant 3), beads, ceramic pitcher. *Bibl.*: Кропоткин 1970, № 912; Rau 1972, N. 50; Straume 1987, Abb. 2, N. 128; Petrauskas 2003, S. 317–318, Abb. 44, Taf. 5. 3.

Kozlov (Козлов; fig. 2. 10). Settlement. Two or three fragments. *Bibl.*: Магомедов 1997, с. 169, рис. 15. 8–9.

Kurniki (Курники; fig. 2. 17). Although “numerous” fragments of Kowalk beakers are mentioned (Магомедов, Гудим-Левкович 1991, с. 100), only two pieces are published.

Burial 4. Lower area (fig. 3. 19); with a pair of radiate-headed fibulae, three-handled vase, beads, spindle whorl, casket fragments. *Bibl.*: Магомедов 1999, с. 104–105, 108, рис. 6.

Burial 5. Top fragment; with beads. *Bibl.*: Магомедов 1999, с. 105–106, 109, рис. 7.

Legedzino (Легедзино; fig. 2. 25). Boris Magomedov informs that 2010 excavations of the cemetery uncovered melted fragments with cut ovals in burial 41 (with fragments of ceramic vessels; cremation) and two non-melted fragments 1–2 m far from this burial.

Lepesovka (Лепесовка; fig. 2. 2). Settlement, house III (above ground). Sub-bottom part (fig. 3. 32); with fibula (Almgren VII; series 4 [“Lepesovka”] according to: Гороховский, Гопкало 2004), comb (Thomas I), etc. *Bibl.*: Кропоткин 1970, № 990; Rau 1972, . 44; Straume 1987, Abb. 2, N. 130; Tikhonova et al. 1999, fig. 2. 1–4; Шукин 2005, с. 122–126, рис. 41. 1–4.

Lesovyue Grinevtsy (Лесовые Гринеvцы; fig. 2. 16). The author of unpublished excavations Sergey Demidko informs that burial 7 contained complete vessel together with buckle, ceramic jug and bowl fragment; burial 5 also contained totally destructed non-attributable glass beaker.

Luka-Vrublevetskaia (Luka-Vrubleveckaja, Лука-Врублевцевская; fig. 2. 7). Settlement. Fragment. *Bibl.*: Кропоткин 1970, № 991; Rau 1972, N. 74.

Maslovo (Маслово; fig. 2. 28). Petrauskas informs that the part of Viktor Petrov’s archive in the Pedagogical University (Kiev) contains draft plates for publication of the cemetery with images of vessels probably of Kowalk type. These finds are not mentioned in publications.

Nagornoye (Нагорное; fig. 2. 57). Settlement II. Fragment. *Bibl.*: Росохатский 1987, с. 146, рис. 2. 2.

Neyzats (Нейзац; fig. 2. 63). Burial vault 275. Three complete vessels: in burial I (fig. 3. 24), in the accumulation of goods right of the entrance (fig. 3. 25), in the accumulation at the wall opposite to the entrance (fig. 3. 26); with glass vessels of other types (provincial Roman), buckles and other belt fittings, fibulae (iron, extremely corroded), ornaments, weapons, horse bits, knives, whetstones, spindle whorls, numerous ceramic vessels including red-slip pottery and light-clay amphorae (Shelov F) with *dipinti*, etc. *Bibl.*: Khrapunov 2008, p. 189, 191–192, fig. 9. 1–3.

Nikoloyevka (Kozatskoye) (Nikolajevka, Николаевка, Козацкое; fig. 2. 62).

Burial 8 (I–H)/1909. Complete vessel (fig. 3. 31); with two fibulae (Ambroz 16/4. III), comb (transitional form between Thomas I and Thomas III), beads, pendants, etc. *Bibl.*: Кропоткин 1970, № 985; Rau 1972, N. 57; Straume 1987, Abb. 2, N. 132.

1967 find of top part of analogous vessel is mentioned. *Bibl.*: Сымонович 1977, с. 181.

Obukhov (Обухов; fig. 2. 22).

Settlement 1, unit 21. Fragments of two vessels: thin-walled and with thicker walls; with beads, pendant, piercer, knife, fragments of ceramic ware including amphorae. *Bibl.*: Кравченко и др. 2007, с. 195–198, рис. 58–62 (glass vessels: с. 196, рис. 60. 3, 5).

Settlement 1, unit 24 (fig. 3. 20). Top fragment of a vessel; with comb (Thomas III), pliers and other iron ware, whetstones, piercers, fragments of ceramic ware. *Bibl.*: Кравченко и др. 2007, с. 199–202, рис. 67–71 (glass vessel: с. 201, рис. 69. 1).

Settlement 1, layer. Fragments. *Bibl.*: Кравченко и др. 2007, с. 211, 214, рис. 94. 3; 100. 12.

Cemetery 1a. Layer. Fragments. *Bibl.*: Кравченко и др. 2007, с. 390, рис. 27. 4, 6, and possibly 5.

Odaia (Одая; fig. 2. 50). Settlement, unpublished excavations by Shchukin and Sharov. The latter informs that there was a number of shards of vessels comparable to Kowalk type; Shchukin provided a drawing of one. *Bibl.*: Шукин 1999, рис. 9 (right).

Oselivka (Оселивка; fig. 2. 8).

Burial 15. Complete vessel (fig. 3. 30); with fragments of three-layered comb and bronze applique, three complete ceramic vessels and fragments of others. *Bibl.: Лухтер 1988, с. 101, 109, рис. 1, № 81; Никитина 1988, с. 19–23; 2008, с. 80, 380–382, рис. 15. 1.*

Burial 13. Fragment; corresponds to the description but is greatly melted, so the publishers have doubts in its attribution; with spindle whorl, knife, beads, fragments of ceramic vessels (cremation). *Bibl.: Лухтер 1988, с. 103, 107, № 13, рис. 6. 4; Никитина 1988, с. 19; 2008, с. 80, 377–379, рис. 14. 4.*

Burial 62. Small fragment; with fibula (Ambroz 16/2. I. variant 3), two ceramic vessels (cremation). *Bibl.: Лухтер 1988, с. 103, 107, № 17, рис. 6. 8; Никитина 1988, с. 57; 2008, с. 80, 377–379.*

Burial 71. Small fragment; with fragments of comb, buckle, and ceramics (non-attributable; cremation). *Bibl.: Лухтер 1988, с. 103, 107, № 16, рис. 6. 7; Никитина 1988, с. 65; 2008, с. 80, 377–379.*

Burial 89. Small fragment; with fibula (Ambroz 16/2. I, variant 3 or south; of iron), buckle, ceramic vessel, fragments of comb (cremation). *Bibl.: Лухтер 1988, с. 103, 107, № 15, рис. 6. 6; Никитина 1988, с. 81–83; 2008, с. 377–379.*

Layer of cemetery and non-documented finds. Fragments; correspond to the description, though drawings are schematic and raise some doubts in the attribution. *Bibl.: Лухтер 1988, с. 103, 107, № 10–12, 14, 18, 28 (?), рис. 6. 1–3, 5, 9.*

Petresti (Петрешты; fig. 2. 48). Burial 137. Fragments. Not published, according to Sergey Kurchatov's information.

Petrikivtsy (Петрикивцы; fig. 2. 15). Settlement 2. One fragment is mentioned. *Bibl.: Магомедов, Левада 1997, с. 81.*

Pokrovka (Посровса, Покровка; fig. 2. 51). Settlement, unpublished excavations by Shchukin and Sharov. The latter informed me that there were many shards comparable to Kowalk type.

Ripnev (Рипнев; fig. 2. 1). Settlement. Kropotkin mentions five fragments discovered; the most complete publication of the site deals with a fragment from house 27, from pit 28, and few more from the layer (seven "ornamented" pieces total). No images published. *Bibl.: Кротошкин 1970, № 957; Раи 1972, N. 43; Баран 1981, с. 104–105.*

Romanivka (Романивка; fig. 2. 4). Burial 1. Complete vessel; with seven ceramic vessels. *Bibl.: Герета 1989, с. 294–295, рис. 9.*

Romankovtsy (Романковцы; fig. 2. 12).

Burial 14. Two fragments; with beads, two ceramic vessels, fragments of ceramic ware and bronze ware, including fibula spring. *Bibl.: Никитина 1996, с. 77–78; 2008, с. 78, 373–375, рис. 12. 9–10.*

Burial 57. Fragment; with small fragments of two more glass vessels of definitely other types, buckle, beads, bronze awl with bone handle, worked bones. *Bibl.: Никитина 1996, с. 87; 2008, с. 79, 373–376, рис. 12. 17.*

Burial 91. Fragment; with another non-attributable fragment of glass vessel and beads. *Bibl.: Никитина 1996, с. 93, рис. 5. 9; 2008, с. 79, 373–376, рис. 12. 19.*

Burial 103. Fragment; fragments of another glass vessel (of non-attributable type) are also mentioned; with beads, fragments of ceramic ware and other artefacts (cremation). *Bibl.: Никитина 1996, с. 96; 2008, с. 79, 373–376, рис. 12. 20.*

Ryzhavka (Ружавка, Рыжавка; fig. 2. 27). Fragments from the cemetery are mentioned. *Bibl.: Кротошкин 1970, № 999; Раи 1972, N. 51.*

Shershni (Шершни; fig. 2. 18). Settlement. Fragment. *Bibl.: Магомедов, Гудим-Левкович 1991, с. 98–99, рис. 2. 19.*

Shlyakh (Шлях; fig. 2. 37). Settlement 2, layer. Fragment, correction according to the collection of the Museum of Slobodskaya Ukraine at the Kharkov University. *Bibl.: Любичев 2005, с. 284, рис. 5. 16; Любичев 2007, рис. 6. 9.*

Skitka (Скитка; fig. 2. 20). Burial 12. Complete vessel; with two fibulae (Ambroz 16/2. I, variant 3), buckle, comb (Thomas III), needle case, beads, etc. *Bibl.: Гонкало 2008, фото 4.*

Slobodishche (Слободище; fig. 2. 26). Settlement. Fragment, the drawing from old publications was corrected by Symonovich. *Bibl.: Сымонович 1977, с. 181, рис. 1. 9.*

Solonceni (Солончены; fig. 2. 49). Settlement, cinder accumulation 1–3. One fragment mentioned; no other finds. *Bibl.: Левинский 1992, с. 199, 206.*

Sosnova (Соснова; fig. 2. 31). The briefly published information is corrected according to available documents by Nekrasova (unpublished). The fragment mentioned from building 1 has cut decoration with hexagonal "honeycombs" (see Catalogue 2). Comparable with variants of Kowalk type are: fragment of thin-walled vessel in building 5; one with thicker walls in building 4. *Bibl.: Махно, Сикорский 1987, с. 58–59; Махно, Сикорский 1989, рис. 6.*

Stetsovka (Стецовка; fig. 2. 30). Burial 10, investigated in 1972. Big fragments of its top and

sub-bottom parts. Not published. Information by Magomedov, who participated in Yevgeniya Makhno's excavations, and Petrauskas, who saw this vessel in the collection of the Institute of Archaeology of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine.

Sumy (Сумы). Suburb called Sad (fig. 2. 34)

Burial 1. Complete vessel; with 14 ceramic vessels, iron applique and bar, ashes of wood (fragments of a casket?). *Bibl.: Некрасова 1985, с. 75, рис. 2.*

Burial 3. Complete vessel; with six ceramic vessels *Bibl.: Некрасова 1985, с. 76, рис. 1.*

Teremtsy (Теремцы; fig. 2: 9). Settlement, house 20. Fragment (no image published; attributed by Gopkalo and Likhter); with fragments of ceramic vessels including fine shards of red-clay amphorae. *Bibl.: Лихтер, Гопкало 2007, с. 188–189, № 2; Баран 2008, с. 22, 34, табл. LXI. 1–2, 4–7, 9–13.*

Tiligulo-Berezanka (Тилигуло-Березанка; fig. 2. 61). Settlement. Fragment. *Bibl.: Сымонович 1997, с. 181, рис. 1. 20.*

Timchenki (Тимченки; fig. 2. 38)

Settlement. One fragment discovered in a layer by 1998 excavation is mentioned; initially attributed to Kowalk type, but, according to the information by the excavator Lybichev, this vessel belonged to another type. *Bibl.: Любичев 1998, с. 110.*

Unit 2, private collection. Fragment. *Bibl.: Бакуменко и др. 2002, с. 81, рис. 1. 1.*

Velikaya Bugayovka (Великая Бугаёвка; fig. 2. 21)

Cemetery, layer. 17 fragments/ *Bibl.: Петраускас, Пастернак 2003, с. 67–68, рис. 2. 4–12.*

Settlement, layer. Fragment. I think that the attribution of the fragment from unit 4 as Eggers 230 is incorrect because it has relatively large ovals adjoining each other. *Bibl.: Петраускас, Шишкин 2009, с. 211–212, 218–219, рис. 9. 2; 12. 12.*

Vily Jarugskiye (Vily Jarugskie, Вилы Яругские; fig. 2. 13). Burial 3/1953. Complete vessel (fig. 3. 21; after the original in the State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg); with two fibulae (Ambroz 16/2. I, variant 3), three-layered comb with back close to semi-oval with strengthened sides, spindle whorl, ten ceramic vessels. *Bibl.: Кропоткин 1970, № 911; Рау 1972, N. 66; Страуте 1987, Abb. 2, N. 135; Романова 1988, с. 135–138, рис. 7.*

Voitenki (Войтенки; fig. 2. 36). According to the excavator Lybichev: a fragment in burial 32; a fragment in the cemetery layer; fragments in the settlement layer. Unpublished.

Zaicani (Загайканы; fig. 2. 40). Settlement layer. Fragment. *Bibl.: Рикман 1969, с. 103, рис. 4. 4.*

Zaliski (Залиски; fig. 2. 5). Settlement, building 1 (above ground). According to schematic drawing and description, which probably implies cut decoration, there was Eggers 230 vessel among the finds. I think that this still unpublished attribution by Petrauskas is probable. Excavations under collapses of clay and around also uncovered bronze fragment of fibula (Ambroz 16/2. I), ring and pin, iron knife, bone piercers, goat's antler with traces of use, ceramic spindle whorl, weight, vessels including handle of light-clay amphora. Markian Smishko attributes this assemblage to the Lipitsa culture and dates it from the third century according to the fibula. However, such fibulae are not known in Lipitsa culture; according to the drawing, it has flattened bow, so it is not the earliest within the series; among the ceramic ware, there is a vessel from the Early Iron Age, so more doubts in reliability of the assemblage appear. *Bibl.: Смішко 1952, с. 341, 344, табл. I. 2.*

Zhovnino (Žovnino, Жовнино; fig. 2. 32). Unit VI (Bilenkovy Burty), burial 1/1962. Glass vessel published by Kropotkin, part of ceramic ware and beads, two "crossbow" (no other details mentioned) fibulae do not survive; the comb (Thomas III) and five ceramic vessels are published according to the collection that remained. *Bibl.: Кропоткин 1970, № 992; Рау 1972, N. 54; Страуте 1987, Abb. 2, N. 136; Петраускас, Цындоровская 2002, с. 6–8, 32–33, рис. 1.*

Zhuravka (Žuravka, Журавка; fig. 2. 29). Complete vessel from burial 10 (with hand-made ceramic vessel) is published; one or two fragments from the settlement are mentioned. *Bibl.: Кропоткин 1970, № 993; Рау 1972, N. 48; Сымонович 1977, с. 181, рис. 1. 18; Страуте 1987, Abb. 2, N. 137.*

Catalogue 2

Thick-walled cut-glass beakers in the "Chernyakhov-Scandinavian" context

Högom type

Gorshevtsy series ("classical" Högom)

Variant A. With four or five lines of cut hexagons (fig. 6. a)

Gavrilovka (Гавриловка), burial 5 (fig. 5. 16; 6. 46). *Bibl.: Гавритухин 1999, № 11; 2000, рис. 3. 1–7.*

Havor (fig. 6. 13). *Bibl.: Страуте 1987, N. 63; Гавритухин 1999, № 72.*

Högom (fig. 5: 7; 6: 9). *Bibl.: Страуте 1987, N. 65; Гавритухин 1999, № 75.*

Iași-Nicolina, house B3 (fig. 6. 22). *Bibl.*: Гаври-
тухин 1999, № 91; *Pánszél, Dobos* 2007, no. 27.

Mihălășeni, burial 450 (fig. 5. 23; 6. 21). *Bibl.*:
Șovan 2005.

Ranzhevoe (Ранжевое), burial 12 (fig. 6. 45).
Bibl.: Гавритухин 1999, № 56.

Skalistoye (Скалистое), Baklinskiy Ovrag (Бак-
линский овраг; fig. 5. 13; 6. 47). *Bibl.*: Гавритухин
1999, № 57.

VARIANT B. With four or five lines of cut ovals
(fig. 6. b)

Goroshevtsy (Горошевы), burial 4 (fig. 5. 17;
6. 17). *Bibl.*: Гавритухин 1999, № 12; 2000, *рис.* 3.
13–16.

Högom (fig. 5. 7; 6. 9). *Bibl.*: *Straume* 1987, N.
65; Гавритухин 1999, № 75.

Kvasheim (fig. 5. 9; 6. 5). *Bibl.*: *Straume* 1987, N.
26; Гавритухин 1999, № 24.

Mihălășeni, burials 296 and 396 (fig. 5. 18, 20; 6.
21). *Bibl.*: *Gomolka-Fuchs* 1999, *Abb.* 6. 4 (*obviously,*
the caption to Abb. 6 in the publication contains a
misprint, so Abb. 6. 4 depicts the beaker from burial
296); Șovan 2005.

VARIANT C. With three lines of cut hexagons
(fig. 6. c).

Mihălășeni, burials 117 and 175 (fig. 5. 19, 24;
6. 21). *Bibl.*: *Gomolka-Fuchs* 1999, *Abb.* 6. 9; Șovan
2005; *Pánszél, Dobos* 2007, no. 28.

Lazo series (fig. 6. d)

Lazo (Slobodzia-Chișcăreni; Лазо; Слободзия-
Кишкэрень), burial 28 (fig. 5. 15; 6. 29). *Bibl.*:
Гавритухин 1999, № 35; 2000, *рис.* 3. 11–12.

Øvsthus series (fig. 6. e)

Øvsthus (fig. 5. 10; 6. 2). *Bibl.*: *Straume* 1987,
N. 53; Гавритухин 1999, № 87.

Lund series (fig. 6. f)

Lund (fig. 6. 11). *Bibl.*: *Straume* 1987, N. 71;
Гавритухин 1999, № 38.

With slightly pronounced foot (fig. 6. g)

Bârlad — Valea Seacă, burial 84 (fig. 5. 22; 6. 23).
Bibl.: *Gomolka-Fuchs* 1999, *Abb.* 6. 8; *Palade* 2004;
Pánszél, Dobos 2007, no. 31.

Ługi type

Søtvedt series (fig. 6. h)

Budești (Будешты; fig. 4B. 13; 6. 31). *Bibl.*:
Гавритухин 1999, № 7; 2007, *рис.* 6. 2.

Golovchino (Головчино; fig. 4B. 12; 6. 41). *Bibl.*:
Гавритухин 2007, *рис.* 6. 3.

Комаров (Комаров; fig. 4B. 11; 6. 19). *Bibl.*:
Гавритухин 1999, № 28; 2007, *рис.* 6. 5.

Søtvedt (fig. 5. 6; 6. 8). *Bibl.*: *Straume* 1987, N. 42;
Гавритухин 1999, № 63; 2007, *рис.* 6. 4.

Probably Søtvedt series (fig. 6. l)

Jakuszowice, unit 337 (fig. 5. 12; 6. 14). *Bibl.*:
Гавритухин 1999, № 90; *Stawiarska* 1999, *num.* 187.

Ranzhevoe series (fig. 6: i)

Ranzhevoe (Ранжевое), burial 14 (fig. 4B. 8;
6. 45). *Bibl.*: Гавритухин 1999, № 56; 2007, *рис.* 6.
1.

**Sub-bottom fragments of the beakers of this
circle** (fig. 6. k)

Dumanov (Думанов; fig. 4B. 6; 6. 16). *Bibl.*:
Гавритухин 2007, *рис.* 6. 9.

Voytenki (Войтенки; fig. 4B. 5; 6. 42). *Bibl.*:
Гавритухин 2007, *рис.* 6. 11.

Tîrğșor series (fig. 6. m)

Tîrğșor, burial 179 (fig. 4A. 6; 6. 26). *Bibl.*: Гаври-
тухин 1999, № 56; *Pánszél, Dobos* 2007, no. 36.

Hebnes type (fig. 6. n)

Hamre (fig. 5. 4; 6. 1). *Bibl.*: *Straume* 1987, N. 18;
Гавритухин 1999, № 70.

Hebnes (fig. 6. 4). *Bibl.*: *Straume* 1987, N. 21;
Гавритухин 1999, № 74; *Rau* 2008, N. 49.

Hogstad (fig. 5. 3; 6. 3). *Bibl.*: *Straume* 1987,
N. 22; Гавритухин 1999, № 79; *Rau* 2008, N. 50.

Izvoare, burial IX (?) (fig. 5. 21; 6. 20). *Bibl.*:
Гавритухин 1999, № 22; *Gomolka-Fuchs* 1999,
Abb. 6. 7; *Pánszél, Dobos* 2007, no. 43.

Moshanets (Мошанец; fig. 4B. 4; 6. 18). *Bibl.*:
Войнаровский 2005, *рис.* 7. 11.

Snartemo (fig. 5. 2; 6. 7). *Bibl.*: *Straume* 1987,
N. 39; Гавритухин 1999, № 62.

Probably Hebnes type

Bârlad — Valea Seacă, out of assemblage
(fig. 6. 23). *Bibl.*: *Palade* 2004; *Pánszél, Dobos*
2007, no. 56.

Ottarshögen (fig. 5. 1; 6. 10). *Bibl.*: *Straume* 1987,
N. 72; Гавритухин 1999, № 52.

Individual shapes

Chervonyy Yar (Červonyj Jar, Червоный Яр;
fig. 6. o. 40). *Bibl.*: Гавритухин 1999, № 84; Гаври-
тухин 2007, *рис.* 8. 1.

Kurniki (Курники), cemetery layer (fig. 6. r. 34).
Bibl.: Гавритухин 1999, № 84; Магомедов 1999,
рис. 15. 1.

Maślomęcz, site 15, burial 84 (fig. 6. p. 15). *Bibl.*:
Гавритухин 1999, № 41; *Stawiarska* 1999, *num.*
152.

Fragments of beakers with cut hexagons (fig. 6:
VII A)

Amunde (fig. 5. 11; 6. 12). *Bibl.*: *Straume* 1987,
N. 58; Гавритухин 1999, № 1.

- Bălțata (Балцаты; fig. 6. 33). *Bibl.: Гавритухин 1999, № 4.*
- Bârlad — Valea Seacă, burial 143, out of assemblage (fig. 6. 23). *Bibl.: Palade 2004; Pánszél, Dobos 2007, no. 26, 57.*
- Bratei (fig. 6. 25). *Bibl.: Гавритухин 1999, № 5; Pánszél, Dobos 2007, no. 59, 61.*
- Budești (Будешты; fig. 6. 31). *Bibl.: Гавритухин 1999, № 4; Vornic 2006.*
- Cialăc (Чалык), burials 13 and 16 (fig. 6. 27). *Bibl.: Гавритухин 1999, № 83.*
- Comrat (Комрат; fig. 6. 28). *Bibl.: Гавритухин 1999, № 29.*
- Delakeu (Делакеу; fig. 6. 32). *Bibl.: Гавритухин 1999, № 14.*
- Derevyanpoue (Деревянное; fig. 6. 37). *Bibl.: Гавритухин 1999, № 13; Кравченко и др. 2007.*
- Dubina (Дубина), burial 3 and layer (fig. 6. 39). *Bibl.: Гавритухин 2007, рис. 8. 3–4.*
- Grebinki (Гребинки), house 2 (fig. 6. 35). *Bibl.: Магомедов, Левада 1992, рис. 3. 5.*
- Iași — Brick Factory (fig. 6. 22). *Bibl.: Pánszél, Dobos 2007, no. 25.*
- Iași — Nicolina, house A14 (fig. 6. 22). *Bibl.: Гавритухин 1999, № 91; Pánszél, Dobos 2007, no. 41.*
- Khokhlovo (Хохлово; fig. 6. 44). *Bibl.: Гавритухин 1999, № 81; Гавритухин, 2007, рис. 8. 6–7.*
- Lunde (fig. 5. 5; 6. 6). *Bibl.: Straume 1987, N. 27; Гавритухин 1999, № 39.*
- Murgeni (fig. 6. 24). *Bibl.: Pánszél, Dobos 2007, no. 29.*
- Sosnova (Соснова), house 1 (fig. 6. 38). *Bibl.: Гавритухин 1999, № 52 (indication of the site is incorrect); 2007, рис. 8. 5.*
- Velikaya Bugayevka (Великая Бугаевка; fig. 6. 36). *Bibl.: Петраускас, Пастернак 2003.*
- Zăicani (Загайканы; fig. 6. 30). *Bibl.: Гавритухин 1999, № 21.*
- Zaradnya (Западня; fig. 6. 43). *Bibl.: Гавритухин 2007, рис. 8. 2.*

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Игорь ГАВРИТУХИН

Стеклянные шлифованные кубки в контексте изучения связей юга Восточной Европы и Скандинавии в конце эпохи римских влияний и в эпоху Великого переселения народов

Резюме

В статье подытожена часть наблюдений над некоторыми стеклянными кубками IV–V вв., известными в Скандинавии и на юге Восточной Европы, и на этой основе предложены новые возможности для интерпретации данных. Прототипы кубков типа Ковалк (Эггерс 230; тип I по Э. Штрауме) появляются в фазе C2 центральноевропейской шкалы. Они представлены в основном сравнительно толстостенными образцами; среди целых форм есть сосуды, по пропорциям близкие чашам. Эти сосуды не многочисленны и не образуют устойчивых серий, распространены от Скандинавии до северо-запада черняховской культуры. Большинство кубков типа Ковалк бытовало в фазе C3, для которой особенно показателен и является доминирующим вариант IA по Э. Штрауме (сравнительно тонкостенные, с неполированным шлифованным орнаментом). Их ареал охватывает большинство культур северных и восточных германцев (включая пшеворскую) и западные группы сарматов. В последние десятилетия IV в. такие кубки, по-видимому, уже не производили, хотя отдельные сосуды могли использовать. Со второй половины IV в. они сменяются толстостенными шлифованными кубками поздних вариантов или других типов. Схожие тенденции развития объяснимы сохранением среды, маркированной типом Ковалк, но ограниченность зон распространения и немногочисленность большинства типов отражает тенденцию к её распаду. На этом фоне выделяются кубки типа Хебнес, ряда серий типов Хегом (кроме серии Козлушко, рассматриваемой как отдельный тип), Луги (особенно серия Сетведт) и близкие им (по модифицированной типологии автора, опубликованной в 1999 г.; Список 2). Их формирование связано со средой черняховской культуры периода её финала (последние десятилетия IV – начало или первые десятилетия V в.). Такие сосуды есть и в Скандинавии, но отделены территориальной (их нет в большинстве зон Центральной Европы) и хронологической (в Скандинавии — в основном фаза D2 местной шкалы, т. е. вторая половина, не ранее середины, V в.; лишь единицы — раньше) лакунами. Это можно объяснить миграцией в Скандинавию небольшой группы носителей черняховской культуры, недовольной гуннским владычеством, вероятно из зоны между верховьями Сирета и Средним Днестром. Вопрос, имела место и миграция мастеров или только перенос зон сбыта их продукции, остаётся открытым, поскольку не ясно, где вообще производили стеклянные сосуды, необычные для Римской империи, но, несомненно, связанные со средой некоторых культур варваров. В дополнение приводятся данные о возможной связи упомянутой группы черняховских мигрантов с герулами. Уйдя из Скандинавии и после участия в Скифских войнах, они осели в бассейне Северского Донца, где известны восточные

раннечерняховские (или горизонта Боромля) древности. Памятники «классической» черняховской культуры отражают включение этого региона в державу Германариха. В гуннское время герулы ушли на запад. Позднее отмечаются миграции и другие связи герульских групп со Скандинавией; вероятно, этот путь был актуализирован в гуннское время группой черняховцев, с которой связано появление в Скандинавии ряда стеклянных сосудов. Данные о герулах позволяют предположить, что их эпос мог найти отражение и в скандинавских сагах, связанных с Асгардом и приходом Одина с реки Танаис. В Списке 1 дан новый каталог находок кубков типа Ковалк к востоку от р. Прут.

Ingar M. GUNDERSEN

ASPECTS OF INTERREGIONAL IMPULSES: GERMANIC PRINCELY GRAVES IN THE EARLY ROMAN PERIOD

The question to be analysed in this article is the concept of interregional impulses: to what degree can this change in the burial customs, and the symbolic display of the drinking-feasts, be understood as a result of the creation of the *Limes* a few decades earlier, and the increasing Roman political interference and influence on the Germanic world? Furthermore, can this process simply be decimated to a mere Roman influence, or should the princely graves more likely be understood as regional variation of a more universal phenomena of cultural change in the wake of an expanding Roman empire? To shed light onto these questions, I will be using the archaeological material from the Germanic princely graves, Greco-Roman written sources and contemporary social theory. My intention is to present the princely graves as a result of the tension between external impulses and internal social mechanisms: As both Roman reflection and Germanic construction.

Introduction

My aim for this article is to discuss external cultural impulses in the Germanic societies within a somewhat theoretical approach, and not to focus so much on the relationship between Rome and Germania in itself, but rather on the universal dynamics behind it. In this manner, I wish to describe a complex process of social change, and how new and strong impulses can influence on internal social dynamics, without adopting the idea of cultural diffusionism or migration. I will focus my discussion on the Germanic princely graves in the early Roman Period, as they encapsulate both distinctive local, regional and interregional impulses.

The Germanic princely graves in the early Roman Period

The Germanic princely graves of the early Roman Period, of the so-called Lübsow type, were early recognized in the archaeological research. Several scholars noticed the great similarities be-

tween several extraordinary wealthy graves that were situated in the eastern Germanic area all over Northern Europe from Slovakia to Norway (Eggers 1950, 1951; Friis Johansen 1923; Müller 1911). They all contained high quality Roman imports of silver and bronze, and Germanic luxury goods like drinking horns, which in total seemed to be connected to the concept of drinking-feasts. In many instances, the graves seemed to contain almost complete sets of Roman tableware, including *situlae*, wine-sieves, silver beakers etc. Special attention was given to the silver beakers, which often were found in pairs. In 1950, Hans Jürgen Eggers presented the graves as “princely graves of the Lübsow type,” after a major site in Poland. He pointed out that the graves displayed a remarkable uniformity within both the composition of the grave goods, and the ritual manifestations of the graves. Importantly, most of the graves were inhumations, lacked weapons and had to large degree non-gender specific grave goods. This stood in contrast to the dominating custom of cremation and weapon burials at the time, where a clearer division between the genders was visible. The graves also seemed to turn up across great distances within a period of few decades, seemingly independent of local cultural variations.

Eggers (1950) worked out a detailed list of criteria for the princely graves of the Lübsow-type. Still, the definition “princely grave” has been used differently by several scholars to mark out exclusively rich graves of different types, independently of Eggers’ emphasize on the importance of the overall ritual and symbolical manifestations of the burials (Eggers 1950; Gebühr 1998, p. 185; Steuer 1982, p. 218). In some instances the only criteria has been a significant accumulation of Roman goods (Lund Hansen 1987, p. 196–198; Steuer 1982, p. 209–220). In my own thesis, I have tried to go back to Eggers’ original idea of the princely graves, and study the symbolical and ritual aspects in context with an expanding Roman empire and internal social processes (Gundersen 2007). On the basis on Eggers’

work, I chose to focus on these points as criteria for the definition “princely graves”:

- 1) inhumation;
- 2) absence of weapons;
- 3) Roman imports and Germanic luxury goods, including:
 - a) Germanic and Roman drinking equipment;
 - b) pairs of Roman bowls and beakers of silver and glass;
 - c) pairs of Germanic drinking horns;
 - d) higher accumulation of Roman imports compared to contemporary graves;
- 4) a wide range of grave goods, in particular:
 - a) jewellery and/or fingerings of gold and/or silver.

These criteria were thereafter tested upon Danish graves with Roman imports from the early Roman Period. The aim for my research was to analyse to what degree the princely graves stood out as a uniform group of graves, as Eggers had put forward, and how the relations were between the princely graves and other rich graves containing Roman imports. The analysis consisted of 94 Danish graves with Roman imports, mainly published in the catalogues of Eggers (1951), Ulla Lund Hansen (1987) and Jürgen Kunow (1983).

The analysis showed a close connection between the presence of Roman imports and an absence of weapons (fig. 1). A clear majority of 54 graves were also inhumations, while 40 graves contained jewellery of gold or silver. Germanic drinking horns turned up in 34 cases, and Roman drinking vessels of silver or glass had a representation of 15.

There was also a close connection between Roman imports and a wide range of grave goods in general, which confirms the idea that Roman imports were exclusive to the upper stratum in society.

Furthermore, 21 graves displayed a significant accumulation of wealthy grave-goods, compared to contemporary graves. These burials displayed:

- 1) an equal representation of male and female graves, and a high percentage of non-gender specific material;
- 2) only four cases of weapons and/or spurs;
- 3) only five cremations;
- 4) eight burials that could be defined as princely graves.

The cremations were mainly weapon burials, and also included most of the spurs. The weapon graves were all located in middle or southern Jutland, which by some scholars have been defined as connected to the West Germanic cultural

sphere, where weapon and cremation burials are predominant (Hachmann 1956, p. 17; Hedeager og Kristiansen 1981, p. 129–131; Steuer 1982, p. 186; Jensen 2003, p. 319). The cremations might therefore be ascribed to a different cultural context than the rest of the material, which might explain the different symbolical languages between them. The main points therefore go well together with Eggers’ observations concerning the princely graves, and the analysis show a distinctive symbolic language amongst the elite graves of the period. Many of the graves display, for example, a variety of Roman tableware with a similar pattern of saucers, wine sieves, ladles and cauldrons of bronze, and Roman drinking vessels in combination with Germanic drinking horns. The other 73 graves, however, displayed a high degree of individual shaping, with few overall and common features, both within and between the different regions, and over time.

Eight burials could also be defined as princely graves, as they incorporated the main features of Eggers’ criteria. Importantly, the princely graves included seven of nine most lavished furnished graves in the early Roman Iron Age in Denmark. As the two other graves probably belong to the West Germanic cultural sphere, there can be no doubt that the wealthiest graves actually follow the symbolic and ritual patterns marked out by Eggers.

So, what does these data tell us? First of all that material wealth in itself cannot be used as a single measure for the “princely graves of the Lübsow type,” but that the symbolical and ritual aspects have to be taken into consideration. This concerns the matter of inhumation, an almost identical combination of grave goods in both male and female graves, both Roman and Germanic drinking equipment, and an absence of items connected to the sphere of war. Secondly — when it comes to the treatment of the dead — that the wealthiest graves stand in contrast to the dominating cremation rite in the beginning of the Roman Iron Age. Thirdly, the graves also display a wide range of grave goods that points to the direction of drinking feasts. Fourthly, while the majority of the graves show few traces of unity in both time and space, the upper stratum display an almost identical composition across great distances and throughout the early Roman Iron Age. In addition, the main features from the Danish princely graves also reflect the symbolic language in the princely graves in Germany, Austria, Poland, The Czech republic and Slovakia.

It should also be mentioned that a significant portion of the princely graves turn up within a short

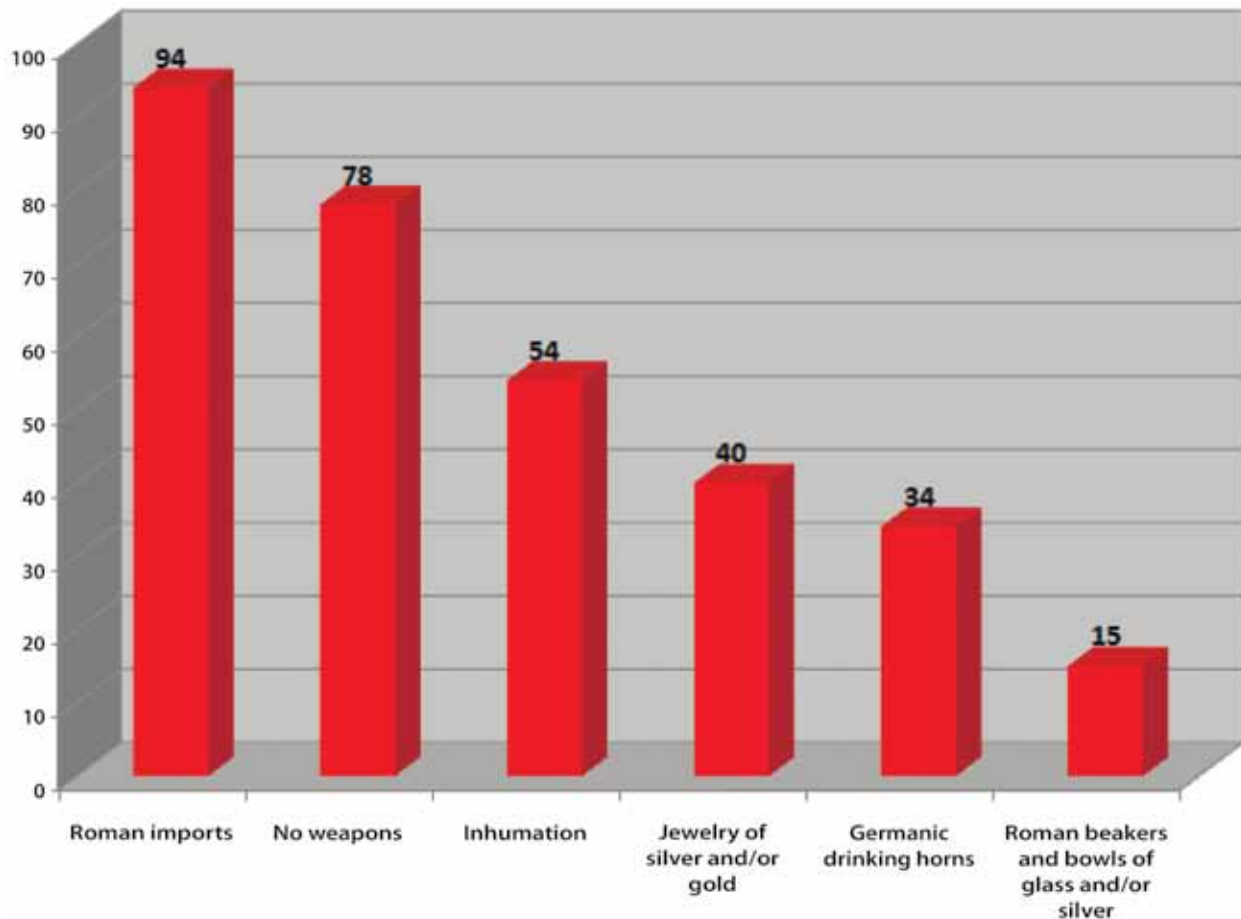


Fig. 1. The representation of criteria for the definition of “princely graves” amongst Danish graves containing Roman imports in the early Roman period

period of 40 years throughout northern and eastern Europe, from the Czech Republic to Denmark. These facts indicate that a common idea lay behind the phenomena of the Germanic princely graves, and that they must be seen under one whole. It is with these thoughts in mind that we will now move onwards to a more interregional perspective, and take a closer look at the written sources.

Roman-Germanic interaction according to written sources

Several Greco-Roman authors described to some degree different ways of interaction between the Roman and Germanic world. Even though the *ethnographic* material is highly questionable (Duff 2003; Müller 1980; Norden 1922), there is reason to believe that the *historical* accounts may have some reliability when it comes to Roman-Germanic interaction (Fuglevik, Gundersen 2007; Gundersen 2010). The accounts can be divided into three categories:

- 1) Roman diplomacy;
- 2) Germanic nobles in Roman service;

3) anonymous ventures undertaken by Roman traders in Germania.

Diplomatic agreements between Germanic tribes and Roman officials are early accounted for in Gaius Julius Caesar's *“De Bello Gallico”* (1967, ch. 4. 16), but also in Strabo's *“Geographica”* (1923, ch. 7. 2. 1, 3–4). These stories are somewhat short and lacking in information, but describe treaties with the Cimbri and the Ubians. The Ubians, according to Cornelius Tacitus' *“Annales”* (1988, ch. 11. 16), later moved into Roman territory and became attached to the emperor cult in later Cologne. Tacitus also describes diplomatic agreements with other tribes, like the Markomanni and Cherusci, and gives the impression that these tribes eventually put themselves under patronage of Rome during the first century AD. Symptomatic for these stories is that they describe events concerning the major tribes along the northern border, and to a very limited degree depicts other tribes at all. On the other hand, in Tacitus' *“Germania”* (1997, ch. 5), it is claimed that drinking-vessels of silver are to be seen amongst the different Germanic tribes, such

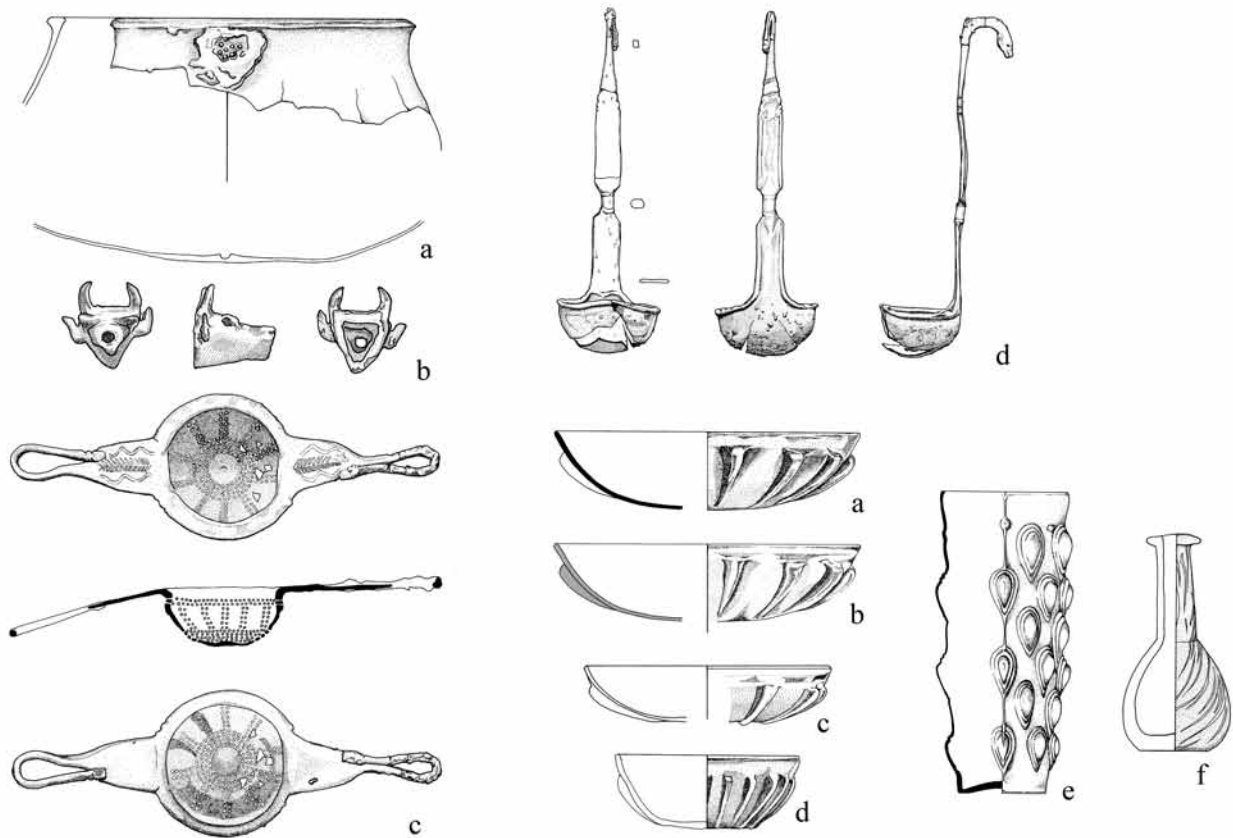


Fig. 2. Roman imports from Ed-Dur in the United Arab Emirates (Potts 1990, p. 284–286)

has been presented to their ambassadors and leaders. A similar account has been handed over in an anonymous Greek document named “*O Periplous tes Erythras thalasses*” (Der Periplus 1883, H. 24, 28, 49), which deals with the trade in the Middle East during the first century AD. The document claims that kings and their vassals should receive drinking-vessels of gold or silver, and tableware of bronze. The two sources indicate, in other words, that the practice of handing over precious tableware was part of an established gift exchange between ambassadors, traders and kings in the Roman world and its neighbouring areas. While Tacitus’ “*Germania*” indicates that this also was an established custom between Romans and Germanics, the “*Periplous*” shows how tableware of bronze was part of the same kind of gift exchange, in some occasions as complete sets. This gives an interesting point of view to the princely graves, where Roman drinking vessels are to be found with almost complete Roman tableware of bronze. A similar burial custom has also been documented in an inhumation grave in Ed-Dur in the United Arab Emirates, where an almost complete Roman wine-set of bronze was documented in combination with a glass beaker (fig. 2; Potts 1990, p. 274–288). Despite the different fabrications, it

shares certain common symbolic features with the princely graves. There is a possibility that it could have been defined as a princely grave, had it been found in Germania. More importantly, it probably shows that the princely graves of the Lübsow type is not entirely a Germanic construction, but also reflect impulses on an interregional scale. I would therefore believe that similar patterns could be found elsewhere as well. Is it a possibility that the Roman imports found in burials outside the Roman Empire in both north and east can be seen as common phenomena?

Germanic leaders in Roman service are well counted for, and include several famous historical characters. I will not go into detail on their stories, but rather emphasize that some of them even grew up in Rome under the emperors’ protection, and later returned to their tribes to claim their inherited titles (Tacitus 1988, ch. 11. 16; The Geography... 1923, ch. 7. 1. 3). In one occasion, there is also known that a Germanic noble served as a priest of the emperor cult in Cologne (Tacitus 1988, ch. 2. 57). There are reasons to believe that Germanic nobles were well aware of the cult, and even had witnessed the supreme power of the emperor in Rome. They probably also had social encounters with the

Roman aristocracy, and witnessed their extravagant lifestyle. The Greco-Roman feasts, the *symposium*, must have been well known to these characters. Cassius Dio Cocceianus' (Cassius 1924, ch. 56. 18–22) story about the battle in the Teutoburger forest in year 9 may serve to illustrate this, as he claims that Varus shared his meal with Arminius few days before Arminius ambushed him in the forest.

The third category consists of several minor accounts on Roman traders in Germania, some of whom also settled in Germania. The most important event is recorded in Gaius Plinius Secundus' "*Historia Naturalis*" (Selection... 1962, ch. 37. 42), which deals with emperor Nero's initiated expedition to the Baltic coast to trade amber. Even though the route followed is vaguely described, it still reflects knowledge concerning the East and North European trading routes. Some epigraphic evidence is also known from the *Porticus Vipsaniae* and *Res gestae* in Rome (Lund 1993, p. 216; Urbanczyk 2001, p. 510). However, these sources depict little firm information concerning the geography in Germania, and indicate a somewhat limited knowledge in the early Roman Iron Age. Strabo (*The Geography...* 1923, ch. 7. 2. 4) also points out that the territories behind Elbe were completely unknown to the Romans at the time of Augustus. On the other hand, Klaudios Ptolemaios' "*Geographike Hyphegesis*" from the mid-second century AD shows an increasing knowledge of north European geography (Grane 2003, p. 143). It may be understood as a consequence of an increasing trade between the Romans and Germanics in the first and second centuries.

In total, the written sources depict an increasing Roman knowledge of the Germanic world through trade and diplomacy, and a high degree of interaction between the nobilities in both societies. We can therefore expect that the Germanic nobility early gained knowledge about Roman society and Roman military organization. The latter is for example illustrated by Tacitus (1988, ch. 11. 16), where two Germanic kings organized their armies in Roman manner. Directly through the emperor cult or through their knowledge of Roman society, the Germanic nobility also came under influence of the eastern leadership-philosophy, in which the emperor's family had divine status and was worshipped (Fishwick 1987). Such an impulse would also con-

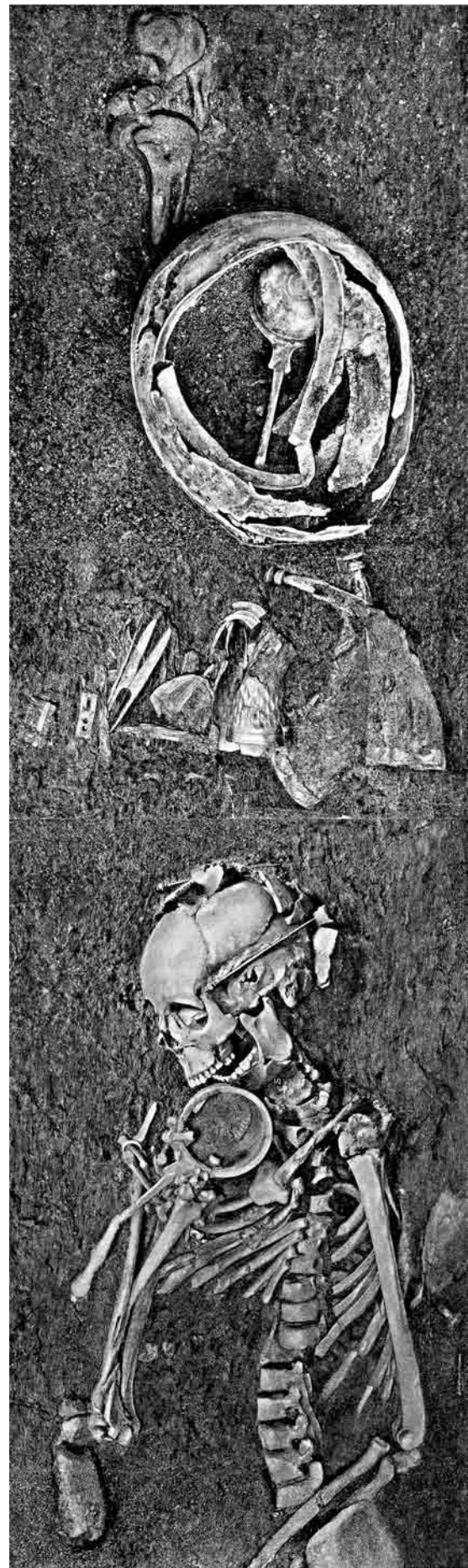


Fig. 3. Female burial Juellinge 1 on Funen in Denmark (Müller 1911, fig. 1).

tribute to a changed self-esteem for the Germanic leaders, who officially were treated as equals to the Roman aristocracy and the emperor. There are reasons to believe that they returned home with new ideas about their own importance, social organization and the concept of divine leadership.

These matters bring us over to the social dynamics.

Social dynamics

The economical and symbolical concepts of gift exchange is well known from social-anthropological studies, such as undertaken by Marcel Mauss (2004), Karl Polanyi (1968), Bronislaw Malinowski (1922), Mary Helms (1993), Annette Weiner (1992) and Igor Kopytoff (1986). As concluded by Polanyi, economy is firmly connected with social values and structures. Through the concept of gift exchange, objects itself also serve to maintain and establish social relations, and gain unique values depending on its biography. The objects also receive abstract qualities, which can be used to sustain and develop the status of the owner. For example, this is well known from royal regalia, through which the owner exercise supreme power. As Annette Weiner (1992, p. 36) puts it: *"In general, all personal possessions invoke an intimate connection with their owners, symbolizing personal experience that, even though private or secret, adds value to the person's social identity"*.

The symbolical qualities of the possession depend on how it was acquired, from whom you received it, who were its previous owners, and how it was used. In consequence, certain objects become unique and gain absolute value rather than economic value, and, therefore, are removed from ordinary social exchange. As such possessions are closely connected to the owners' social status and authority, losing them would undermine the power and legitimacy of the person. On the other hand, the right to control such possessions can be used as the means to establish control over others. The objects themselves, therefore, become invaluable (Weiner 1992, p. 37, 42).

The crossing of borders increases the symbolical value of the objects, as they are transformed from one society to another and represent esoteric knowledge (Helms 1993; Pydyn 1998, p. 98). We can therefore assume that Roman luxury goods used in gift exchange between Germanic leaders and Roman officials were given a unique value in the Germanic societies. Importantly, as the gift exchange in theory was conducted between peers,

the gift exchange would in consequence also mean that the Germanic receiver were treated as an equal to the Roman official, and perhaps to the Roman emperor himself. The Roman tableware and silver beakers used in the transactions would therefore also be symbols of the authority of the Germanic leader, as material proof of his political importance. This is of special importance for the silver-beakers, as the beakers were prestigious objects even in the Roman society and kept outside of normal economical transactions (Broholm 1960, p. 206). The *"Periplous"* (ch. 24, 28, 49) also gives the impression that the silver beakers were restricted to the gift exchange with kings and their officials, and not treated as ordinary commodities. It is therefore to be expected that the Germanic leaders actively used the tableware and silver beakers in ritual connections, like the drinking feasts, to increase their own ritual, social and political importance. Through the process of gift exchange and ritual display, the objects would also be associated with the individual owner, and insoluble connected with his cultural potency and personal abilities. The process of gift exchange is also a mechanism by which the Germanic leaders were able to attach clients to their persons by distributing Roman imports. However, over time the material symbols would be expected to become an institutionalized part of the lifestyle of the elite. Over time, this would probably open up for a more commercial but still archaic trade (Polanyi 1968).

This is, however, a perspective restricted to the concept of gift exchange between peers, and says little about the ideological change itself in the Germanic societies. Let us therefore return to the integration of Germanic leaders in Roman society. As previously stated, they would gain a unique knowledge to Roman society, including military organization. Germanic mercenaries serving in regular Roman armies, in addition, would also represent a unique military experience that any Germanic leader probably would want in his ranks. As pointed out by Arnold van Gennep (1999), the crossing of borders can be compared to "rites of passage," as it is connected to several religious aspects and precautions. Viktor Turner (1999) has also emphasized the similarities between rites of passage and military service, as both incidents flattens out social differences and hierarchies, and remodels the candidates into new roles. Both rites of passage and military service contribute to significant group mentality, which often take form of a distinct social and cultural language. Roman military discipline would

probably be part of their common identity, as well as the recognition of Roman status symbols. They would probably recognize the status connected to Roman luxury goods, and the authority held by the possessor. Importantly, both Germanic leaders in Roman service, and regular Germanic mercenaries, were highly qualified military experts able to play a significant part in times of unrest and warfare. In this way, they both represent a valuable resource, but also a potential threat against the established social order. While Germanic warlords were able to rise in the social hierarchy through military achievements, the established leadership was rooted in inherited status and ritual importance. As the Roman expansion represents a period of considerable instability in Germania, different groups got opportunities to challenge the social hierarchy, at the same time as they represented necessary expertise for the elite. In modern sociology, Anthony Giddens (1984, p. 164, 1995, p. 23) has defined this mechanism as “edges of time and space.” It can be deduced to the idea that initial confrontations between structurally different societies, in combination with internal social tension, can result in fundamental changes in both societies. New social strategies and new concepts on leadership and social structure give competitive groups opportunities to change the balance in society. It is, however, not a uniform process, but the theory display the complexity of the situation created by the Roman expansion, and the creation of the northern Roman border along the Rheine and the Danube.

With these aspects in mind, I will now turn your focus once more towards the princely graves.

The princely graves stand in contrast to both a dominating cremation rite in Germania in the decades around the birth of Christ, and the socio-political circumstances at the time, when we consider the general absence of weapons. Another important factor is the equal representation of female burials, and the somewhat non-gender specific grave material. The often complete Roman tableware, and both Roman and Germanic drinking vessels, points to the direction of drinking feasts (Enright 1996, p. 100–102). The importance of female participation in the drinking feasts can for instance be illustrated by the grave Juellinge 1 on Funen in Denmark, where a female is buried with complete Roman tableware — including two glass beakers (fig. 3). The female holds a wine sieve with her right hand towards her face, which emphasizes the strong connection between the buried individual and the drinking equipment. The importance of female

participation in drinking feasts has been discussed by Michael J. Enright (1996). Although somewhat reliant on written sources without incorporating philological source critique (for example Duff 2003; Müller 1980; Norden 1922), he still holds some relevance concerning the ideological aspects of the drinking feasts.

In other words, these aspects emphasize the importance of inherited status rather than gender-specific roles, as family connections are valued over gender and military ranks or abilities. Their link to the ritual sphere in society through the drinking-feasts might as well point to the direction of inherited status. Symbolic power, by many means, is connected to the elite’s privilege of defining and constructing interpretations of the world on behalf of society. According to the sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1995, p. 36–49, 82, 160, 218–219, 238), this might be understood as the symbolic language of the ruling class. To take part in this symbolic language, one also emphasized the importance of inherited status, as it often is understood as more genuine. An established ruling class, which status is based on hereditary authenticity, might therefore build their symbolic language on their control over the ritual sphere. By these means, they can emphasize their unique position as a link between the divine and profane, and thereby act as the guarantee of stability and fertility for society. The practice of inhumation, in this context, also represents exclusivity in contrast to the more common cremation-rite. The change itself, from cremation to inhumation, also serves to demonstrate the elite’s ability to define the world, their power to change the customs and will to create a new ritual practice (Gundersen 2007, p. 107–113). In sum, it illustrates the elite’s ritual and cultural potency. It is therefore my belief that the princely graves are not to be understood as a break in society, in the form of a new uprising social class, but rather as a changed self-esteem and ritual strategy amongst the ruling elite. It is likely that this change is inspired by the concept of divine leadership influenced from the Roman world.

The change in ritual strategy might as well be understood as a consequence of social instability and the growing importance of other social groups, such as the warlords or the groups of professional warriors. The active use of Roman drinking equipment in the ritual sphere might therefore serve a two-way strategy (Gundersen 2007, p. 111). On one hand, it reflects the changed self-esteem of a ruling class under influence of new leadership ideals from the Roman world. The Germanic leaders

probably compared themselves to an increasing degree with the Roman aristocracy and their lifestyle. Their emphasis on inherited economical and ritual importance could also serve as a defensive mechanism towards other social groups, as it underlined their irreplaceable function in society. Like the Roman emperor, they might have sought to build up a legitimacy of divine status. On the other hand, Germanic nobles or mercenaries returning home from Roman service would also recognize the symbolic power of the Roman luxury goods. By using this kind of symbolic language, the elite could attach important expertise to their person, and by such both limit a potential threat and benefit from their abilities. However, I find it necessary to point out that I do not believe that the Germanic drinking feasts are an adoption of the Greco-Roman *symposium*, as it probably was a tradition already rooted in the Germanic world. Some scholars also point out that the symbolical associations of prestigious objects change when it crosses borders, as it is being adopted into new cultural contexts (Helms 1993; Pydyn 1998). It is therefore likely to view the Roman tableware as adopted into a Germanic context, but with a reflection of the Roman world.

In this manner, I have tried to describe to you a complex process of social change, and how new and strong impulses can influence on internal social dynamics, without adopting the idea of cultural diffusionism. The sudden and broad emerging of the princely graves over large parts of Northern and Eastern Europe, also points to the direction of a common underlying impulse. It is likely to seek this impulse in an expanding and highly developed Roman society. This is, however, not the full answer. There are many more aspects to be investigated, as

the idea of inhumation in itself. It would be likely to seek this impulse as well in the Roman society, except from a total dominating cremation rite at the time in the Roman world (Morris 1992, p. 31–70). As even the emperor himself was burnt on great pyres, this cannot be decimated to the mere Roman influence in itself. There are no reasons to believe that the princely graves of the Lübsow type reflect a Roman custom. The custom of burying the deceased with Roman tableware is, as we have seen in the United Arab Emirates, not a sole Germanic custom either. The question is therefore, what other cultural impulses might have played a part in the formation of a new burial rite? Is it possible to see a connection between late Scythian and Sarmatian inhumation graves and the early princely graves? Little research has been done in Scandinavian archaeology when it comes to late Scythian and Sarmatian influence in the Roman period. However, in this publication there are several studies concerning contacts between the Crimea and Scandinavia in the Roman Iron Age in general, and the Sarmatians and Germanics in particular. In this article, I have mostly focused on the contact between Rome and Germania, and a theoretical approach to cultural influence and social dynamics. On the other hand, it is tempting for me to point in the direction of both Scythian and Sarmatian burial customs, and their dominating inhumation rite at the time. It is likely that the Germanic princely graves might be understood as a melting pot of different cultural impulses, reshaped and remodelled in a Germanic context. To shed light into these questions, a future study should take a starting point in Germanic and Sarmatian burial rites, and analyse different impulses they might share.

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Ингар М. ГУНДЕРСЕН

**Направления межрегиональных импульсов:
германские княжеские могилы в раннеримское время**

Резюме

В центре внимания данной статьи находятся недавние исследования германских княжеских могил двух первых веков н. э., которые характеризуются значительным накоплением богатых римских бронзовых и серебряных изделий. Так называемые «княжеские могилы» обнаружены на пространстве от римской границы в Словакии, Германии и Польше, и вплоть до юго-восточной Норвегии. Несмотря на большое расстояние, им свойственно показательное единообразие обряда и символики. Помимо римских вещей, эти могилы характеризуются также незначительным количеством или отсутствием оружия, обрядом трупоположения, большим количеством женских погребений, немногими вещами, характерными для того или иного пола, большим количеством драгоценного погребального инвентаря в целом и вещами, связанными с ритуальной сферой пьяных пиров в частности. Несколько княжеских могил сооружено в первых десятилетиях н. э. Они значительно отличаются от других преобладавших в то время кремаций и погребений с оружием. Найденные в этих могилах римские вещи традиционно связывают с образом жизни римской аристократии, где применялись сосуды для вина, серебряные чаши, стеклянные кубки, фильтры для вина и пр. Германские рога для питья и керамика также указывают на пьяные пиры, которые, как можно понять, напоминали античные *симпосии*.

Eszter ISTVÁNOVITS, Valéria KULCSÁR

**FROM THE CRIMEA TO SCANDINAVIA
VIA THE GREAT HUNGARIAN PLAIN:
TRACES OF GERMANIC-SARMATIAN CONTACTS
ON THE BASIS OF FINDS OF SPHERICAL PENDANTS
AND OF OTHER PHENOMENA**

The present study is based on the first hand on some rare European finds of a characteristic kind of pendant. To give a broader review of common features connecting three remote regions — the Crimea, Hungarian plain and Scandinavia — in the Roman Age Barbaricum we shortly characterise other special traces of contacts.

Spherical openwork amulet-pendants

Spherical openwork pendants are usually evaluated as amulets. All of them were cast of bronze and supplied with a loop. From the point of view of technology, they remind rings and bracelets with knobs well known in the La Tène world. In our opinion, pendants found in Sarmatian and Late Scythian milieu came into fashion as a result of Celtic / general La Tène influence.

Spherical openwork pendants, sometimes called “pocket microcosmos” are widely known amulets of the Late Scythian culture of the Crimea (fig. 1), and sometimes are met in Sarmatian graves of the North Caucasus and of the Kuban region (Пуздровский 2007, с. 162). However, their main area of spread is the south-west part of the Crimean peninsula. Characteristic shape of these objects goes back to eight to sixth century Hallstatt prototypes from the Balkans, typically from Macedonia and Thessaly: so-called “bird-cage” pendants (Bouzek 1973, p. 60–62). Recently Lyudmila Ryzhova summarised the information on these kind of pendants found in the south-west Crimea (there were no finds in the rest of peninsula) and classified the types and variants of the pendants.¹ The dating of different types has shown that the earliest pieces reminding Celtic prototypes were in use in the first and second cen-

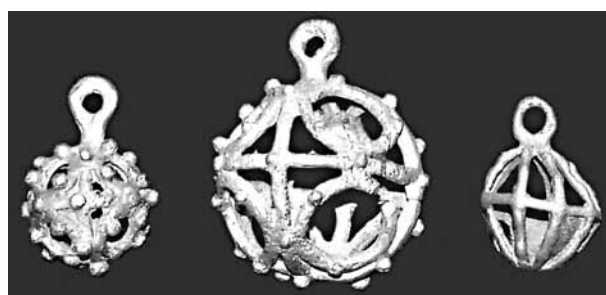


Fig. 1. Typical spherical openwork amulets from the Crimea (photo by the authors taken from the exhibition in the Bakhchisaray Preserve for History and Culture)

tury graves, while later types came into fashion at the late second and early third century and even younger pieces could be dated to late third or first half of the fourth century. She suggested that in the Roman Age globular openwork pendants reached the Crimea from the West, namely from western Roman provinces (Рыжова 2005). We cannot agree with the latter idea, because if it is correct, we would find the analogies and prototypes of our pendants at Roman territories, which is not the case. As we shall see in the following, only three such pendants of the type in question were found west of the steppe region, and all of them turned up at barbarian territory.

Publishers of Crimean Late Scythian cemeteries dealt with these strange type of objects in several works and suggested that they could be connected with ideas and beliefs on the sky sphere, solar and generally astral cults (Высотская 1994, с. 128–129; Богданова 1989, с. 52; Рыжова 2005, с. 285–286).

In the present article we do not focus on the sacral contents of these objects, taking this for grant-

¹ We are grateful to Nikita Khrapunov and Daniil Kostromichev who drew our attention to this study.

ed, and deal with their role as indicators of cultural relations revealed at a vast territory from the North Caucasus to Denmark.

If we examine the territory of the European Barbaricum from the point of view of the “microcosmos” pendants, it comes out that these amulets got to very remote territories from their main region of spread. Analogies from a relatively close territory were found at the Great Hungarian plain. Pieces in question come from two sites.

Debrecen–Lovászzug

(Hajdú-Bihar county) (fig. 2–3)

A broken, egg-shaped, openwork bronze pendant decorated with knobs. Length: 2.4 cm.

The find got to the Déri Museum (Debrecen) as a present. Together with the find in question, the following objects — presumably grave goods from a female burial — were gathered from a disturbed barrow: four bronze bells, a belt-ring, two



Fig. 2. The find assemblage from Debrecen–Lovászzug

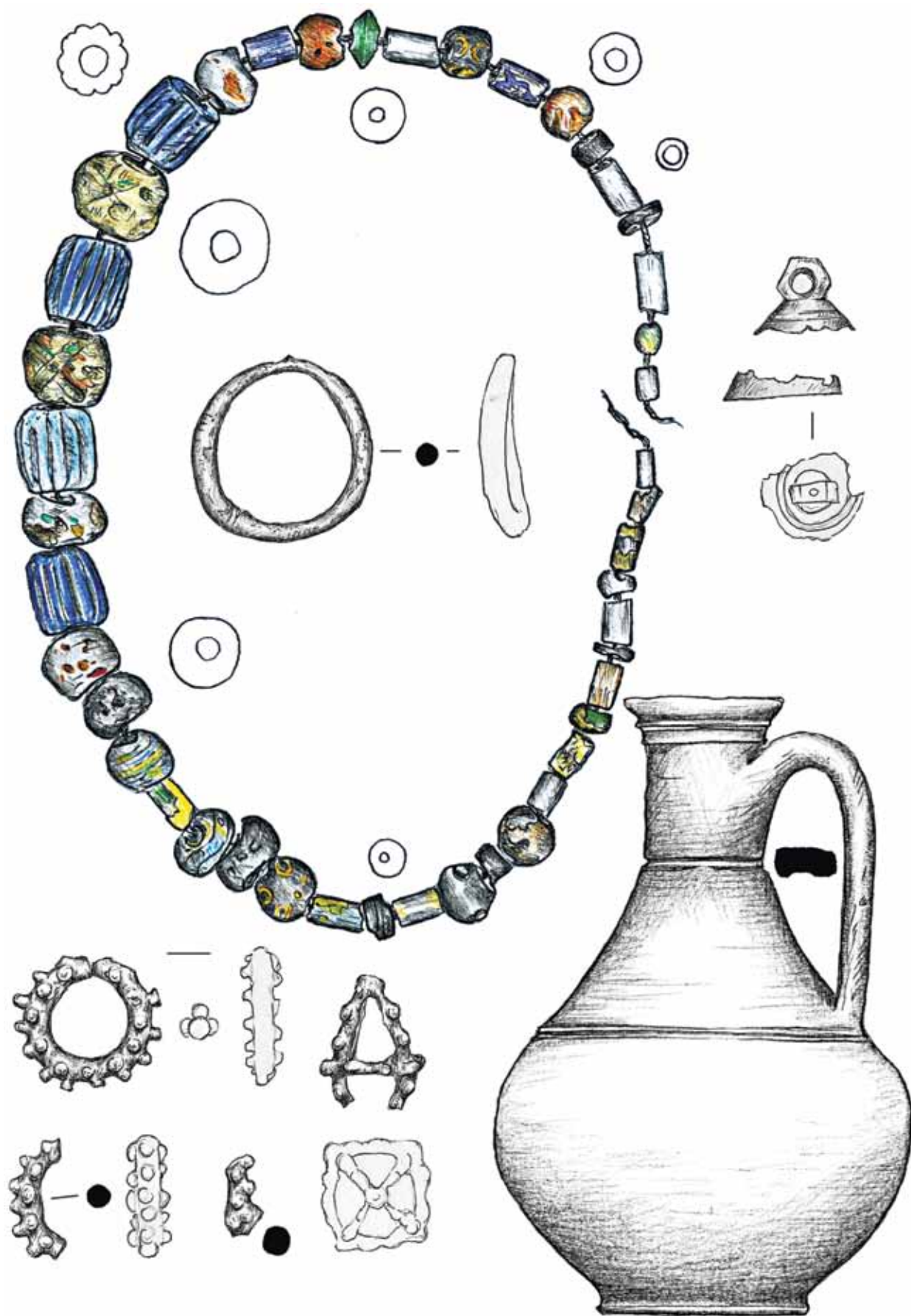


Fig. 3. The find assemblage from Debrecen-Lovászug

rings with spherical knobs, a fragment of a golden sheet with pinched dots, 42 glass beads, a brick-red wheel-made jug. On the basis of the beads and rings with spherical knobs, the assemblage was dated to the late second or early third century (Istvánovits 1990, p. 95, táb. XII. 4) (fig. 1).

The piece fits to type 3 variant C by Ryzhova. The dating of the closest analogy from the Chernorechenskiy cemetery, grave 18 (48) (Рыжова 2005, с. 284, рис. 4. 8) corresponds to the chronology of the Debrecen grave, while an also similar object comes from the much earlier (first century BC or first century AD) cemetery of Ust'-Al'ma, burial vault 590/5-6 (Пуздровский 2007, с. 160, рис. 145. 11).

Madaras-Halmok,

grave 473 (Bács-Kiskun county) (fig. 4)

A south-north oriented male (mat.) grave. Length of the grave-pit: 2.18 m, width: 0.88 m, depth: 1.18 m. The length of the skeleton: 1.73 m.

At the right wrist a cast, bi-conical, openwork bronze pendant was found. The loop is broken, the upper part is fragmentary. Length: 3.9 cm, diameter: 2 cm. Other finds: cylindrical iron object under the right clavicle, with broken ends, possibly an awl; at the upper edge of the left pelvis a *sestertius* from 244–251 AD; fragments of an iron object at the sacrum, perhaps pieces of a small buckle; cast bronze bell at the left wrist; iron knife at the upper part of the limb; iron spearhead at the right leg; arrowhead(?) beside the spearhead; brick-red wheel-made vessel at the right foot (Kóhegyi, Vörös 2011)² (fig. 2).

On the basis of the coin, the grave can be dated to the second half of the third century. The pendant does not fit to the classification of Ryzhova. Its shape is unusual; knobs typical for this type of decorations are practically missing.

We can assume that from Eastern Hungary, the westernmost territory inhabited by Sarmatians, we know only two finds of pendant-amulets in question. Opposite to the Crimea, here they do not belong to commonly used amulets of local population. Both of the pieces must have arrived here from the East. In the case of the Debrecen find, it is interesting to note that the pendant was found together with rings decorated with knobs that appeared in

the Hungarian plain after the Marcomannic Wars, probably with a new migration wave of Eastern population groups. That was also the period when the Sarmatians occupied the Upper Tisza region (Istvánovits 1990). The pendant and rings from the Debrecen find could belong to a person who just recently arrived from the Eastern steppe region where rings decorated with knobs (the same technique as in the case of the pendants) were similarly widely spread (especially in the Crimean Late Scythian cemeteries) (Пуздровский 2007, с. 162).

The piece from Madaras underlines the rarity of the pendant type in question. This is the largest known Sarmatian cemetery (632 graves) in the Barbaricum of the Carpathian basin, with no similar burial fields up to now. The fact that the spherical pendant from grave 473 was the only one of its kind in the great mass of find material is very typical. It is difficult to say whether the grave belonged to a newcomer, or the pendant was used as a “family relic” from some generations earlier, especially if we take into consideration that the Debrecen find can be 50–100 years elder, and that most of the Crimean graves containing spherical pendants do not exceed the middle of the third century (Рыжова 2005, табл. 3). Concluding from the unusual shape, it can be also suggested that the Madaras pendant was a local imitation of a Crimean amulet.

The third object we are dealing here with comes from a very distant territory, whether we consider the Crimea or Hungary. This is a spherical-shaped openwork pendant found in the famous bog-find from **Illerup**, section AAQP (Carnap-Bornheim, Ilkjær 1996, Plan 111/100. 2) (fig. 5).³ How this Late Scythian-Sarmatian, most probably Crimean amulet got to the possession of an obviously North Germanic warrior? Or perhaps it did not get to Scandinavia directly from the Crimea, but was transferred by the same people whose tribesman buried other similar pendants in the graves of the Hungarian plain?

Whatever is the answer, the mapping of these objects once again draws our attention to the fact that there have been some connections for several centuries between these three regions in the Roman period. Recently, more and more signs of these relations have been recognised.

² We are grateful to Gabriella Vörös for her kind permission to use the manuscript of the book now in print.

³ Here the pendant can be seen only on a large-scale ground plan drawing of section AAQP. According to the kind information by Jørgen Ilkjær, the pendant will be published in the Illerup volume 14–15 by Andrzej Kowowski.

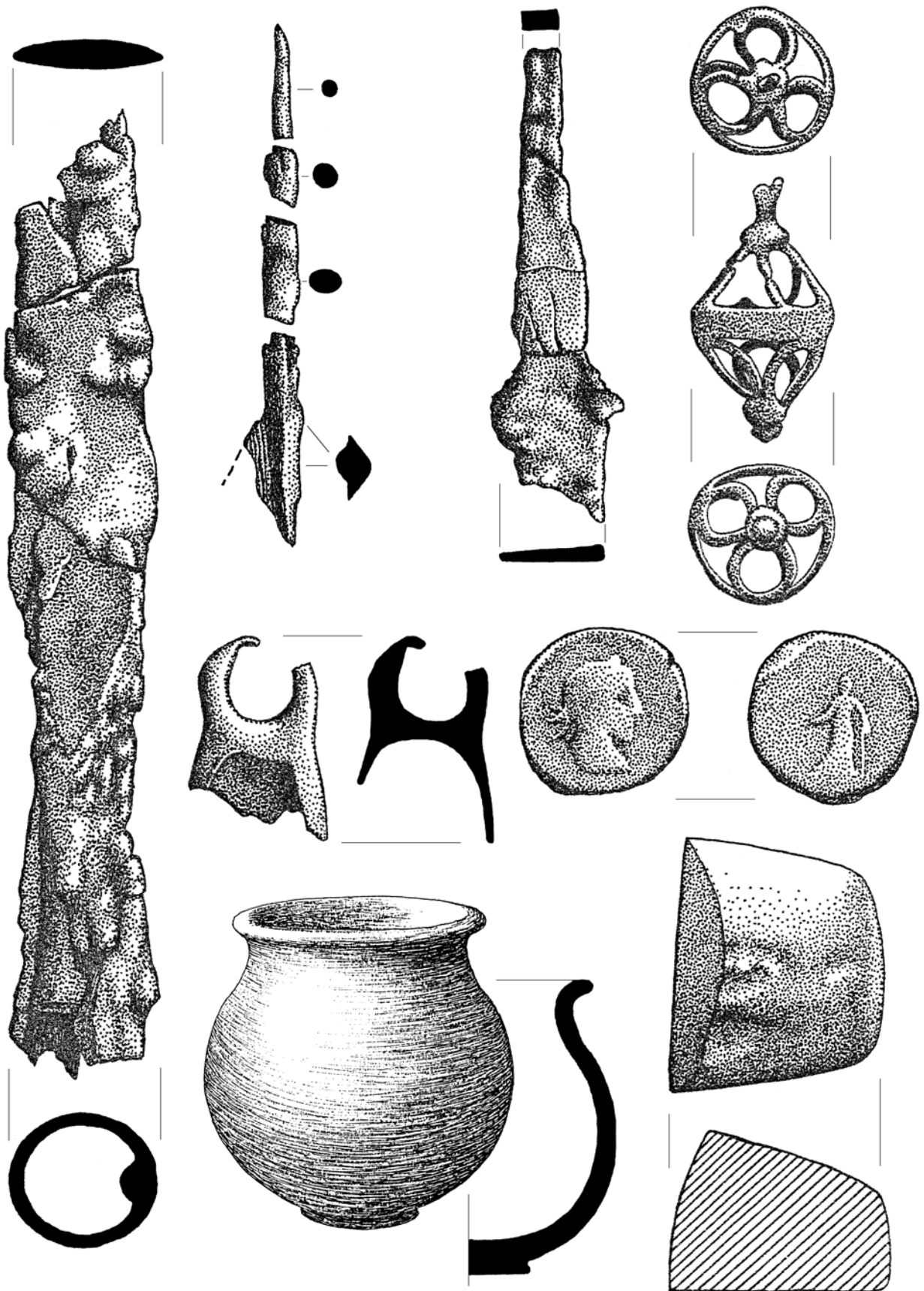


Fig. 4. The find assemblage from Madaras-Halmok

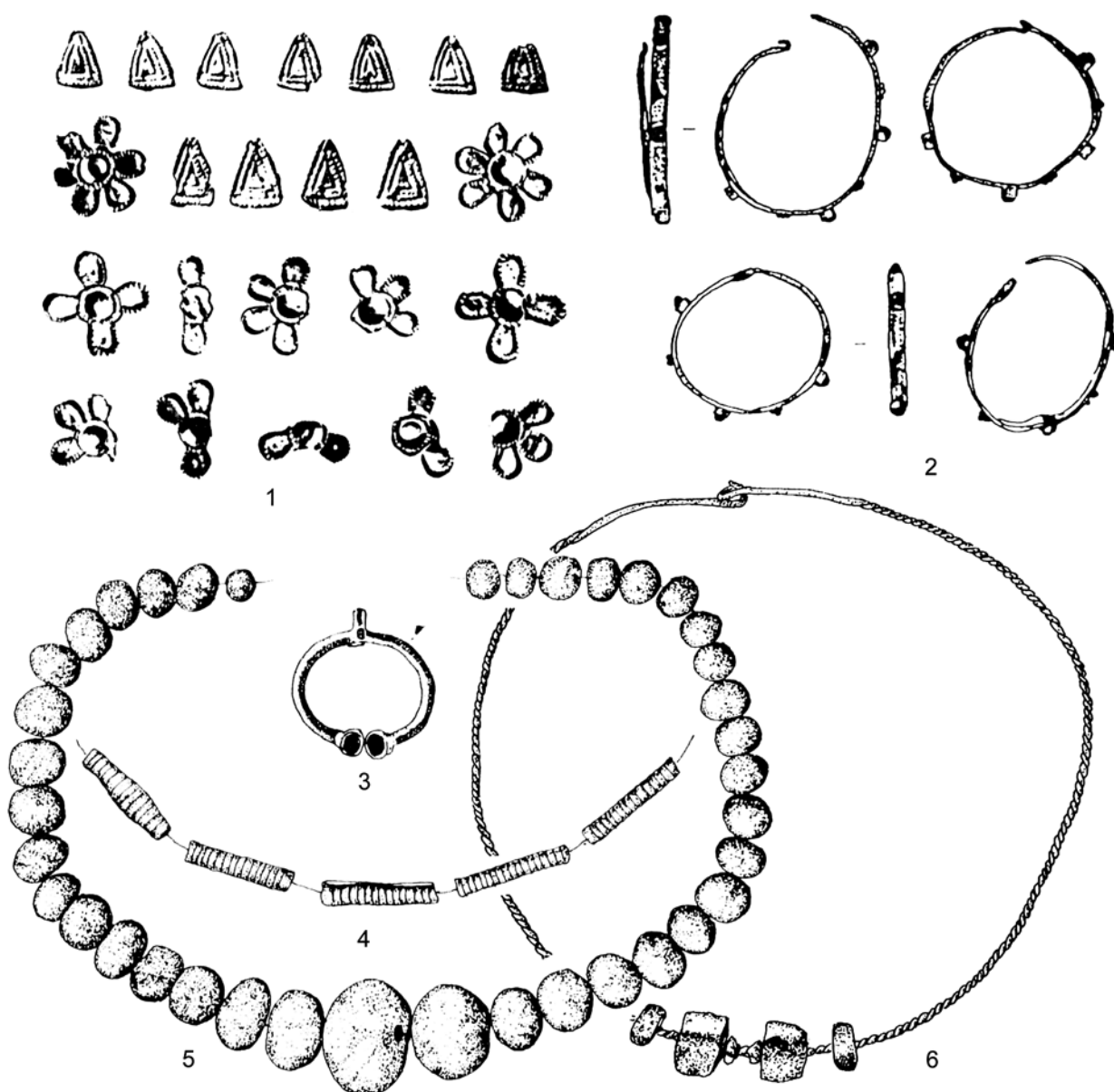


Fig. 6. Typical objects of the so-called “golden horizon” of the Great Hungarian plain

Crimean connections can be traced also in later Sarmatian sites. As we have already pointed out, in the period following the Marcomannic Wars (late second and early third century) a new eastern wave reached the Carpathian basin. In Sarmatian archaeological material, it is manifested by the find of a group of belt-sets characterised with the so-called “Sarmatian buckles” frequently accompanied by the La Tène style rings with knobs (Istvánovits 1990) very widely spread in the Late Scythian assemblages of the Crimea (e. g.: Пуздровский 2007, с. 160).

Igor’ Khrapunov devoted a special study to the contacts between the Crimea and the Carpathian basin in the Roman period. He pointed out the phenomenon of putting a ring onto fibula pin, a tradition

widely spread in the Crimea in the third and fourth century and hardly known outside the peninsula (except for a similar find in Tanais) with the only analogy in the Hungarian cemetery of Felsőpusztaszer, grave 620. Several other similarities (fibula types rare in the Crimea and common in the Hungarian plain, cowrie shells with bronze wire rings, etc.) refer to contacts in the period of the late Empire.

We have to add our own experience gained in the archaeological exhibitions of the Central Museum of Taurida, in Simferopol, considering the colour glass beads of the third and fourth cemeteries of Druzhnoye and Neyzats. These bead sets are very similar to the types widely spread in the material of the Sarmatians of the Carpathian basin.

Connections between the Hungarian Plain and Scandinavia

At the same time, there were several relics of Sarmatian-Scandinavian connections revealed in the Hungarian plain.

On the first place we have to mention the famous shield boss from the north-eastern part of the Great Hungarian plain, from Herpály, the connections of which are very diversified, but show several Scandinavian relations and the closest analogy comes from Lilla Harg, Sweden (Fettich 1930; most recent summary: Carnap-Bornheim 1999). However, based on the finding circumstances of the Herpály shield — barrow, horse bones and Sarmatian type beads in the neighbouring barrow — we tend to think that this was not a Germanic, but a Sarmatian elite burial with an imported, or more probably, presented piece of luxurious weaponry (Istvánovits, Kulcsár 1994, p. 416).

A similar phenomenon can be suspected in the case of the Geszteréd elite grave found in the same region (fig. 7). According to Claus von Carnap-Bornheim, the scabbard chape of the Geszteréd sword finds its close analogy in the Thorsberg bog-find and in a burial from Skuttunge, Sweden (Carnap-Bornheim 2001, S. 132–133).

In the Sarmatian elite grave from Tiszalök dated to the third century, a buckle of North Germanic type was found (fig. 8). Its analogies are known from Illerup and Thorsberg. From the same burial (and, probably, from the same belt) fittings with pipe shape ending remind similar objects from also Thorsberg and Vimose. It is highly probable, that the prototype of the Tiszalök sword strap came from the Germanic world, or it can simply be a Germanic product (Istvánovits, Kulcsár, Carnap-Bornheim 2006, p. 100). All the cases listed above relate to a well palpable system of connections between the members of Scandinavian and Sarmatian elite of the Hungarian Plain. As we shall see in the following, these connections were not unidirectional.

In Scandinavia, we also have traces of contacts with the Sarmatian world. In the already mentioned Thorsberg bog-find, a total of nine glass sword-pendants (so-called “magische Schwertanhänger”) of more or less conical shape were found. Further pieces are known from the Vimose bog-find and several Swedish warrior burials dated to C1 period. Such pendants practically always found beside the hilts of the swords are widely known from the steppe Late Sarmatian finds (Безуглов 2000, 172). There are also pieces known from the Sarmatian milieu of the

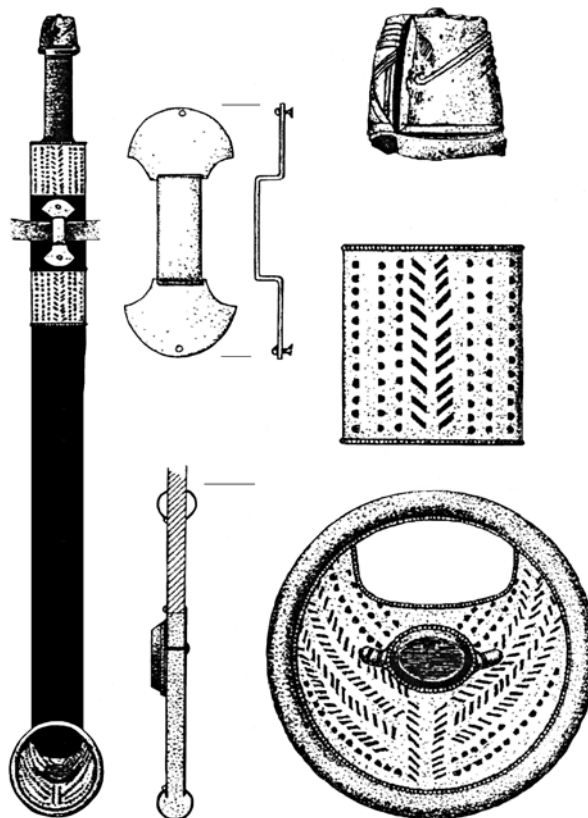


Fig. 7. Sword and its fittings from Geszteréd (Carnap-Bornheim 2001, Abb. 2)

Hungarian plain starting from the turn of the second century, but at much lesser degree (e. g.: Tari 1994, kép III. 2 — shell pendant; Dinnyés 1991, p. 156, kép 16. 10 — chalcedonic pendant). Following Joachim Werner, Klaus Raddatz suggested that these objects reflect an Iranian (Sarmatian) influence in the Germanic world that could spread through auxiliary units, pointing out the find of such pendant in the Roman fort of Zugmantel (Raddatz 1957/1958).

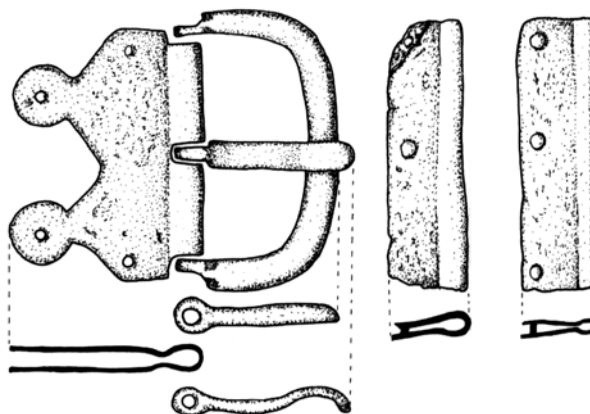


Fig. 8. Buckle and belt fittings from Tiszalök (Istvánovits, Kulcsár, Carnap-Bornheim 2006, fig. 6. 1–2)



Fig. 9. Sites mentioned in the text.

- 1 — Ust'-A'lma; 2 — Chernorechenskiy; 3 — Debrecen; 4 — Geszteréd; 5 — Herpály; 6 — Madaras;
 7 — Hamfelde; 8 — Thorsberg; 9 — Vimose; 10 — Himlingøje; 11 — Saetrang;
 12 — Skuttunge; 13 — Zugmantel

In this connection, we should mention the question of ring-pommeled swords. They were used both by the Sarmatians and Romans, but the former started to use them centuries later and there were reasons to suggest that these kind of weapons were overtaken by the Romans from the Sarmatians of the Carpathian Basin, though Roman pieces were technologically different. Ring-pommeled swords found in the Germanic Barbaricum were of Roman origin or at least made in a similar to Roman technique. Hamfelde (period B2/C1) situated at the south border of the Jutland peninsula, is the exceptional barbarian site, where a ring-pommeled sword definitely analogous to Sarmatian pieces was found. Pieces from the Germanic Barbaricum are concentrated in this region. Also from a Danish site of Himlingøje the silver vessel with unique decoration is known. On the rim of the vessel, there are depictions of people holding ring-pommeled sword. According to Ulla Lund Hansen, the Scandinavian appearance of these weapons was the impact of the Marcomannic Wars (that is to say, Scandinavian

warriors who took part in the war brought this swords home) (Lund Hansen 1995, S. 386–387; Istvánovits, Kulcsár 2008, p. 99–100, with further references).

All the examples cited above refer to elite men, warriors. They either received gifts from allies (Geszteréd, Tiszalök, Herpály) or used weaponry formed under the direct or indirect influence of Sarmatians (Thorsberg, Vimose, etc.). There is only one case of a female phenomenon, a woman buried with typical Sarmatian bead-set (coloured glass and spherical carnelian beads) in a rich chamber grave in Saetrang, South Norway (Slomann 1959, h. 18, 32; frontpiece photo). There was nothing more of eastern origin in the burial, so it is difficult to decide whether we should think of a Sarmatian wife or an exotic present: beads brought from a faraway country.

Taking into consideration the multi-directional connections of the Sarmatians of the Hungarian plain, we can assume that if there were any direct contacts between the Crimean and Scandinavian

peninsulas, the meeting point could be somewhere in the middle: on the Sarmatian territory of Eastern Hungary. Further research may confirm or deny this suggestion.

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Эстер ИШТВАНОВИЧ, Валерия КУЛЬЧАР

**Из Крыма в Скандинавию через Большую Венгерскую низменность:
следы сармато-германских контактов на основании находок
сферических подвесок-амулетов и других явлений**

Резюме

Данное исследование ставит своей задачей обратить внимание на несколько фактов, указывающих на связи Крымского и Скандинавского полуостровов с Карпатским бассейном в римское время. В первую очередь речь идёт об ажурных сферических подвесках, иногда называемых «карманными микрокосмосами». В большинстве случаев они изготовлены из бронзы и снабжены петлёй для подвешивания. Они напоминают хорошо известные в латенском мире кольца и браслеты с шпечками. Эти подвески широко распространены в позднескифской культуре Крыма, реже встречаются в сарматских погребениях Северного Кавказа и Прикубанья (Пуздровский 2007, с. 162). Наиболее типичны они в Юго-Западном Крыму. Обобщающую статью по типологии и хронологии крымских находок опубликовала Л. А. Рыжова (2005).

Картографирование сферических подвесок в Европейском Барбарикуме показывает, что эти амулеты проникли в регионы, очень отдалённые от своей основной территории распространения. Ближайшие — в географическом плане — аналогии крымским амулетам найдены на Большой Венгерской низменности. Здесь они известны на двух сарматских памятниках: Дебрецен-Ловасзуг (Istvánovits 1990, p. 95, táb. XII. 4) (рис. 2–3) и Мадараш-Халмок, погребение 473 (Köhegyi, Vörös 2011) (рис. 4).

В Венгрии, в отличие от Крыма, эти предметы не относятся к широко распространённым амулетам. По-видимому, обе подвески попали в Карпатский бассейн с востока.

Третий подобный амулет найден на территории весьма далёкой не только от Крыма, но и от Венгрии. Эта сферическая ажурная подвеска была обнаружена в знаменитой болотной находке Иллеруп в секторе AAQP (Carnap-Bornheim, Ilkjær 1996, Plan 111/100. 2) (рис. 5).

Эти находки ещё раз обращают наше внимание на какие-то контакты, которые прослеживаются между тремя названными регионами в течение нескольких столетий в римскую эпоху. На это указывает уже всё больше и больше фактов. Среди них прямая связь между первыми языгами, переселившимися на Большую Венгерскую низменность в I в. н. э., и позднескифской культурой Крыма (Иштванович, Кульчар 2005) (рис. 6). На схожие явления (например, фибулы с кольцом на игле) в сарматских могильниках Крыма и Восточной Венгрии указал И. Н. Храпунов (Khrapunov 2001).

В то же время на Большой Венгерской низменности обнаружено немало памятников со сармато-скандинавскими связями. Аналогии деталям меча из с. Гестеред найдены в болотной находке Торсберг и в погребении из Скуттунге (Швеция) (Carnap-Bornheim 2001) (рис. 7). В курганном погребении в г. Тисалёк найдена северогерманская пряжка и зажимы ремня (Istvánovits, Kulcsár, Carnap-Bornheim 1996, p. 349–365) (рис. 8). Отдельно стоит упомянуть знаменитый умбон из с. Херпай, лучшей аналогией которого является щит из Лилла Харг (Швеция) (Fettich 1930).

В Скандинавии, кроме ажурной подвески из Иллерупа, также немало следов сарматского присутствия или влияния. Таковыми могут считаться стеклянные подвески мечей из Торсберга и Вимозе (Raddatz 1957/1958), находки мечей с кольцевым навершием и изображение такого меча на сосуде из Химлингое (Istvánovits, Kulcsár 2008, p. 99–100). К немногочисленным атрибутам женского костюма принадлежат цветные стеклянные и сердоликовые бусы сарматского облика из богатого погребения Сэтранг (Южная Норвегия) (Slomann 1959, h. 18, 32; цветная вклейка).

Дальнейшие исследования, возможно, помогут решить вопрос, реально ли говорить о посреднической роли сарматов Большой Венгерской низменности в контактах между варварами Скандинавии и Крыма римского времени.

Michel KAZANSKI

**KISHPEK, EKAZHEVO AND VARPELEV:
ON THE PROBLEM OF PONTIC-SCANDINAVIAN RELATIONS
IN THE LATE ROMAN PERIOD**

Aleksandr Vasil'yev has recently (Васильев 2010)¹ studied horse harness from the “princely” grave at Kishpek in Kabardino-Balkaria (for this site see: Бетрозов 1987) and has found out that rings on horse bits from this burial — there are two specimens of horse bits — are decorated with cell-pits (fig. 1. 15). Vasil'yev has noticed that such a decoration is very similar to ornamentation of the horse bridle from Late Sarmatian barrow Ekazhevo (fig. 1. 2–3) in Ingushetia (see: Воронин, Малашев 2006, рис. 9. 1, 2), as well as to the decoration of the belt set from “princely” grave A in Varpelev in Denmark (fig. 2. 1), which contained coins of Probus (276–282 AD) in particular (Straume 1987, Taf. 106. 9; Sommer 1994, Taf. 41. 1–2; Grane 2010, fig. 5). Chronological frames of the North Caucasian graves analysed by Vasil'yev generally are within the late third or first decades of the fourth century AD (Kazanski 1995; Малашев 2000, с. 207) thus corresponding to the end of phase C2 of the chronology of European Barbaricum (250/260–300/320 AD). However, there is also a later date suggested for Varpelev grave A, primarily against the background of the belt set: phases C3–D1 according to the chronology of European Barbaricum, that is 300/320–400/410 AD (Jensen 1980; Straume 1987, S. 122–123). It is not quite clear though do these parallels in decoration reflect some connection between the Alans and Sarmatians of Pontos and Caucasus on the one hand and the Germanics of Scandinavia on the other, or should we search for another explanation of this phenomenon.

First of all, let me analyse the horse bits from Kishpek. They are two-piece ringed bits with elongated rectangular strap-holders (fig. 2. 15). As Vasil'yev has put it, such horse bits are well known in the Late Sarmatian culture from the second half of the third century AD (Васильев 2010, с. 78–79). However, such bits appear in the Late Roman context as well. Unfortunately, horse trappings from the Imperial territory never were subject of special study thus making the search for analogies more difficult. Anyway, one can remember the finds of two-piece ringed horse bits in the fortresses of the Late Roman *limes* (Moosberg: Garbsch 1966, Taf. 37. 1; Froitzheim: Barfield 1968, Abb. 43. 2), as well as in the Late Roman villas (La Tasque: Larrieu, Le Moal, Labrousse 1953, fig. 23). Unfortunately, strap-holders do not survive in all these cases. Especial attention should be paid to a find from Berkasovo (fig. 3. 20), in the area of Sirmium, with famous helmets from the age of Licinius (Manojlović-Marijanski 1973, Taf. 10. 1–2). There were elongated rectangular strap-holders, but their morphology differs from that of Kishpek finds. One should also remember Kerch horse bits from the late-third and early-fourth century nobility graves, with rich polychrome decoration like that of Kishpek find (see for example: Shchukin et al. 2006, fig. 93. 1–2; Шаров 2010), as well as the second horse bits from Kishpek (fig. 1. 14). In general, I can draw the conclusion that two-piece ringed bits including those with elongated rectangular strap-holders were widespread: they were known in the Empire, in its “client states” in

¹ I would like to take this opportunity to express my thanks to Vasil'yev for he has kindly provided me with a picture of horse bits from Kishpek, as well as with a possibility to read his forthcoming paper (Удила из княжеского погребения у с. Кишпек, Кабардино-Балкария (балто-черноморские контакты и некоторые вопросы датировки европейских древностей рубежа III – IV вв. н. э.) // *Germania-Sarmatia*. Т. 2. Калининград, 2011).

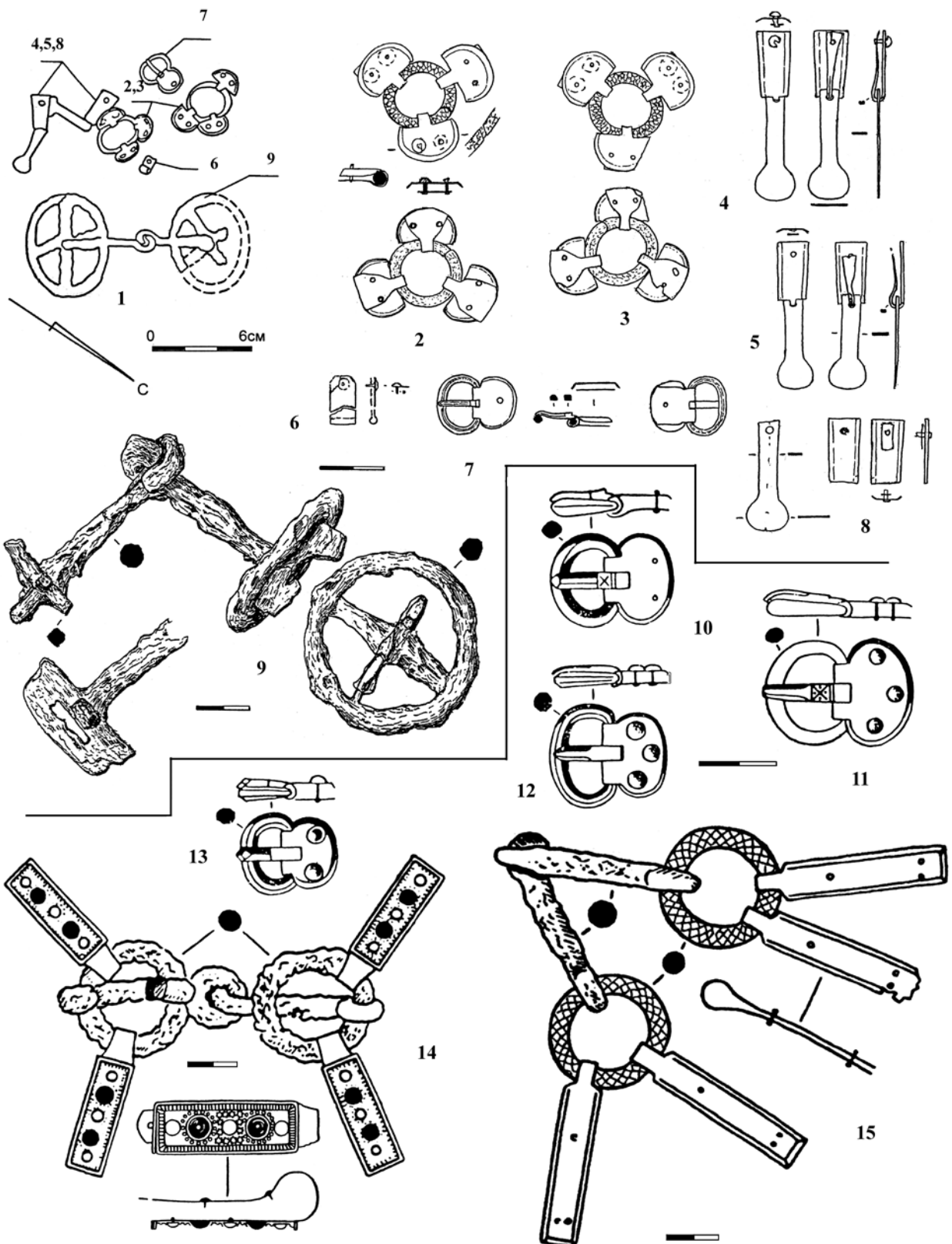


Fig. 1. Goods from burials in Ekazhevo (1-9) and Kishpek (10-15).
 1-9 — Воронин, Малашев 2006; 10-15 — Бетров 1987, 15, with corrections by Vasil'yev

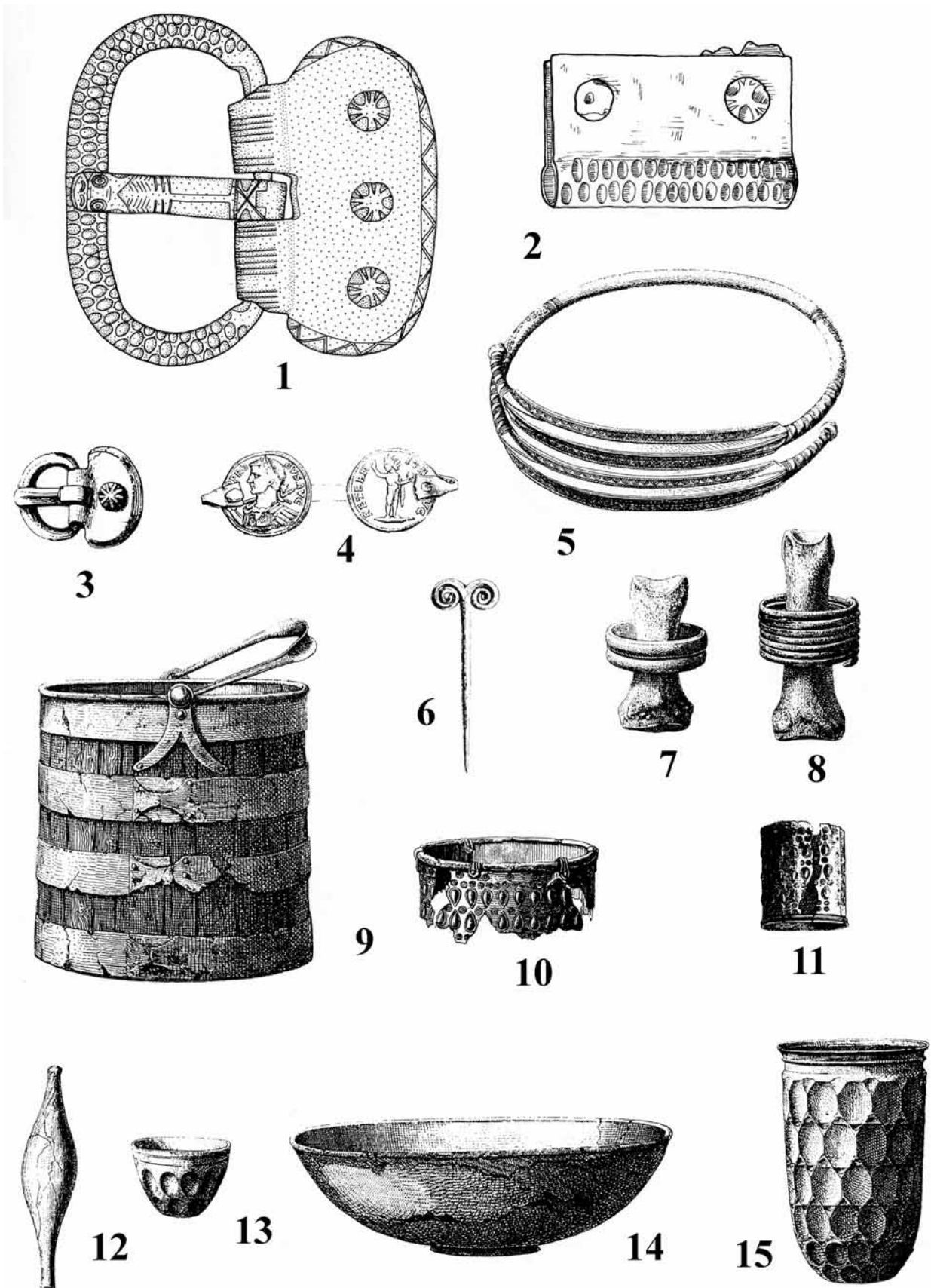


Fig. 2. Goods from Varpelev A grave (Sommer 1984)

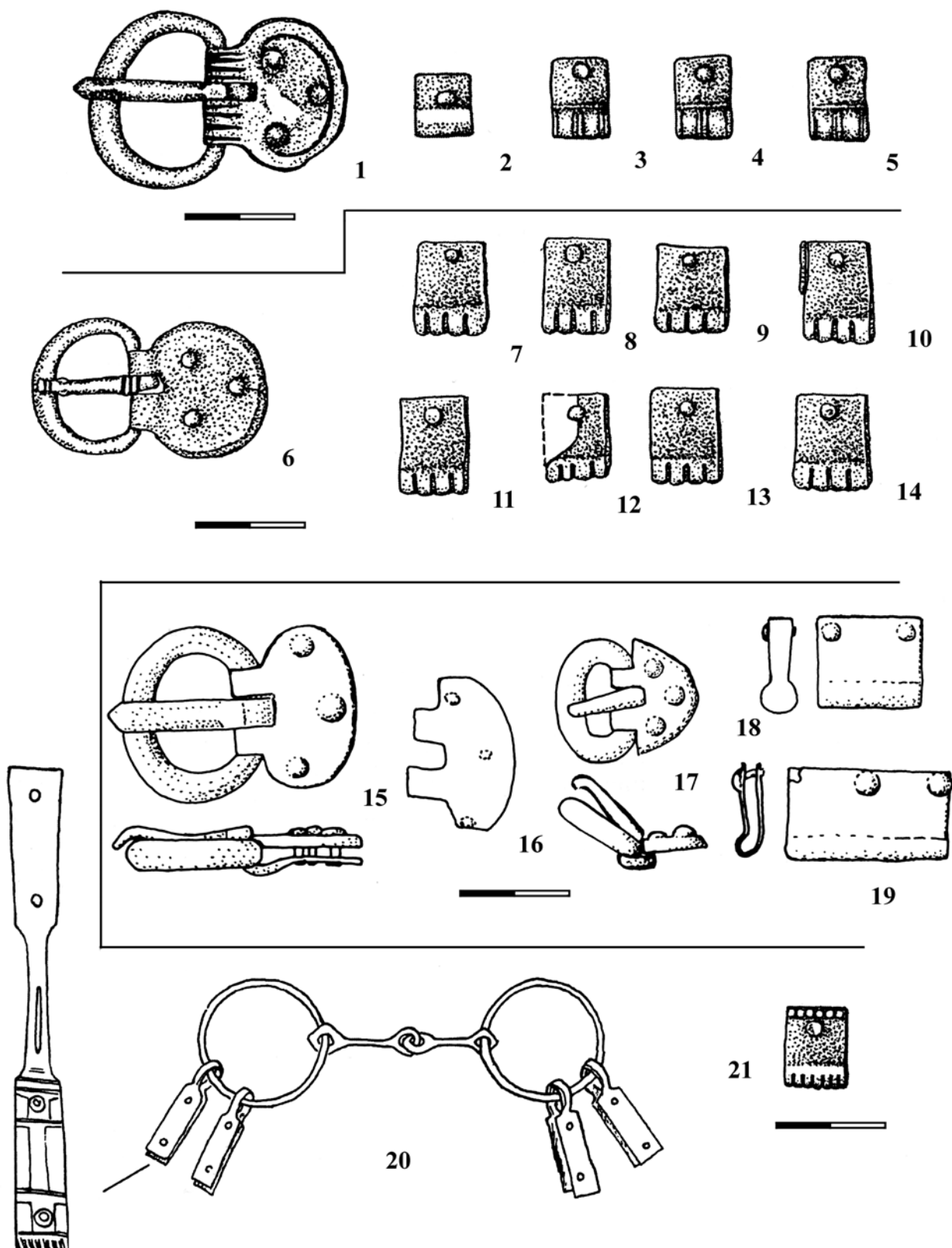


Fig. 3. Elements of belt sets (1-19, 21) and horse bits (20) among the finds from the Roman period.

1-5 — Hirşova; 6-14 — Budapest III — Újlak Bécsi Út 42, burial 2;

15-19 — Kerch, the so-called Messaksudi grave; 20-21 — Berkasovo. 1-14, 20-21 — Nagy 2005;

15-19 — Beck et al. 1988

the Roman frontier, and among the Pontic barbarians.²

Varpelev belt set from consists of buckle Keller A–B–C with faceted decoration of the frame (fig. 2. 1; 5. 4) and rectangular belt-end (fig. 2. 2; 5. 3). As Markus Sommer has put it, these buckles were of Roman origin and spread in the Danubian *limes* approximately from 290 AD (Sommer 1984, S. 74–75), though Ervin Keller once dated them basically to 330–360 AD (Keller 1971, S. 58).³

Although the Roman attribution of Varpelev buckle is generally accepted nowadays (Grane 2007, p. 181–183; Grane 2010), researchers underline that faceted decoration of its frame has no parallels in the Late Roman belt sets. Therefore, it is supposed that it was local replica of Roman belt set (Straume 1987, S. 123). However, the find of very similar buckle far on the south, in the right bank of the Dnieper (in Ruzhin district of Zhitomir region),⁴ also with faceted ornamentation of the frame and tongue with zoomorphic end (fig. 5. 5) raises doubts in the hypothesis of the production of Varpelev buckle in one of Scandinavian workshops. Most likely, both are the cases of Roman import.

In the Crimea, Keller A–B–C buckles are represented in the cemetery of Kerch (Pantikapaion/Bosporos), for example in the so-called “Messaksudi” grave of 1918 (fig. 3. 15), which was uncovered on the side of Mitridat hill (Beck et al. 1988, p. 68, fig. 1. 16). According to the whole set of goods — if this is a close assemblage (the grave was discovered by plunderers) — the burial in Messaksudi grave could date from 330–370 AD (Малашев 2000, с. 206; Shchukin et al. 2006, p. 100); the latest find is the long-tongue buckle typical to the Hunnic period (Beck et al. 1988, fig. 1. 1).

Another similar buckle originates from 1841 grave in Adzhimushkay (Шкорпил 1910, рис. 15; Малашев 2000, рис. 12. Б. 10). Now this grave is dated from 320/330–360/370 AD (Малашев 2000, с. 206) or 290–350 AD (Shchukin et al. 2006, p. 98). They are also known in cemeteries in the southwest Crimea such as Neyzats (Храпунов 2003, рис. 4. 3) and Krasnaya Zorya (Пуздровский и др. 2001, рис. 2. 6).

Keller A–B–C buckles are also known amidst the barbarians in the Eastern and Central Europe. For example, there are such buckles in the sites of the Chernyakhov culture (Kazanski, Legoux 1988, p. 13–14, num. 9; Петраускас 2009, с. 192–193) and in graves of Sarmatian-Alan circle (Kazanski 1995, fig. 5. 1; 8. 11; Малашев 2000, рис. 9. Б. 1; 9. В. 1, 3; 12. Е. 3). Amidst the barbarians, Keller A–B–C buckles are recorded starting from phase C2 (250/260–300/320 AD), that generally does not contradict to Sommer’s conclusions regarding the date and place where they appeared. Both in the Empire (for example: Sommer 1984, Taf. 27. 1; Nagy 2005, Abb. 26. 2; Die Römer 2000, Kat. 150a) and in Barbaricum like in Varpelev (fig. 5. 4) or in Zhitomir region (fig. 5. 5), Keller A–B–C buckles have typical zoomorphic tongue.

Rectangular belt-ends with projection, as in Varpelev (fig. 2. 2; 5. 3), are also widespread element of Roman belt sets. As for the early finds, one can remember already mentioned Berkasovo (fig. 3. 21) from Licinius age (Manojlović-Marijanski 1973, Taf. 10. 6), as well as graves in Hârşova (fig. 3. 2–5) (Goldhelm 1994, no. 94) and Budapest III — Újlak Bécsi Út 42, burial 2 (fig. 3. 7–14), the latter was accompanied with coin of Galerius minted in 309–310 AD (Nagy 2005, Abb. 19. 3). These belt-ends were

² Faceted decoration and imitations of it are on rings of horse bits from the Great Migration period among the Balts, in Sambia (Suvorovo / Zophen: Кулаков 1990, табл. 10. 13; 11. 12; 13. 7; 16. 2; Gora Velikanov / Hünenberg: Кулаков, Тюрин 2005, рис. 8. 7; Mitino: Скворцов 2010, табл. 516). There is one find of such horse bits recorded far on the north, in barrow 45 of Dolozhskiy Pogost cemetery in the west edge of Izhora plateau (latest publication: Бехтер 2010, с. 71–72, рис. 1). This grave dates from the fifth or early sixth century; in my opinion, it is related to the penetration of some groups of the Balts into the forest zone of North-West Russia (Казанский 1999, с. 409–411; Казанский 2010, с. 99). Decoration of engraved transverse lines on rings of horse bits is known as well. In the Baltic area, it existed in the Late Roman period in Denmark (Nydam: Ørsnes 1993, fig. 40. c) and in the Great Migration period in Lithuania (Taurapilas: Tautavičius 1981, pav. 40. 5).

³ In Hirşova grave in Romanian Dobruja, Keller A–B–C buckle (fig. 3. 1) was uncovered together with sword pommel with inscription VALE–RIANE VIVAS. If the inscription mentions the emperor Valerianus, it should belong to 250s AD. Emperor Valerianus I reigned in 253–260 AD, and his grandson Valerianus II acted in Illyria, Pannonia and Moesia and died young even earlier, in 257 AD. However, the grave contained coins (61 specimens) from Licinius to Constantius II (Zahariade 1996, 226–227). That is why the compilers of the catalogue of the exhibition presenting this grave date it to about 320 AD (Goldhelm 1994, no. 94).

⁴ I am indebted to Maxim Levada who has shown me this parallel and supplied me with photo of the buckle.

distributed mainly along the Rhine-Danube *limes* and in the Pontic frontier of the Empire; their number is relatively small among the east European barbarians, in the Crimea, North Caucasus, and Urals (Beck et al. 1988, p. 65; Храпунов 2002, с. 44; Nagy 2005, 469, Abb. 31. 2, 35, Liste 2). There also is such belt-end discovered in barrow 3 of Ekazhevo I cemetery (Воронин, Малашев 2006, рис. 9. 10), which also contained the above-mentioned faceted rings for horse-bits. In the Crimea, such belt-ends appear particularly in Cimmerian Bosporos, for example in the already mentioned Messaksudi grave (fig. 3. 18–19), as well as in the collection of the Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum of Mainz (Beck et al. 1988, p. 65, 68, fig. 1. 3, 13), in the cemeteries of Druzhnoye, Suvorovo, Krasnaya Zorya (Храпунов 2002, рис. 74. 40, 43; 80. 9; Зайцев 1997, рис. 61. 25; Пуздровский и др. 200, рис. 2. 1). For the Late Sarmatian antiquities, such belt-ends are also known from the period of the second half of the third and fourth century (Малашев 2000, 206–207).

The combination of Keller A–B–C buckles (as well as smaller copies of them) with rectangular belt-ends is recorded in the Roman empire, for example, in the cemeteries of Frénouville (Sommer 1984, Taf. 41. 15–16), Budapest III (fig. 3. 6–14) (Nagy 2005, Abb. 13, 15), or Hârşova (fig. 3. 1–5) (Goldhelm 1994, no. 94). In the Crimea, such a combination is recorded in Messaksudi grave (fig. 3. 15, 18–19), as well as in burial 2 of grave 35 in the cemetery of Krasnaya Zorya (Пуздровский и др. 2001, рис. 2. 1, 6). It is also known amidst the barbarians, particularly in the antiquities of steppe area from Sarmatian-Alanic period (Малашев 2000, рис. 9. Б; 12. Е).

Hence I can come to the conclusion that the belt set from Varpelev grave is of the Late Roman origin and dates from not earlier than the late phase C2 (ca. 290–320 AD) or phase C3 (300/320–350/370 AD); these artefacts were distributed in Cimmerian Bosporos and among the barbarians, particularly in the Late Sarmatian steppe or in the area of the Chernyakhov culture.

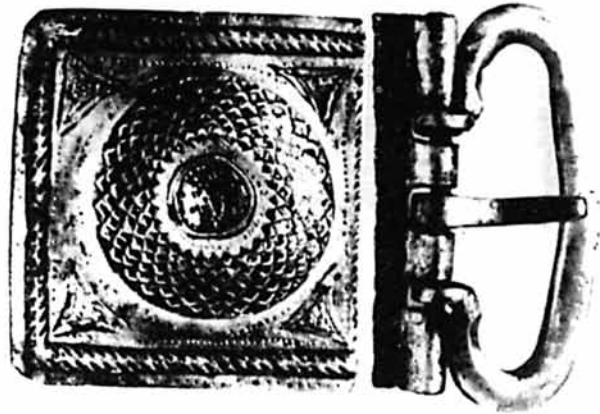
In order to clarify the chronology of the burial in Varpelev, one should pay attention to the small buckle with movable semi-circular plate and relatively short tongue (fig. 2. 3; 5. 2). Buckles with oval frame and similar plate are known in the south of the East Europe. Two specimens originate from Messaksudi grave, which has already been mentioned several times (fig. 3. 16–17) (Beck

et al. 1988, p. 68, fig. 1. 18). Researchers have discovered parallels to these Crimean buckles with the chronology within the fourth and the first half of the fifth century AD, that is phase C3–D2 of the European Barbaricum timeline: Dănceni, Tîrgşor (Chernyakhov culture), Blagoveshchenka, Utamysh (steppe antiquities of Alan-Sarmatian circle), Frombork (mouth of Vistula, Wielbark culture?), Saygatskiy, Turayevo (Kharino culture in the Urals and Volga region) (Beck et al. 1988, note 48; Kazanski, Legoux 1988, p. 16–17, no. 20). This list could be enlarged with a find from Suvorovo cemetery in the south-west Crimea where such buckle was discovered near the amphora of Inkerman type from the fourth century (Зайцев 1997, рис. 63), as well as with the buckle from grave 125 in the cemetery of Neyzats, from the fourth century as well (Храпунов 2006, рис. 6. 3). All these parallels allow me to date the find from Varpelev to the period not earlier than phase C3 (300/320–350/370 AD).

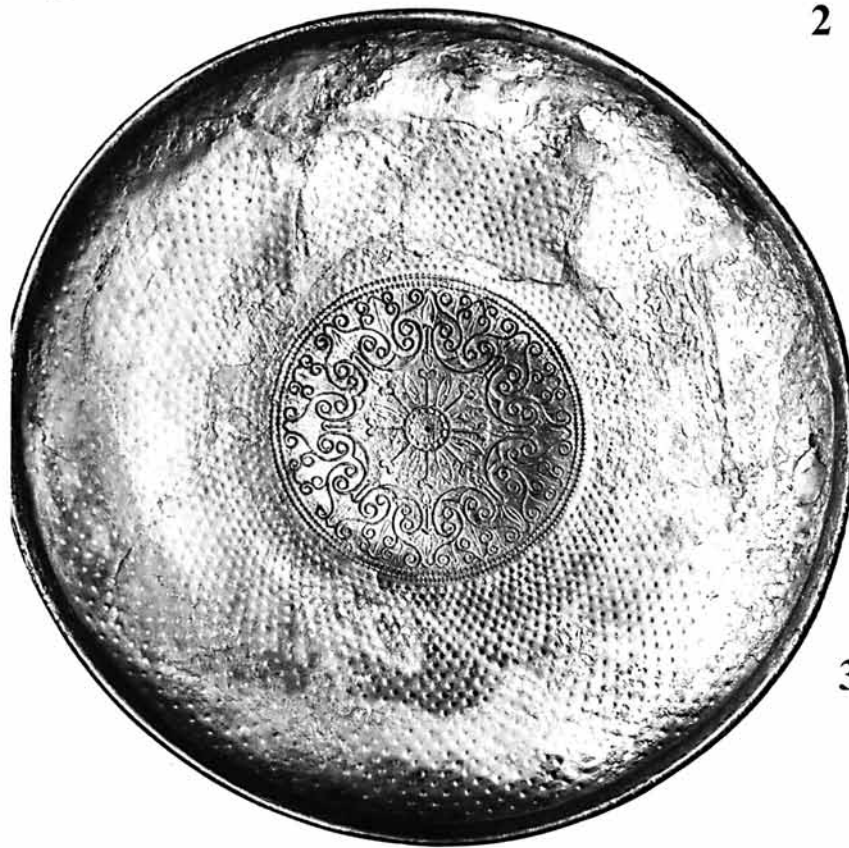
Especially interesting is decoration in the shape of network, cells or facets on the artefacts from Kishpek, Ekazhevo and Varpelev. Actually, this is their main uniting element. This decoration is absolutely untypical for Barbaricum: although it is absent in the Roman period both on the finds in Scandinavia and Pontic area, its sources are well traceable in Roman toreutics. The third century Roman buckles with dolphins from Rhein-Museum in Bonn (fig. 4. 1) have well visible scaled ornament on frames, which is the clear predecessor of cell ornamentation of Varpelev buckle (Heurgon 1958, pl. 23. 2). Scaled decoration covers the whole surface of the bowl from Chatuzange of the second half of the third century (Trésors 1989, no. 191). Scaled decoration is also known on Roman belt sets from the late third and early fourth century (see, for example: fig. 4. 2) (Budapest/Aquincum: Thomas 1988, pl. V. 5). Representation of dolphin skin as cells or dots is typical to the Late Roman metalworking, for example, handles of dolphin-shaped spoons (see: Painter 1977, fig. 34; Baratte et al. 2002, fig. 49, 54). Cell decoration is also on spoons from Thetford Hoard (Johns, Potter 1983, fig. 35, 37, 38, 40). Cell decoration is well represented on Roman silver pottery. Cells could be either large, as on small vase from Berthouville Hoard from the late third or early fourth century (Trésors 1989, no. 26), on bowl from Notre-Dame d'Alençon Hoard from the third century (fig. 4. 4) (Trésors 1989, no. 35) or on cups from Chaourse from the late third century (Trésors 1989, nos. 60–61), or small as in bowl from Rhetel



1



2



3



4

Fig. 4. Late Roman goods with scaled, faceted and cell decoration. 1 — Bonn museum; 2 — Budapest; 3 — Rhetel; 4 — Notre-Dame d'Alençon. 1 — Heurgon 1958; 2 — Thomas 1988; 3-4 — Trésors 1989



Fig. 5. Buckles and belt-ends from Varpelev (1–4) and buckle from Zhitomir region (5).
1–4 — Grane 2007; 5 — Maxim Levada

Hoard (fig. 4. 3) from the second half of the third century (Trésors 1989, no. 109).

In Rhetel hoard, there also was silver mirror with scaled decoration of handle (Trésors 1989, no. 118). There is similar decoration of handle of Vienne mirror also from the second half of the third century (Trésors 1989, no. 182). The edge of this mirror has network decoration resembling that of Kishpek horse bits, as far as I can guess by the illustrations.

Scaled decoration of metalware appears amidst Late Roman barbarians as well. As an example, let me remember silver buckle plated with gold from grave 507 in Chernyakhov cemetery of Bîrlad — Valea Seacă in Romanian Moldova (Palade 1986, Pl. R89a. 2). However, it is also possible that in this case the buckle is Roman import. Goods with network decoration appear in Barbaricum rarely. One can remember famous neck-ring from Havor in Gothland (Andersson 1995, p. 85, fig. 58), which bar is decorated with fine but deep ornamentation composing continuous network.

Later on, in the early Great Migration period, dotted, cell and faceted decoration became widespread on Mid-European buckles (Madyda-Legutko 1986, Taf. 20. 34–36; 21. 44). The mapping suggests that the centre of their production was located in workshops of Roman Pannonia (Bona 2002, fig. 34). In Barbaricum, faceted and scaled ornamentation is recorded on star- and spade-footed

brooches from phase D2 of West Baltic antiquities (ca. 375/400–430 AD), for example in Warnikam (Bitner-Wróblewska 2001, pl. 38. 6).⁵ Degraded scaled decoration is known also on gold neck-rings from the Great Migration period of the type Andersson R 300 (Andersson 1995, p. 94–96) in Hammersdorf / Mloteczno hoard (Кулаков 2003: 99, рис. 32; Эпоха меровингов 2007, Кат. IV.1.1), neck-ring from Stargard (Эпоха меровингов 2007, Кат. IV.4.1) and in some Scandinavian neck-rings (for example, Oure: Geisslinger 1967, Taf. 8. 1; Tureholm: Stenberger 1977, Abb. 203; Storegåden: Stenberger 1977, Abb. 205; Möne: Stenberger 1977, Abb. 206).

Hence, the decoration and morphology of the artefacts with cell ornamentation in Varpelev, Ekazhevo and Kishpek relate them to the Roman tradition. Most likely, they imitate prestigious Roman goods or were made under orders from barbarian chiefs. Therefore, these finds cannot be argument for the existence of Pontic-Scandinavian relations in the late third and early fourth century. Most probably, they are evidence of Roman cultural influence common for both Scandinavian and Ponto-Caucasian barbarians. Certainly, the above does not disprove the real existence of contacts between Scandinavia and Pontos during phase C2, which have been studied well according to the other categories of archaeological materials (see for example: Werner 1988; Shchukin et al. 2006, figs. 17–19).

⁵ According to Vladimir Kulakov (Кулаков 2003, с. 107), scaled decoration of Baltic brooches imitates ornamentation of bracelets from Bakodpuszta; according to their screw lock, the latter are Late Roman or Early Byzantine product (see details in: Die Schraube 1995). Generally, this confirms the hypothesis of the Late Roman origin of this decoration. However, I feel daunted by the absence of scales on the mentioned bracelets: I cannot see it in the publications (for example: Fettich 1951, Tag. 15. 1–2; 16. 1–2; Kiss 1983, Abb. 5. 3, 8; Die Schraube 1995, Abb. 88, Kat. N. E 4) or by visual survey of the artefact in the display of the Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum.

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Мишель КАЗАНСКИЙ

**Кишпек, Экажево и Варпелев:
к вопросу о понто-скандинавских связях в позднеримское время**
Резюме

В статье рассмотрен фасетчатый декор, имеющийся на удилах из «вождеской» могилы Кишпек в Кабардино-Балкарии, на узде из позднесарматского кургана Экажево в Ингушетии, а также на пряжке из «вождеской» могилы А Варпелев в Дании. Хронологические рамки всех этих погребений в целом укладываются в конец III – первые десятилетия IV вв., что соответствует финальной части периода С2 хронологии европейского Барбарикума (250/260–300/320 гг.). Неясно, однако, отражают ли эти параллели в декоре какие-то связи между понто-кавказскими аланами и сарматами с одной стороны, и германцами Скандинавии с другой, или же этому явлению надо искать какое-то другое объяснение?

Удила из Кишпека — двучастные кольчатые удила с прямоугольно-вытянутыми держателями ремней — хорошо известны у сармат, но встречаются и в позднеримском контексте, например в Беркасово. Стоит вспомнить и керченские удила из аристократических могил конца III – начала IV в., которые, как и кишпекские, имеют богатый полихромный декор. В целом можно заключить, что двучастные кольчатые удила, в том числе с вытянуто-прямоугольными обоймами для ремней, имеют широкое распространение, они известны в Империи, в «государствах-клиентах» римского пограничья, а также у понтийских варваров.

Поясная гарнитура из Варпелев состоит из пряжки типа Келлер А–В–С и прямоугольного наконечника ремня. Эти пряжки и наконечники имеют римское происхождение и распространяются на дунайском лимесе приблизительно с 290 г. Известна такая гарнитура и у варваров в Восточной и Центральной Европе.

Особый интерес вызывает декор в виде сетки, ячеек или фасеток на вещах из Кишпека, Экажево и Варпелев. Собственно, это основной объединяющий их элемент. Такой декор совершенно нетипичен для Барбарикума, в римское время его нет на вещах ни в Скандинавии, ни в понтийском регионе. Зато его развитие хорошо прослеживается в римской торевтике.

Итак, судя по декору и морфологии, вещи с декором в виде ячеек в Варпелев, Экажево и Кишпек принадлежат римской традиции. Скорее всего, они имитируют престижные римские образцы, или же просто сделаны на заказ для варварских предводителей. Поэтому данные находки не могут привлекаться в качестве доказательств понто-скандинавских связей в конце III – начале IV в. Они, скорее всего, свидетельствуют об общем для скандинавских и понто-кавказских варваров римском культурном воздействии. Это разумеется, не опровергает реального существования скандинавско-понтийских контактов в период С2, хорошо изученных на других категориях археологического материала.

Igor' KHRAPUNOV

THE NORTHERN BARBARIANS IN THE CRIMEA: A HISTORY OF THE INVESTIGATION

This paper analyses the early stage of the penetration of barbarians from Northern and Central Europe into the Crimean peninsula, mostly in the Late Roman period. I will speak mainly of Germanic tribes. First and foremost, I will discuss studies of archaeological rather than written sources.¹

However, I have to start from the ancient writers' information because this was the background for all the nineteenth century researchers dealing with the history of Germanic tribes, or more precisely of almost only the Goths, in the Crimea. Many scholars discussed the Goths in the Crimea with more or less details. They were interested in various aspects of the topic, especially in the history of Christianisation of the Crimean Goths.

Alexander Vasiliev summed up the nineteenth and early twentieth century studies of written sources about the Crimean Goths in his monograph that became classical. It was published in Russian in the USSR in 1920s (Васильев 1921; 1927) and in English in the USA in 1936 (Vasiliev 1936). Vasiliev investigated the history of the Goths in the Crimea from the very beginning to the thirteenth century AD. As for the period of my present interest, I can state the following. According to Vasiliev, the Goths penetrated into the Crimea in the mid-third century AD. After that, they started their famous maritime campaigns. In the early fourth century AD, the Goths took possession of the entire Crimea but Bosporos. Bosporos fell into the hands of the Goths in the late fourth century, after 362 AD. It were 370s AD when the Huns came from behind the Cimmerian Bosporos, via the

Crimean steppe. They pushed a part of the Goths to the Crimean mountains. Vasiliev studied the problem of Christianisation of the Goths in the Crimea throughout their history in every detail.

The first archaeological site that many scholars later related to Germanic penetration into the Crimea was excavated in 1930s. It was the cemetery located near Roman fortress of Charax in the south coast of the Crimea. In order to avoid cultural associations with the Roman fortress, it is better to call it Ay-Todor rather than Charax, as many researchers do according to the name of the promontory where it is located.

Vladimir Blavatskiy's team excavated 33 graves in Ay-Todor cape in 1931, 1932 and 1935. One of them contained burial of two children and adult person, another single burial, all made according to inhumation rite. All other burials were made according to cremation rite. Calcined bones were often located in urns, which in most cases were amphorae, and partly in pits without urns. These urns were covered with vessels or stones, or with brick in one case. There were stone pavements constructed above several burials. The graves were accompanied by rather various, but poor grave goods. Besides the funerals, the excavation trench appeared to contain several so-called "points," or sets of pottery shards, animal bones, and, in rare cases, other goods. Blavatskiy dated the cemetery to the first half of the fourth century AD, mainly because of the coin finds. He pointed out that the cemetery was used in the period when the south coast of the Crimea belonged to the Goths. However, in his point of view,

¹ Bibliography of the history of the Germanics in the Crimea and their material culture is very abundant. These publications include a great number of dilettantish works that do not desire special analysis. My paper mentions and analyses with more or less details the publications meeting scientific criteria.

There is a striking example of dilettantism in interpretation of Germanic antiquities: the publication of a stone discovered on Opuk hill in the Eastern Crimea. The stone is inscribed with images interpreted as Germanic runes thus allowing the publishers to start long talk on various topics (Голенко и др. 1999). This publication raises reviews, both critical (Шалыга 2000) and sympathetic (Хлезов 2001, Щукин 2005, с. 429). In result, it becomes evident that symbols on the stone were carved by a resident of modern Kerch in 1994 (Федосеев 2010).

the cemetery did not have specific Gothic features. It was created by a “mixed population” consisting of descendants of the Romans and local population (Блаватский 1951).

For the evaluation of the results of the research by Blavatskiy’s team, I should mention the following. Firstly, the cemetery was far from being investigated in full: its borders were not even roughly determined. Secondly, only a part of the finds from the graves was published: most part of them remained unprinted.

Konstantin Orlov continued Blavatskiy’s research in 1977. He excavated a small area with four cremations and one more “point” that consisted of fired animal bones and some other finds. Orlov unearthed still earliest graves that date to the second quarter or mid-third century AD (Орлов 1987).

In 1952, there was an event, more political than scientific, that slowed down the research of the history of the Crimean Goths. It was the scholarly session of the Department of History and Philosophy and the Crimean Branch of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR on the problems of the Crimean history. This session’s decisions were undoubtedly inspired by communist authorities; they were stated as directives and historians and archaeologists understood them in this very way. Under the circumstances of the absolute communist power, non-compliance with such directives threatened the researcher with lack of possibility of doing scholarly studies at the very best. The decisions of the session clearly stated the necessity to search for the connection between the Crimean population and the Slavs, as well as to disclose “falsification of the history of the Goths” (Айбабин, Герцен, Храпунов 1993, с. 211–212). The translation from the communist to normal language means that researchers should look for the Crimean Slavs rather than the Goths. The results of such guidelines were not late in arriving.

Chernorechenskiy cemetery is located in vicinity of Sevastopol; it was excavated in 1950. There was an area with 33 cremations, as well as a large number of burial vaults and undercut graves (Бабенчиков 1963).

Some papers interpreting the cremations in Chernorechenskiy and Ay-Todor cemeteries appeared before the results of the excavations were published. Yevgeniy Veymarn, Stanislav Strzheletskiy and Aleksey Smirnov assumed that the Chernyakhov culture was created by the Slavs. In their opinion, Crimean burials with cremated remains were similar to Chernyakhov ones. Consequently, the Slavs penetrated into the Crimea

no later than in the third century AD (Веймарн, Стржелецкий 1952; Смирнов 1953).

The publication of Chernorechenskiy cemetery appeared in 1963. It came out that the area with cremations consisted of mainly urn burials. Urns were amphorae and hand-made vessels. Four burials of calcined bones were made without urns. There was an urn standing within stone cist, four urns more stood in pits with wall lined with fine stones. Grave goods consisted of mainly red-slip vessels, other finds were isolated. The excavator Viktor Babenchikov considered that the most part of burials was made from the second to the fourth century AD. Although he did not discuss the ethnicity of people who buried in Chernorechenskiy, he noted the similarity between Chernorechenskiy graves and synchronous burials of Neapolis and later graves discovered in the cemeteries of Suuk-Su type (Бабенчиков 1963).

Another cemetery in the valley of the Chyornaya river, Sovkhoz 10 (also called “Sevastopol’skiy” after the name of a neighbouring collective farm) was investigated in 1954–1967. The number of excavated graves, the length of the use, the variety of grave types and pronounced bi-ritualism of the funeral rite makes it unique phenomenon among the Crimean sites of the Roman period. Although more or less detailed publication of the results of the investigations appeared only in 2005, some papers were issued before, mainly to discuss individual categories of the grave goods. Researchers used both them and archival materials to prove their reconstructions of the ethnic history of the Crimea in the Roman period.

The excavation in the territory of the cemetery uncovered 30 cists with 55 ossuaries and 107 urns with calcined bones. 337 urns and 2 ossuaries were buried outside cists. Besides that, the excavation unearthed pit with 32 urns and 9 urns within undercut grave. Inhumation burials were made into 327 graves of various types. Burials were accompanied with manifold grave goods.

The publishers of Sovkhoz 10 dated the cemetery from the late first to the fifth century AD. In their opinion, several stages could be distinguished in the history of the cemetery. Differences between the stages are explained as changes of the population. This way, in the first and second century AD the cemetery was used by dwellers of a Greek settlement, which was closely related to Chersonesos. The Romans mixed with local Sarmatian and Alan population buried there in the third century. The second half of the third and fourth century AD



Sites mentioned in the paper.

I — Greco-Roman cities; II — settlements; III — cemeteries; IV — hoard.

1 — Ay-Todor; 2 — Chernorechenskiy; 3 — Sovkhoz 10; 4 — Dolinnoye hoard; 5 — Chatyr-Dag; 6 — Druzhnoye; 7 — Opushki; 8 — Skalistoye III; 9 — Tankovoye; 10 — Bel'bek I; 11 — Neyzats; 12 — Neapolis; 13 — Al'ma-Kermen; 14 — Tarpanchi; 15 — Chersonesos; 16 — Pantikapaion

burials reveal the appearance of migrants, the Goths (minority) and the Sarmatians and Alans. Finally, the Alans buried into vaults in the late fourth and fifth century AD (Стржелецкий и др. 2003–2004).

Erast Symonovich made a summary of Chernyakhov vessels discovered in the Crimea. He reckoned that Chernyakhov ceramics got to the peninsula in result of trade contacts rather than migration (СИМОНОВИЧ 1975).

Vladislav Kropotkin presented detailed argument for the penetration of the Chernyakhov culture tribes to the Crimea. He compared funeral rites, which were uncovered in the Crimean cemeteries, with those of Chernyakhov sites, and reviewed Chernyakhov artefacts found in the Crimea. In result, Kropotkin ran to the conclusion that the Goths, who were the people of the Chernyakhov culture, appeared in the Crimea in the mid-third century AD and stayed in the peninsula during the third and fourth century AD (Кропоткин 1978).

Igor' Pioro published a series of papers on the topic of my present interest in 1970s and 1980s. He drew the conclusion of his studies in the monograph. Pioro undertook detailed review of Crimean cremations from the Roman period. He determined ritual elements similar to those in the

Late Roman sites of Scandinavia, as well as the Wielbark, Przeworsk and Chernyakhov cultures. Particularly, he pointed out that there were cists with urn and urnless cremations in Scandinavia, as well as in the Crimea. Pioro compiled a summary of Chernyakhov artefacts from the Crimea and ran to the conclusion that they penetrated into the Crimea together with the people migrated from the area of the Chernyakhov culture. Cemeteries of the south-west Crimea were created by hetero-ethnic tribes, which were generally called "Goths." Chersonesos organized this population and settled it in vicinity of the city as *phoideratoi* (Пиоро 1990, с. 89–109).

Aleksandr Aibabin undertook series of studies that finished with publication of monograph. He analysed close burial assemblages from the cemeteries with cremations and ran to the conclusion that these sites originated not earlier than the mid-third century AD. Basing on the story told by the thirteenth century writer Zonaras, Aibabin reconstructed Germanic invasions into the Crimea. At first, the Germanics took the north-west area of the peninsula, then defeated Late Scythian fortresses in the foothill area, and proceeded to Bosphoros after that. The appearance of the Germanics was relat-

ed to the layer of conflagration discovered by the excavations of Pantikapaion. They were not interested in other Bosporean cities. Their first military expedition into the north-west and foothill Crimea was in 252 AD. This date is determinable because of a hoard discovered near Dolinnoye village in the valley of the Kacha river. Their campaign against Bosporos could be dated to 256 AD according to the coins discovered in the layer of fire in Pantikapaion. Because of these events, a part of the Germanics, namely the Траpezитай Goths, found themselves in the south of the peninsula, where they created burials in Chatyr-Dag, Ay-Todor and Chernorechenskiy cemeteries (Айбабин 1999а, с. 13–36; 1999b).

Anatoliy Ambroz ran to different conclusion. In his opinion, cremations in the south Crimean cemeteries, constructions of graves and grave goods are radically different from the Chernyakhov, Przeworsk and Wielbark graves. They reflect strengthening of Chersonesan influence on local barbarians, who escaped destruction in the mid-third century. Gothic influence on the material culture of the Crimean population could hardly be traced for the second half of the third century AD. The Goths destroyed the Late Scythian kingdom and mixed with remains of its population. The Romans settled these barbarians in approaches to Chersonesos to protect it (Амброз 1994, с. 39, 68).

Ol'ga Gey and Igor' Bazhan analysed funeral rites and grave goods in Ay-Todor and Chatyr-Dag cemeteries. In their opinion, cremation rite that was recorded in Ay-Todor corresponds to Wielbark rite of the Late Roman period. Various Lipitsa-Przeworsk features were recorded in the cemetery in the later period. The population appeared in the Crimea in result of "Gothic" invasions to create Ay-Todor and Chatyr-Dag cemeteries. The authors of the monograph did not use ethnonyms (Гей, Бажан 1997, с. 31–34).

Michel Kazanski did a great job to study Germanic antiquities from the Later Roman and Great Migration periods in the Crimea. He made special investigation of the finds from the south-west (better say foothill) Crimea, south coast and Bosporean kingdom. According to him, different Germanic groups penetrated into the south-west Crimea two times. In the middle and second half of the third century AD, these were the people of the Wielbark and possibly Przeworsk culture elements, and in the fourth century AD of Chernyakhov elements. Kazanski assumed that the first group included the Goths, Geruli and their allies, though the second group consisted of the Ostrogothic

Greutugi. In other place, he called the Germanics who migrated to the south-west Crimea in the Late Roman period the Goths or some other East Germanics.

Kazanski compared the cemeteries of Ay-Todor and Chatyr-Dag in the south coast of the Crimea with some sites in the Southern and Middle Norway. It came out that cremations in cists or below stone pavements were spread in Norway as well as in the Crimea. They were accompanied by weapons, sickles and horse bits including ritually damaged items. These parallels brought Kazanski to the idea that a group of people migrated from Scandinavia to the Crimea. The descendants of dwellers of Scandinavia and possibly not the first generation of them came to the Crimea. In their road to the Crimea, the migrants contacted with different tribes and integrated some of their representatives. This is the reason for the difference between Crimean and Scandinavian cemeteries. Later, some group from the south coast of the Crimea migrated via Bosporos to the north Caucasus, where they became an integral part of heterogeneous population, whom ancient writers knew as the Eudosians or Tetraxitai Goths (Kazanski 2002; Казанский 2006).

According to Kazanski's opinion, there are no Germanic artefacts dating earlier than the fourth century BC in Bosporos. This way, archaeological sources do not reflect the period of the Goths' maritime expeditions on Bosporean ships, which are described by written sources. The number of Germanic artefacts increased during the fourth century AD. The Goths penetrated into Bosporean aristocracy and possibly seized power in Bosporos in the second half of the fourth century AD. The history of the Bosporean Goths finished when Huns were defeated at Nedao, returned back and took the Goths to the north Caucasus (Казанский 1999).

My publication of considerable new materials from Druzhnoye cemetery appreciably enlarged the number of cloth details and ornaments, which origin was usually related to the circle of cultures north-west of the Crimea. Besides that, I have recorded some rituals, for example shells with rings pierced through them located between legs of buried ladies that have strict analogies in the areas populated by the Germanics (Храпунов 2002).

Sergey Koltukhov and Vyacheslav Yurochkin undertook historiographical review of studies in the ethnic history of the Crimea in the Early Iron Age. Among others, they made a detailed analysis of the publications dealing with Germanic penetration to

the peninsula and research of their sites from the Roman period (Колтухов, Юрочкин 2004).

Mark Shchukin dedicated a chapter of his monograph to the Crimean Goths (Шукин 2005: 420–465). Most part of it deals with the Great Migration period and Early Middle Ages, so it steps out chronological frontiers of my present paper. Shchukin's view of the Goths' stay in the Crimea is rather traditional. Goths came to the peninsula about the middle of the third century. From Bosporos, they started their maritime campaigns, though in the southern coast they made their cemeteries with cremations. Shchukin points out the finds of coins of the third century AD Gallic usurpers in the Crimea. These coins could hardly circulate in the territory of the Empire, but they were used to pay the Germanics on the Roman service. Quite probably, the Germanics who received that coins appeared in the Crimea later on. A considerable part of the chapter discussing the Crimean Goths is occupied by the analysis of the excavations of Chatyr-Dag cemetery. In more details, it is discussed in the publication of the cemetery that will be described below.

From the time of discovery, the cemetery on the slope of Chatyr-Dag mountain was in the focus of attention of the researchers dealing with the history of the Crimean Germanics. The results of the investigation were published in 2006. 55 graves, each with cremated remains, were uncovered in total. There were 29 urnless burials in pits, six urnless burials in pits below pavements, four urn burials in cists, four burials in pottery shards within cists, four urn burials in pits, two burials in pottery shards in pits, one urnless burial in pit, one burial probably made in organic container; in one grave cremation was combined with the inhumation, the only one in the whole cemetery; the type of the other grave construction was not determined. The peak of use of the cemetery fell on the turn of the fourth century AD. Although the site existed in the third century AD, it is not possible to determine its foundation date more precisely. The number of burials decreased drastically from the mid-fourth century AD. The cemetery ceased to be used in the fifth century AD. The authors of the publication of the results of this cemetery excavation are reasonably careful in the conclusions concerning the ethnicity of the population that created it. They analysed hypotheses on the problem in every detail and ran to the conclusion that none of them may be considered proven. In their opinion, the cemetery appeared possibly in result of the Goths' and their

allies' penetration into the Crimea in the mid-third century AD. They found Kazanski's idea about the migration of some people from Scandinavia to the Crimea more probable and better suitable to the chronology of the site. This notion is developed and supplied with more details with the suggestion that mainly men originated from Scandinavia, though representatives of local Black Sea population predominated among the women (Мыц и др. 2006).

The excavation of Opushki cemetery in the foothill area uncovered a cist with cremation of Germanic tradition among many vaults, undercut and pit graves usual in the Crimean cemeteries from the Roman period. Similar cases of isolated cremations amidst multitude of traditional Crimean graves have been recorded in the cemeteries of Skalistoye III, Tankovoye and Bel'bek I in the south-west Crimea. Such a situation probably uncovers that some groups of the Germanics infiltrated into Sarmatian environment. It happened before the Gothic invasions started in the mid-third century AD (Храпунов, Мульд 2005).

In his study of hand-made ceramics from sites of Late Scythian towns, Vladimir Vlasov noticed a phenomenon that was never known before. Top layers of Neapolis, Al'ma-Kermen and Tarpanchi contained vessels having exact analogies in the cemeteries of the Wielbark and Chernyakhov cultures. These finds date from the first half of the third century AD. Hence, the Germanics penetrated into the Crimea and started peace contacts with local population earlier than it was recorded by written sources discussing maritime expeditions of the Goths (Власов 1999). Other researchers wrote about the early appearance of the Germanics in the Crimea resting on other materials (Храпунов 2004, с. 141; Васильев 2005а; 2005b).

Maxim Levada analysed many Germanic artefacts from the Roman period discovered in the south of East Europe, particularly in the Crimea. He drew the conclusion that not all these artefact belonged to the Goths. Hence, these artefacts supply the scholar with the background to infer that different Germanic tribes penetrated into the Crimea (Левада 2006).

The latter idea is close to Oleg Sharov. In his opinion, the Crimea and Bosporos in particular received some early Germanics and non-Germanic tribes. The first group of barbarians migrated from far North to the peninsula as late as the second century AD (Шаров 2010).

Special topic to investigate is a small set of artefacts of the "circle of enamels" discovered in the

Crimea. The most significant find is openwork bronze plaque from Neyzats cemetery. It was a part of pectoral ornament typical to the culture of the Balts in the Late Roman period. There is cross-bar brooch discovered in Chatyr-Dag cemetery. This find allowed Shchukin to reconstruct the route of some Germanic groupings to the Crimea via the Baltic area and forest zone of Eastern Europe, leaving the Wielbark culture area aside (Щукин 2002; Мыц и др. 2006, с. 15, 132–133, 186). Some artefacts of the “circle of enamels” were discovered in Chersonesos (Колесникова 2006, с. 131). Two red-enamelled spurs were discovered in Skalistoye III cemetery (Богданова, Гущина, Лобода 1976, с. 146).

We can only guess how these artefacts found their way to the Crimea. It is probable that the Germanics took some artefacts made by artisans from the Baltic or Dnieper area with them. I do not deny the possibility of some individuals from Baltic tribes were among the Germanics. Another interpretation is also plausible: the appearance of the Germanics in the north Black Sea area made contacts between the populations of the Middle Dnieper area and the Crimean foothill area possible. A small number of the Middle Dnieper artefacts started coming to the Crimea, similarly as more numerous goods from the area of the Chernyakhov culture penetrated into the peninsula. However, all these are nothing but conjectures caused by the condition of written sources in our possession (Khrapunov 2008, p. 196–198).

The undertaken above brief review of Germanic antiquities demonstrates the following aspects. All researchers agree on only one point: the Germanics lived in the Crimea in the Late Roman period. All other problems related with them raise disputes and are not solved. In particular, although

according to written sources the Germanics came to Bosphoros earlier than to other places, there are no sites of them dated earlier than the fourth century AD. Indeed, these sites are individual ornaments, costume details or ceramic vessels instead of settlements or burials.

Approximate coincidence of archaeological date of the appearance of cremation cemeteries in the south coast of the Crimea and “historical” date of the Goths’ penetration into the Black Sea area leads the researchers to the conclusion that the Germanics buried in the south coast according to cremation rite. The strongest argument for Germanic attribution of these cemeteries is that funeral rites related to cremation of the dead were absolutely not known in the Crimea in previous period. Logically, the appearance of the cemeteries of the new type can be explained as inflow of population from the outside.

The scholars often use another argument: Crimean cemeteries with cremations are similar to the sites of cultures shaped with participation of the Germanics; it seems less convenient. There are many examples of similarity of funeral rites recorded by the excavations of the Crimean cemeteries on the one hand and the cemeteries of the Chernyakhov, Wielbark and Przeworsk cultures, as well as located in Scandinavia on the other. However, the number of differences is as much bigger, and none of Crimean cemeteries could be related to this or that archaeological culture due to the combination of its features. Grave goods from the Crimean cemeteries with cremations combine Germanic, Greco-Roman and Sarmatian artefacts. Such a state of affairs still does not allow the researches to identify Crimean population in the Later Roman period with this or that Germanic tribe or tribes.

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Игорь ХРАПУНОВ

Северные варвары в Крыму: история исследования

В статье рассмотрены начальные этапы проникновения варваров из Северной и Центральной Европы на Крымский полуостров, преимущественно в позднеримское время. Речь пойдёт, главным образом, о германских племенах. В первую очередь нас будут интересовать исследования археологических, а не письменных источников.²

Но начать придётся именно со свидетельств древних авторов, так как на них основывались все учёные, занимавшиеся в XIX в. историей германских племён, а точнее почти исключительно готов, в Крыму. Более или менее подробно о готах в Крыму писали многие исследователи. Их интересовали различные аспекты темы, но особенно — история христианизации крымских готов.

Итоги изучения письменных источников о крымских готах в XIX – начале XX в. подвёл в своей, ставшей уже классической, монографии А. А. Васильев. Она была опубликована на русском языке в 20-ые гг. XX в. в СССР (Васильев 1921; 1927) и в 1936 г. на английском языке в США (Vasiliev 1936). А. А. Васильев исследовал историю готов в Крыму с самого её начала до XIII в. н. э. Об интересующем нас сейчас периоде можно сказать следующее. По мнению А. А. Васильева, готы проникли в Крым в середине III в. н. э. После этого начались их знаменитые морские походы. В начале IV в. н. э. готам принадлежал весь Крым, кроме Боспора. Боспор перешёл в руки готов в конце IV в. н. э., после 362 г. В 70-ые гг. IV в. н. э., придя из-за Боспора Киммерийского, через степной Крым прошли гунны. Часть готов они отеснили в горы. Самым подробным образом А. А. Васильев изучил проблему христианизации готов в Крыму на протяжении всей их истории.

Первый археологический памятник, который многие исследователи позднее соотносили с проникновением в Крым германцев, был раскопан в 1930-ые гг. Это могильник, расположенный вблизи римской крепости Харакс на Южном берегу Крыма. Во избежание культурных ассоциаций с римской крепостью его лучше именовать, как это и делают многие исследователи, не Харакс, а Ай-Тодор, по названию мыса, на котором он расположен.

В 1931, 1932 и 1935 гг. экспедиция В. Д. Блаватского на мысе Ай-Тодор раскопала 33 могилы. В одной из них обнаружено погребение двух детей и взрослого человека, ещё в одной могиле — одиночное захоронение, совершенное по обряду ингумации. Все остальные погребения были совершены по обряду кремации. Обожжённые кости часто находились в урнах, которыми в большинстве случаев служили амфоры, часть — в ямах без урн. Урны закрывались сосудами или камнями, в одном случае кирпичом. Над некоторыми погребениями были сделаны каменные вымостки. Захоронения сопровождались довольно разнообразным, но не богатым инвентарём. Кроме могил в раскопе оказалось несколько так называемых пунктов — скоплений обломков сосудов, костей животных, а также, в редких случаях, других вещей. В. Д. Блаватский датировал могильник первой половиной IV в. н. э., основываясь, главным образом, на находках монет. Он отметил, что могильник использовался в то время, когда Южный берег Крыма принадлежал готам.

² Литература об истории германцев в Крыму, их материальной культуре весьма значительна. Среди опубликованных работ имеется множество дилетантских сочинений, не заслуживающих серьёзного анализа. В данной статье упоминаются и более или менее подробно анализируются публикации, которые отвечают критериям научности.

Ярким примером дилетантизма, проявленного при интерпретации германских древностей, может послужить публикация камня, найденного на горе Опук в восточном Крыму. Имеющиеся на камне изображения были истолкованы как германские руны, что дало основание авторам публикации пуститься в пространные рассуждения на самые разнообразные темы (Голенко и др. 1999). Публикация вызвала отклики как критические (Шалыга 2000), так и сочувственные (Хлезов 2001; Шукин 2005, с. 429), но, в конце концов, выяснилось, что знаки на камне были высечены жителем Керчи в 1994 г. (Федосеев 2010).

Однако некрополь, по его мнению, не содержал ничего специфически готского. Его оставило «смешанное население», состоявшее из потомков римлян и местных жителей (Блаватский 1951).

Оценивая результаты работ экспедиции В. Д. Блаватского, следует отметить следующее. Во-первых, некрополь исследован далеко не полностью, границы его не определены даже приблизительно. Во-вторых, находки из могил опубликованы выборочно. Большая их часть осталась не опубликованной.

Исследования В. Д. Блаватского в 1977 г. продолжил К. К. Орлов. Он раскопал небольшой участок с четырьмя трупосожжениями и ещё одним «пунктом», состоящим из обожжённых костей животных и некоторых других находок. К. К. Орловым открыты наиболее ранние пока могилы, датирующиеся в пределах второй четверти – середины III в. н. э. (Орлов 1987).

В 1952 г. произошло событие, скорее политическое, а не научное, надолго затормозившее изучение истории крымских готов. Речь идёт о научной сессии Отделения истории и философии и Крымского филиала АН СССР по вопросам истории Крыма. Решения этой сессии, несомненно, инспирированные органами КПСС, были сформулированы как директивы и именно так воспринимались историками и археологами. Невыполнение директив в условиях всевластия КПСС в лучшем случае грозило учёному утратой возможности заниматься наукой. В решениях сессии было ясно сказано о необходимости поисков связи населения Крыма со славянами, требовалось разоблачать «фальсификацию истории готов» (Айбабин, Герцен, Храпунов 1993, с. 211–212). В переводе с языка КПСС на человеческий это означало, что в Крыму следует искать не готов, а славян. Результаты этих установок не заставили себя долго ждать.

В 1950 г. были проведены раскопки Чернореченского могильника, расположенного неподалёку от Севастополя. Там, наряду с большим количеством склепов и подбойных могил, открыт участок с 33 трупосожжениями (Бабенчиков 1963).

Ещё до того, как результаты этих исследований были опубликованы, появились статьи, интерпретирующие трупосожжения Чернореченского и Ай-Тодорского могильников. Е. В. Веймарн, С. Ф. Стржелецкий и А. П. Смирнов исходили из того, что черняховская культура была оставлена славянами. Обнаруженные в Крыму захоронения с кремированными останками, по их мнению, близки черняховским. Следовательно, в Крым славяне проникли не позднее III в. н. э. (Веймарн, Стржелецкий 1952; Смирнов 1953).

В 1963 г. появилась публикация Чернореченского могильника. Оказалось, что участок с трупосожжениями состоял, в основном, из урновых захоронений. Урнами служили амфоры и лепные сосуды. Четыре погребения кальцинированных костей совершили без урн. Одна из урн стояла в каменном ящике, ещё четыре находились в ямах, стены которых обложили небольшими камнями. Погребальный инвентарь представлен, в основном, краснолаковыми сосудами, другие находки единичны. Раскопавший могильник В. П. Бабенчиков полагал, что большая часть погребений совершена во II – IV вв. н. э. Об этнической принадлежности людей, хоронивших на Чёрной речке, он не высказывался, но отметил сходство чернореченских могил с синхронными неапольскими и более поздними, открытыми в могильниках типа Суук-Су (Бабенчиков 1963).

В 1954–1967 гг. исследовался ещё один расположенный в долине Чёрной речки могильник — Совхоз 10. По количеству исследованных погребальных сооружений, продолжительности использования, разнообразию типов могил, ярко выраженному биритуализму погребального обряда он представляет собой уникальное явление среди крымских памятников римского времени. Результаты его исследования были более-менее полно опубликованы только в 2005 г., но до этого появлялись статьи, главным образом, об отдельных категориях погребального инвентаря. Пользуясь ими, а также архивными материалами многие исследователи старались обосновать свои реконструкции этнической истории Крыма римского времени.

На территории могильника открыто 30 каменных ящиков, в которых находилось 55 оссуариев и 107 урн с кальцинированными костями. 337 урн и два оссуария были захоронены вне каменных ящиков. Кроме того, открыта яма с 32 урнами, ещё девять урн стояли в подбойной могиле. Погребения по обряду ингумации совершались в 327 могилах различных типов. Захоронения сопровождал разнообразный погребальный инвентарь.

Авторы публикации могильника Совхоз 10 датируют его концом I – началом V в. н. э. По их мнению, в истории могильника можно выделить несколько фаз. Различия между фазами объясняются сменами населения. Так, в I – II вв. н. э. могильник использовался жителями греческого поселения, близко связанного с Херсонесом. В III в. н. э. там хоронили римляне, смешавшиеся с местным сармато-аланским населением. Погребения второй половины III – IV вв. н. э. отражают появление мигрантов, состоявших из готов (их было меньшинство) и сармато-алан. Наконец, в склепах конца IV – V вв. н. э. хоронили аланы (Стржелецкий и др. 2003–2004).

Э. А. Симонович сделал сводку черняховских сосудов, найденных в Крыму. Он полагал, что черняховская керамика попала на полуостров не в ходе миграций, а в результате торговых контактов (Симонович 1975).

С развёрнутой аргументацией о проникновении племён-носителей черняховской культуры в Крым выступил В. В. Кропоткин. Он сопоставил погребальные обряды, выявленные в крымских некрополях, с одной стороны и в черняховских могильниках — с другой, а также предпринял обзор черняховских артефактов, обнаруженных в Крыму. В результате В. В. Кропоткин пришел к выводу о том, что носители черняховской культуры — готы — попали в Крым в середине III в. н. э. и оставались на полуострове в III – VI вв. н. э. (Кропоткин 1978).

В 1970-ые – 1980-ые гг. серию статей на интересующую нас тему опубликовал И. С. Пиоро. Итоги своих исследований он подвёл в монографии. И. С. Пиоро предпринял подробный обзор крымских трупосожжений римского времени. Он выделил элементы обряда, сближающие их с памятниками позднеримского времени Скандинавии, вельбарской, пшеворской и черняховской культур. В частности, он отметил наличие в Скандинавии, так же как и в Крыму, каменных ящиков с урновыми и безурновыми трупосожжениями. И. С. Пиоро составил сводку черняховских вещей из Крыма и пришел к выводу о том, что они проникли в Крым вместе с людьми, мигрировавшими из ареала черняховской культуры. Могильники юго-западного Крыма оставлены разноэтничными племенами, носившими собирательное название «готы». Это население было организовано Херсонесом и расселено в округе города в качестве федератов (Пиоро 1990, с. 89–109).

Серию исследований, завершившихся изданием монографии, предпринял А. И. Айбабин. Он проанализировал закрытые погребальные комплексы из могильников с трупосожжениями и пришёл к выводу о том, что эти некрополи возникли не ранее середины III в. н. э. Основываясь на рассказе автора XIII в. Зонары, А. И. Айбабин реконструировал походы германцев в Крым. Сначала они захватили северо-западную часть полуострова, затем разгромили позднескифские крепости в предгорьях, а после этого отправились на Боспор. С появлением германцев связан слой пожара, открытый при раскопках Пантикапея. Все остальные боспорские города их не интересовали. Первый поход в северо-западный и предгорный Крым состоялся в 252 г. н. э. Дату помогает установить клад, найденный у с. Долинка в долине реки Кача. Поход на Боспор можно отнести к 256 г., о чем свидетельствуют монеты, найденные в слое пожара в Пантикапее. В связи с этими событиями часть германцев, а именно готы-трапезиты, попали на юг полуострова, где оставили погребения в Чатырдагском, Айтодорском и Чернореченском могильниках (Айбабин 1999а, с. 13–36; 1999б).

Совсем к другим выводам пришел А. К. Амброс. По его мнению, трупосожжения в южнокрымских могильниках, конструкции погребальных сооружений, погребальный инвентарь радикально отличаются от черняховских, пшеворских и вельбарских могил. Они отражают усиление влияния

Херсонеса на местных варваров, избежавших истребления в середине III в. н. э. Готское влияние на материальную культуру населения Крыма второй половины III в. н. э. едва заметно. Готы, уничтожив позднескифское царство, смешались с остатками его населения. Римляне расселили этих новых варваров на подступах к Херсонесу для его защиты (Амброз 1994, с. 39, 68).

О. А. Гей и И. А. Бажан проанализировали погребальные обряды и инвентарь могильников Ай-Тодор и Чатыр-Даг. По их мнению, безурновый обряд сожжения, зафиксированный в Ай-Тодоре, соответствует вельбарскому позднееримского периода. Позже в этом могильнике фиксируются различные липицко-пшеворские признаки. Население, оставившее могильники Ай-Тодор и Чатыр-Даг, появилось в Крыму в результате «готских» походов. При этом этнонимы авторы монографии не употребляют (Гей, Бажан 1997, с. 31–34).

Большую работу по изучению найденных в Крыму германских древностей позднееримского времени и эпохи Великого переселения народов проделал М. М. Казанский. Отдельно он изучил находки из юго-западного (лучше было бы сказать — предгорного) Крыма, Южного берега и с территории Боспорского царства. У него получилось, что в юго-западный Крым дважды проникали различные группы германцев. В середине – второй половине III в. н. э. это были носители вельбарских и, возможно, пшеворских элементов культуры, а в IV в. н. э. — черняховских. Первых М. М. Казанский предположительно отождествляет с готами, герулами и их союзниками, а вторых — с остроготами-грейтунгами. В другом месте германцев, переселившихся в позднееримское время в юго-западный Крым, он именует готами или какими-то другими восточными германцами.

Южнобережные крымские могильники Ай-Тодор и Чатыр-Даг М. М. Казанский сравнил с некоторыми памятниками южной и средней Норвегии. Оказалось, что в Норвегии, так же как и на Южном берегу Крыма, были распространены трупосожжения в каменных ящиках или под каменными вымостками. Они сопровождались оружием, серпами, удилами, в том числе и ритуально поврежденными. Эти параллели привели М. М. Казанского к мысли о переселении группы мигрантов из Скандинавии в Крым. В Крым пришли не сами недавние жители Скандинавии, но их потомки, может быть, даже не в первом поколении. По дороге в Крым мигранты из Скандинавии контактировали с различными племенами и интегрировали некоторых их представителей. Этим объясняются отличия между крымскими и скандинавскими могильниками. Позднее какая-то группа жителей Южного берега Крыма через Боспор переселилась на Северный Кавказ, где стала одной из составных частей гетерогенного населения, называемого древними авторами евдосианами или готами-тетракситами (Kazanski 2002; Казанский 2006).

По мнению М. М. Казанского, германских вещей, датирующихся временем более ранним, чем IV в. н. э., на Боспоре нет. Таким образом, период морских походов готов на боспорских кораблях, описанный в письменных источниках, в археологических материалах отражения не нашел. Количество германских артефактов в течение IV в. н. э. нарастает. Готы проникли в число боспорских аристократов, а во второй половине IV в. н. э., возможно, захватили власть на Боспоре. История боспорских готов закончилась, когда возвращавшиеся после разгрома при Недао гунны увлекли их на Северный Кавказ (Казанский 1999).

Публикация значительных новых материалов из могильника Дружное заметно увеличила количество деталей одежды и украшений, происхождение которых обычно связывают с северо-западным по отношению к Крыму кругом культур. Кроме того, зафиксированы некоторые обряды, например, нахождение между ногами погребённых женщин раковин с продетыми в них кольцами, имеющие точные аналогии на территориях, заселённых германцами (Храпунов 2002).

С. Г. Колтухов и В. Ю. Юрочкин предприняли историографический обзор исследований по этнической истории Крыма в раннем железном веке. Среди прочего, они подробно проанализировали публикации, касающиеся проникновения на полуостров германцев и изучения их памятников римского времени (Колтухов, Юрочкин 2004).

Крымским готам посвятил главу своей монографии М. Б. Шукин (Шукин 2005, с. 420–465). Большая её часть относится к эпохе переселения народов и раннего средневековья, что хронологически выходит за рамки данной статьи. Относительно пребывания готов в Крыму в римское время М. Б. Шукин достаточно традиционен. Готы пришли на полуостров около середины III в. н. э. С Боспора они совершали свои морские походы, а на южном берегу оставили могильники с трупосожжениями. М. Б. Шукин отметил находки в Крыму монет галльских узурпаторов III в. н. э. Эти монеты вряд ли были в обращении на территории Империи, а вот с германцами, находившимися на службе узурпаторов, ими расплачивались. Вполне вероятно, что получавшие такие монеты германцы позднее оказались в Крыму. Значительное место в главе о крымских готах занимает анализ результатов раскопок чатырдагского могильника. Более подробно это сделано при публикации некрополя, о чем речь пойдёт ниже.

Могильник на склоне горы Чатыр-Даг со времени его открытия был в центре внимания исследователей, занимавшихся историей крымских германцев. В 2006 г. результаты раскопок были опубликованы. Всего исследовано 55 могил, каждая содержала кремированные останки. Открыто 29 безурновых погребений в ямах, 6 безурновых погребений в ямах под вымостками, по 4 урновых погребения в каменных ящиках, погребения в обломках сосудов, помещённых в каменные ящики и урновых погребения в ямах, 2 погребения в обломках сосудов в ямах, 1 безурновое погребение в яме, 1 погребение, по-видимому, было совершено в емкости из органического материала, еще в одной могиле трупосожжение сочеталось с единственным в могильнике трупоположением, тип остальных погребальных сооружений не определён. На рубеж III – IV вв. н. э. приходится пик использования некрополя. Он существовал и в III в. н. э., но более точно время его возникновения определить не удаётся. С середины IV в. н. э. количество захоронений сокращается. К V в. н. э. использование некрополя прекращается. Авторы публикации результатов раскопок этого могильника разумно осторожны в выводах об этнической принадлежности оставившего его населения. Они подробно разбирают существующие на этот счет гипотезы и приходят к выводу о том, что ни одну из них нельзя считать доказанной. По их мнению, возможно, могильник возник в результате проникновения в Крым готов с союзниками в середине III в. н. э. Ещё более вероятной, лучше соответствующей хронологии памятника, кажется им версия М. М. Казанского о переселении в Крым какой-то группы людей из Скандинавии. Эта мысль развивается, детализируется с помощью предположения о том, что выходцами из Скандинавии были, в основном, мужчины, а среди женщин преобладали представительницы местного, северопрichernоморского населения (Мыц и др. 2006).

В предгорном могильнике Опушки среди многих обычных для крымских некрополей римского времени склепов, подбойных и грунтовых могил обнаружен каменный ящик с трупосожжением германской традиции. Подобные случаи, когда единичные трупосожжения оказываются среди многочисленных традиционных для Крыма могил, зафиксированы в могильниках юго-западного Крыма Скалистое III, Танковое, Бельбек I. Такая ситуация свидетельствует, вероятно, о внедрении каких-то групп германцев в сарматскую среду. Причём происходит это ещё до начала готских походов середины III в. н. э. (Храпунов, Мульд 2005).

Изучая лепную керамику из позднескифских городищ, В. П. Власов подметил не известное ранее явление. В верхних слоях Неаполя, Альма-Кермена, Тарпанчи найдены сосуды, имеющие точные аналогии в могильниках вельбарской и черняховской культур. Находки датируются первой половиной III в. н. э. Следовательно, германцы проникали в Крым и вступали в мирные контакты с местным населением раньше, чем это зафиксировано письменными источниками, в которых речь идёт о морских походах готов (Власов 1999). О раннем появлении германцев в Крыму, основываясь на других материалах, писали и другие авторы (Храпунов 2004, с. 141; Васильев 2005а; 2005б).

М. Е. Левада проанализировал многие германские вещи римского времени, найденные на юге Восточной Европы, в том числе и в Крыму. Он пришёл к выводу о том, что далеко не все они принадлежали готам. Следовательно, на основании этих находок можно говорить о проникновении в Крым различных германских племён (Левада 2006).

Отдельную тему для исследования может составить небольшая серия вещей «круга эмалей», найденная в Крыму. Наиболее выразительная находка — это бронзовая ажурная плакетка из могильника Нейзац. Она представляет собой деталь нагрудного украшения, характерного для культуры балтов позднеримского времени. В могильнике Чатыр-Даг обнаружена «перекладчатая» фибула. Эта находка позволила М. Б. Шукину реконструировать маршрут некоторых германских группировок в Крым через Прибалтику и лесную зону Восточной Европы, минуя ареал вельбарской культуры (Шукин 2002; Мыц и др. 2006, с. 15, 132–133, 186). Несколько вещей «круга эмалей» найдены в Херсонесе (Колесникова 2006, с. 131). В могильнике Скалистое III обнаружены две украшенные красной эмалью шпоры (Богданова, Гущина, Лобода 1976, с. 146).

Относительно того, как попали эти вещи в Крым, можно только догадываться. Возможно, некоторые изделия балтских или приднепровских мастеров принесли с собой германцы. Не исключено также, что среди германцев были отдельные представители балтских племён. Правдоподобен и другой вариант: появление в Северном Причерноморье германцев позволило наладить контакт между населением Среднего Поднепровья и предгорного Крыма. Среднеднепровские вещи, пусть в небольшом количестве, стали попадать в Крым, подобно тому, как на полуостров проникали гораздо более многочисленные изделия из ареала черняховской культуры. Впрочем, это не более чем догадки, порождённые состоянием дошедших до нас письменных источников (Khrapunov 2008, p. 196–198).

Предпринятый выше краткий обзор германских древностей демонстрирует следующее. Единственный тезис, с которым согласны все исследователи, заключается в том, что германцы жили в Крыму в позднеримское время. Все остальные связанные с ними проблемы порождают дискуссии и не могут считаться решёнными. В частности, на Боспоре, где, судя по письменным источникам, германцы должны были появиться раньше всего, нет их памятников, датирующихся временем более ранним, чем IV в. н. э. Да и те представлены не поселениями или погребениями, а отдельными украшениями, деталями костюма или керамическими сосудами.

Приблизительно совпадающие археологическая дата возникновения могильников с кремациями на Южном берегу Крыма и «историческая» дата проникновения готов в Северное Причерноморье привели исследователей к выводу о том, что по обряду трупосожжения на Южном берегу хоронили германцы. Наиболее сильный аргумент в пользу германской принадлежности этих могильников заключается в том, что в Крыму в предшествующее время погребальные обряды, связанные со сжиганием умерших, совершенно не известны. Появление могильников нового типа логично объяснить притоком населения извне.

Другой аргумент, к которому обычно прибегают исследователи, — о сходстве крымских могильников с кремациями с памятниками культур, формировавшихся при участии германцев, выглядит менее убедительно. Приведено много примеров совпадения погребальных обрядов, зафиксированных при раскопках крымских некрополей, с одной стороны и могильников черняховской, вельбарской, пшеворской культур, а также расположенных в Скандинавии — с другой. Однако не меньше и отличий, а самое главное, ни один из крымских могильников не может быть, по совокупности признаков, отнесён к конкретной археологической культуре. В погребальном инвентаре крымских некрополей с кремациями сочетаются вещи германские, античные и сарматские. Такое положение дел не дало пока возможности убедительно отождествить население Крыма позднеримского времени с тем или иным германским племенем или племенами.

Maxim LEVADA

TO EUROPE VIA THE CRIMEA: ON POSSIBLE MIGRATION ROUTES OF THE NORTHERN PEOPLE IN THE GREAT MIGRATION PERIOD

A peculiarity of the Great Migration period — together with very fast movement of huge masses of people to considerable distance everywhere — was considerable intensification of contacts between elites or nobilities of most different tribes and peoples. Although the connections appeared with treaties, alliances or marriages, sent or received embassies or high-rank hostages, etc. existed all the time, this was the period when their number increased manifold, and by clear reason (see: Мончиньська 2009). Such an activity throughout the whole of Europe is recorded by many finds of rich, prestigious ornaments reflecting high status of their owners.

The Great Migration jewellery is sometimes considered exclusively the product of craft centres in Roman provinces, made especially for the barbarians. It is not quite correct. One should not identify artistic style with technological methods of manufacturing even taking into account that artisans of the Empire knew various techniques of processing metal and stone.

Nobility always has its special sub-culture evincing itself particularly in the use of expensive, prestigious ornaments. Noble fashion is always international; it is most liable to outside borrowings, influences and changes. Barbarian noble aesthetics developed under the influence of both imported prestigious ware and local background. One should also take into account that costume elements bore some information, based mainly on local tradition. Moreover, barbarian ornaments were often decorated in traditional way, which could not be accepted in full by Roman craftsmen. It substantially concerns Sösdala style.

Sösdala style is known primarily from precious horse harness or individual elements of it. There

are complete sets of such ceremonial horse trappings discovered in seven places total (fig. 1. 1–7). Three finds are in Scandinavia: Sösdala, Vennebo and Fulltofta (Bitner-Wróblewska 2001, fig. 18). Outside Scandinavia, there are hoard in *Coşoveni de Jos*, burials in Unteresiebenbrunn, one burial in Jakuszowice (fig. 2), and a hoard in Kachin (fig. 3).

Attribution of ornaments to Sösdala style is still disputable despite this style was revealed as long as 1937. Anna Bitner-Wróblewska has excellently defined this problem: “On the one hand there is a horizon of specific artefacts, on the other, a largely undefined ornamental style” (Bitner-Wróblewska 2001, p. 89).

If one tries to make the concept of this decorative style as narrow as possible, one has to restrict oneself to goods of silver or bronze, often with the face surface covered (sometimes partly) with gilt. This surface is decorated with dots, circles, semi-circles, triangles, dotted lines, asterisks, etc., made by cutting tool and finest stamp, to compose complicated wavy lines or geometric compositions. Some bronze artefacts are encrusted with silver, though silver ones are very rarely decorated with blackening.

Actually, the use of a combination of blackening and gilt is a feature of the most complicated technologically and attractive works of Scandinavian school of jewellery. For example, such goods as sword scabbard from Nydam II, pendants from Finnestorp or buckle from Ejsbølgård undoubtedly underlined high status of the owner (Bemmann G., Bemmann J. 1998, Taf. 224. 8; 235. 8; 224. 9; 235. 9; 222. 3; 235. 3; Nordqvist 2004/2005, Abb. 6. 1; Andersen 2003, fig 16). These goods probably were both most prestigious and most expensive.¹ It is especially interesting because many such ar-

¹ My task includes only the finds combining gilt and blackening outside Scandinavia, so the map (fig. 1) does not reflect the situation on the north of Europe. I omit also the finds with fine stamped decoration only: there are many such artefacts in Central Europe, particularly in the Middle Danube area.

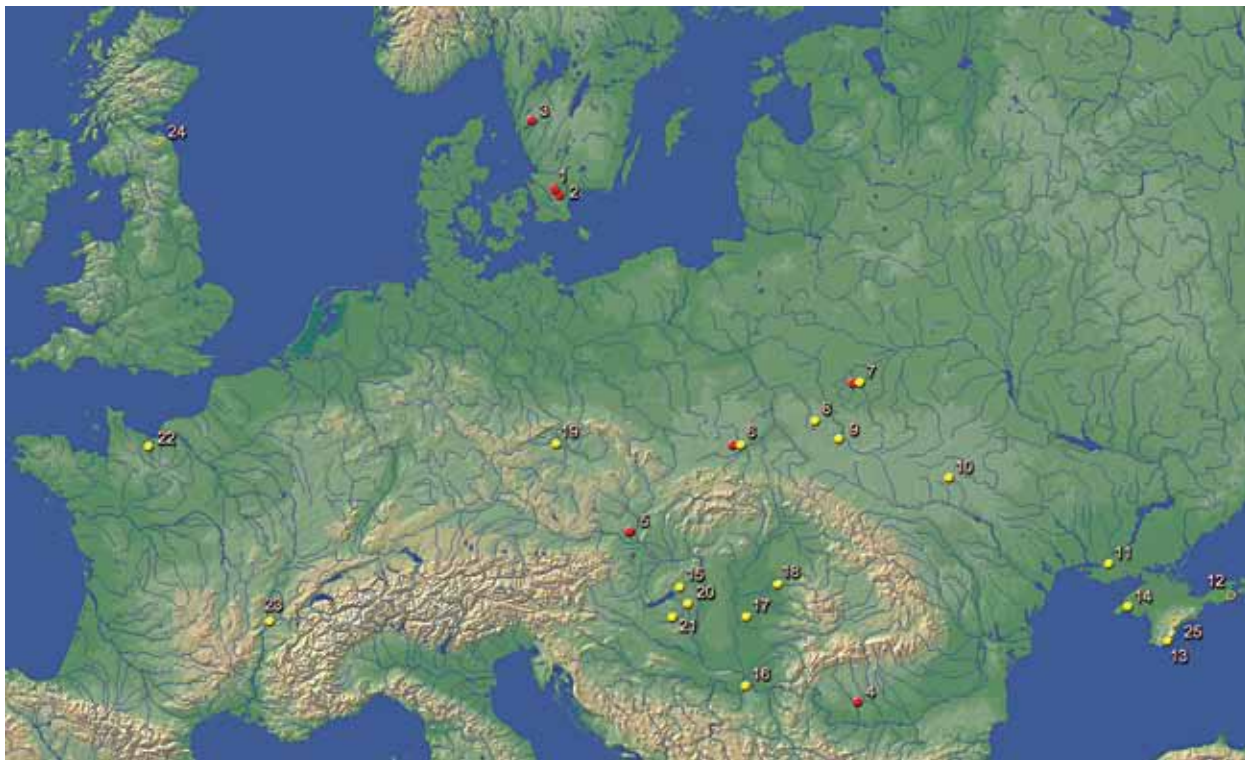


Fig. 1. 1 — Sösdala; 2 — Fulltofta; 3 — Vennebo; 4 — *Coşoveni de Jos*; 5 — Untersiebenbrunn; 6 — Jakuszowice; 7 — Kachin; 8 — *Zamość*; 9 — Gródek on the Bug (Husynne); 10 — Bar; 11 — Sagi; 12 — Kerch; 13 — Yalta; 14 — Belyaus; 15 — Szabadbattyán; 16 — Singidunum; 17 — Hódmezővásárhely-Sóshalom; 18 — Artánd-Kisfarkasdomb; 19 — Bříza; 20 — Tolna county; 21 — Dombóvár; 22 — Airan/Moult; 23 — Lyon; 24 — Traprain Law; 25 — Luchistoye

tefacts were discovered outside Scandinavia.² It allows me to think that the northern elite participated in the events of the Great Migration period far away from Scandinavia in some way.

Bridle from the burial of Hunnic warrior in Jakuszowice included strap-end with double ending (fig. 7. 1).³ Its central part is decorated with blackening in the form of wavy ornament. This end-piece imitates strap-ends of analogous shape including one specimen of the same jewellery style.

In the hoard of *Zamość* (fig. 4), strap-end with double ending was a part of a belt-set with buckle. This buckle has circular plate with S-shaped black-

ening repeating the form of the plate thus dividing stamped decoration into outer and inner fields (fig. 7. 2). On the strap-end, S-shaped decoration composes two sectors with stamped pentagonal and hexafoil rosettes (fig. 7. 3). Although strap-ends with double ending are known in the large area between the Middle Danube, north of Central Europe and Lithuania (Madyda-Legutko 2005), the use of blackening and gilt on this type of end-pieces is recorded on this artefact only.

Zamość buckle belongs to the series of buckles with circular plate, of Renata Madyda-Legutko's type H45 (Madyda-Legutko 1986, Taf. 21). The ending of the tongue is shaped like beast's head,

² I would like to express my most sincere thanks to my friends and colleagues, without whose help I would never be able to finish this paper: Fedir Androshchuk (Stockholm), Vyacheslav Baranov (Kiev), Ol'ga Dashevskaya (Moscow), Eszter Istvánovits (Nyíregyháza), Michel Kazanski (Paris), Viktoriya Kolesnikova (Kiev), Valéria Kulcsár (Budapest), Magdalena Mączyńska (Łódź), Igor Markus (Lutsk), Anna Mastykova (Moscow), Margit Nagy (Budapest), Sergiy Panyshko (Lutsk), Cristian Pilet (Caen), Tat'yana Pridneva (Yevpatoriya), Oleg Radjush (Moscow), Jerry Rosengren (Lund), Natal'ya Turova (Yalta), Tomas Wichman (Kraków).

³ On the illustrations, silver is tinted with dots, though gilt is left as blank background. For me, it is important to show artistic features of the style, so worn-out zones of the gilt are indicated only if they do not distort the image of the artefact, or if it is not possible to determine original gilt.



Fig. 2. Horse harness from the grave of Jakuszowice (Germanen... 1988, Taf. 9)

though opposite part is trimmed with border of wine leaves. Such a decoration of leaves could indicate Mediterranean stylistic influences. Surprisingly, the tongue is made with more precision and accuracy than the buckle itself. Since this is clearly a single artefact, it looks like the tongue was made by skilled jeweller though the strap-end and buckle plate by his pupil. The more so, strap-end and plate decorations are rather simple, without treatment of minor details, and strap-end ornamentation is ill-planned: its sectors are filled with rosettes unevenly, with different density.

The hoard of Kachin contained large belt buckle with rectangular plate with blackened S-shaped decoration along the edge and in the centre of the frame (fig. 7. 4). Besides that, there were the above-mentioned horse bridle, pair of silver brooches, large amber bead, and silver ingot. The pair of small buckles possibly were harness details.

The decoration on the tongue of a buckle from Gródek on the Bug (Husynne) is similar to buckle tongues of the same circle (fig. 7. 5; cf.: fig. 8. 1; 12. 4). Although the cuts similar to holes for



Fig. 3. Hoard of Kachin (Igor Markus)

blackening do not find analogies on bronze artefacts, the publisher states that this is bronze artefact. Unfortunately, the find belongs to a private collection, its fate is unknown, so now we cannot check the metal (Коковський 2007, с. 80, рис. 4).

A new but unfortunately chance find from Bar district in Vinnitsa region closes the area limited by upper reaches of the Vistula, Dnieper and Southern Bug. The location of the hoard is unknown; it was discovered by looters several



Fig. 4. Hoard of Zamość (Schätze der Ostgoten 1995, Abb. 63)

years ago (figs. 5 and 6). It included large buckle (fig. 8:1), the largest, most accurate and most precious buckle of this series (see: Levada 2010). Besides, the assemblage contained another small buckle (fig. 8: 2, 3), two unmatched bi-plated brooches (fig. 8: 5–9) and numerous details of horse harness (figs. 9–11).

A fragment of not very understandable ornament from this hoard seemingly belongs to the products made in Scandinavia (fig. 8:10). This circular flat artefact, about 3 mm thick, is made of dark alloy, most likely tin bronze. There are traces of break on two sides opposite to each other. Face surface is covered with light silver plate. Unfortunately, the find is heavily corroded. Stamped decoration forms the frame: dots along the edge with a line of semi-circles behind them. In the centre, there are two circles one inside the other, made by cutting tool. Between them and stamped border, there are two lines of blackened decoration. Inner line is wavy

decoration with fine circles, outer one is S-shaped decoration with fine circles. Outer decoration continues to one of side breaks as well. Gilding is visible in inner circles and its traces are in some dots of the stamping along the edge. The combination of two different patterns of blackened geometric design in the same artefact is not known outside Scandinavia, so this find could be attributed to north imports (cf.: fig. 13. 4).

The set of artefacts in Bar hoard is very close to the find from Kachin (fig. 3). Stylistics of some ornaments is close to Kachin hoard as well: they are trimmed with a pair of bird's heads, beaks in opposite sides (fig. 9. 2; 10. 7). Some parts of the bridle, decorated with fine stamping (fig. 9. 2; 10. 6–7), indicate an influence of north style.

There is a group of parallels pointing out the connection with south, particularly the Crimea. Mark Shchukin once paid attention on parallels between the finds from burial vaults in Kerch

and Untersiebenbrunn horizon, which, in its own turn, often contained typical artefacts in Sösdala style (Шукин 1979). The find from Bar confirms this observation as well.

The shape, proportion and size of silver strap-ends with outer gilt (fig. 9. 6–7) resemble some Kerch end-pieces from “vaults of 24 June of 1904.” There were ten silver and four silver-gilt end-pieces (Засецкая 1993, с. 61, кат. № 129-а, б, табл. 28). Similar small gold end-piece and large silver end-piece were discovered in Kerch, in secret compartment of vault 145/1904 (Засецкая 1993, с. 44, кат. № 34, табл. 13).

Silver gilt clamps of cheek-pieces with 18 fastening nails in three paired groups (fig. 11. 1–2) are similar to silver clamp from the secret compartment of vault 145/1904 (Засецкая 1993, с. 46, кат. № 60, табл. 19).

Long and narrow strap-ends with pointed ends are known from the Azov area to the Middle Danube (Kazanski, Akhmedov 2007, fig. 6). However, they are thin plates in most cases. In the hoard from Bar area, there are solid silver artefacts with outer gilt (fig. 9. 4–5). There are similar strap-ends discovered in Kerch, in the secret compartment of vault 145/1904: one gold, three silver-gilt, and four silver pieces (Засецкая 1993, с. 44, кат. № 33, табл. 13). In the same place, “vaults of 24 June of 1904” contained four silver-gilt end-pieces (Засецкая 1993, с. 60–61, кат. № 126, табл. 27). Another similar strap-end is known from vault 177/1904 (Засецкая 1993, с. 90, кат. № 347, табл. 58). Gold end-piece of the type was in destroyed Hunnic burial near Sagi farm in the Lower Dnieper area, which is also called Alyoshki or Kuchugury by researchers (Засецкая 1994, с. 171–172, табл. 15. 1; Баранов В., in print).

Excavations in the same place, in Sagi, discovered silver buckle with decoration of gilt and blackening (fig. 12: 2).⁴ It has rhombic plate, cast as hollow box, covered with applique plate on the back side. There is cast decoration along the top edge of the plate, imitating nail heads (similar to those on the buckle from Bar). Decoration imitating fine nails along the edge of box-shaped plate is known in Scandinavian products like the buckle from Ejsbølgård (The Spoils of Victory 2003, p. 408, Cat. 5. 4d).

There is another Crimean find very close to Bar hoard, a buckle from Yalta (fig. 12. 1). The root of its tongue is shaped like human head. Head also

decorates the plate of Sagi buckle. Joachim Werner found parallels to this decoration in the Danube area, keeping in mind images of heads on buckles with large rhombic plates (Annibaldi, Werner 1963). However, there is more close stylistic analogy: silver buckle with gilt and blackening from Finnestorp, with root of the tongue decorated with human head (Nordqvist 2004/2005, Abb. 4. 4).

The buckle from Hunnic burial in Belyaus site of ancient town (fig. 12. 3) is decorated with use of the same techniques. Stylistically, it differs because of mainly the pattern of blackened geometric design. Apparently the root and tip of the tongue of this buckle had gilt, similar to other buckles of this circle (Дашевская 1969, с. 55). The buckle is heavily worn out, so gilt survived only in recessed decoration of the tongue root. The same is the reason of the bad preservation of decoration of the tongue tip.

Irina Zasetskaya considers that Belyaus buckle, together with the buckle from Kachin, Untersiebenbrunn horse trappings and Jakuszowice horse harness, were made in the same production centre (Засецкая 1994, с. 90). She is correct only in respect to the idea that all these artefacts belong to the same chronological horizon and style. Untersiebenbrunn horse trappings do not have blackening, though Jakuszowice horse harness and circular artefact from Bar hoard have ornamental blackened pattern other than on the other Black Sea finds. That is the reason why I attribute all of them including Belyaus buckle to north imports.

The first publication of the buckle from Yalta mentions very strict analogy to it (Баранов И. 1975, с. 272): the buckle from Hungarian Szabadbattyán (fig. 12. 4). However, its plate is bound with fine nails, grouped as three in each mounting socket. Yalta buckle has imitation of these groups as triple-cap nails. The plate of Szabadbattyán buckle is decorated with cross of vine leaves; similarly to the decoration of the tongue of Zamość buckle, it probably is Mediterranean influence.

In the Middle Danube, apart from Szabadbattyán find, there are other buckles in the same stylistic manner but with absolutely other typological features.

Three buckles with thin circular faceted frame from Singidunum, Hódmezővásárhely-Sóshalom, and Artánd-Kisfarkasdomb (fig. 13. 1–3) were definitely made in the same production cen-

⁴ I do not provide detailed descriptions of some buckles in order to escape repetitions (see: Levada 2010).

tre; buckles from Hódmezővásárhely-Sóshalom and Artánd-Kisfarkasdomb are literally identical (Ivanišević, Kazanski 2007, fig. 5. 11; 8; Nagy 2005, Abb. 3. 6–7). The only difference is that Artánd-Kisfarkasdomb buckle is more threadbare: one can see it from its heavily worn-out gilt. It looks like it was repaired unsuccessfully: the frame is turned with its decorated part on the wrong side.

Margit Nagy cites the buckle from Ejsbølgård as a parallel to the buckles from Hódmezővásárhely-Sóshalom and Artánd-Kisfarkasdomb (Nagy 2005, Abb. 3. 4). This is correct only in the sense that all these finds, in contrast to the Black Sea ones, have frame decorated with blackening. Ejsbølgård buckle (fig. 13. 4) is much closer to the buckle discovered in Czech Bříza (fig. 13.5).

In the same area of the Middle Danube, there are other finds of buckles with blackened S-shaped decoration of the frame. These buckles have rectangular frame and faceted tongue and compose special typological group (Nagy 2005a, Abb. 28). There is a pair of buckles from Tolna county with triangular plate (fig. 14. 2) and a buckle from Dombóvár with figural plate (fig. 14. 1). The shape of the plate of the latter resembles the artefact with bird's heads from the Bar hoard (fig. 10. 7), though its stamp is similar to the stamp from Zamość strap-end (fig. 7. 3). It has a very demonstrative Christogram, because rosettes on Zamość strap-end, as well as analogous ornamentation of strap-ends of other types, buckle plates, combs, etc. from the fifth century, could also be interpreted as this Christian symbol (Levada 2010).

There is a belt set from Lyon identical to the find from Tolna county (fig. 15. 1). The only difference is that some of narrow rectangular belt fittings as well as buckle frames have blackened decorations. This is the only case among all numerous similar belt fittings (see: Kazanski 1993). Belts from Tolna county and Lyon probably are products of the same workshop. Although slanting-net-shaped blackening is also presented on a similar buckle from Mundolsheim in Alsace в Эльзасе, this decoration has already nothing to do with the style under analysis (Kazanski, Akhmedov 2007, fig. 1. 3).

The belt from the famous hoard of Traprain Law in Scotland (fig. 15. 2) is also very similar to the above-mentioned belts. The difference is the shape of its tongue. Narrow rectangular silver-gilt fittings are decorated with engraving and fine stamp. The Traprain Law treasure consists of a great number of silver Roman vessels of the highest artistic

quality (Curle 1920). Such a composition naturally raises the question whether this belt was a piece of Roman jewellery art. However, the hoard contains the only artefact of undoubtedly barbarian origin, though absolutely strange for barbarian cultures of the British Islands: small silver radiate-headed brooch (Curle 1920, fig. 44). Such brooches are typical of Eastern European antiquities in the second half of the fourth and fifth century, though their main area was the north Black Sea coast including the Crimea.

The Traprain Law belt meets surprising parallels in the Crimean antiquities. Burial 186 of Luchistoye cemetery contained rich belt set of bronze covered with thick layer of silver (Айбабин 2002). It consisted of a buckle with circular frame and strap-end, most likely of a small bag (fig. 16. 19–20), a pair of belt-buckles with rectangular frames (fig. 16. 1, 8), belt loop (fig. 16. 14), as well as numerous fittings to these belts (fig. 16. 2–7, 9–13, 15–18, 21–23). One of the buckles has metal tongue-lock (fig. 16. 24), a very rare phenomenon, though it is known, for example, with belts from Illerup Ådal, even though they are of much earlier chronology, from the Roman period (see: Carnap-Bornheim, Ilkjær 1998, Taf. 72, 123, 203). Luchistoye belt fittings are decorated with zigzag patterns made by fine stamp. Absolutely the same ornamentation is on one fitting from Traprain Law. Aleksandr Aibabin thinks that prototypes for the Luchistoye belt are belt sets from Scandinavia, Northern Germany, and Northern Poland. At the same time, he considers that this belt was made in the Danube area and was a less-expensive ornament of the Untersiebenbrunn circle. It should be noted that the juxtaposition of this belt decoration with that of horse-trappings from Untersiebenbrunn and Coşoveni de Jos are not convincing because the belt of Luchistoye obviously differs from the artefacts in Sösdala style (Айбабин 2002, с. 39–40).

Elzara Khairedinova's reconstruction of this belt supposes that all the fittings belong to the same large buckle and compose single belt. Another large buckle belongs to the second belt without fittings (Айбабин 2002, рис. 5). However, according to what we see in Tolna county and Lyon, this is the case of a pair of similar belts, each with fittings near the buckle (and possibly on either side of it). Probably fittings were concentrated in the same way on the belt from Traprain Law as well. Another weak point of Khairedinova's reconstruction is that the leather belt, in her opinion, became narrow near the buckle and on the opposite tip



Fig. 5. Hoard of Bar



Fig. 6. Hoard of Bar

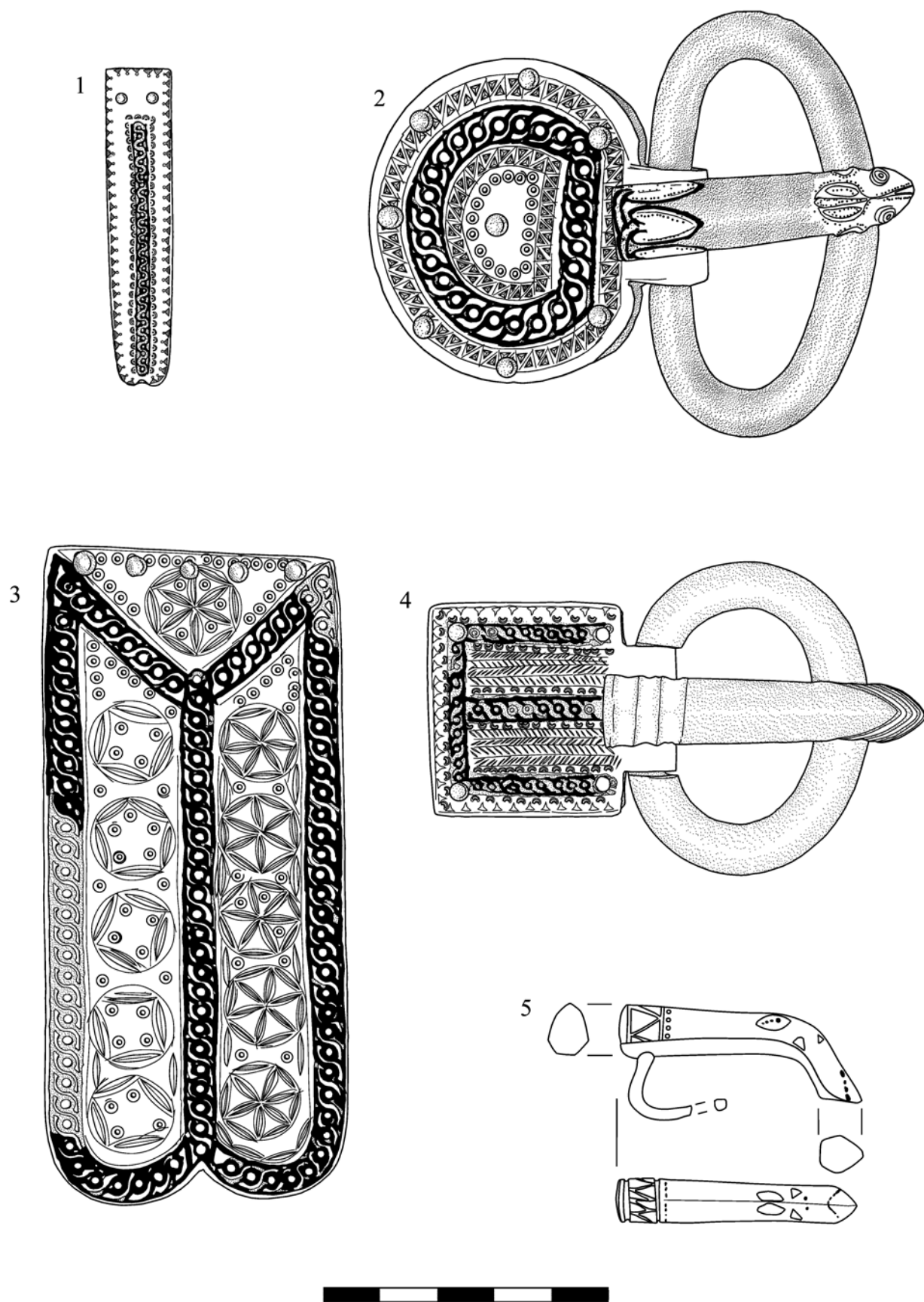


Fig. 7. 1 — Jakuszowice; 2–3 — Zamość; 4 — Kachin, 5 — Gródek on the Bug (Husynne)

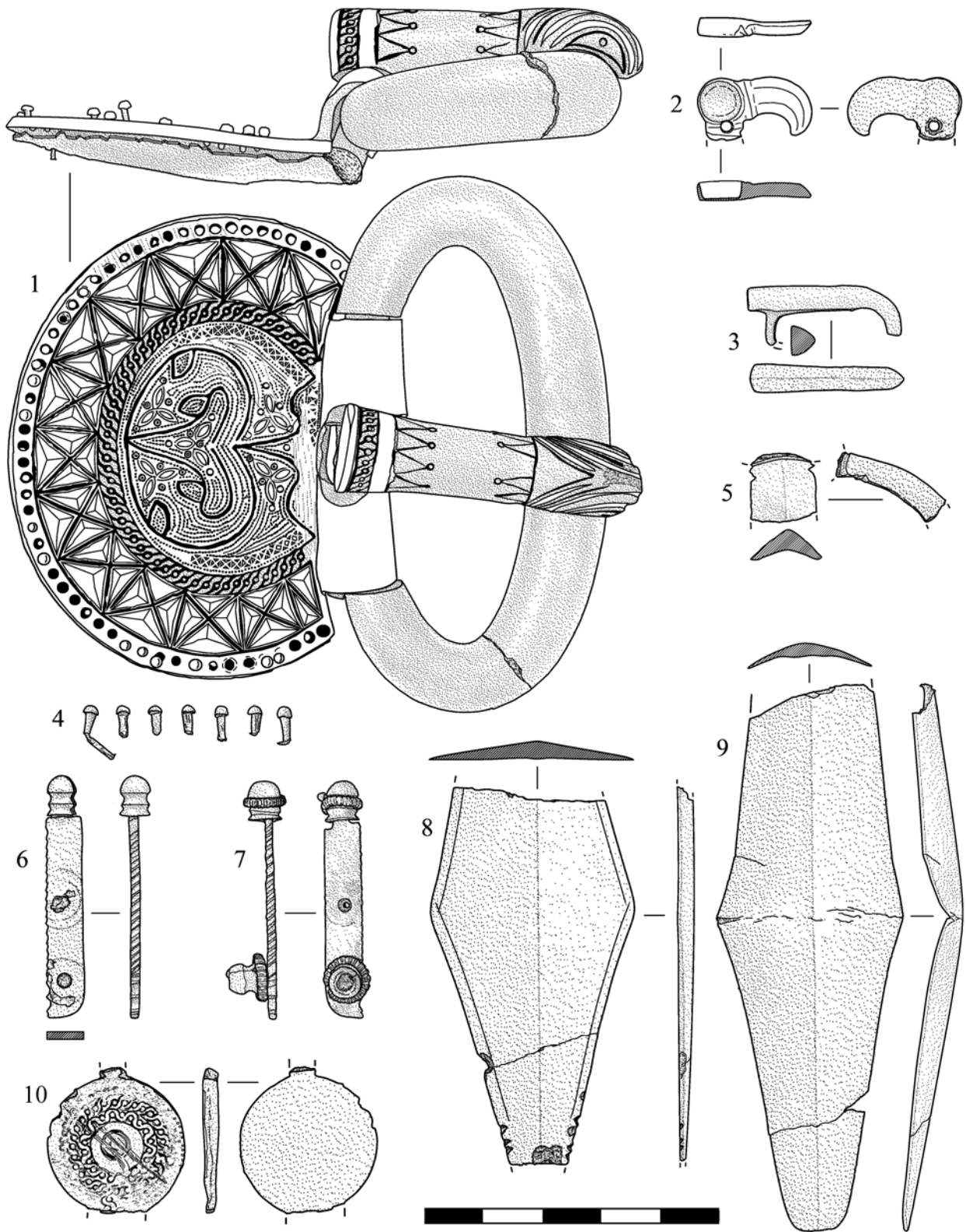


Fig. 8. Hoard of Bar. 1, 10 — silver, gilt, niello; 2 — silver, gilt; 3-5, 8-9 — silver; 6-7 — silver, iron

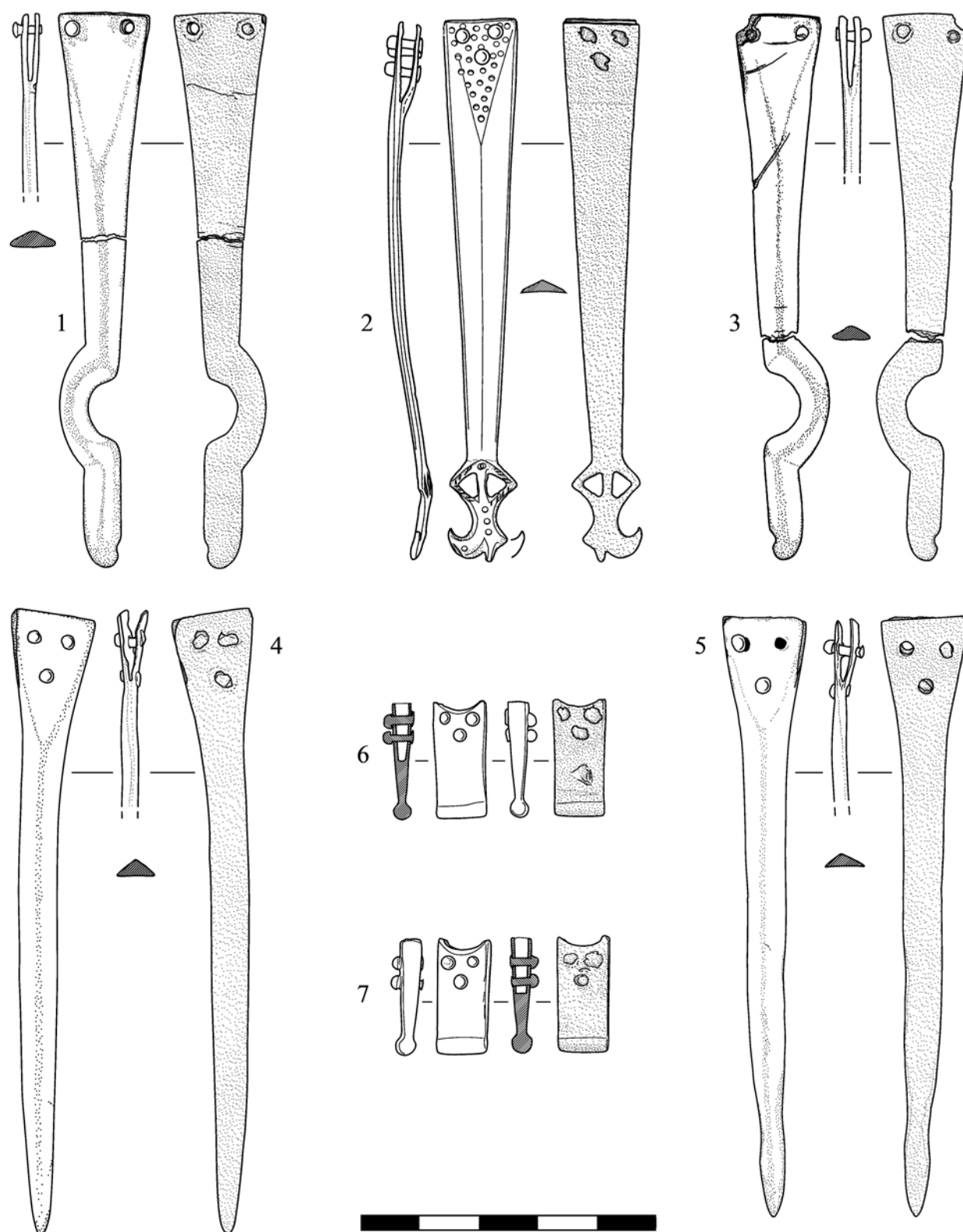


Fig. 9. Hoard of Bar. 1-7 — silver, gilt

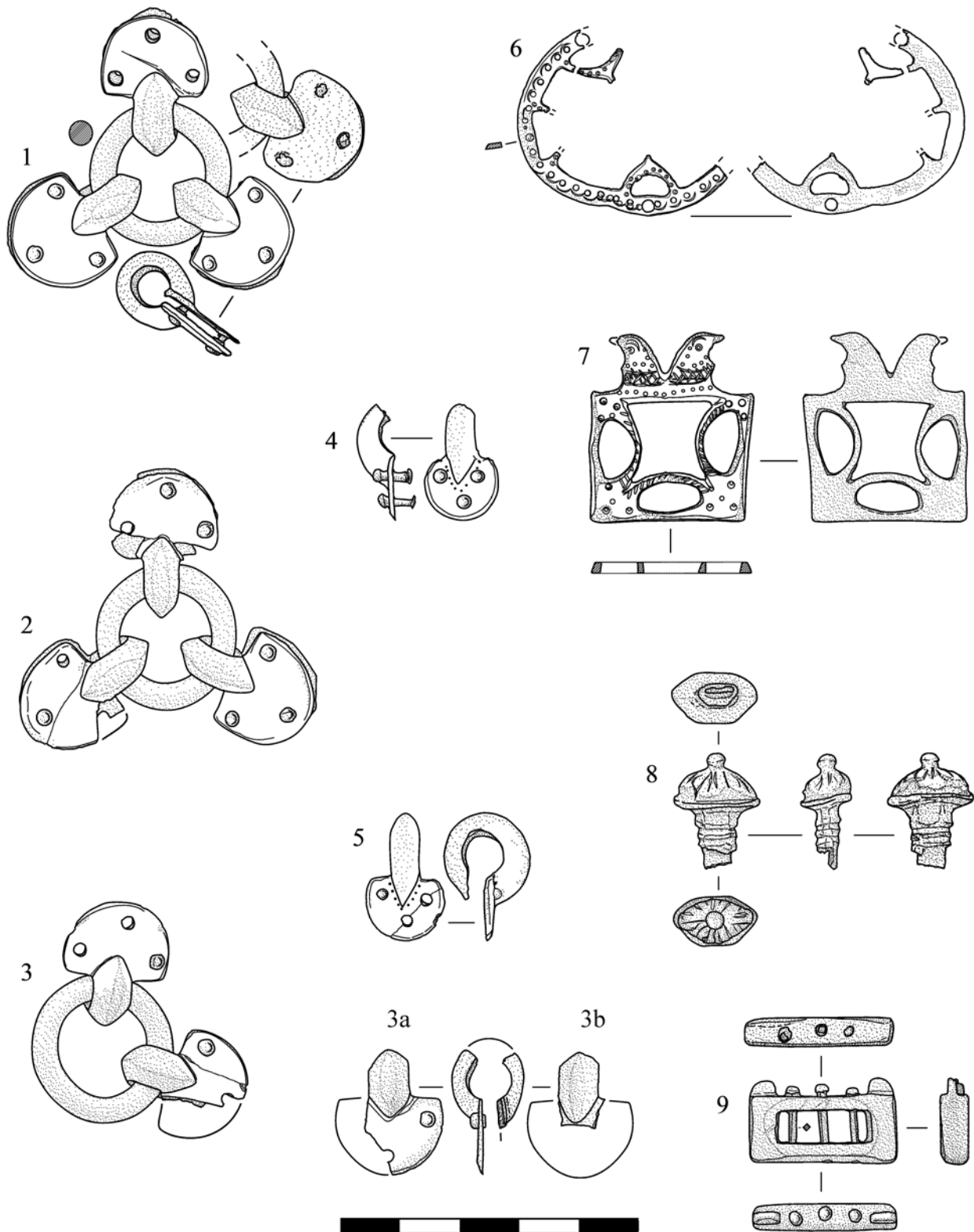


Fig. 10. Hoard of Bar. 1-7 — silver, gilt; 8-9 — silver

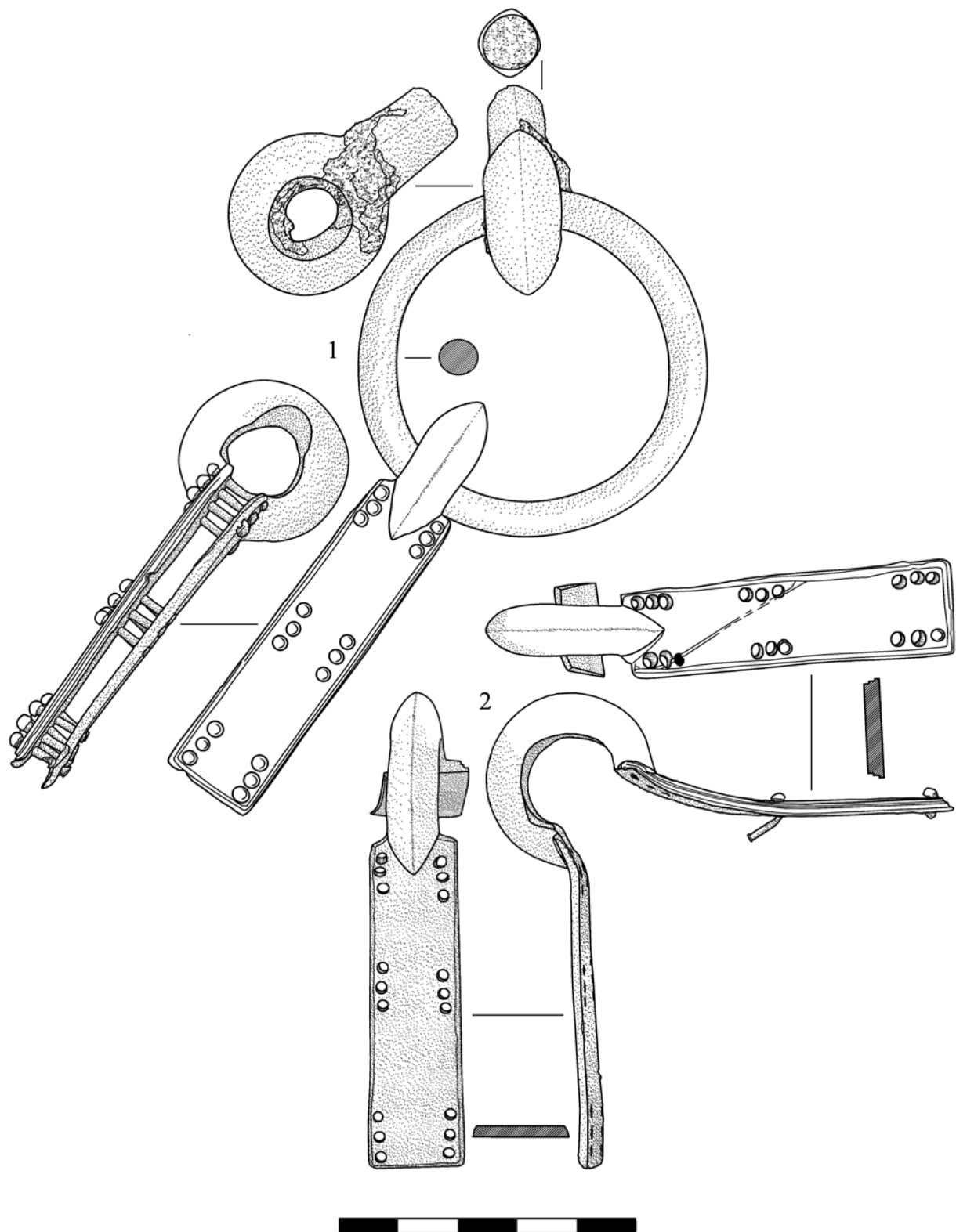


Fig. 11. Hoard of Bar. 1 — silver, gilt, iron; 2 — silver, gilt

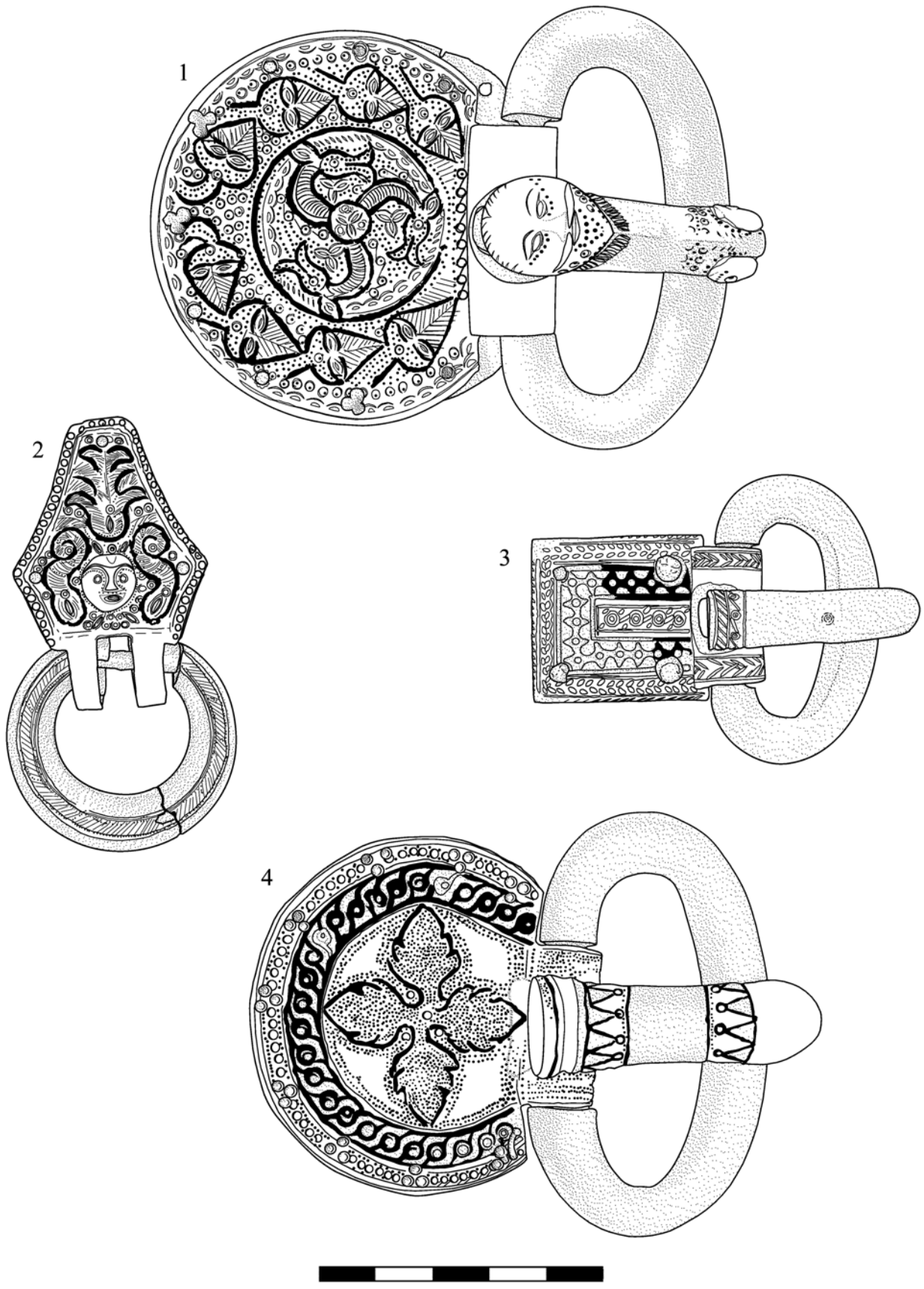


Fig. 12. 1 — Yalta; 2 — Sagi; 3 — Belyaus; 4 — Szabadbattyán

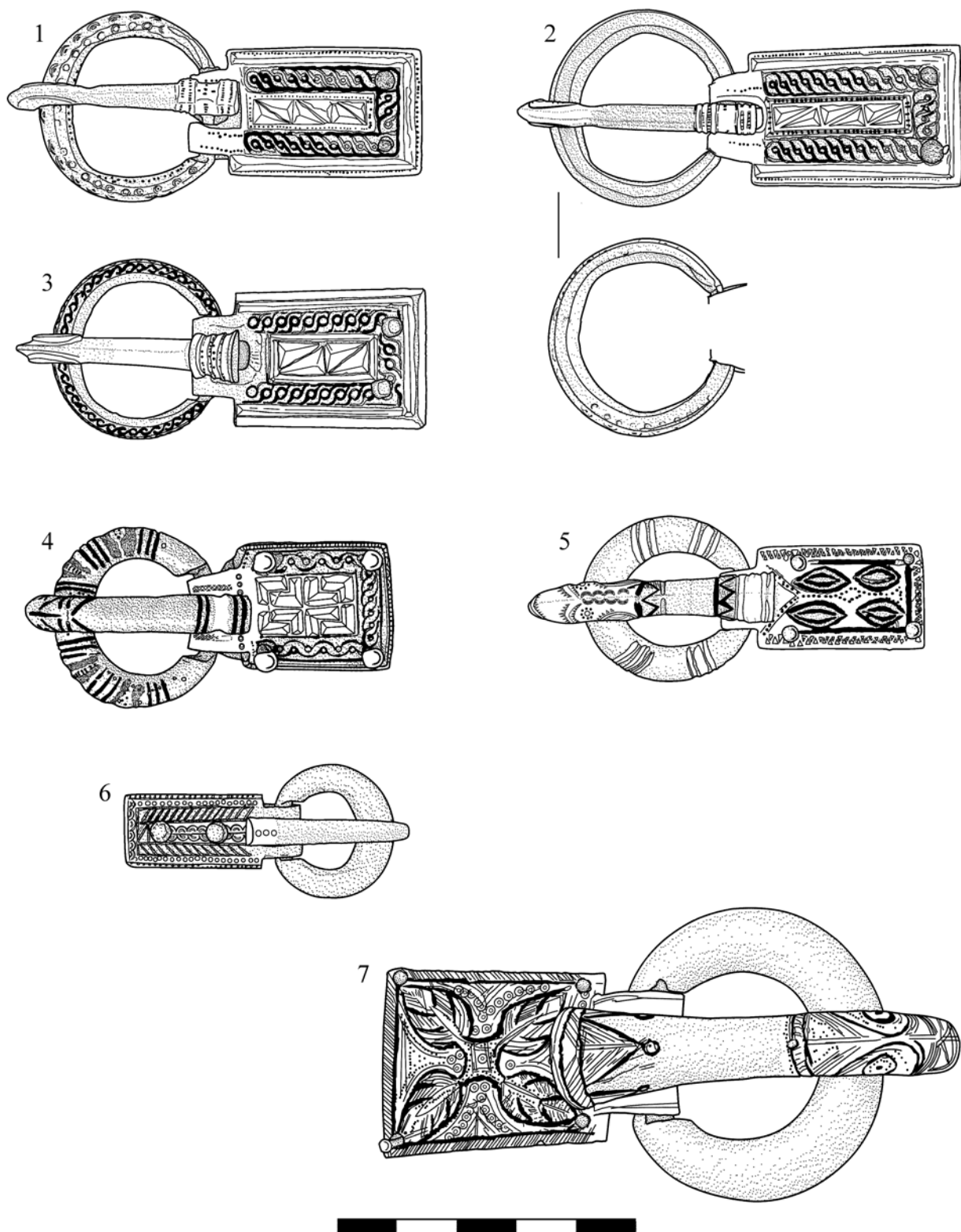


Fig. 13. 1 — Hódmezővásárhely-Sóshalom; 2 — Artánd-Kisfarkasdomb; 3 — Singidunum;
4 — Ejsbølgård; 5 — Bříza; 6 — Barsaldershed (Gotland); 7 — Airan/Moult

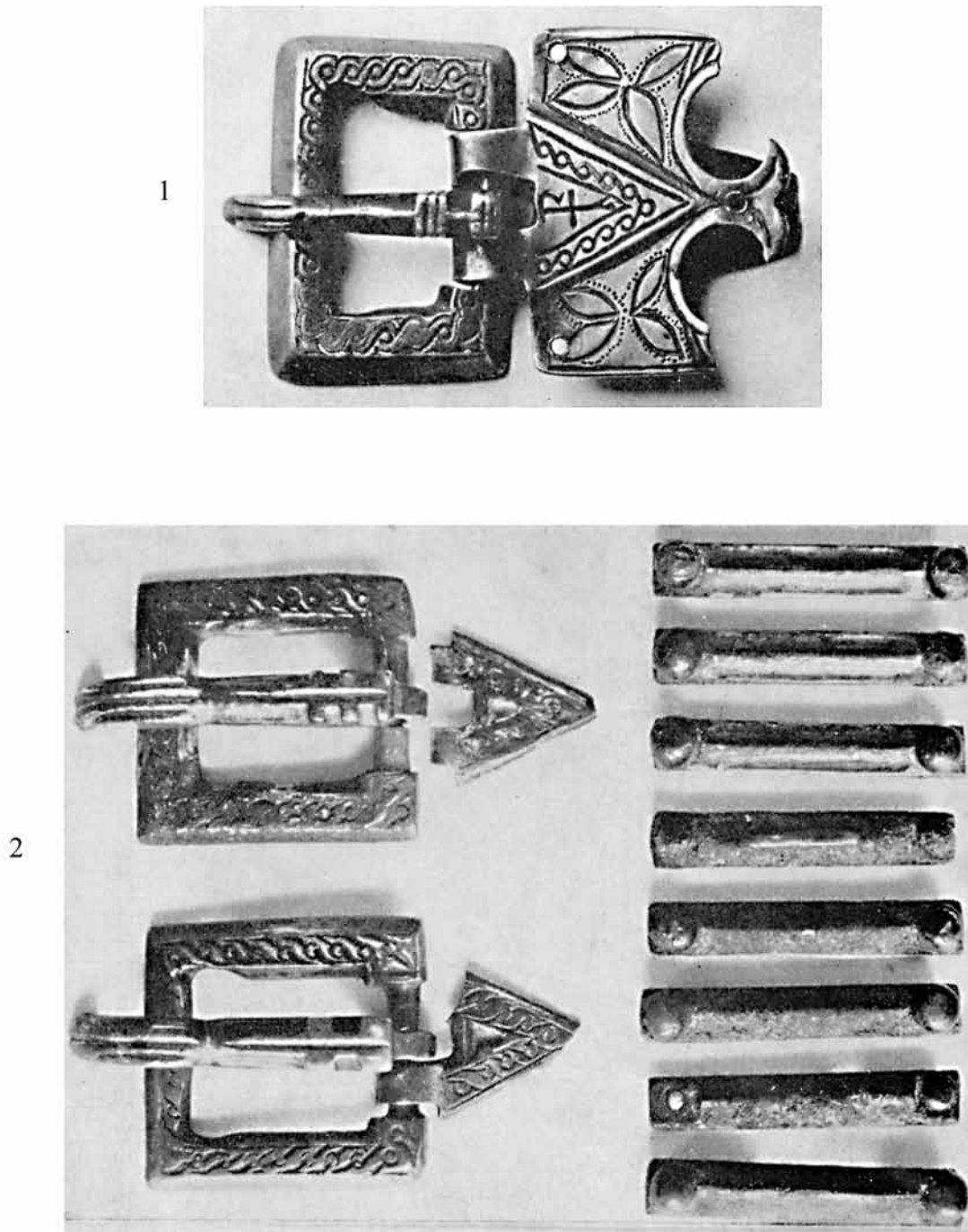
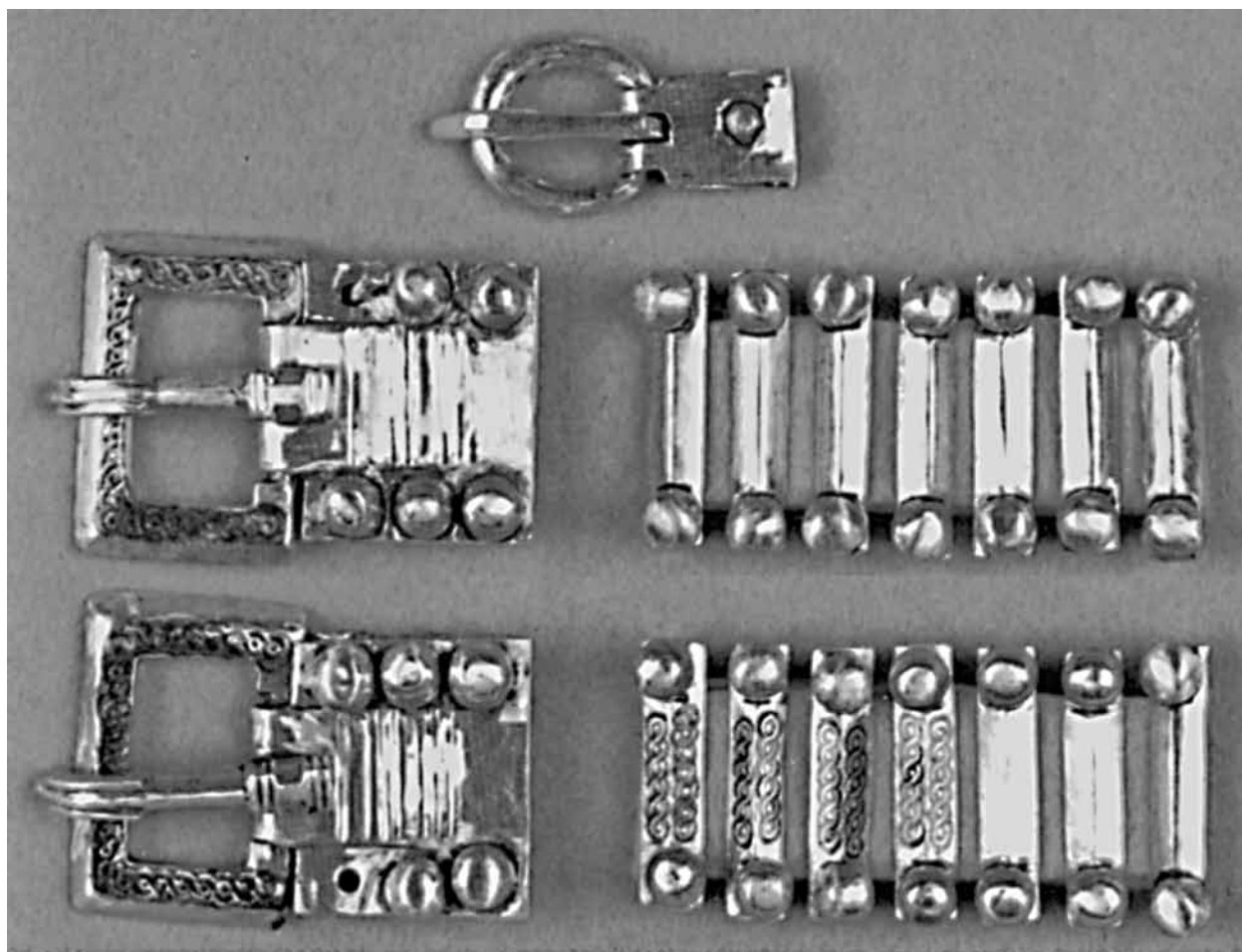


Fig. 14. 1 — Dombóvár; 2 — Tolna county (Fettich 1953, tab. LVII. 3–13)

where the lock was located. Such a scheme of fastening is not known now.

Judging from the finds in this burial, it is the case with a variant of two-piece belt of the type widely spread in the Roman period and in the early Middle Ages in military Roman-Germanic cultures, when the belt consisted of wide main strap and narrow end-piece coming into the buckle. The wider strip is determined by the width of the fittings, though the

narrower one by the size of the hole in the buckle frame and buckle-lock. In Eastern Europe, belts of the type often have construction with wide piece all around the waist and the narrow piece was sewn or fastened with a fitting closer to its end. In the given case, the narrow strap probably was all around the wide strap. The fittings provided extra fastening, though square fittings fastened it directly. However, they were located in a way different of that supposed



1

2

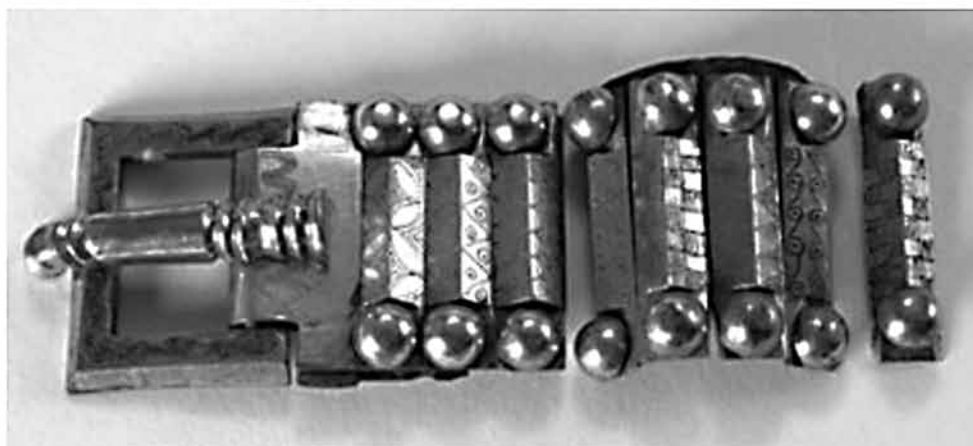


Fig. 15. 1 — Lyon; 2 — Traprain Law
(1 — Des Burgondes à Bayar 1981; 2 — National Museum of Scotland)

by Khairedinova, being as shown on fig. 16. 21–23. Therefore, their size corresponds to the width of the narrow strap. It is also confirmed by the find from Traprain Law, which also had narrow tip of the belt with fittings placed actually at the same angle diagonally (Curle 1920, fig. 44).

The same burial in Luchistoye cemetery also contained woman's ornaments, placed close to

each other, with radiate-headed brooch of a series possibly a bit younger than that of Traprain Law. Aibabin interprets it as widow's last offering. The burial in Luchistoye also included a dagger of the type characteristic of the Crimea and North Caucasus placed on the dead man's head. Such a tradition is well known in Alan cemeteries in the Crimea from the fourth and fifth century.

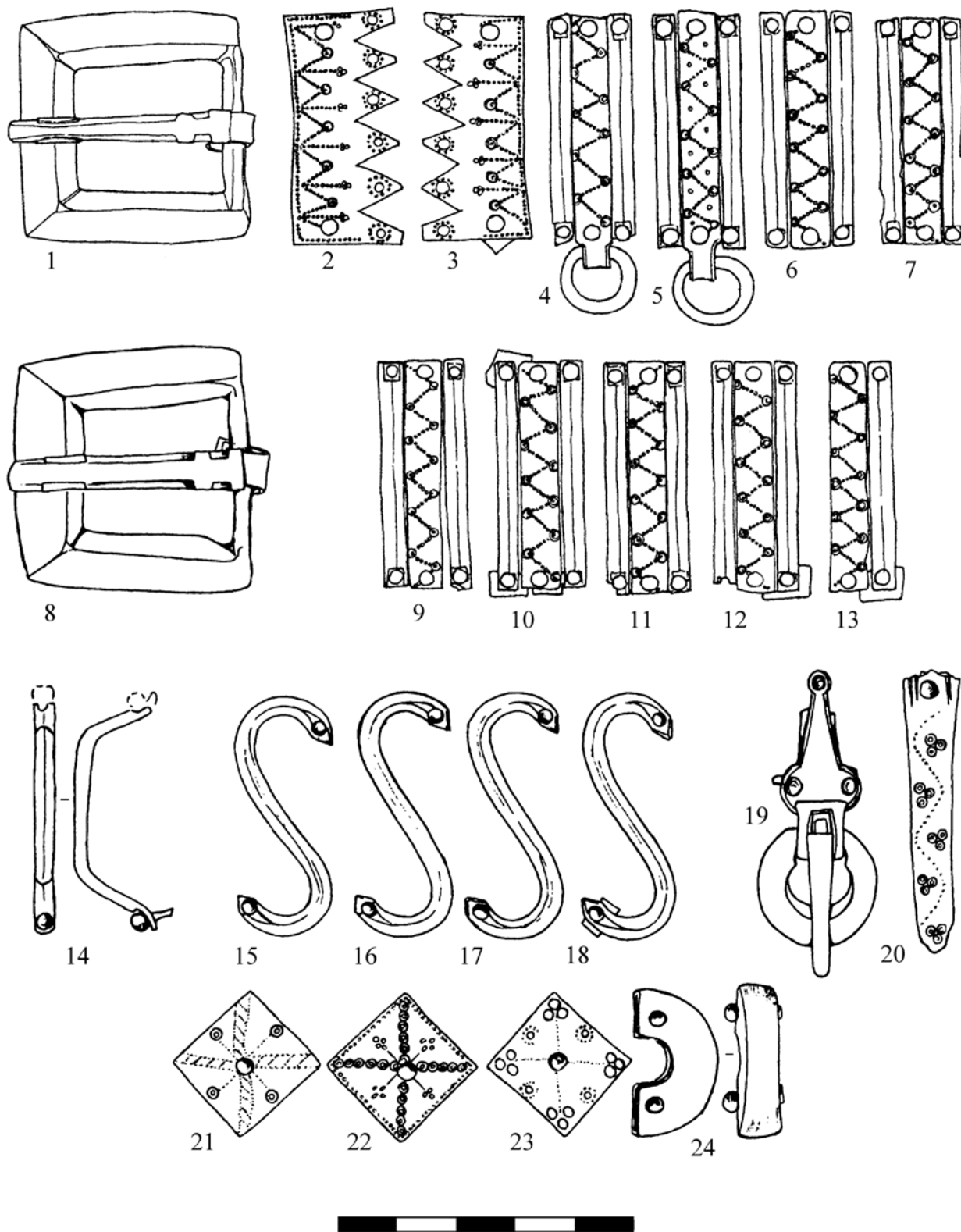


Fig. 16. Belt from burial 186 in the cemetery of Luchistoye (Айбабин 2002)

Finally, the most western — in relation to Crimean finds — of the buckles with circular or oval frame is a buckle from Airan/Moult in Normandie (fig. 13. 7). The cross of vine leaves on

its panel reminds the decoration on Szabadbattyán buckle (fig. 12. 4).

Apart from the buckle, the complex of finds from Airan/Moult includes a pair of brooches, an

earring and sewn badges for clothes (Пиле 2006); despite of its great remoteness, this complex is directly related to the Crimea. Gold appliques and earring discovered there are typical to Alan graves from the fifth century known in the Crimean cemeteries (Хайрединова 2002).

This way, the finds collected in this paper allow me to draw the conclusion that it was the mid-fifth century when a group of prestigious ornaments, related to the local nobility of Scandinavia, appeared far outside the region. The nature of the connection resulted in this process is not quite clear: graves in Belyaus and Jakuszowice belonged to Hunnic nobility, Untersiebenbrunn could be called an East Germanic site, and Airan/Moult is East Germanic and Alanic site. At the same time, the finds in Volhynia (Kachin, and especially Zamość) and in the upper reaches of the Southern Bug (Bar) are more “pure” — the only East Germanic finds in Kachin and Bar are the pair of plain silver bi-plated brooches.

During a certain period, the area limited by the upper reaches of the Vistula, Dniester, Pripyat and Southern Bug rivers became a place with appreciable Scandinavian presence. Andrzej Kokowski has observed that the finds in Sösdala style, ornamented buckles in particular, were concentrated there (Кокковский 2007, с. 79–80).

At least the same or, possibly, bigger concentration of such finds was in the Middle Danube area. There was new independent development of Sösdala style: a good illustration is the famous gold insect brooch from Sáromberk/Dumbrăvioara with inset almandine eyes (Fettich 1953, Taf. XL. 1).⁵

Artefacts combining gilt, fine stamping and blackening which could be related with Scandinavian influence obviously came to Central and South-Eastern Europe in several ways. Buckles with plain thickened frame (Zamość, Bar, Yalta, Szababattyán, Airan/Moult, and, possibly, Belyaus) have analogies in Barsaldershed, Gotland (fig. 13. 6). This group indicates the direction towards Volhynia and the Crimea and, farther, via the Middle Danube, to Normandy.

At the same time, buckles with decorated frame (Bříza), very similar to Ejsbølgård finds, appeared

in the Middle Danube area. Ornamentation of frames with blackening similarly to the finds from Hódmezővásárhely-Sóshalom, Artánd-Kisfarkasdomb, Singidunum, Tolna county, and Dombóvár is not known in the North Black Sea area: the frame of Sagi buckle is ornamented in other tradition, with no parallel in Europe.

If one aims the next research at compiling complete catalogue of Sösdala style artefacts outside Northern Europe, our knowledge of the role of north population in the events of the Great Migration period could change drastically. Authors of historic chronicles of the period traditionally paid attention to basic threats to the Empire omitting unnecessary details concerning the participants of the process. The origin of menace for European provinces laid in the lands behind the Rhine and in the north Black Sea area. The invasion of the Huns from the north Black Sea area moved the East Germanics from their place; it did not remain unnoticed in the north of Europe. The finds from the north Black Sea area, the Crimea in particular, which could be connected to Scandinavian elite, supply evidence that the process of Hunnic invasion included rather remote areas, which did not depend directly from the Hunnic realm.

Unsurprisingly, Scandinavian finds appeared in assemblages bearing features of culture of the Huns, East Germanics, or common Danube fashion. As it has already been mentioned, Zsetszkaya uses the term “Bosporan culture” for the antiquities of Kerch cemetery estimating their eclectic character (see the catalogue at: Засецкая 1993). The merging of polyethnic and multicultural elements against the background of Greco-Roman tradition is the best characteristics of the processes involving barbarian elites of the whole Europe in the fifth century. The fact that in the first half of the fifth century a part of elite of the north rushed to the Black Sea and the Danube area is explained by its desire to participate in the events together with the Hunnic realm being at the peak of its power at that time. The allies of the Huns were certainly not restricted to subordinated or tributary peoples, so the migrants from the far north could find enough space amidst them.

⁵ It turned out that this Danube influence spread in a very surprising way. Recently discovered rich Hunnic grave in the area of Kursk (Russia) contained ornaments in two artistic styles. The first is typical Danube polychrome set, though the second is silver-gilt artefacts with fine stamped decoration typical to Sösdala style and almandine insets. Now Oleg Radjush and Olga Shcheglova are preparing the publication of this assemblage.

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Максим ЛЕВАДА

Через Крым в Европу: о возможных направлениях передвижения северных народов в эпоху Великого переселения народов

Резюме

Работа посвящена находкам за пределами Северной Европы украшений скандинавской ювелирной традиции (стиль «Sösdala»), сочетающих позолоту по серебру, мелкий штемпель и чернь. Такие изделия технологически наиболее сложны и внешне необычайно аттрактивны. Вероятно, они относились к наиболее престижным изделиям этого стиля.

Собранные тут находки позволяют сделать вывод, что в середине V в. ряд украшений, связанных с аристократией Скандинавии, попадает далеко за пределы региона. Характер связей, в результате которых происходит такой процесс, не совсем ясен — погребения в Беяусе и Jakuszowice принадлежат гуннской знати, Untersiebenbrunn можно назвать «восточногерманским», а Airan/Moult — «восточногерманско-аланским». В то же время, находки на Волыни (Качин и, особенно, Zamość) и в верховьях Южного Буга (Бар) более «чистые» — из «восточногерманских» находок в Качине и Баре только пара гладких серебряных двупластинчатых фибул.

Территория, ограниченная верховьями таких рек как Висла, Днестр, Припять и Южный Буг, стала на какое-то время местом, где сильно ощутимо скандинавское присутствие. По наблюдениям А. Коковского, там сконцентрированы находки стиля «Sösdala», в частности орнаментированные пряжки (Коковский 2007, с. 79–80).

Не меньшая, а возможно и бóльшая концентрация таких находок приходится на Средний Дунай. Там стиль «Sösdala» имеет дальнейшее самостоятельное развитие, что хорошо иллюстрирует знаменитая золотая фибула-цикада из Sáromberke/Dumbrăvioara с глазами-вставками из альмандинов (Fettich 1953, tab. XL. 1).

Предметы, в декоре которых сочетается позолота, мелкий штемпель и чернь, и которые можно связать со скандинавскими влияниями, попадали, похоже, в Среднюю и Юго-Восточную Европу несколькими путями. Пряжки с гладкой утолщённой рамкой (Zamość, Бар, Ялта, Szabadbattyán, Airan/Moult и, возможно, Беяус) имеют соответствие на Готланде в Barsaldershed. Эта группа указывает направление в сторону Волыни — Крыма, и далее — через Средний Дунай в Нормандию.

В то же время на Среднем Дунае появляются пряжки с декором на рамке (Břıza), очень напоминающие находки из Ejsbølgård. Орнаментация рамок чернью, как на находках в Hódmezővásárhely-Sóshalom, Artánd-Kisfarkasdomb, Singidunum, Tolna County, Dombóvár, не известна в Северном Причерноморье — на рамке пряжки из Caг орнамент другой традиции, параллелей которой в Центральной или Восточной Европе нет.

Если задачей дальнейших исследований сделать полную каталогизацию предметов стиля Sösdala за пределами Северной Европы, то наши представления об удельном весе северного населения в событиях эпохи Великого переселения народов могут сильно измениться. Авторы исторических хроник для этой эпохи традиционно уделяли внимание основным угрозам Империи без излишней детализации участников процессов. Для европейских провинций территориями, откуда исходили такие угрозы, были земли непосредственно за Рейном и в Северном Причерноморье. Гуннское нашествие из Северного Причерноморья, сорвавшее с места и восточных германцев, было как-то ощутимо и на севере Европы. Найдки из Северного Причерноморья, в частности из Крыма, которые можно связать со скандинавской элитой, свидетельствуют, что в процесс гуннского нашествия были вовлечены весьма отдалённые территории, не зависящие напрямую от державы гуннов.

То, что скандинавские находки попадают в комплексы с чертами культуры гуннов, восточных германцев или «общедунайской» моды, неудивительно. Для древностей керченского некрополя, имеющих определённые параллели с предметами рассматриваемого стиля, И. П. Засецкая, под-разумевая их эклектичность, использует термин «боспорская культура» (см. каталог в: Засецкая 1993). Смешение разноэтничных и разнокультурных элементов на основе греко-римской традиции как нельзя лучше характеризуют процессы, которые охватили в V в. варварские элиты всей Европы. А то, что в первой половине V в. какая-то часть северной аристократии устремилась к Чёрному морю и Дунаю объяснимо её желанием быть сопричастной событиям, в которых главную роль играла гуннская держава, находившаяся тогда на пике своего могущества. Союзники гуннов, видимо, состояли не только из покорённых или зависимых народов, было среди них место и для независимых пришельцев с далёкого севера.

Ulla LUND HANSEN

**CONTACTS DURING THE THIRD TO FIFTH CENTURY AD
BETWEEN SOUTH SCANDINAVIA AND THE BLACK SEA
ILLUSTRATED BY LATE ROMAN GLASS AND JEWELLERY**

Glass vessels

A group of glass vessels dated to the Late Roman and Early Migration period (from the middle of the second to the fifth century AD) are very likely not produced in the same glass workshops as most of the glass vessels excavated as well inside the Roman Empire as outside the Empire in Barbaricum.

Some of these glass vessels belong to the great group of glass vessels of type Eggers 230–237, for example glass of type Kowalk (Eggers' type 230),



Fig. 1. Glass of Eggers type 233 from the grave field Sejlflod, north Jutland, dating C3 (Nielsen 2000; photo: the author)

glass vessels with a polished decoration (Eggers' type 233; fig. 1); but also other non-western Roman glasses belongs to this group, for example Eggers type 203 (fig. 2), glasses with ribs at the bottom, and Eggers' type 199–200 decorated with a network of glass trails at the shoulder (fig. 3). Finally the group also counts glass vessel types not registered and named by Eggers (Rau 1972; 1974; 1975; Gomolka-Fuchs 1999, S. 129 ff.; Lund Hansen 1999, S. 146 ff.).

The opinion about origin of these glass vessels is based on many years of analyses of glass production and glass products in the Roman and early Frankish Empire during the first five centuries AD. The origin of the above mentioned glass vessels must therefore most probably be looked for in Southeastern Europe — probably inside the non-Roman (barbaric) territory situated around the northern part of the Black Sea coast (nowadays Ukraine and Russia) and maybe also in the Byzantine empire, because only in this region parallels to the Scandinavian and central European glasses do occur.

These glass vessels are among other objects the outcome of exchange and contact between barbaric elites and societies along the same corridor as maintained the spread of other objects as for example certain groups of jewellery (rosette fibulae). These two groups of objects are however exchanged in each their direction — the jewellery from Scandinavia and northern Poland (South Baltic area) to the northwest Black Sea area, the glass vessels in opposite direction.

The glass vessels and rosette fibulae are well known as grave equipment in the Scandinavian elite graves, but they also, especially the glass vessels, occur at the Scandinavian and East European trading sites (so called "central sites"). For about three hundred years these finds underline a steady



Fig. 2. Glass of Eggers type 203 from the grave field Engbjerg (grave 4) on Zealand close to Copenhagen, dating C2, excavated 1999 (Wealth and Prestige... 2009, p. 171, fig. 5; Kroppedal Museum; photo: J. Weng)

contact between the northernmost and southeasternmost part of Europe by means of objects illustrating personal relations, marriages, alliances, contracts, trade and exchange via trading centres

(central sites) in Scandinavia, the south Baltic area, the central eastern Europe and southeast Europe (fig. 4).

As mentioned, quite many Scandinavian glass vessels dated from the second to fifth century AD have no parallels inside the Roman empire including its provinces, but one can trace their parallels inside a broad geographical zone stretching from the south Baltic Sea coast towards the northwest Black Sea area (Lund Hansen 2000, S. 320 ff.). Special types of rosette fibulae illustrate the same contact corridor from south Scandinavia across the Baltic Sea via the mouth of the river Weichsel (Vistula) in the direction of the northwest Black Sea coast. In this paper all dating of glass vessels and jewellery are based on local items (pottery, fibulae, etc.) (Lund Hansen, Przybyła 2010, S. 241–286).

For several years scholars have had intense discussions about localization of the production sites of certain glass vessel types — types not known from the Roman area. Since Eggers work from 1951 (Eggers 1951) the discussion has especially been run by Clasina Isings (1957), Joachim Werner (1959), Günter Rau (1972; 1973; 1974), Nina Sorokina (1978; 1995), Ulf Näsman (1984), Eldrid Straume (1987), Ulla Lund Hansen (1987,



Fig. 3. Glass of Eggers type 199–200 excavated at the grave field Brøndsager (grave 2000) on Zealand close to Copenhagen, dating C2, excavated in 1997–1998 (Wealth and Prestige... 2009, p. 169, fig. 3; Kroppedal Museum; photo: J. Weng)

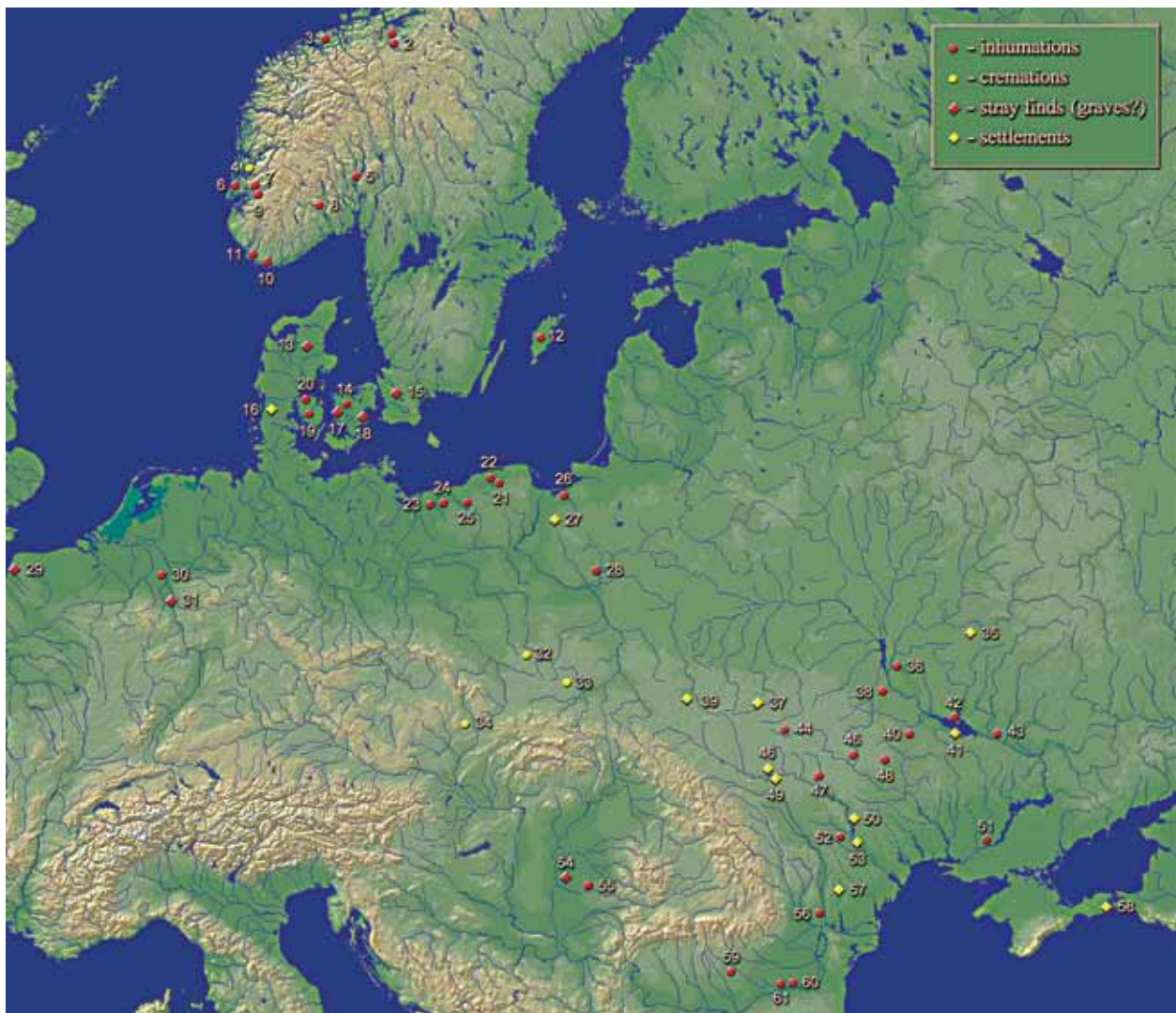


Fig. 4. Distribution map of glass type Kowalk, status 1972 (Rau 1972)

1999, 2005, 2006; Lund Hansen, Alexandersen 1995), Gudrun Gomolka-Fuchs (1999), Teresa Stawiarska (1999), and Yulia Ivachtchenko (1995). As the mentioned glass vessels appear in non-Roman parts of Europe, the discussion is especially run by archaeologists facing problems outside the Roman empire (fig. 5).

Many recently excavated glass vessels of non-Roman types in Denmark, Sweden and Poland have renewed the discussion of a possible localization of one or more workshops of these Late Roman and Early Migration glass vessels (fig. 6).

During the last years the amount of glass vessels from sites in Barbaric Europe have grown considerable, and the number of hitherto unknown glass types are now quite many. Rather many glass vessels of this character are during the recent years excavated in Denmark — especially at grave fields at

the Danish island Zealand (Ethelberg 2000; Lund Hansen 2000, S. 320 ff.; 2009, S. 167 ff). But also excavations in Central and Eastern Europe have brought new types.

Examples of glass vessels from Zealand excavated and published lately is for example Skovgårde grave 8 from C1b2 (glass vessel type E 203 and E 205), Skovgårde grave 400 from C2 (glass vessel Isings Form 30, glass vessel type E 212, fragment of painted glass vessel type E 209) (Ethelberg 2000; Lund Hansen 2000, S. 320–347); Torstorp Vesterby grave 3368 from C3 (type E 237), Brøndsager grave 900 from C2 (new type), Brøndsager grave 2000 from C2 (type E 199 and type E 200) (fig. 3), Stenrøldsknøs from C2 (two glass vessels) (fig. 6), Engbjerg grave 4 from C2 (type E 203) (fig. 2) (Wealth and Prestige... 2009; Lund Hansen 2009, S. 167–175).

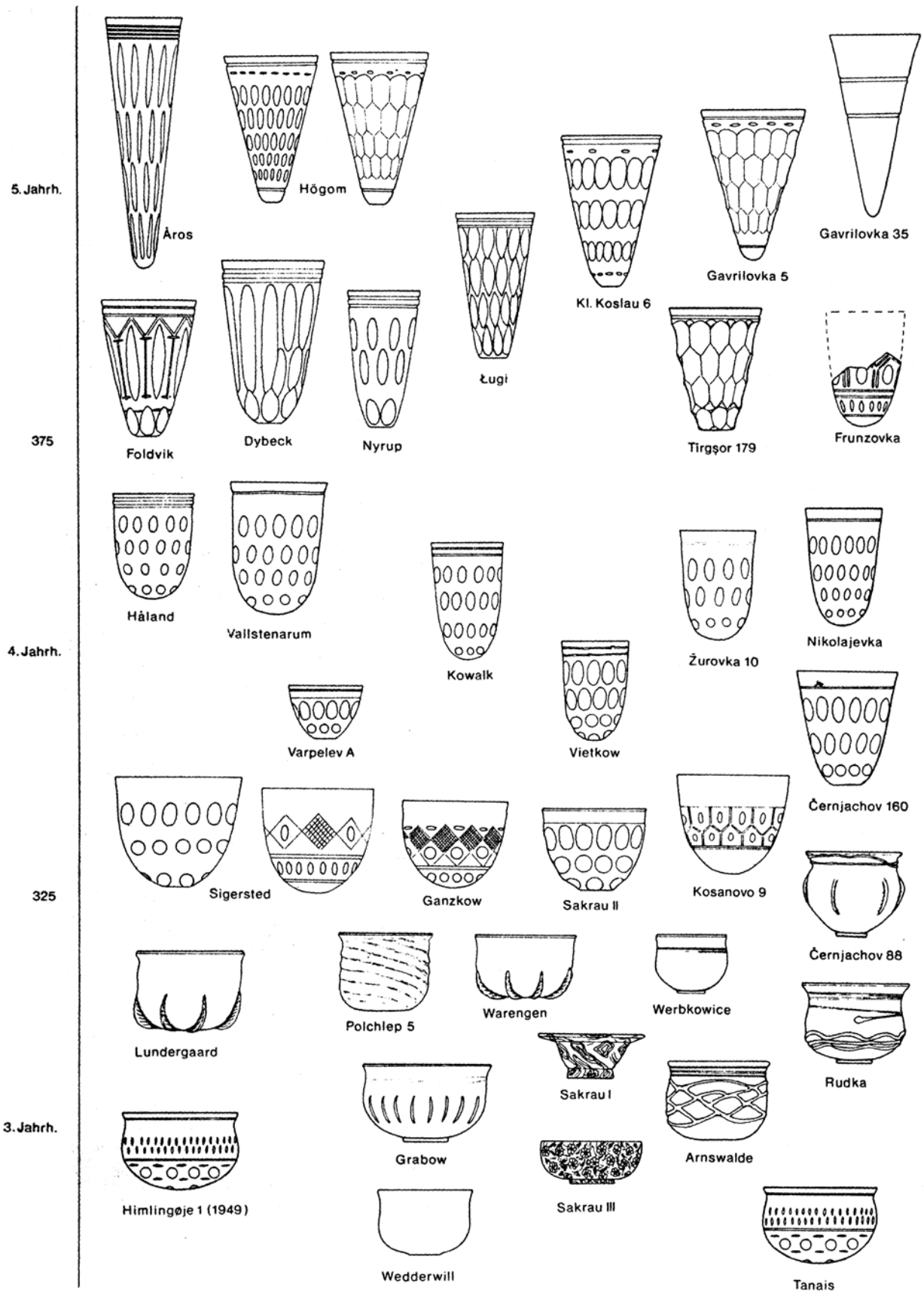


Fig. 5. Plate with a selection of glass types dated from the third to fifth century AD (Rau 1972, S. 167)



Fig. 6. Pair of glass vessels from the grave field Stenrøldsknøs (grave 100) on Zealand close to Copenhagen, dating C2 (Wealth and Prestige... 2009, p. 170, fig. 4, Kroppedal Museum; photo: J. Weng)



An exact parallel to the two glass vessels from Brøndsager grave 2000 are for example known from the Rudka grave (former Poland, now Ukraine) (Kokowski 1995) and glasses decorated with polished ovals and facettes still occur quit often.

It is not only recent excavations which has delivered glass vessels of a possible south eastern origin, already well known grave field locations as for example Varpelev (fig. 7) and Himlingøje at Zealand (fig. 8) and several other locations do contain glass vessels of probably non-Roman origin (Lund Hansen 1987, Lund Hansen 2006a, S. 76 ff.; Wealth and Prestige... 2009; Lund Hansen, Alexandersen 1995; Lud Hansen1999).

A main problem concerning the origin of these glass vessel types is the insignificance knowledge of regular glass huts in Central and Southeastern

Fig. 7. Thick and polished glass beaker from the grave field Varpelev (grave a) on Zealand (Eggers 241), dating C2 (Lund Hansen, Alexandersen 1995, S. 416) (National Museum, Copenhagen; photo: the author)

Europe outside the *Limes*. Important for this discussion is a much better knowledge of the so-called east European glass production. Afterwards this is however getting a bit more cogent by means of new publications of the east European glass material. Whether some of the new finds from Scandinavia can be related to the few good documented glass workshops in Southeastern Europe or at the Black Sea is to be discussed. Quite many new finds of especially type Eggers 230–237 from Poland and Ukraine support the interpretation of a southeast European origin.

It must be underlined that some of the new finds of glass vessels from for example Denmark have no parallels either in the Rhineland or elsewhere in the West or inside the southeastern European area at all (fig. 9). Characteristics of the actual glasses are, apart from their shapes, an often rather high quality of the glass material itself. The glass mass is transparent, clear and often nearly without air bubbles. The shaping of the glasses is precise and the thickness is often minimal in relation to the already known southeast European glasses of for example type E 230. The quality but not the shapes are very like the European Late Roman glasses. These two essential traits: shape and quality, causes the supposition of a production site working with Roman knowledge but with other designs. The two glass vessels from Stenrøldsknøs are good examples of that kind of glasswork.

Not only excavations of grave fields in the Barbaricum have caused the many new finds of glass vessels. Great amounts of glass fragments (glass pieces) from broken glass vessels dated in particular from the second to the fifth century AD are documented at north- and central European trading centres (“central sites”), and they are most important for this discussion. Analyses of the archaeological finds at these “central sites” can tell about far-reaching relations, exchange and trade connections through Europe between the Black Sea area, Central and Northern Europe, the Baltic Sea and Scandinavia.

These central sites situated outside the Roman empire are characterised by rich culture layers with an unusual (in relation to ordinary settle-



Fig. 8. Blown glass beaker made in Überfang technique in light olive green and emerald green colours, from the grave field Himlingøje (grave 1948) on Zealand, single find, dating C2 or C3 (Lund Hansen, Alexandersen 1995, S. 152, Abb. 4. 20; National Museum, Copenhagen; photo: L. Larsen)



Fig. 9. Blown and polished glass beaker, from a grave at Ryget Skovby, Zealand (Kroppedal Museum)



Fig. 10. Fragments of glass vessels excavated at the central site "Sorte Muld" on the Danish isle Bornholm in the Baltic Sea (Bornholms Museum Rønne; photo: M. Stoltze)



Fig. 11. Glass bowl made in Überfang technique in blue and colourless, crudely polished, excavated as the part of a treasure in a cult building at the “central site” Uppåkra close to Lund in south Sweden, dating from the fourth or fifth century AD, 2001 excavation (Stjernquist 2004a; Stjernquist 2004b; Lunds Museum)

ments) great content of precious metals, craft, jewellery, coins, weaponry, fragments of Roman and Frankish glass vessels beside the more normal settlement objects as pottery

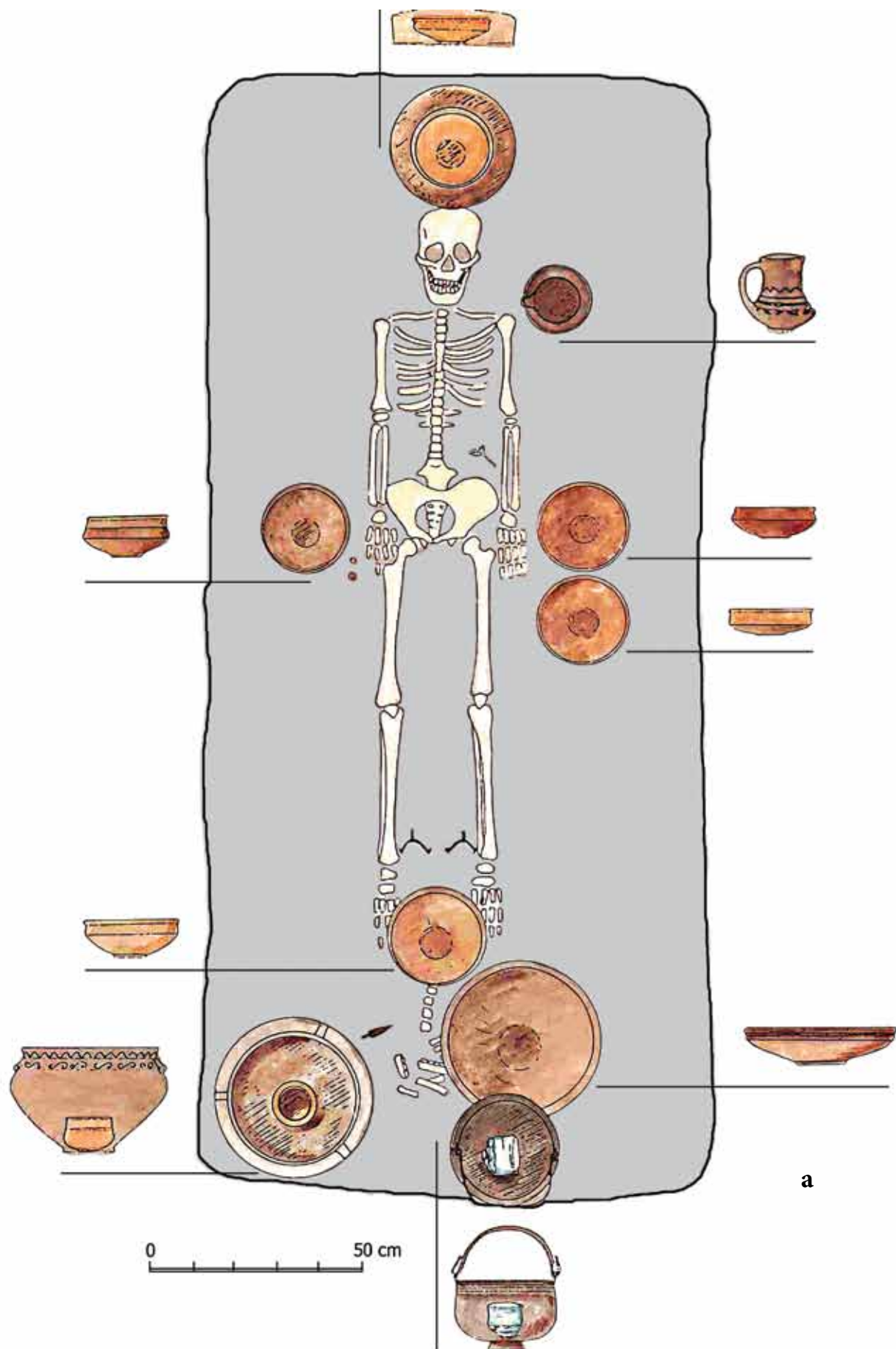
These sites are situated strategically in the landscape in relation to chieftain centres and trade routes.

The central sites are headed by local chieftains having control over a greater territory and its ordinary settlements and they manage the handicraft, trade, exchange, religious events and guarantee the security for foreigners. Examples of trading and handicraft centres are the large Danish site “Sorte Muld” on the island of Bornholm in the Baltic Sea (fig. 10), the site Gudme-Lundeborg on the eastern coast of the Danish isle Funen, the south Swedish site “Uppåkra” near Lund opposite the Danish Island Zealand (fig. 11) (Thomsen 1994, p. 23 ff.; Centrala Platser... 1998; Stjernquist 1999, p. 67 ff.; Thrane 1999, S. 142 ff.; Lund Hansen 2001a, p. 113 ff.; Larsson 2002, p. 19 ff.; Continuity... 2004, p. 3 ff.; Stjernquist 2004a, p. 193 ff.; 2004b,

p. 153 ff.; Adamsen et al. 2009; Lund Hansen 2009; 2010, p. 29 ff.).

Another already well known site of this kind is Jakuszowice near the city of Krakow in Poland. This central site is situated at a very favourable place in the landscape having easy access to waterways reaching as well north as south. At Jakuszowice one can for example distinguish fragments of glass vessels of Roman, of non-Roman (southeast European), probably Byzantine and maybe also glass of oriental origin. Several glass pieces from Jakuszowice are of the same types of glass vessels as known from the Scandinavian grave finds and glass pieces on the north European “central sites” (Godlowski 1986, S. 103 ff.; Koch 1987; 1990; Godlowski 1991, p. 662 ff.; Godlowski 1995, S. 155 ff.).

Special sites like these, which one very likely in time to come will discover several of in the area between south Scandinavia and southeasternmost Europe, will provide the archaeological research with trading goods — among others amounts of



glass pieces. They will beside the grave finds be another archaeological source to discuss in relation to long distant trade, its background and cultural importance, its influence and importance — and will offer a better insight into the non-Roman glass production.

New finds of type E 203–204 has appeared in the last years and they also offer a background for a renewed discussion of the production. It is remarkable that glasses of type E 203–204 are found only in Scandinavia and in the eastern part of the Barbaricum. They are not quit as uniform as former suggested. They are not produced with a fixed number of ribs; the number varies from four to ten, the shape and colour also varies. The colour varies from colourless (as Skovgårde grave 8) over a very delicate “sea green” to a bright “sea green” as in Himlingøje 1978 grave 1, but never yellow-green or olive green. The above mentioned central sites have increased the number of type E 203–204; these finds indicate that the variation now is greater than ever. Because of the shape and colour variation and the very varied quality of the glass mass itself E 203 is probably not the result of a single glass workshop or glassblower. The distribution of E 203–204 in Scandinavia, the northeast part of continental Barbaricum and Southeastern Europe

do not absolutely need to mean that the production place is a southeast European workshop, even if it at first could look like the most obvious — but where then? (Näsman 1984; Lund Hansen 2000, S. 320 ff.; 2001b, p. 325 ff.; 2006, p. 123 ff.; 2007, p. 265 ff.; 2009, S. 167 ff.).

One of the best examples underlining exactly this problematic distribution pattern is the Gepidic prince grave from Rudka, Volhynia administrative district in the Ukraine, dated to the end of the third century AD; it contains a glass of type Rudka (E type 199) (fig. 12a-b) (Kokowski 1995), a Hemmoor bucket type E 62 and a bronze dish type E 82. Both types of bronze vessels have their main distribution in the north western part of the Barbaricum and only a single piece of this kind is found in Eastern Europe (in the Rudka grave); glasses of type Rudka (E 199) are beside in Scandinavia only found in Poland and the Ukraine.

Because of this, the production area for glass vessel type E 199 and E 203–204 is until now unknown. The glasses were distributed into the eastern and northern Barbaric Europe. As a producing centre northern Gaul is not likely, more likely is the province Lower Germania or somewhere on Barbaric territory — only future can show (Lund Hansen 1987, S.79 f., 160; Lund Hansen, Alexandersen 1995, S.182 ff.; Lund Hansen 2000). Maybe there existed a Roman glass production centre in Barbaricum just as there has been documented a Roman inspired terra sigillata production centre in the now being Germany far outside the *Limes* (Dušek 1991).

The described distribution pattern must also be seen in connection with the intensified southeast European connections between south Scandinavia and the Polish area during the Late Roman Iron Age (third and fourth century AD). This again might be linked together with the southeast movement of the “Gothic” culture from the north Poland towards the Black Sea — a route which demonstrates some kind of very close connection to Denmark (Madyda-Legutko 1998, S. 29 ff.; Гавритухин 1999; Kokowski 1999, S. 179 ff.; Levinschi 1999, S. 23 ff.; Likhter 2000, p. 192 ff.; Madyda-Legutko, Pohorska-Kleja 2001, S. 299 ff.; Petrauskas 2003, S. 224 ff.; Magomedov 2004, S. 281 ff.; Ljubicev 2006, S. 269 ff.).

That there on the Danish islands Zealand and Funen are found glasses as well produced in the Cologne area as produced presumably in Southeastern Europe and perhaps also in a third



Fig. 12. a–b. The Rudka grave (a) with among other things a glass vessel of type E 199, Ukraine (former Poland) and the glass vessel (b) exactly like the glasses from the Danish Brøndsager grave 2000 (fig. 3) (Kokowski 1995)



Fig. 13. Distribution map of seven groups (group 1–7) of Late Roman rosette fibulae (Lund Hansen, Przybyła 2010, S. 271, Abb. 39)

glass producing centre outside the Roman empire — or in the Danube provinces underlines the central position of the now being Danish territory for exchange and contact with different parts of Europe.

What is the explanation of the very few examples of the until now assumed southeastern European

glasses in West Europe as for example one glass type E 230 at the grave field Krefeld-Gellep at the northern part of the Rhine? The amounts of glasses of type E 230–237 have increased considerable, but the distribution pattern has not changed. The same tendency shows the *Überfang* glasses with letters or polished decoration.



Fig. 14. Rosette fibula made in gilded silver, from the grave field Skovgårde (grave 209) on Zealand (Ethelberg 2000, p. 51, fig. 41; Lund Hansen, Przybyła 2010, S. 245, Abb. 7) (Sydsjællands Museum, Vordingborg)

Rosette fibulae

A recent work by Marzena Przybyła about rosette-decorated fibulae is of importance for the discussion above (Lund Hansen, Przybyła 2010, S. 241 ff.) (fig. 13). The study has resulted in a new typology of the rosette fibulae which in a logical way can explain the relation between the Zealand rosette fibulae and the related types found in the rest of Scandinavia and in some related territories outside Scandinavia. Highly interesting to the discussion in this paper is the related types of rosette fibulae known from the area around the mouth of Weichsel and also further to the south east in the direction of the north western border area at the Black Sea (fig. 14).

Rosette fibulae as type have their origin at Zealand, and from this Late Roman centre this fibulae type inspires the creation of rosette fibulae types in the rest of south Scandinavia, north Poland and also further on to the southeast. The distribution of rosette fibulae illustrate the same exchange corridor as the already mentioned glass vessels do (fig. 15). The rosette fibulae are — just as other gold ornaments (Kolben armlets, gold finger rings etc.) — high status objects which one either acquire by marriage eventually by exchange,

but especially imitate. Because of the status of this fibulae type one find apart from the true Zealand rosette fibulae imitations with clear local characteristics in the rest of the Scandinavian landscapes, in Poland and Southeastern Europe.

The close contact between south Scandinavia (especially Zealand and Bornholm) and the area around the mouth of Weichsel is already underlined from the more southern Chernyakhov culture must be an important part of handling these relations.

So — the distribution pattern of, especially, glass vessels and rosette fibulae from Late Roman Iron Age underlines the growing connections between Scandinavia, Poland and Southeastern Europe during the Late Roman and Early Migration period (third to fifth century AD) beginning already at the very early part of Late Roman period (phase B2/C1a, about 150/160 AD). The rosette fibulae must be explained as exogamic relations over long distances just as especially the glass vessels of non-Roman origin underline exchange connections between distant areas. Maybe the very best example of the far-reaching important and close relations is the very southeast-European-looking Årslev grave at Funen (Storgaard 1994, p. 160 ff.).

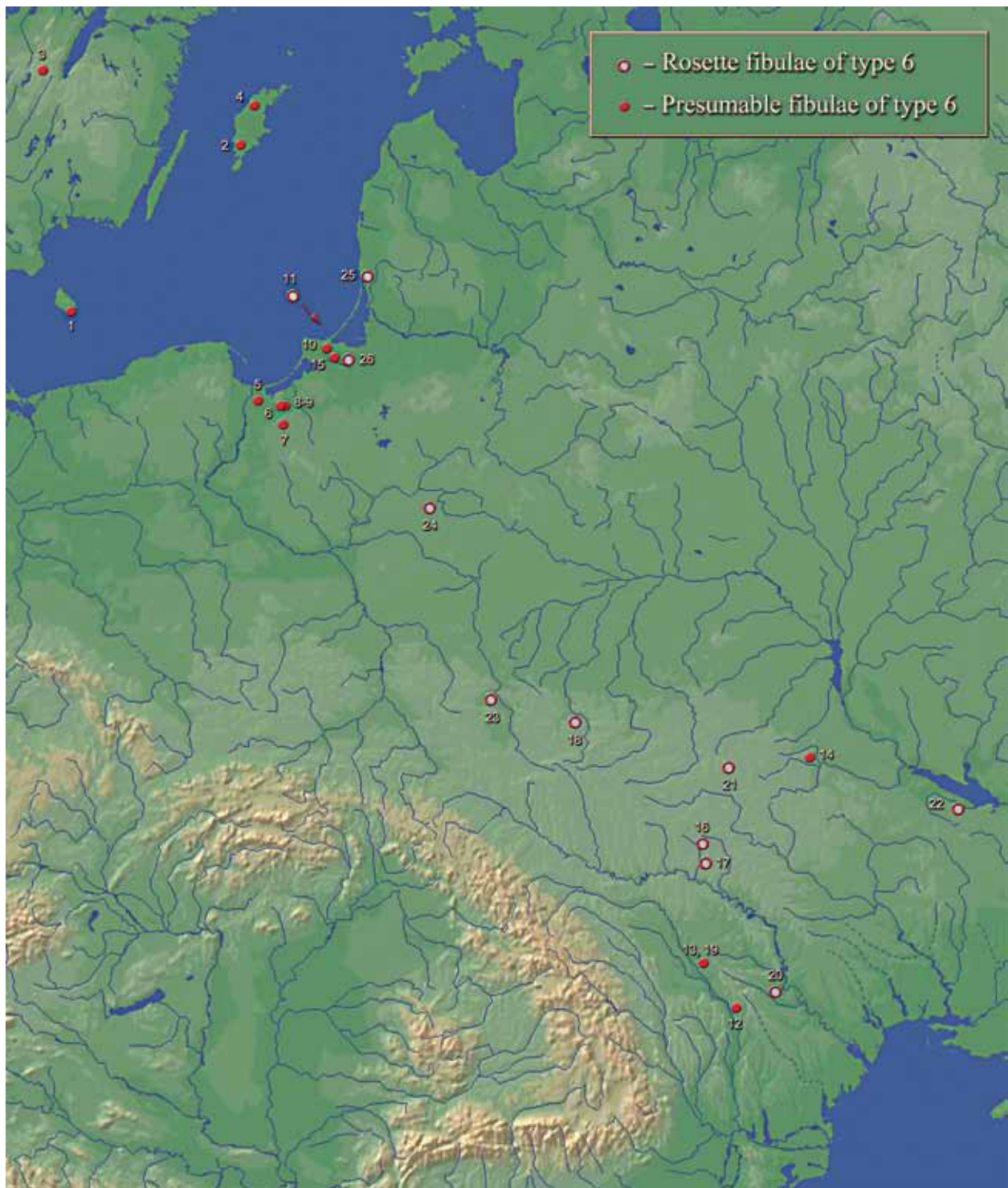


Fig. 15. Distribution map of the southeasternmost European rosette fibula type 6
(Lund Hansen, Przybyła 2010, S. 268, Abb. 36)

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Улла ЛУНН-ХАНСЕН

**Контакты между южной Скандинавией и Причерноморьем в III – V вв.
на примере позднеримского стекла и украшений**

Резюме

Группа стеклянных сосудов позднеримского времени и эпохи переселения народов, найденная в погребениях и на поселениях, ориентированных на торговлю (так называемых «центрических памятниках»), в южной Скандинавии демонстрирует связи между южной Скандинавией и Северным Причерноморьем. О том же говорят изготовленные в Скандинавии позолоченные серебряные фибулы в виде розетки. Каждая из двух этих групп вещей по-своему проливает свет на связи между двумя указанными регионами в середине II – V вв. н. э.

Magdalena MAĆZYŃSKA, Agnieszka URBANIAK, Ireneusz JAKUBCZYK

THE EARLY MEDIAEVAL CEMETERY OF ALMALYK-DERE NEAR THE FOOT OF MANGUP

At the foot of Mangup plateau (fig. 1), on its southern side, in Almalyk-Dere ravine, there is a large cemetery covering the area about 9 hectares. It mainly consists of burial vaults, undercut graves and pit graves that were investigated in 1950s and 1980s. Since these graves were continuously plundered from 1990s onwards, regular protective excavations started in 1997 within the framework of the Mangup Expedition of the Historic Faculty

of the Taurida National University supervised by Aleksandr Gertsen.

The studies of the cemetery were headed by the Expedition members Sergey Chernysh and Sergey Lukin. The results of the researches have been treated as a part of the international project under the supervision of the Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum (Roman-Germanic Central Museum) in Mainz.



Fig. 1. Mangup viewed from the south

There are three more cemeteries located west of Almalyk-Dere: Yuzhnoye I, Yuzhnoye II and Adym-Chokrak — they date from the sixth to eighth century and are partly investigated by the same team.

By the moment, the excavations of Almalyk-Dere cemetery uncovered 75 burial vaults including one vault with steps, 19 undercut graves and six pit

graves, two cremations and two horse burials; there are also graves unexcavated but located by geodesic methods.

The most popular form of grave is vault consisting of vertical, two or three metres long *dromos* with a few steps leading to rectangular or trapezium burial chamber 2x3 m and up to 0.7 m high

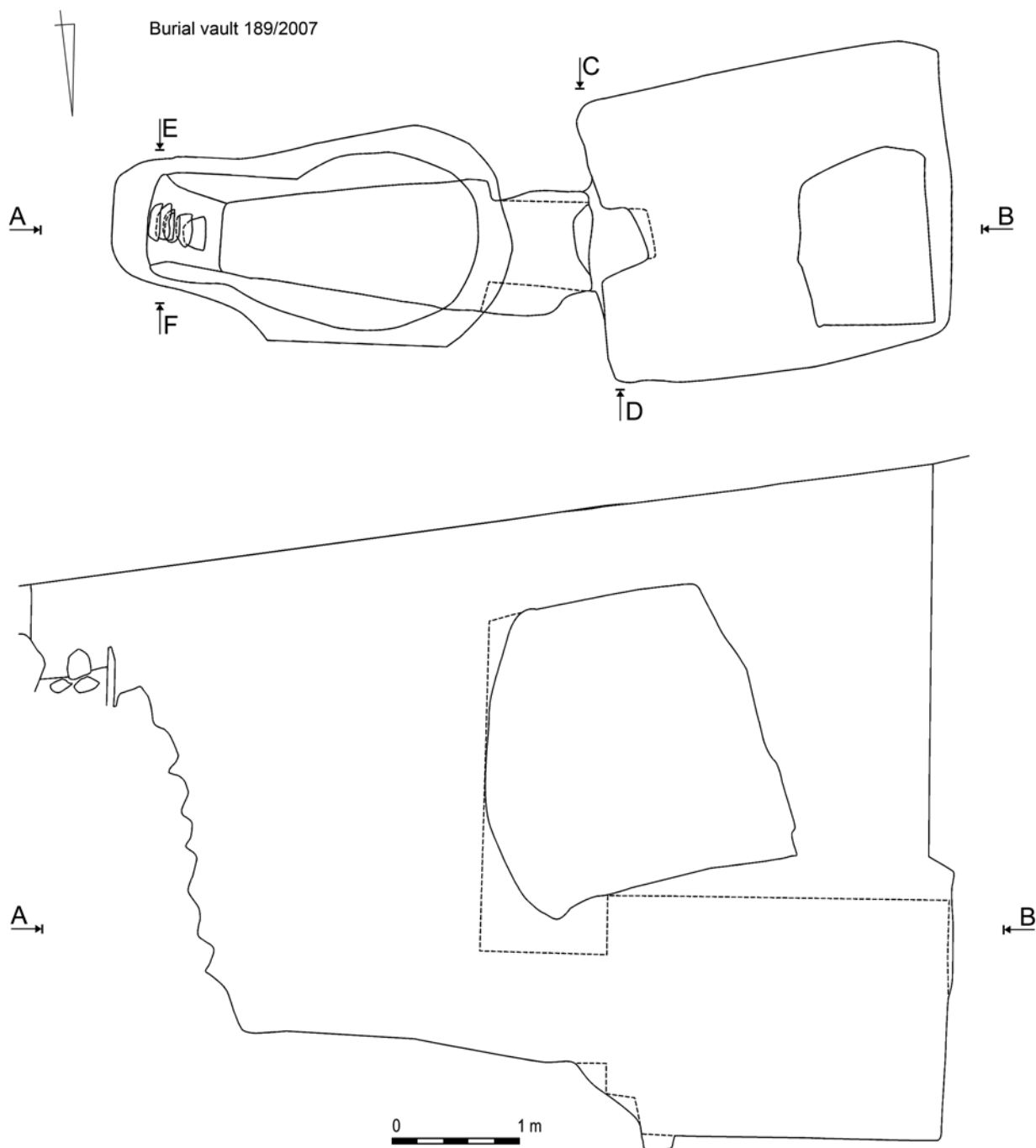


Fig. 2. Almalyk-Dere

(fig. 2–4). Everything was dug into hard clayey soil. The entrance to the chamber was covered with one or few stone slabs; back wall of the chamber often had niches for lamps or torches (fig. 5). Several vaults had symbol of cross carved into the back wall or near the entrance to the chamber which is the prove that the dead were Christians. Burial chambers contained several skeletons each, up to

nine persons in a grave. In most cases, they were disturbed, so bones were scattered. There were only a few cases when it was possible to determine the orientation of a skeleton with the head to east or west. Such a preservation of skeletons is the result of modern plunders, as well as of almost all the burials were looted and then covered with soil in ancient times. Most burial assemblages could not

Burial vault 189/2007

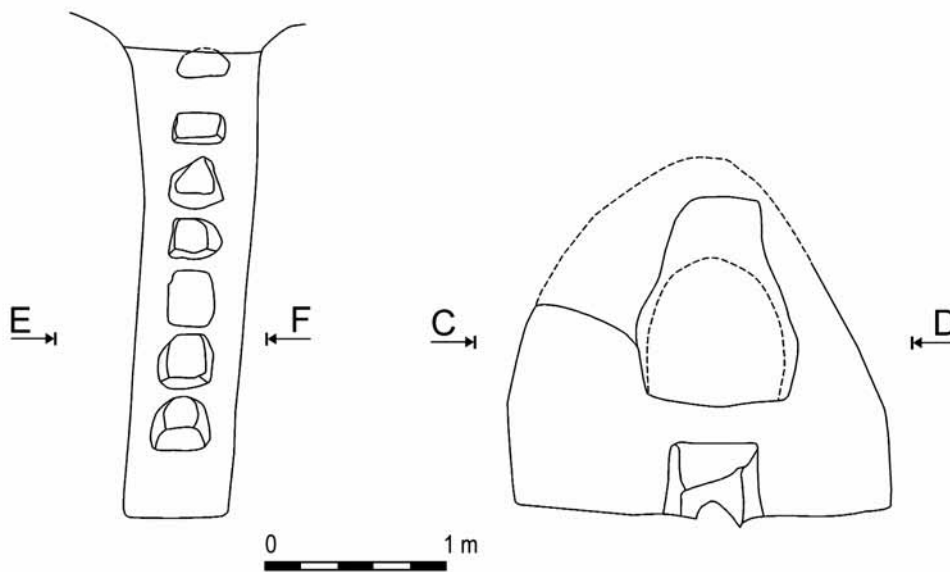


Fig. 3. Almalyk-Dere

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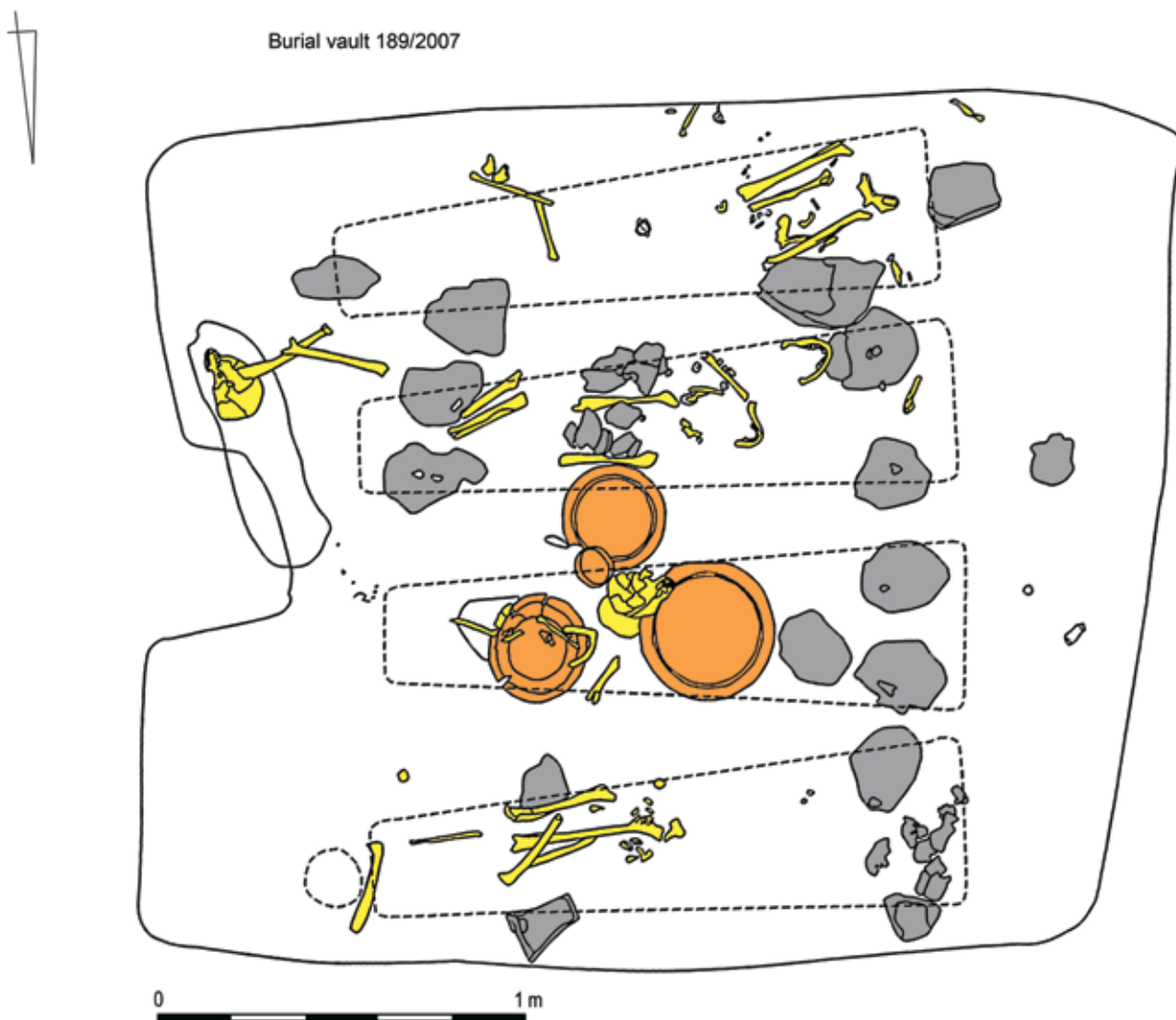


Fig. 4. Almalyk-Dere



Fig. 5. Almalyk-Dere

Undercut grave 1/1998

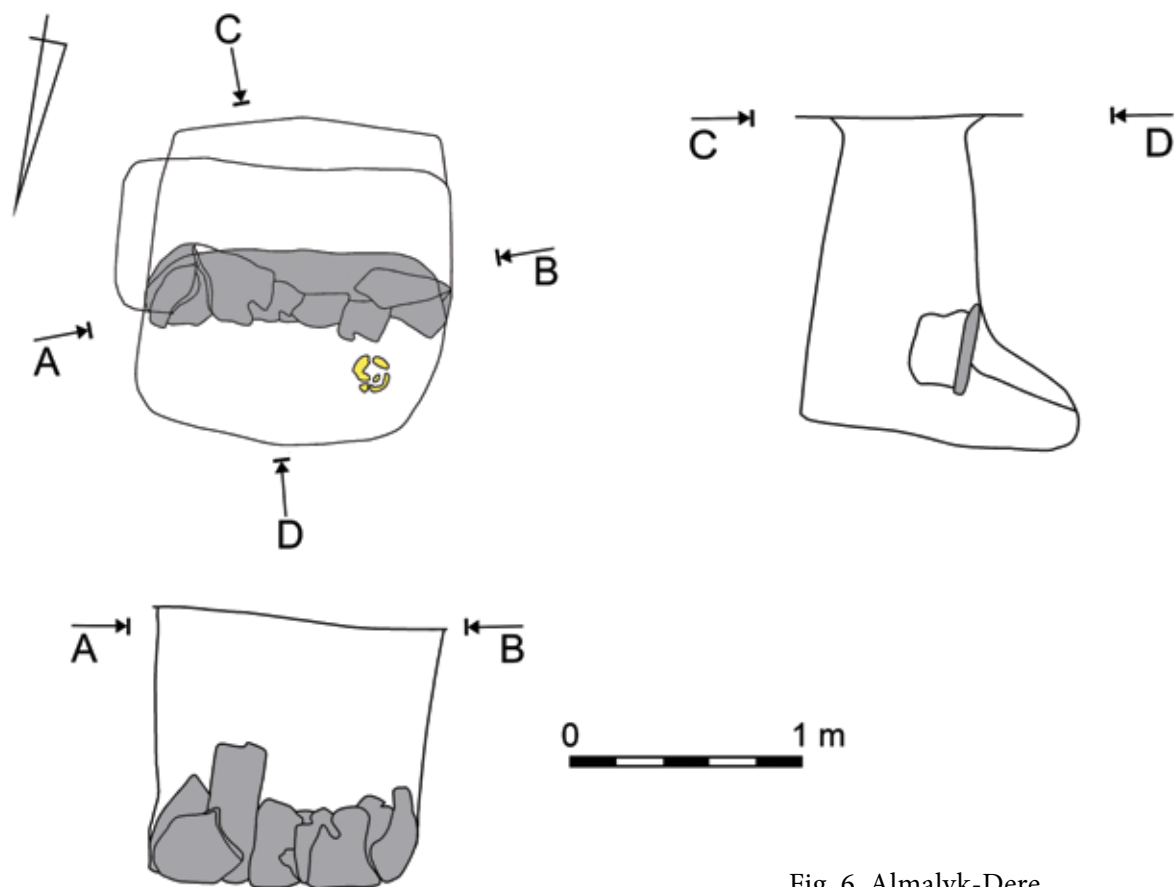


Fig. 6. Almalyk-Dere

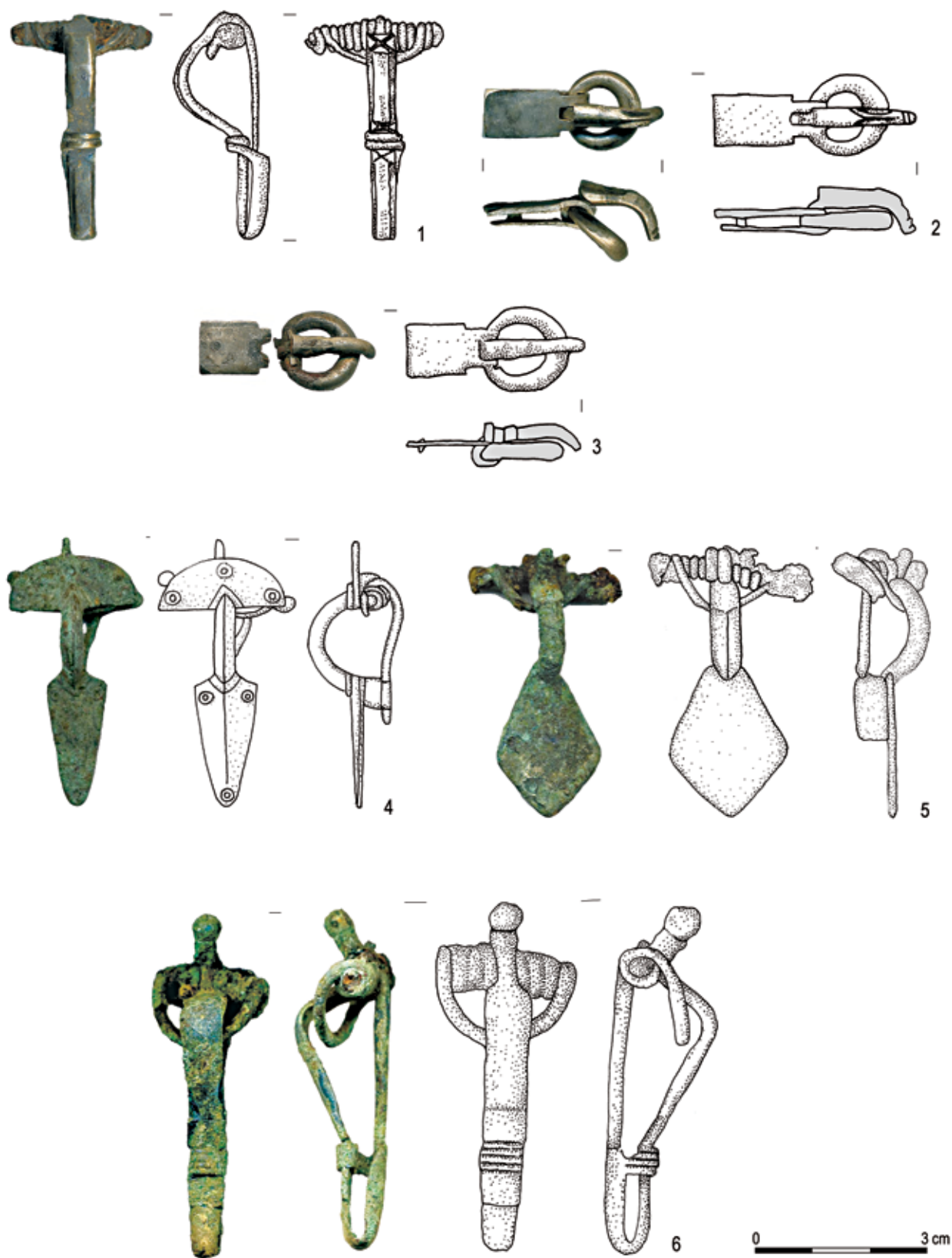


Fig. 7. Almalıy-Dere

be reconstructed: grave goods laid without order in burial chambers, ancient or modern plunderer's pits, as well as in *dromoi*.

Despite of such a situation, the finds overlooked by the robbers together with the construction of graves allow us to draw rather interesting conclusions regarding the chronology and ethnicity.

Undercut graves were reached through the entrance pit (fig. 6). Vaults had the burial chamber as a large niche up to 0.7 m high. Pit graves were simply pits usually containing burials of children without grave goods or accompanied only with fragments of pottery. Entrance pits of undercut graves contained horse burials, also without goods. The only cremation was a circular pit about 60 cm in diameter containing cremated human bones and charcoal.

Almalyk-Dere is one of Crimean cemeteries with burials of the Germanics (Goths). The first cemetery of the type was investigated in 1903–1905 at Suuk-Su, near Gurzuf (Репников 1906; 1907). Goods of Germanic type regularly appeared in the excavations of Chersonesos from the late nineteenth century onwards (Якобсон 1959). It was 1877 when the cemetery with cremations was discovered on the side of Chatyr-Dag, the second-highest mountain in the Crimea (Мыц и др. 2006). Individual finds were known in Kerch vaults from the mid-nineteenth century, and in 1904 Vladislav Shkorpil excavated the cemetery on the north side of Mitridat hill in Kerch with 36 vaults and 18 pit graves dated to the period from the late fourth to the early seventh century. In the same year, two richest graves were uncovered; they are known as “24.06.1904 vaults” (Засецкая 1993, с. 23).

Studies of the fourth to seventh century cemeteries in the south-west Crimea became more and more intensive starting from 1940s and culminated with Aleksandr Aibabin's and Elzara Khairedinova's research in Luchistoye (Кропоткин 1958, 1965; Веймарн 1963; Лобода 1976, 2005; Веймарн, Айбабин 1993; Высотская 1998; Айбабин, Хайрединова 1998, 2001, 2001a, 2008; Аjbabin, Chajredinova 2009; Aibabin, Khairedinova 1999; 2000; 2001). This cemetery is extraordinary important because it was not plundered, and the finds are located *in situ*, as layers of burials of skeletons and grave goods. The cemetery was used from ca. 400 AD to the eighteenth century; the number of the first half of the fifth century assemblages is very small.

The situation of Almalyk-Dere is different: the most early part of the cemetery dating from the fourth and fifth centuries has been investigated better than others; despite of the incompleteness of grave goods, it opens interesting perspectives to study Germanic migration into the Crimea and its connection to the Chernyakhov culture.

Two vaults and undercut grave (65/1998, 18/2004, 189/2007) contained fibulae A 162 (fig. 7.1), that belonged to main forms in the Chernyakhov culture (Кравченко 1967, табл. 9; Магомедов 2001, с. 66). They have wide back dating from phase C3, the latest in this culture (Гороховский 1988). Oval and circular buckles with thickened frame (fig. 7. 2–3) of Renata Madyda-Legutko's type H 11–17, 26–29 date from phase D1 (Madyda-Legutko 1986, S. 61, Taf. 19–20). There are fragments of glass beaker Eggers 230 (Kowalk type) discovered separately in 2008; this vessel typical to phases C3 and D1; such beakers mainly concentrate in the area of the Chernyakhov — Sântana de Mureş cultures (Rau 1972, S. 124; Werner 1988, S. 258, Abb. 12; Щербакова, Щукин 1986, с. 193; Gomolka-Fuchs 1999, S. 137). Brooch A VI 2 with rhombic foot-plate from vault 158/2003 dates from phase C3/D1; this form is often in the final stage of the Chernyakhov culture (fig. 7. 5). Fibula with returned foot with knob on its head and plated fastening of receiver from vault 2/2001 (fig. 7. 6) and few small radiate-headed brooches (fig. 7. 4) of the type Villafontana / Ambroz I-6a date from phase D1 (Гавритухин 2007, с. 21, рис. 11; Амброз 1966, с. 83, табл. 13. 11; Bierbrauer 1980, S. 13). The same horizon (or sometimes phase D2) is also represented by silver and bronze buckles with tongues terminating with beast's head or undecorated (fig. 8. 1–2); they are also known in burials with nomadic elements (Tejral 1997, Abb. 17. 9, 11, 13–15; Gercen, Mączyńska 2000, S. 528). Next finds representing phase D1 include fragments of glass vessels with blue drops (fig. 9) of the type Sorokina IB or II, or Zasetskaya IB-a or IIIA1 (Сорокина 1971, с. 90 рис. 1. 8; 1972, с. 72, 74, рис. 2; Засецкая 2008, с. 8 слл., рис. 2. 6).

Hence, phase D1 is well represented in Almalyk-Dere; it is especially interesting because three neighbouring cemeteries at the foot of Mangup were established much later and do not have earlier materials.

Vault 65/1998 seemingly contained three burials from phase D1; there were three circular brooches of gold foil on bronze backing, with

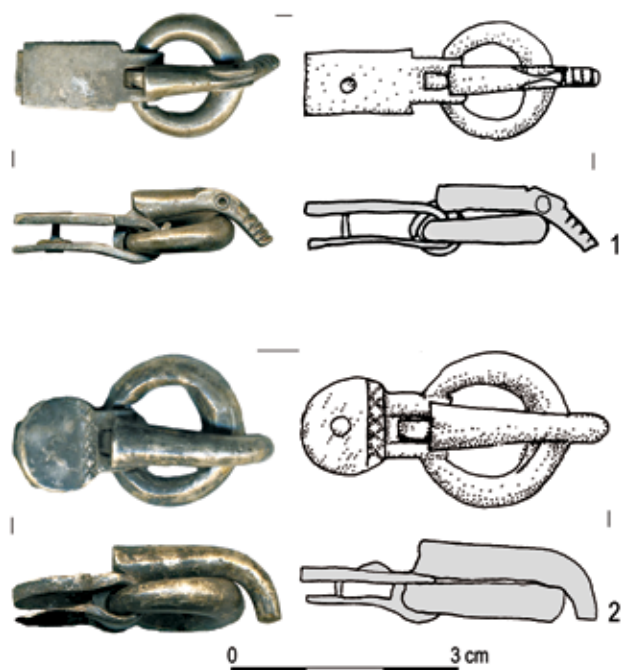


Fig. 8. Almalıy-Dere

Carnelian and amber insets (fig. 10. 1–2). Brooches with such decorations are known in the North Caucasus (Абрамова 1997, с. 76 сл., рис. 32. 1; 57. 4–5, 10–11); in the Crimea, they were in vault 9 in Hospital'naya street in Kerch and vault 126 in Luchistoye (Засецкая 1993, кат. № 246, табл. 50. 246; Айбабин, Хайрединова 2008, с. 49 рис. 26:2; Айбабин, Чайрединова 2009, Abb. 26. 2).

Several graves contained jugs of transparent light-green glass, of Irina Zasetzkaya's groups II and III (Засецкая 2008, с. 39, табл. 10. 12); they date from the late fourth or first half of the fifth century (fig. 10. 3–4).

Glass bowl from vault 2/1996 with circular polishing, engraved ornamentation and colour appliques (fig. 11) finds analogies in Koln, Kaiseraugusta, Aquileia, Pannonia, Tanais and, first of all, in Dura-Europus (Fremersdorf 1967, S. 16 f., Taf. 106–107; Rütli 1991, Taf. 60. 1333–1336; 61. 1338–1339, 1346; Paolucci 1997, p. 119 f.; Barkóczy 1988, Kat. 39, 41, 42; Ivachenko 1995, fig. 1; Clairmont 1963, pl. 26). Roman glass with circular polishing dates from the third to the late sixth century; in the Pontic area, it is an indicator of Oriental trade (Barkóczy 1988, S. 64).

It seems to me that all the glassware in Almalıy-Dere is of Oriental origin. Excavations in the Crimea and Taman peninsula uncovered several glass-making kilns dated from the fifth and first half of the sixth century (Ivachenko, 1995; Голофаст 2001, с. 104–107).

Vault 189/2007 contained four burials, one containing two silver insect brooches (fig. 12); this form is close to Middle Danube brooches of Steinmandl type (Szameit 1997, 240, Taf. 5. 4), Jaroslav Tejral (2008, S. 258, Abb. 5. 8; 9) dates them to the period of Hilderic, that is the beginning of Early Mediaeval period (460–480 AD). Most probably, they were also made in the Middle Danube area. In



Fig. 9. Almalıy-Dere



Fig. 10. Almalyk-Dere



Reconstruction

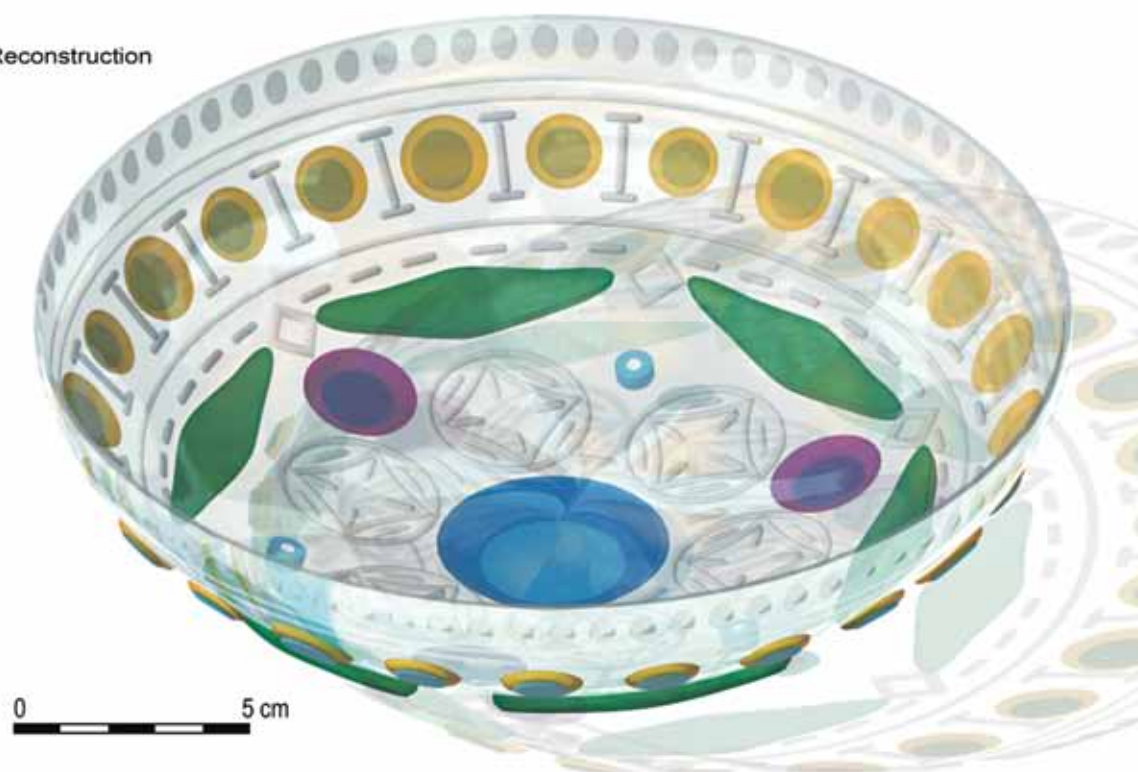


Fig. 11. Almalyk-Dere

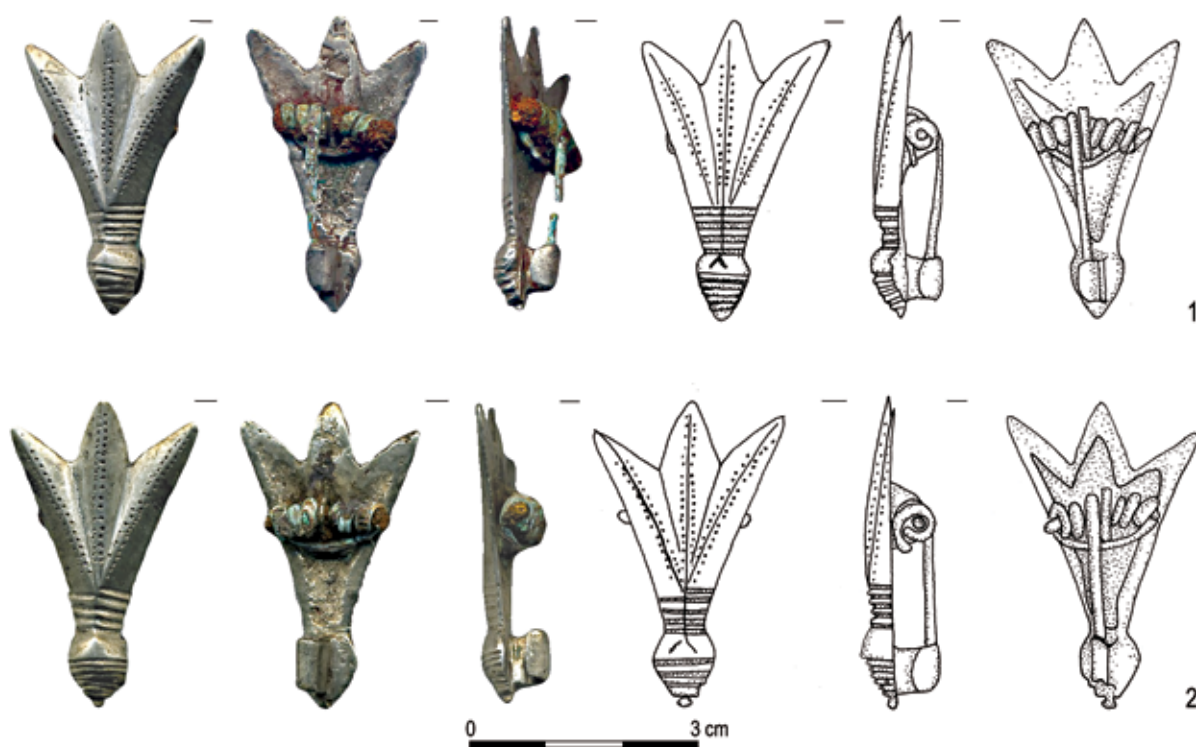


Fig. 12. Almalyk-Dere

the same vault, there were gold *lunulae* and tubular pendants (fig. 13. 1–14) laying near the head — a rare case when such finds are discovered *in situ*. Such head and neck ornaments (see also: fig. 13. 15–23) spread throughout Europe under the influence of the Alans in the Great Migration period to become an element of the “Danubian costume” of barbarian ladies in the Untersiebenbrunn horizon (Bierbrauer 1980, S. 138; Kazanski 1996, p. 117; 2009, p. 178, 202; Хайредино́ва 2002, с. 66, табл. 1; Schmauder 2002, S. 150; Kazanski, Mastykova 2003; Mączyńska 2005; Pilet 2007, p. 229). The best example is often-published gold diadem from vault 82 in Luchistoye (Aibabine, Khairédinova 1997, p. 28; cat. 94; Werner 1999, Abb. 155; Хайредино́ва 2002, с. 68, 92). Gold sewing badges (vault 2/1996) also find parallels in graves in Regöly and Airan/Moult from phase D2 (Mészáros 1970, kép 3, 13–15; Pilet 2007, pl. 1. 8).

Another form is triangular gold pendants: although they appear in a small hoard discovered in the citadel on the plateau (fig. 14), in a pit from the tenth or eleventh century; they are known in the Gotho-Alan graves (Guertsen 1997; Werner 1999, Kat. B 1. 4, Abb. 169; Хайредино́ва 2007, с. 171,

рис. 10. 1). This find supplies evidence that vaults were plundered and old goods were added to mediaeval hoards.

There are seven five-leaved pendants with ornament of masks (fig. 15. 1–7) originating from vault 99/2000. Although the only — and not very exact — analogy from the Crimea is pendants from two “24.06.1904 vaults” in Kerch (Gürçay Damm 1988, Kat. 98, 175, Abb. 2, 178); there is very close analogy from Brangstrup in Funen, from a hoard or offering hidden in the mid-fourth century (Alföldi 1934, Taf. 10. 2; Werner 1988, S. 269, Abb. 18. 12). Mediterranean nature of these ornaments is beyond any doubt.

In the same vault, but not clear whether in the same burial, there were two gilt buckles decorated in cloisonné style and with garnet insets (fig. 16). Similar buckles were in two “24.06.1904” burials in Kerch with the finds from phases D1 and D2 (Засе́цкая 1993, № 103а, табл. 26. 103а).

In two vaults (191 and 192/2007), there were three white-metal buckles with grooved rectangular plate (fig. 17. 2). They are Mediterranean, dating from the mid-fifth to mid-sixth century (Айбабин 1990, с. 36 слл., табл. 37. 5, 9, 11–12; Kazanski

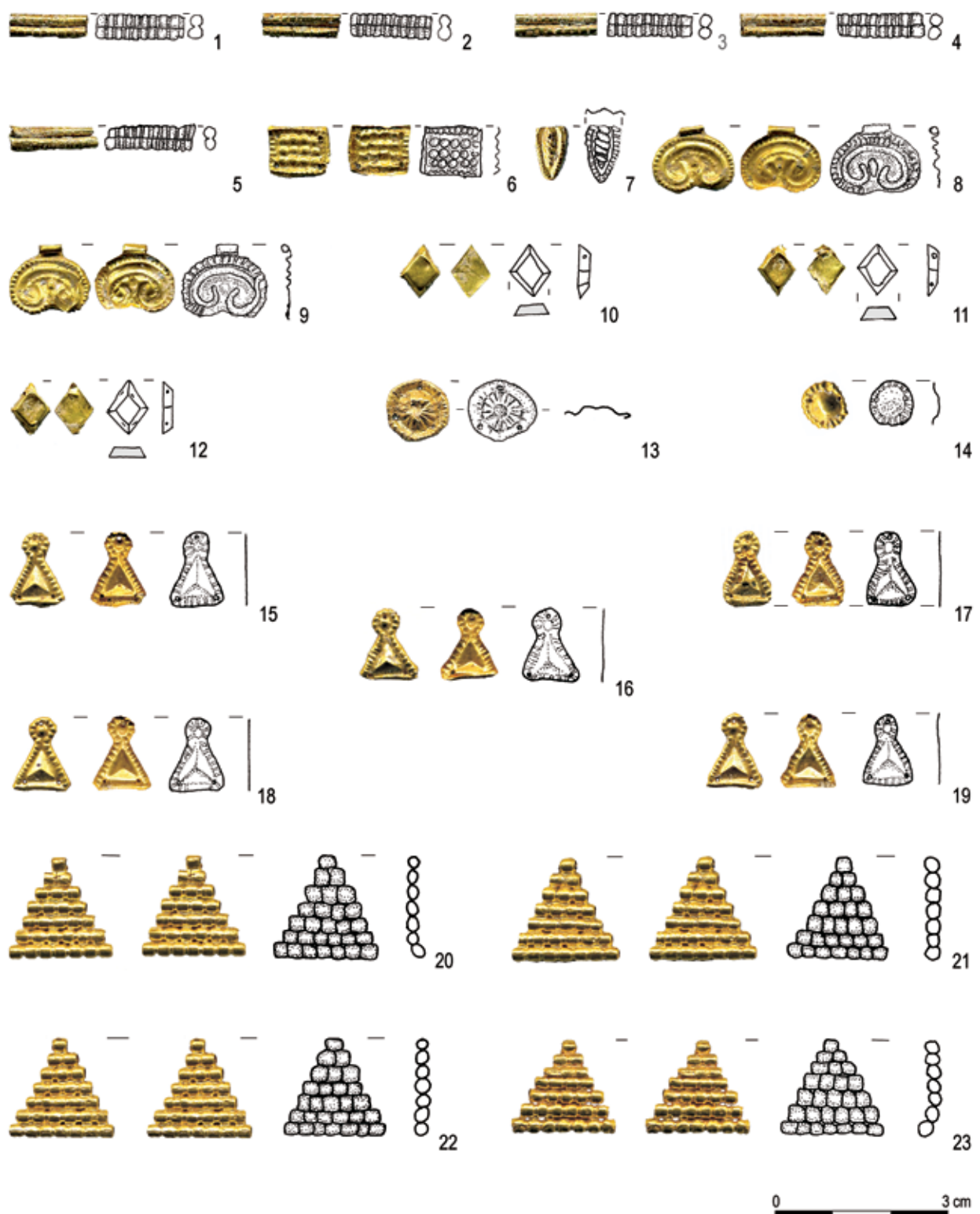


Fig. 13. Almalıyık-Dere



Fig. 14. Hoard from Mangup plateau (Guertsen 1997)

1994, p. 163 f.), or, according to Karl von der Lohe (1995, S. 99), who calls them Callatis type, from the first half to about the middle of the fifth century. Two buckles from vault 192/2007 with cross ornament are of the same origin (fig. 17. 3). Both belong to Aibabin's variant 5-1 (Айбабин 1990, с. 31, рис. 28. 1) and date from the second half of the sixth or early seventh century (Айбабин 1999, табл. 28. 8, 12).

Nomadic elements consist of fragments of four metal mirrors (fig. 17. 1) of Bodo Anke's types I (Čmi-Brigetio) and IV (Anke 1998, S. 18 ff., 36f.). Two burials with these mirrors contained bone plates of composite bows, several triangular arrowheads, and iron horse-bits with brass rings that appear in Hunnic graves. Several burials also contained deformed skulls.

As for the weapons, there is small number of them excavated in Almalyk-Dere. Long double-edged swords with handle appear more frequently than others. In vault 171/2004, there was such sword in individual niche in the north wall of the burial chamber, with large amber bead near its handle. Such words are known in the Crimea in assemblages from phase D1 (Айбабин, Хайрединова 1998, с. 295 слл., табл. 17. 1, 4, 8).

Among the finds from illegal "excavations" that later appeared in Simferopol museum, there is silver eagle-headed buckle (fig. 18. 1) of Aibabin's variant 3 (Айбабин 1990, с. 33, рис. 32. 2). There were two such buckles in Luchistoye, vault 10, burials 12 and 13, in the layer from the second quarter of the seventh century (Айбабин, Чайрединова 2009, S. 32, Abb. 17. 1). In the

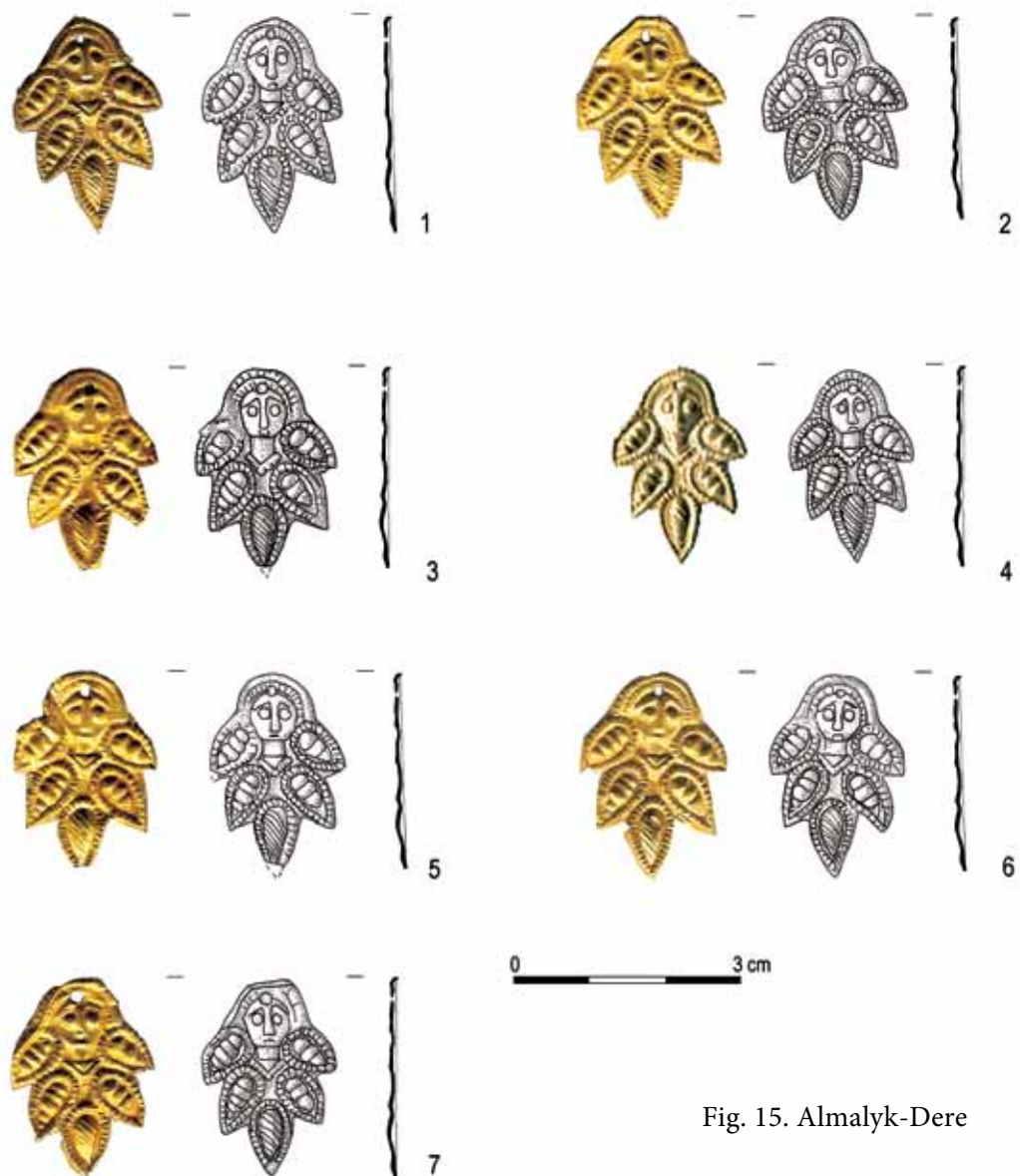
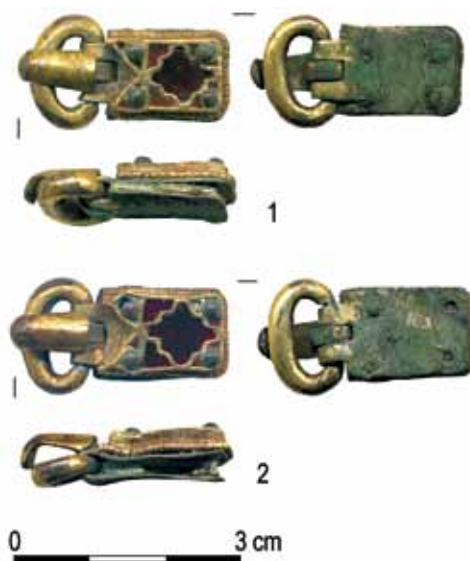


Fig. 15. Almalıy-Dere

Fig. 16. Almalıy-Dere



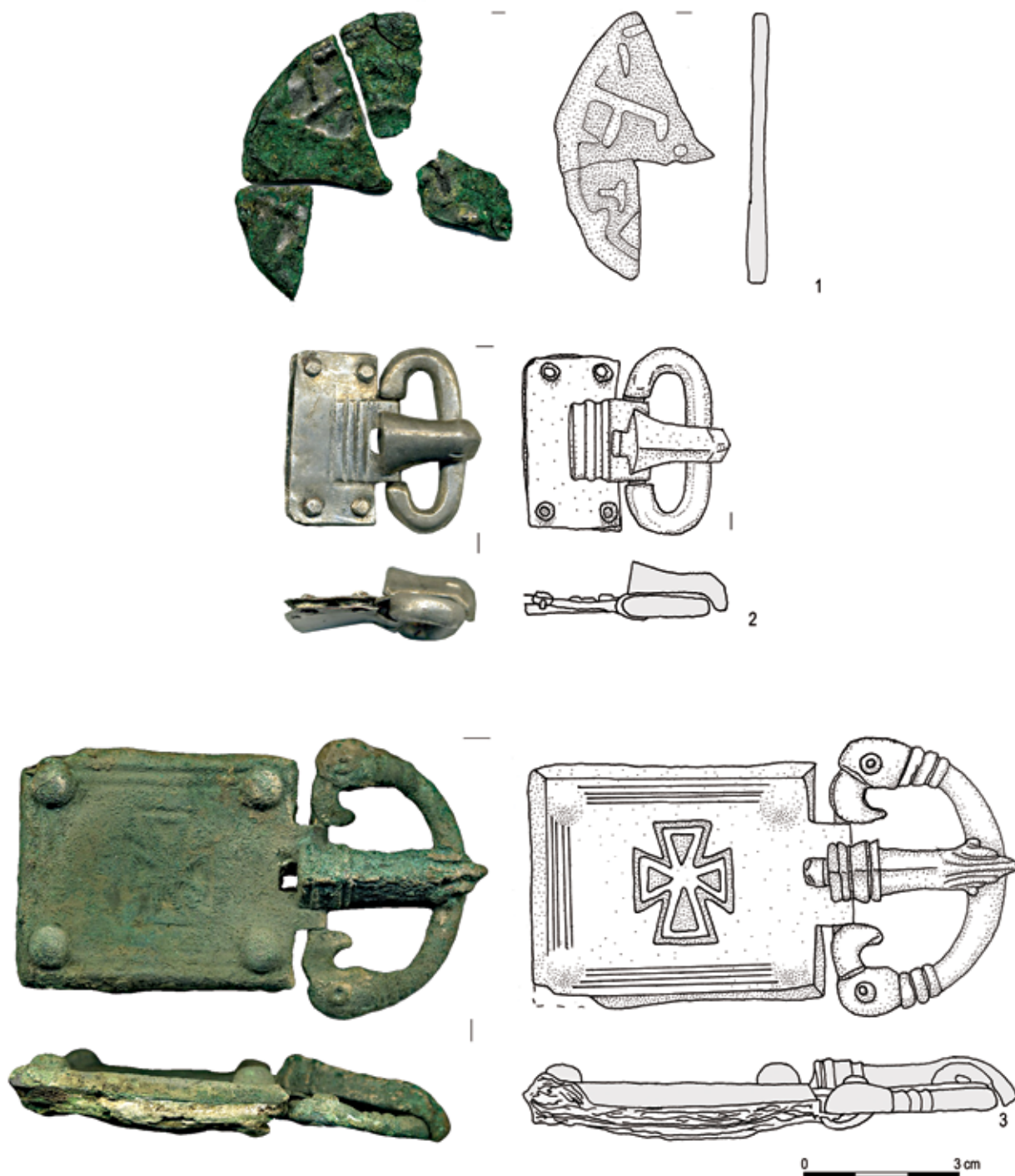


Fig. 17. Almalyk-Dere

Crimea, eagle-headed buckles were used by Alanic and Gothic women (Хайредино́ва 2000, с. 110). In the same collection, there are two bronze brooches of the Dnieper type (fig. 18. 2–3) that find analogies in vault 38 of Luchistoye and date from the seventh century (Ajbabin, Chajredinova 2009, S. 36, Abb. 19).

Excavation of two vaults, 78/1999 and 177/2005, uncovered silver belt appliques of heraldic style, one with openwork ornamentation of Sucidava type (fig. 19. 1) and few more with linear ornamentation (fig. 19. 2–5). These multi-piece belt-sets existed in the Mediterranean area in the late sixth and first half of the seventh century (Schmauder



Fig. 18. Almalıy-Dere

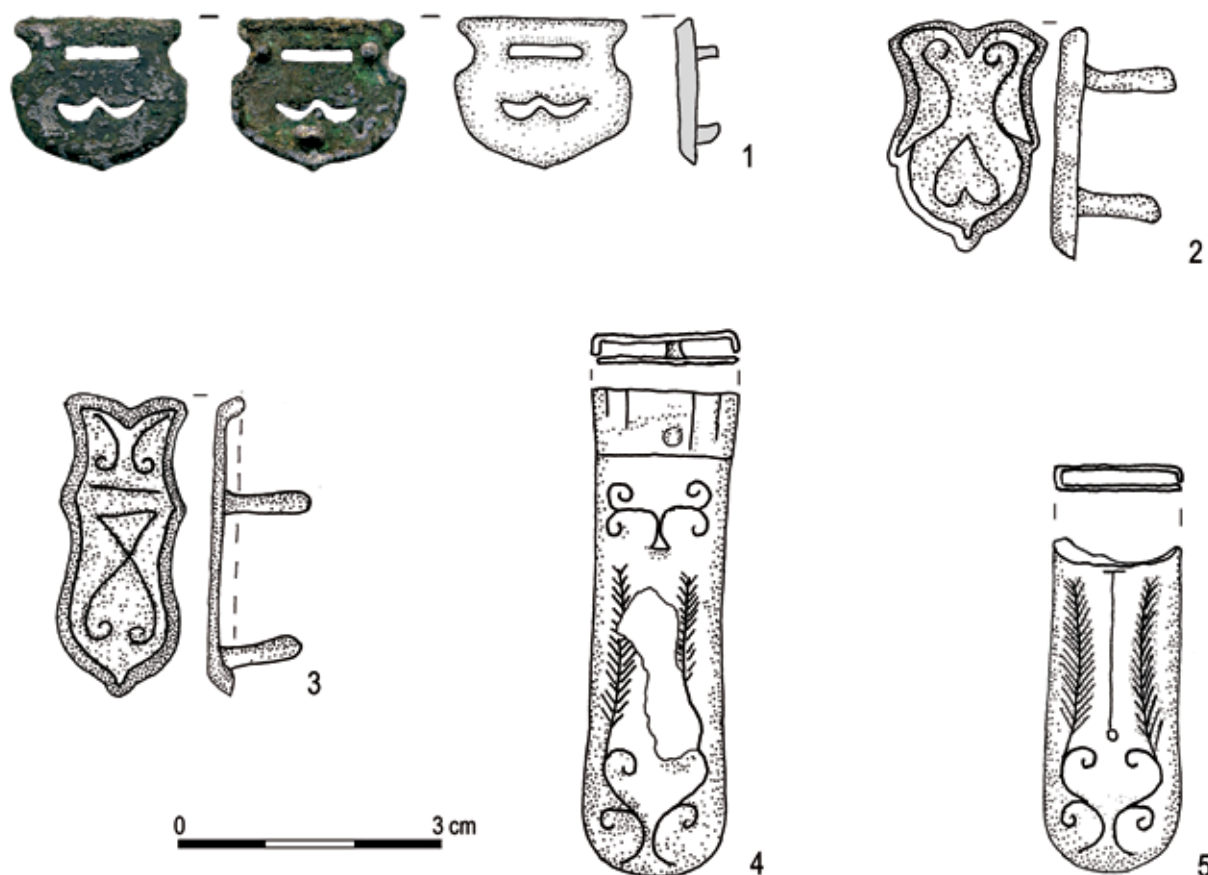


Fig. 19. Almalyk-Dere

2000, S. 17; Garám 2001, S. 124; Schulze-Dörlamm 2009a, S. 265). According to Aibabin, in the Crimea they were used throughout the seventh century (Айбабин 1990, с. 57).

Almost every grave in Almalyk-Dere contained complete vessels or fragments of imported amphorae and red slip ware (Pontic Red Slip Ware and Late Roman C) (fig. 20). This ware has been investigated by Oľga Ivanova (Иванова 2009); for now, we just would like to mention that these amphorae originate from Bosphoros, Sinope, Chios, Colchis and Herakleia Pontika, though red slip jugs are of Asia Minor, Greek and African origin. Imported ceramic ware dates from the early or mid-fourth to seventh century.

Main forms of hand-made ceramic ware are bowls, handled cups and jugs (fig. 21). There are several jugs (fig. 22) related to Chernyakhov ceramic ware (Магомедов 2001, с. 45 слл.; 51 слл., табл. 26. 1–10; 42–46).

Sarmatians settled amidst the Late Scythian population in the Crimean foothills from the first to the mid-third century. They established new cemeteries like Druzhnoye, Neyzats, Ozyornoye III, Suvorovo, Inkerman, Chernorechenskiy and others, firstly with pit and undercut graves, later with vaults. It was the first half of the third century when graves with no connection to Late Scythian or Sarmatian tradition appeared in those cemeteries. These were vaults with analogies in the North Caucasus; they have been attributed to the Alans, who found the way to the Crimea after it was open by the invasion of the Goths to Cimmerian Bosphoros (Айбабин, Герцен, Храпунов 1993, с. 214; Храпунов 1996; Храпунов 2002, с. 78; Айбабин 1999а, с. 14). Cemeteries of Alanic type were most widely used in the fourth century. In the end of this century, when the Huns came to the Crimea, the Alans moved to



Fig. 20. Almylyk-Dere

the Crimean mountains and established new cemeteries there, such as Luchistoye, Skalistoye, Bakla, Sakharnaya Golovka.

From the mid-third century onwards, two groups of cemeteries with cremations appeared in the south-west Crimea: first of Inkerman-Ozyornoye type, second of Ay-Todor-Chatyr-Dag type (Пиоро 1999; Мыц и др. 2006, с. 176 сл.;

Казанский 2006, с. 26 сл.). According to Michel Kazanski, the first group consisted of Sarmatian-Alan population and the Germanics from the area of the Wielbark, Przeworsk and Chernyakhov cultures, though the second group demonstrated south Scandinavian features, such as cremations in stone cists and sickles and weapons similar to Scandinavian ones used as grave goods.



Fig. 21. Almalyk-Dere



Fig. 22. Almalyk-Dere

When the Romans evacuated their garrisons from the south-west Crimea, Charax, Al'ma-Kermen and possibly Bosporos in 240s, the Germanics used this situation and started their migration towards Bosporos, where Germanic elite burials appeared first in Kerch and later in other Bosporan towns (Засецкая 1993, с. 35; Айбабин 1999, с. 32, 57; 1999a).

Against this background, Almalyk-Dere looks like a cemetery established before the Hunnic invasion of the late fourth century, similarly to the cemetery of Krasnyy Mak located nearby. The most

interesting is the earliest stage of Almalyk-Dere with numerous elements from phases C3 and D1, such as fibulae and brooches of Chernyakhov style, buckles with thickened circular frame and tongue in the form of beast's head, and Eggers 230 beaker. Elements of Chernyakhov type are also known in other Crimean cemeteries like Luchistoye, Skalistoye, Suvorovo, and others (Kazanski 2009, p. 229), thus underlining the participation of Gothic population, though the finds of nomadic style should be related to the Alans (Айбабин 1999, с. 16, 61).

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Магдалена МОНЧИНЬСКАЯ, Агнешка УРБАНИЯК, Иренеуш ЯКУБЧИК

Раннесредневековый могильник Алмалык-Дере у подножия Мангупа

Резюме

У подножия плато Мангуп (рис. 1), на южном склоне, в балке Алмалык-Дере расположен большой могильник площадью около 9 га. Состоит он, в основном, из катакомбных погребений, склепов и подбойных могил, исследованных в 50-х и 80-х годах XX века. Поскольку с 90-х годов погребения систематически грабили, с 1997 г. были предприняты регулярные охранные исследования в рамках Мангупской экспедиции Таврического национального университета под руководством А. Г. Герцена.

Руководство исследований на могильнике осуществляли её сотрудники Сергей Черныш и Сергей Лукин. Обработка результатов исследований является частью международного проекта, которым руководит Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum в Майнце.

К настоящему времени на могильнике Алмалык-Дере исследовано 75 склепов, в том числе один со ступеньками, 19 подбойных могил и шесть грунтовых могил, две кремации и два конских погребения, остальные были локализованы геодезическими методами.

Почти все погребения были ограблены в древности или после начала 90-х годов XX в. По этой причине закрытых комплексов мало, но и те предметы, которые остались после грабежа, позволяют определить хронологию могильника.

Представляется, что могильник Алмалык-Дере возник ещё до нашествия гуннов в конце IV в., как и находящийся в нескольких километрах от него могильник Красный Мак. Особенно интересен самая ранний период могильника Алмалык-Дере с большим количеством находок, относящимся к фазам С3 и D1, например, фибулами черняховского типа, пряжками с округлой утолщённой рамкой и язычком в виде звериной головки, кубком Eggers 230. Элементы черняховского характера известны также на других крымских могильниках, таких как Лучистое, Скалистое, Суворово и т. д., что говорит об участии готского населения в их формировании. А вот находки кочевнического типа, такие как металлические зеркала, костяные накладки лука и трёхгранные наконечники стрел следует связать с аланами. VI – первой половиной VII в. датируются, кроме прочего, византийские пряжки, поясные накладки, украшенные линейным орнаментом, представляющие т. н. «геральдический стиль», орлиноголовая пряжка и фибулы днепровского типа.

Boris MAGOMEDOV

THE CHERNYAKHOV PEOPLE'S CONTACTS WITH SCANDINAVIA AND THE CRIMEA

The territory of the Chernyakhov culture (or, alternatively, Chernyakhiv — Sintana de Mures culture) is located between Scandinavia and the Crimea, so it naturally was a link between the populations of both areas. Goths were the main population of this culture. After the migration from South Sweden to Polish Pomerania about the turn of eras, this people survived a great ethnical change. It would be difficult to find Scandinavian elements of its material culture by the time when it started its further migration to Southeastern Europe. However, Gothic sagas kept the memory of forefathers' land as late as the sixth century (Jordanes *Getica* 25–26). This memory and closeness of languages resulted in the contacts between the peoples of distant areas remained for a long time.

Different researchers referred to archaeological accounts of the connection between these regions; it was 1988 when Joachim Werner summed up this data in his well-known paper, produced maps and analysed main categories of the artefacts common for the Chernyakhov culture and Scandinavia. They include glass beakers of Kowalk type (Eggers 230),¹ monster brooches, and iron combs (Werner 1988).² Similar connections are registered by the distribution of "Wohnstallhaus" buildings (Тиханова 1963, с. 182), runic inscriptions (Кухаренко 1980, с. 69, рис. 17) and some types of vessels (Магомедов 1997; 2001, с. 50).

Different categories of artefacts reveal different types of interregional connections. The appearance of north-west types of ceramics, combs, brooches, long houses, and possibly runes in the area of the Chernyakhov culture dates to phase C2. In Northern Europe, they concentrate in the territory of Denmark, especially in islands of Funen

and Zealand. Such artefacts are ethnic indicators; they usually appear at a new place in result of a migration (though luxurious monster brooches could be merchandises). Most scholars think that these persons were the Heruli who migrated from south Scandinavia to the Black Sea following the Goths and became their allies.

In phase C3, the direction of the connections changed to opposite: now it was related mainly to trade. Great number of faceted beakers, primarily Eggers 230 (Kowalk) came to the people of the Chernyakhov culture from the eastern provinces of the Roman empire, and thence, via intermediaries, moved to Scandinavia via (fig. 1). Scandinavia also received beakers from the western provinces. Beads possibly came to the North via the same trade routes. Faceted beakers are rare in the Crimea. There are Eggers 230 vessels from Druzhnoye and Neyzats (three pieces in the same burial vault); the finds of Druzhnoye include another beaker similar to 230, those of Neyzats — Eggers 230 beaker, of Suvorovo — Eggers 220/221 (Ganzkow), of Kerch — bottom of faceted beaker (Храпунов 2002, с. 57, рис. 71. 14, 181. 5; 2004, с. 303, рис. 5. 2; Храпунов 2008, р. 207–208, fig. 9. 1–3; Юрочкин, Труфанов 2007, с. 367–368, рис. 6. 21; Сорокина 1962, рис. 16. 5; Rau 1972, S. 129, Fig. 18). It is important to notice that the same sites have artefacts of Chernyakhov origin, and that the above-mentioned types of beakers were widespread in the Chernyakhov culture. Therefore, it is very likely that these beakers came to the Crimea from the area of that culture.

The set of gold amulet pendants from Romanovka cemetery in the Central Ukraine also dates to phase C3; Werner thinks that they were made

¹ This paper uses names of types of some artefacts according to following studies: Arsen'eva, Domzalski 2002; Eggers 1951; Rau 1972; Robinson 1959; Абрамов 1993; Амброз 1966; Зеест 1960; Шелов 1978.

² For the distribution of other types of faceted beakers see: Straume 1987, Karte 2, 4, 5, 8. Revised distribution maps of brooches and combs see at: Levada 2000; Левада 2006, рис. 1.

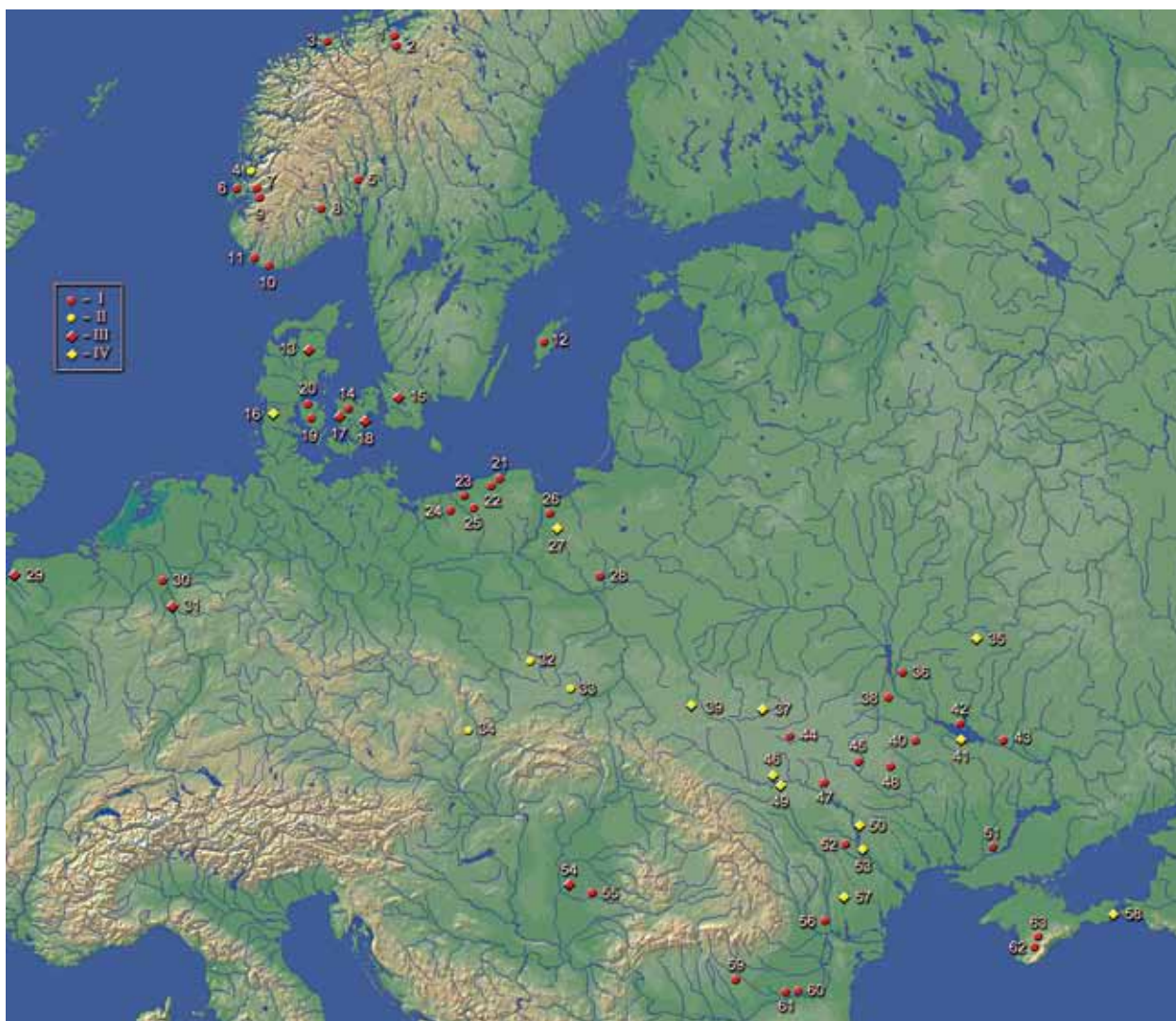


Fig. 1. Distribution of glass beakers of the type Eggers 230 (Kowalk) (Werner 1988, with amendments for the Crimea).

- 1 — Gimsan; 2 — Ven; 3 — Eide; 4 — Seminariet; 5 — Saetrang; 6 — Foyna; 7 — Vestly; 8 — Tveitane; 9 — Håland; 10 — Lunde; 11 — Skeime; 12 — Vallstenarum; 13 — Hvornum; 14 — Merløsegaard; 15 — Forestad; 16 — Dankirke; 17 — Ørslev; 18 — Strøby; 19 — Højrup; 20 — Tofte; 21 — Vietkow / Witkowo; 22 — Schwolow; 23 — Borkenhagen / Borkowice; 24 — Geiglitz / Iglice; 25 — Kowalk / Kowalki; 26 — Willenberg (Braunswalde) / Gościszewo; 27 — Bornitz / Bornice; 28 — Kleszewo; 29 — Étapes; 30 — Krefeld-Gellep; 31 — Köln; 32 — Opatów; 33 — Żabieniec; 34 — Kostolec na Hané; 35 — Chervonny Yar; 36 — Pereyaslav-Khmel'nitskiy; 37 — Lepesovka; 38 — Chernyakhov; 39 — Ripnev; 40 — Zhuravka; 41 — Les'ki; 42 — Zhovnino; 43 — Kompaniytsy; 44 — Gnatki; 45 — Kosanovo; 46 — Luka-Vrublevetskaya; 47 — Vily Yarugskiye; 48 — Ryzhavka; 49 — Komarov; 50 — Popencu; 51 — Nikolayevka (Kozatskoye); 52 — Budeşti; 53 — Delacau; 54 — Hódmezővásárhely; 55 — Seîtin; 56 — Lunca; 57 — Komrat; 58 — Kerch; 59 — Mogoşani; 60 — Alexandru Odobescu; 61 — Spanţov; 62 — Druzhnoye; 63 — Neyzats.
- I — inhumations, II — cremations, III — stray finds (burials?), IV — settlements

in the Black Sea workshops. There are barbarian copies of very similar pendants discovered in the hoard from Brangstrup (Funen island, Denmark) — it is dated by coins of Constantine II (335–337 AD) (fig. 2) (Werner 1988, S. 274–275).

This way, trade connections in direction from the Ukraine to Scandinavia are reflected by precious ornaments as well.

The connections between the people of the Chernyakhov culture and the Crimea differed

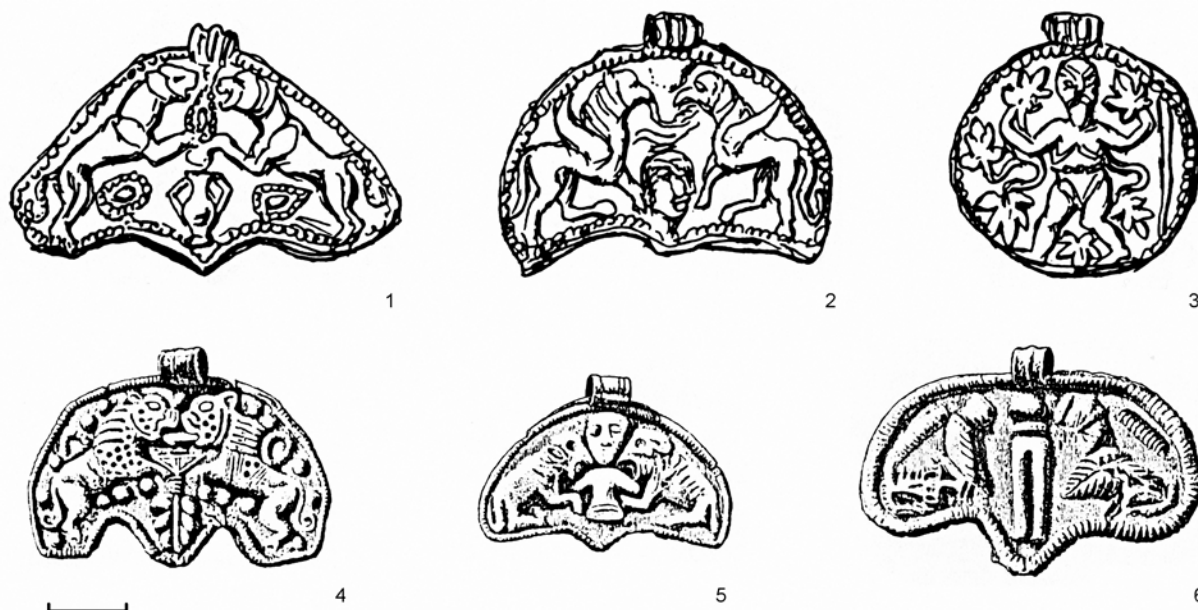


Fig. 2. Gold amulet pendants.

1–3 — Romanovka (Ukraine); 4–6 — Brangstrup (Denmark) (Werner 1988)

as well: they included migration of people from north to south and the movement of craft production in the opposite direction. Historical sources supply reliable account of the stay of Germanics in European Bosporos during the Gothic wars (256–268 AD sea campaigns) (Айбабин 1999). However, this short-term episode remains almost not revealed by the archaeological finds that date to a later period. Michel Kazanski has defined a group of finds from phase C1–C2 in the south-west Crimea, which he conventionally calls Wielbark-Przeworsk group (Казанский 2006, с. 27–28). It does not include assemblages that could be reliably dated to the early part of this stage only. It consists mainly of brooches, some ornaments, and jug in Chernyakhov style from Chernorechenskiy cemetery; they indicate that Chernyakhov migrants appeared in the region during phase C2 (260/270–310/330 AD).

Most of Chernyakhov materials in the Crimea date from phase C3 (310/330–360/370 AD). The only really Chernyakhov site in the peninsula is a slightly pronounced settlement of Genicheskaya Gorka in Arabatskaya spit in the place of traditional salt mining. In my opinion, this could be a seasonal occupation of traders from neighbouring Lower Dnieper area of the Chernyakhov culture (Магомедов, Кубишев 1994).

The finds of typical Chernyakhov artefacts in the south-west Crimea, as well as in Pantikapaion and other Bosporan places, supply evidence of migration of larger groups of Gothic population (Симонович 1975; Кропоткин 1978; Пиоро 1990, с. 99–103; 1999; Юрочкин 1999; Казанский 1999; 2006). There are wheel-made vessels (fig. 3), three-layered combs, bucket-shaped pendants, etc. The same group of goods also includes amber beads of Baltic type that penetrated to the south via the Chernyakhov areas. Such finds are mostly concentrated in the group of cemeteries in the southwest of the peninsula, which are usually united into the group of the “sites of Ozyornoye-Inkerman type” (cemeteries of Inkerman, Chernorechenskiy, Ozyornoye III, Sevastopol’skiy collective farm, Krasnaya Zarya, Suvorovo, and others). There is an idea that these sites appeared in result of the migration of the people of Rogozhkino type monuments, where Chernyakhov-style finds are recorded, from the northeast Maiotis (Юрочкин 1999, с. 265).³ However, it is known that these sites have Chernyakhov materials poorly presented, much poorer than in the Crimea. Therefore, there is more realistic hypothesis that the migrants originated from native Chernyakhov areas in Eastern Ukraine or the Lower Dnieper. The finds of Bosporian coins in the east of the Chernyakhov

³ Although Vladislav Yurochkin includes the above-mentioned Chernyakhov site of Genicheskaya Gorka to Rogozhkino type of sites (ibid, рис. 5Д), the finds discovered in it do not correspond to antiquities of the type.

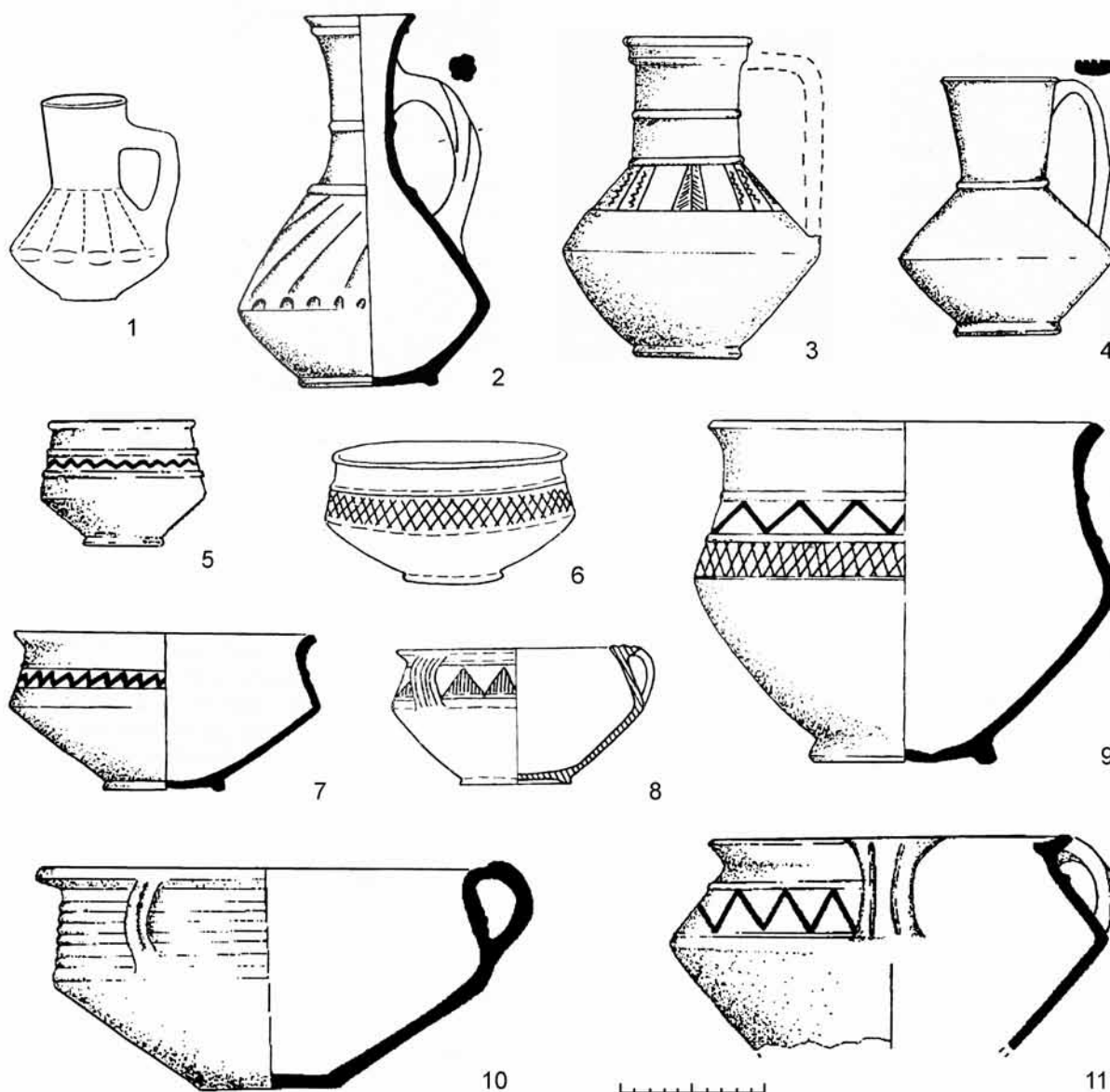


Fig. 3. Wheel-made vessels of Chernyakhov type from the Crimea.

1, 6 — Kerch; 2, 4–5 — Sevastopol'skiy collective farm; 3 — Chernorechenskiy; 7 — Tas-Tepe;
8 — Inkerman; 9 — Suvorovo; 10 — Ozyornoye III; 11 — Krasnaya Zarya
(1, 6, 8 — СИМОНОВИЧ 1975; 2–5, 7, 9–11 — ЮРОЧКИН 1999)

area confirm the connections between populations of these regions.

There are some materials indicating the inflow of Chernyakhov population into the east and southwest Crimea in the early Hunnic period (phase D1: 360/370–400/410 AD). It was the period of late forms of Thomas III combs and radiate-headed brooches Ambroz I (Казанский 1999, с. 278–280; 2006, с. 28–29). I will briefly repeat my observation of the chronology of these brooches related to Andrzej Kokowski's study on their mapping based on his own typology (Kokowski 1996; Магомедов

1999, с. 41; 2001, с. 68). Groups A and B include small brooches up to 60 mm long, mainly of bronze. They were spread through the entire Chernyakhov area except for Transilvania. Groups C, D and E include brooches of medium size of 60 cm or longer, mainly of silver. Great number of such brooches is discovered in the Dniester-Danube area of the Chernyakhov culture, only in six places in between of the Dnieper and the Dniester, though they are absent in Eastern Ukraine. Outside the Chernyakhov area, there are many brooches of C–D–E groups originating from the Crimea (fig. 4).

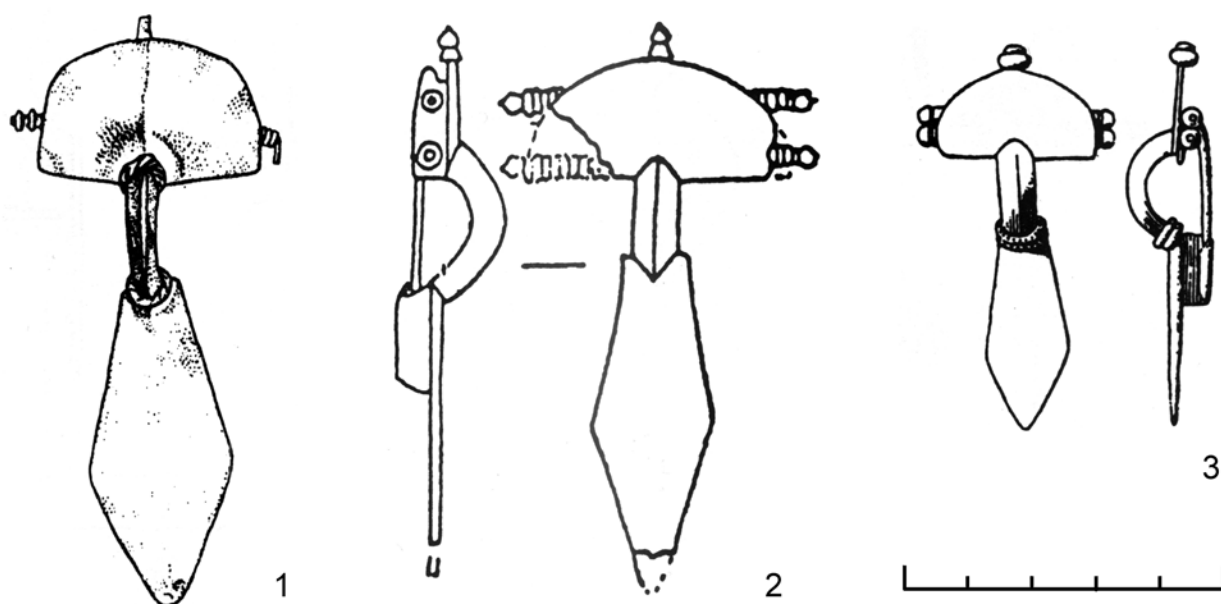


Fig. 4. Silver brooches of groups C–D–E.
1 — Skalistoye; 2 — Inkerman; 3 — Kerch (Kokowski 1996)

In my opinion, this geographic distribution of finds allows one to clarify their chronology⁴ against the reconstruction of history. Small brooches of groups A–B belong to late phase C3 and outline the area of the Goths on the eve of the invasion of the Huns. Larger specimens of groups C–D–E appeared in the early Hunnic period (phase D1). So it becomes clear why they are absent in the Eastern Ukraine where Chernyakhov population diminished greatly after the invasion of the Huns in 375 AD. The population of the Central Ukraine declined as well, and there are few such finds. In the west area and in the Black Sea, the Chernyakhov culture lasted longer; it spread into Transylvania in the Hunnic period only (where there is no small brooch of groups A–B).

The finds of Ambroz I brooches in the southwest and east Crimea are represented to most full extent in Kazanski's studies (Казанский 1999, рис. 4; 2006, рис. 5). He cites 38 specimens, about 80% of which corresponds to types C–D–E due to the size. If one accepts the chronology of the brooches proposed, one has to draw conclusion that, after the Huns' invasion into Eastern Europe, a part of Goths migrated from Chernyakhov regions to the Crimea bearing their ethnographic ornaments with them. Considerable predomination of late groups C–D–E

among these brooches allows one to infer that the new wave of migrants was bigger than the previous Gothic population of the Crimea.

This population probably brought fluted jugs of Chernyakhov type discovered in Kerch and in the cemetery of Sevastopol'skiy collective farm (fig. 3. 1–2) (Симонович 1975, рис. 1. 13; Стржелецкий и др. 2005, табл. 57. 28; Юрочкин 1999, рис. 4. 1). Their distribution allows one to reconstruct the directions of the migration of Chernyakhov population in early phase D1. In the previous period, they were typical of the Eastern Ukraine and the Middle Dnieper area, though in the Hunnic period they appeared mainly in Moldavia and Romania, as well as their small number was recorded in the Crimea (Магомедов 1999, с. 39–41).

Later on, in phase D2, the Crimea received some Germanic goods that were now not related to the Chernyakhov culture but typical of the Danube area.

Chernyakhov sites, especially those in between of estuaries of the Dnieper and the Dniester, contain artefacts that many scholars relate to workshops of Chersonesos. The largest group of them consists of tableware often covered with low-quality red slip: several types of jugs (fig. 5. 1–5), bowls, and beaker (Магомедов, Диденко

⁴ There are opinions that radiate-headed brooches of medium size appeared after 360 or 375 AD, that is Jaroslav Tejral's phase D1 or phase 5 of Yevgeniy Gorokhovskiy's Chernyakhov chronology (Tejral 1997, S. 329; Гороховский 1988, с. 44–45).

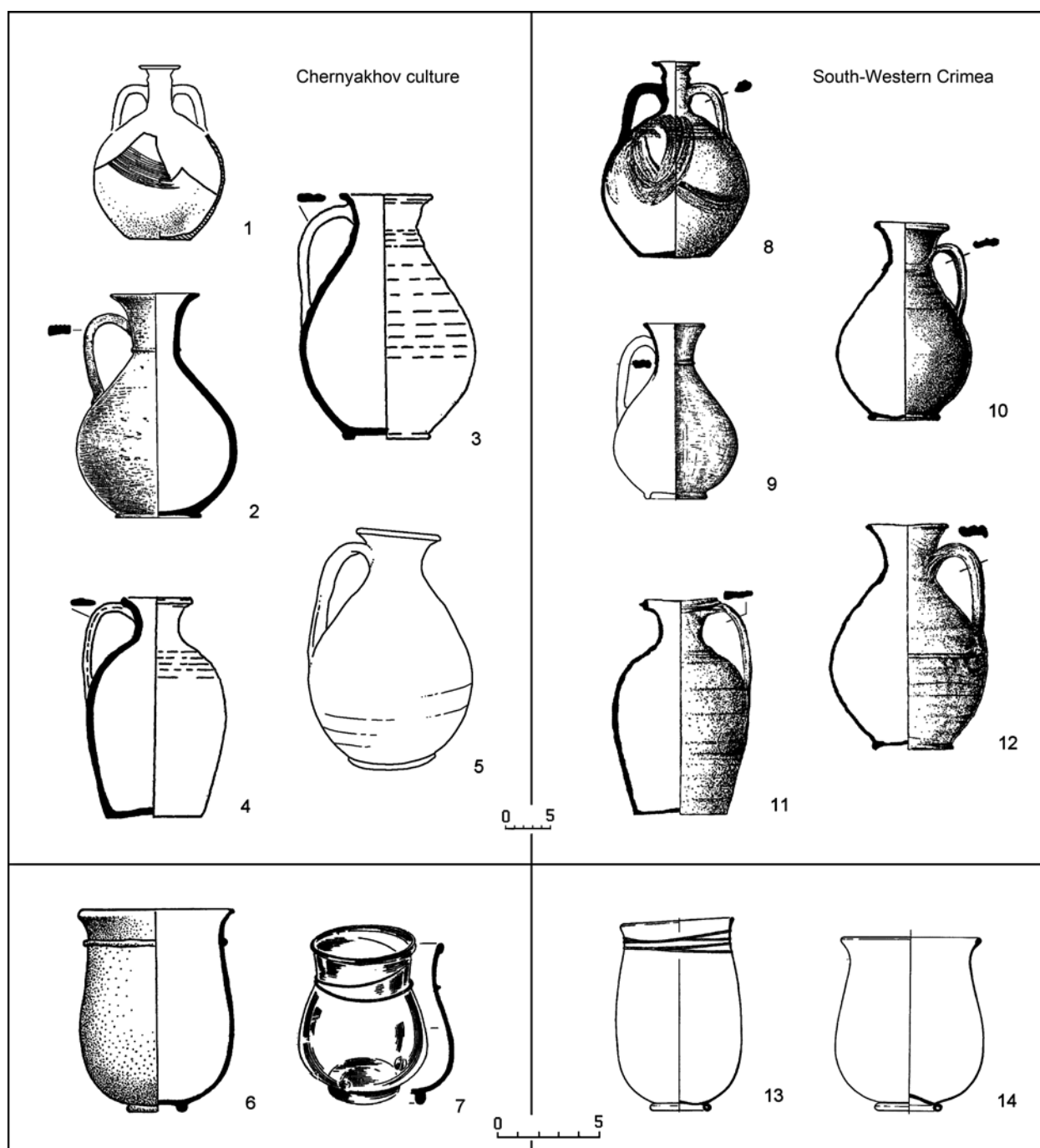


Fig. 5. Ceramic jugs (1-5, 8-12) and glass beakers (6-7, 13-14) allegedly made in Chersonesos. 1-7 — Chernyakhov culture; 8-14 — south-west Crimea. 1 — Kamenka-Anchekrak; 2 — Gavrilovka; 3 — Koblevo; 4 — Ranzhevoye; 5 — Belen'koye; 6 — Olbia; 7 — Dănceni; 8, 10-12 — Kilen-Balka; 9 — Chernorechenskiy; 13-14 — Druzhnoye. (1-5, 8-12 — Магомедов, Диденко 2009; 6 — Лейпунская 2006; 7 — Рафалович 1986; 13-14 — Храпунов 2002)

2009a, с. 342; Magomedov, Didenko, in print). Chersonesan production meets analogies in thin-walled glass beakers on ring-foot discovered from

Chernyakhov graves in Moldavian Dănceni⁵ and Olbia (fig. 5. 6-7) (Рафалович 1986, табл. XLV. 20; Лейпунская 2006, рис. 2. 1; Магомедов 2007,

⁵ Although the beaker from Dănceni was attributed to Eggers 239 (Шукин, Щербакова 1986, с. 192), its morphological features make it closer to Crimean finds.

c. 48), as well as in stamped lamp from Kamenka-Anchekrak (Магомедов 1987, с. 84–85, рис. 38. 4; 2004, рис. 16. 4). Almost all these finds have analogies in the cemeteries of Ozyornoye-Inkerman type (fig. 5. 8–14). If the aforementioned goods were produced in Chersonesos, one should agree that this city established rather active trade with Chernyakhov population, possibly with participation from their tribesmen of Ozyornoye-Inkerman monuments. Some Chernyakhov sites contain shards of amphorae of the type “burial 33 of Charax” (type Abramov 7.32–7.34) (Магомедов 2006, с. 53). If the hypothesis that they were made in Bosphorus is correct (Крапивина, Домжальский 2008, с. 75), one can also discuss the trade with the Bosporan kingdom.

Some products of farming and industry were imported from the eastern provinces both to the Chernyakhov area the Crimea, so they do not evidence the relations between these two regions. First of all, it is the case of transport amphorae from mainly south Pontic centres: Herakleian amphorae of types Shelov D, F, E and Sinopean of type Delacau (two variants of Zeyest 100 amphorae); amphorae from the Aegean area: types Robinson M.273 (“Yagnyatin”) and M.275–276, Zeyest 95

(Магомедов 2006). It also concerns Pontic Red Slip Ware from a still unknown centre: plates of the type Domžalski PRS form 1A and jugs of the type Kamenka-Anchekrak A (Магомедов, Диденко 2009, с. 327–328, 334–335). Besides that, the populations of the Chernyakhov culture and the Crimea imported beads of the same types.

Some scholars think that there was migration of the people of south Norwegian origin directly to the Crimea. This is based on specificity of burial rite in some cremation cemeteries: Charax, Chatyr-Dag, Verkhnyaya Oreanda, Partenit (Kazanski 1991, с. 496; Казанский 1997, с. 51; Мьц, Лысенко, Щукин, Шаров 2006, с. 186–188). It is possible that the traditional rite survived for so long time because of pronounced cultural otherness of the migrants from the north amidst the Greco-Roman population of Taurica. Chernyakhov migrants, the Goths, were more receptive to local customs: the burial rite of the cemeteries of Ozyornoye-Inkerman type is almost the same as that in many rural cemeteries in the Crimea. Later on, in the Early Mediaeval period, the presence of Gothic component in the Crimean culture could be discovered archaeologically only by the finds of remains of parade female costume: eagle-headed buckles and a pair of large brooches.

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Борис МАГОМЕДОВ

Контакты населения черняховской культуры со Скандинавией и Крымом

Резюме

Территория черняховской культуры (основное население — готы) находится между Скандинавией и Крымом и вполне естественно, что она была связующим звеном между населением этих двух регионов.

Археологические свидетельства о связи между этими регионами отмечались разными исследователями и в 1988 г. были суммированы Йоахимом Вернером в известной статье, где он картографировал и проанализировал основные категории вещей, общие для черняховской культуры и Скандинавии (Werner 1988). Это стеклянные кубки типа Ковалк (Eggers 230), фибулы-монстры, железные гребни. Подобные связи прослеживаются также на распространении домов типа Wohnstallhaus, рунических надписей и некоторых типов керамики.

Разные категории вещей отражают разного рода межрегиональные связи. Появление в области черняховской культуры северо-западных типов керамики, гребней, фибул, «длинных домов», возможно, и рун приходится на ступень С2. В Северной Европе они концентрируются на территории Дании, особенно на островах Фюнэн и Зеландия. Такие вещи являются этническими индикаторами и обычно появляются на новом месте вследствие переселения людей (хотя роскошные фибулы-монстры могли быть и предметом торговли). По мнению большинства исследователей, этими людьми были герулы, которые переселились из Южной Скандинавии в Причерноморье вслед за готами и стали их союзниками.

На ступени С3 связи между регионами приобретают торговый характер и теперь направлены преимущественно с юга на север. Население черняховской культуры получало из восточных провинций Римской империи большое количество стеклянных фацетированных кубков, прежде всего типа Eggers 230. Значительная их часть через посредников переправлялись в Скандинавию (рис. 1). Возможно, по этим же торговым путям попадали на север и бусы. В Крыму фацетированные кубки встречаются редко. Сосуды типа Eggers 230 происходят из Дружного и Нейзаца, другие близкие типы (Eggers 223 и 220/221) — из этих же некрополей, из Суворово и Керчи. Важно отметить, что на тех же памятниках присутствуют вещи черняховского происхождения, а названные типы кубков были распространены в черняховской культуре. Поэтому очень вероятно, что эти кубки попали в Крым из области той же культуры.

К ступени С3 относится также набор золотых подвесок-амулетов из могильника Романовка в Центральной Украине, изготовленный, по предположению И. Вернера, в причерноморских мастерских. Варварские копии очень похожих подвесок найдены в кладе из Брангструпа (о. Фюнэн, Дания), датированном монетами Константина II (335–337 гг.) (рис. 2). Таким образом, торговые связи в направлении Украина-Скандинавия проявляются и в отношении драгоценных украшений.

Связи между населением черняховской культуры и Крыма также были разнородными и включали как переселение людей в направлении север-юг, так и поступление продуктов ремесла в

противоположном направлении. Пребывание германцев на Европейском Боспоре во время Готских войн (морские походы 256–268 гг.) надежно засвидетельствовано историческими источниками. Однако этот кратковременный эпизод практически не прослежен в археологических находках, которые относятся к более позднему периоду. Мишель Казанский (2006) выделяет в Юго-Западном Крыму группу находок периода С1–С2, которую он условно называет вельбаркско-пшеворской. Среди них нет комплексов, которые можно с уверенностью отнести только к раннему отрезку этого периода. В основном это фибулы, некоторые украшения, а также кувшин черняховского облика, которые указывают на появление здесь черняховских поселенцев в периоде С2 (260/270–310/330 гг.).

Большинство материалов черняховской культуры в Крыму датируются ступенью С3 (310/330–360/370 гг.). Единственным собственно черняховским памятником на территории полуострова является слабо выраженное поселение Геническая Горка на Арабатской стрелке в традиционном месте добычи соли. Этим сезонным промыслом здесь могли заниматься торговцы из близлежащего Нижнеднепровского региона черняховской культуры. Свидетельством переселения более значительных групп готского населения являются находки характерных типов черняховских вещей в Юго-Западном Крыму и на Боспоре (рис. 3). Большинство таких находок сосредоточено в группе некрополей типа Озерное-Инкерман.

Некоторые материалы указывают на приток черняховского населения в Восточный и Юго-Западный Крым в начале гуннского периода (ступень D1: 360/370–400/410 гг.). К этому времени относятся поздние формы гребней типа Thomas III и двупластинчатых фибул типа Амброз I. Коротко повторю свои наблюдения относительно хронологии этих фибул, связанные с работой Анджея Коковского по их типологии и картографированию (Kokowski 1996; Магомедов 1999; 2001). Группы А и В включают малые фибулы длиной до 60 мм, в основном бронзовые. Они были распространены во всем черняховском ареале, кроме Трансильвании. Группы С, D и Е включают фибулы среднего размера длиной 60 мм и больше, в основном серебряные. Они встречаются в большом количестве в Днестро-Дунайском регионе черняховской культуры, только в шести пунктах между Днестром и Днестром, но отсутствуют в Восточной Украине. За пределами черняховского ареала много фибул групп С-D-E происходит из Крыма (рис. 4).

По моему мнению, такое географическое распределение находок позволяет уточнить их датировку, опираясь на реконструкцию исторических событий. Малые фибулы групп А–В относятся к позднему периоду ступени С3 и очерчивают территорию готов накануне гуннского вторжения. Более крупные экземпляры групп С-D-E появляются в начале гуннского периода (ступень D1). В таком случае понятно их отсутствие в Восточной Украине, где черняховское население после вторжения гуннов в 375 г. резко уменьшается. Сокращение населения происходит и в Центральной Украине, где таких находок мало. В западной области и Причерноморье черняховская культура сохраняется дольше и только в гуннское время она распространяется на Трансильванию (где малые фибулы групп А-В не известны).

Находки фибул типа Амброз I из Юго-Западного и Восточного Крыма наиболее полно представлены в работах М. Казанского (1999; 2006). Из приведенных здесь 38 экземпляров около 80% по размерам соответствуют группам С-D-E. Если принять предложенную датировку фибул, следует сделать вывод, что после вторжения гуннов в Восточную Европу часть готов переселяется из черняховских областей в Крым и приносит свои этнографические украшения. Судя по значительному преобладанию среди этих фибул поздних групп С-D-E, новая волна мигрантов превышала прежнее готское население Крыма.

Вероятно, с этим населением здесь появляются кувшины черняховского типа с каннелюрами (рис. 3. 1–2). Их распространение позволяет представить направления миграции черняховского населения в начале периода D1. В предшествующий период они были характерны для Восточной

Украины и Среднего Поднепровья, а в гуннское время появляются в основном на территории Молдовы и Румынии, в небольшом количестве в Крыму. Позже, в периоде D2, в Крым проникают германские вещи, уже не связанные с черняховской культурой, но характерные для Дуная.

На черняховских памятниках, особенно между устьями Днестра и Днестра, встречаются изделия, которые многие исследователи связывают с мастерскими Херсонеса. Среди них наиболее массово представлена столовая посуда, часто покрытая красным лаком низкого качества (рис. 5. 1–5). Аналогичны херсонесским изделиям тонкостенные стеклянные кубки, найденные в черняховских погребениях из Данчен и из Ольвии (рис. 5. 6–7), а также штампованный светильник из Каменки-Анчекрак. Эти находки имеют аналогии на могильниках типа Озерное-Инкерман (рис. 5. 8–14). Если названные товары были произведены в Херсонесе, тогда следует признать, что этот город поддерживал довольно активную торговлю с черняховским населением, возможно, при участии его одноплеменников из памятников типа Озерное-Инкерман. На некоторых черняховских памятниках встречаются обломки амфор типа «Харакс, погребение 33» (тип Абрамов 7.32–7.34). Если верно предположение, что они производились на Боспоре (Крапивина, Домжальский 2008), можно говорить также о торговле с Боспорским царством.

Некоторые продукты хозяйства и ремесла импортировались из восточных провинций как в область черняховской культуры, так и в Крым, и не являясь свидетельством связей между двумя регионами. Прежде всего, это амфорная тара, в основном южнопонтийских центров: гераклейские амфоры типов Шелов D, F, E и синопские типа «Делакеу» (два варианта амфор типа Зеест 100); амфоры из Эгейского региона: типы Robinson M.273 и M.275–276, Зеест 9). Также это «понтийская сигиллята» из неизвестного пока центра: блюда типа Domžalski PRS form 1A и кувшины типа «Каменка-Анчекрак А» (Магомедов, Диденко 2009). Кроме того, население черняховской культуры и Крыма импортировало одинаковые типы бус.

Ряд исследователей считает, что имело место и прямое переселение в Южный Крым выходцев из южной Норвегии. Основанием для этого являются особенности погребального обряда некоторых могильников с трупосожжениями — Харакс, Чатыр-Даг, Верхняя Ореанда, Партенит. Возможно, причиной долгого сохранения традиционного обряда была заметная культурная инородность северных пришельцев в среде эллино-римского населения Таврики. Черняховские переселенцы-готы были более восприимчивы к местным обычаям — по погребальному обряду могильники типа Озерное-Инкерман практически не отличаются от многих сельских некрополей Крыма. Позже, в период раннего средневековья, присутствие готского элемента в культуре Крыма можно археологически проследить только по находкам остатков парадного женского убора — орлиноголовых пряжек и пары крупных фибул.

Jes MARTENS

DIADEMS? IN SEARCH FOR THE DATE, USE AND ORIGIN OF THE RIVETED NECK-RINGS FROM SCANDINAVIA¹

The aim of this paper is to present a group of little noticed rings from Scandinavia, sometimes referred to as diadems. It is not the intention to present any fully developed thesis on the subject but rather to bring the attention to the artefact group in the hope that these artefacts may find their proper place in our understanding of the use of rings in the Migration period.

In this paper, I use the following abbreviations to signify museums where collections are kept: *B* — Historical Museum, University of Bergen, Norway; *C* — Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo, Norway; *LUHM* — Historical Museum, University of Lund, Sweden; *NM* — National Museum, Copenhagen, Denmark; *SHM* — State Historical Museum, Stockholm, Sweden.

The rings

1. Kås/Koss (C 24399), Veldre, Ringsaker, Hedmark, Norway. In the Bronze Age part of the exhibition at the Museum of Cultural History in Oslo there is a ring from Koss, Ringsaker in Hedmark county, East Norway. It was acquired as a gift in 1929 (fig. 1a–b). The information about the find is accordingly very sparse. It is said to have been found in a cairn, but Anathon Bjørn who dealt with it in a paper published in 1935 doubts this information and argues that it must be a votive deposit due to the nature and dating of the find.

The ring is made of bronze and has an inner diameter of 19–20 cm due to the fact that it is slightly oval. The strange thing about this is that, opposed to what one might expect, it is wider than it is long. It consists of two parts: a wide, elliptic front piece measuring up to 5 cm in width with two chased ribs, and a back piece consisting of two round threads kept together by a staple. The front piece

has marked, turned up edges. Parallel to and between the two ribs are hammered small dots and arches. The front and the back pieces are joined by two rivets in each side. As mentioned, the ring is not circular but slightly oval, being widest on the sides and not between front and back, as one might have expected.

The ring was entered into the collections as a unique piece but probably dating from the Bronze Age, due to some resemblance with certain arm rings from Denmark (Universitetets... 1929, h. 197–198; Müller 1891, fig. 403). However, already at this time there appears to have been disagreement concerning the date of the ring since the anonymous author of the annual report in the same volume hinted that a better parallel seems to be a golden ring from Ofeigstad, Vaale, in Vestfold (C 1632; Rygh 1885, fig. 299; Universitetets... 1929, h. 160).

In 1935, Anathon Bjørn dealt with the problem and suggested a compromise, dating the ring to the Pre-Roman Iron Age. Bjørn based his suggestion on the assumed resemblance with a ring from the Danish island of Funen dated by Sophus Müller to the Pre-Roman Iron Age (Bjørn 1935, h. 16; Müller 1896, fig. 5). Bjørn, however, appears to have misunderstood the construction of the front piece of the Danish neck-ring. It is not, as he writes, an elliptic plate, but consists of seven twisted threads, and furthermore the ring is not closed but an open coil (NM 21833; Müller 1896, h. 5). Bjørn further supports his suggestion by reference to neck-rings from Gotland with flat oval front pieces dated to the Pre-Roman Iron Age (Almgren 1923, S. 2, Taf. 2.17–18). Admittedly, these rings, dating from the early part of the period, consist of a flat frontal piece and a threadlike

¹ I would like to thank Maxim Levada, Dieter Quast and Eszter Istvánovits for constructive suggestion and hints of literature. Further thanks to Kirsten Lindhard, Danish National Museum, for helping me with unpublished information about the Danish finds mentioned in the text, and to my wife Vibeke Vandrup Martens for linguistic revision.

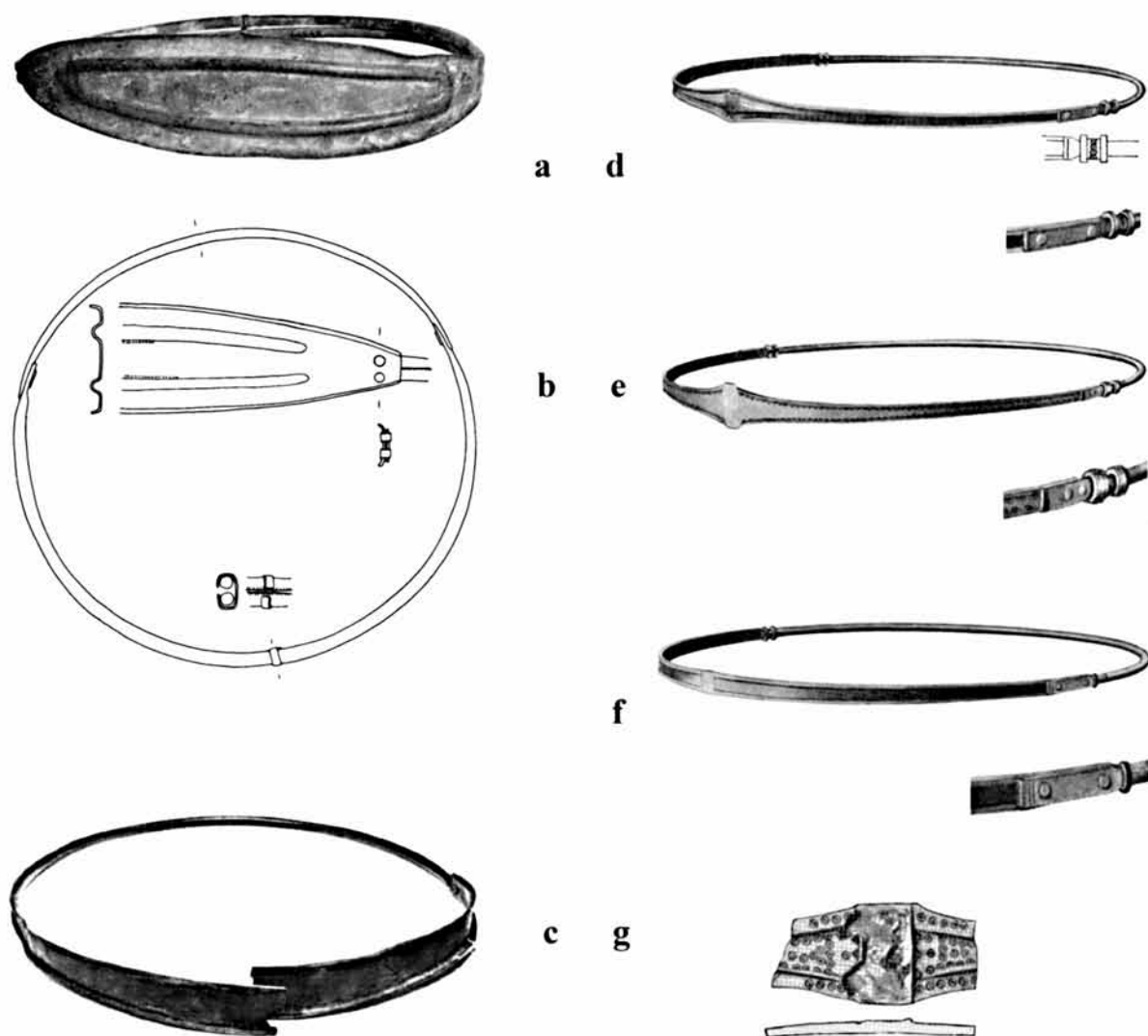


Fig.1. *a* — riveted bronze ring from Koss, Ringsaker, Hedmark, Norway (Universitetets... 1929, fig. 6);
b — riveted bronze ring from Koss, Ringsaker, Hedmark, Norway (drawing: the author);
c — silver ring from Revinge, Torna Härad, Scania, Sweden (Strömberg 1961, Taf. 57. 9);
d — bronze ring from Öster-Ryftes, Fole, Gotland, Sweden (Nerman 1935, Abb. 153);
e — bronze ring from Öster-Ryftes, Fole, Gotland, Sweden (Nerman 1935, Abb. 40. 404);
f — bronze ring from Gudings, Eke, Gotland, Sweden (Nerman 1935, Abb. 40. 403);
g — fragment of bronze ring from, Tuna, Väte, Gotland, Sweden (Nerman 1935, Abb. 154)

back-piece, but their front pieces are split, and the rings are open.

Bjørn returned to the subject again two years later, while treating three further rings (Bjørn 1937). In between he had become acquainted with a ring from Frituna in Southern Sweden (see later), which he dated to the Late Roman period basing on the application of red glass inlays. This did not change his opinion concerning the date of the ring from Koss.

Øystein Johansen treated the ring from Koss in his survey of metal artefacts from the Bronze Age in Eastern Norway (Johansen 1981, h. 58, tab. XIXc). He interpreted it as a derivative of the bronze neck ring with two oval end plates, and accordingly dated it to the Late Bronze Age, Montelius period V. This may be the reason why it is placed in the Bronze Age exhibition of the museum today.

2–4. Austrått (B 517–518), Høiland, Sandnes, Rogaland, Norway. When it was acquired, the ring



Fig. 2. *a* — complete gilded silver ring from Austraat, Sandnes, Rogaland (front), and the bronze ring from Mo, Ringsaker, Hedmark, Norway;
b — close up on detail of the ring from Austraat, Sandnes, Rogaland, Norway;
c — close up on detail of the ring from Mo, Ringsaker, Hedmark, Norway;
d — bronze ring from Frituna, Eksjö, Småland, Sweden;
e — close up on the exterior side of one of the joints of the ring from Frituna, Eksjö, Småland, Sweden;
f — close up on the interior side of one of the joints of the ring from Frituna, Eksjö, Småland, Sweden;
g — close up on front decoration of the ring from Frituna, Eksjö, Småland, Sweden (photos: the author)

from Koss was considered unique. But this was not true. In the collections of the Museum of Bergen there are some very similar rings which were acquired by the museum in the early nineteenth century (fig. 2a–b).

The find consists of one completely preserved and fragments of two further rings of gilded silver with gold inlays. They were found during ploughing in a drained bog near the city of Stavanger in Southwestern Norway. The preserved ring consists of a gilded, flat rhombic front piece joined with a thread-like back piece by two rivets on both sides. At the joints, a gilded silver thread has been wound around the ring body. The front piece has marked, turned up edges and it is ornamented with three horizontal chased ribs. In this way it greatly resembles the front piece of the Koss ring. In the description of one of the fragmented pieces which I have not had the opportunity to study myself, it is mentioned that the frontal piece was ornamented with punched crescent shapes along the edges.

For some reason these rings have not drawn much attention in Norwegian archaeology. As far as I know only Bjørn Myhre briefly mentioned the find and only the complete ring which he considered a unique piece (Myhre 1997, h. 16–17). He suggested a dating to the Late Roman or the Migration period, but without further arguments, due to the uncertainty of the context.

5. Mo (B 494), Ringsaker, Hedmark, Norway. In the collections of Bergen Museum there is even a further ring of similar construction but of a more simple design. It was acquired from a private collection in the early nineteenth century. It is assumed to come from the farm Mo in the same municipality as the Koss ring, but there is no certain information about its origin (fig. 2a, c).

The ring is made of bronze and consists of a flat front piece which is joined to a round smooth thread by rivets, one on each side. Thus the ring is closed and has a diameter of about 21 cm. On the thread are mounted four flat open rings. The front piece has marked, turned up edges like the aforementioned pieces but is otherwise without ornaments.

Anathon Bjørn who is the only one to have dealt in more detail with this ring dated it to somewhere in the Pre-Roman or Roman period (Bjørn 1937, h. 9, fig. 2). This dating he based on seeing it as the typological link between the ring from Koss which he dated to the Pre-Roman Iron Age and the already mentioned ring from Frituna in Southern Sweden which he dated to the Late

Roman period. There is, however an even closer parallel from Scania.

6. Revinge (LUHM 2988), Revinge, Torna Härad, Scania, Sweden. This silver ring (fig. 1c) was found in a peat bog in Revinge close to the city of Lund in west Scania (Strömberg 1961, S. 98, Taf. 57. 9). It consists of a thread-like back piece and a flat wide front piece with marked, turned up edges like the earlier mentioned pieces. Like the already mentioned rings, the back and the front pieces are joined together by rivets. According to the description, it differs from the others by the front being split into two halves. Whether this is original or due to a secondary damage to the ring is hard to say without a closer examination of the original piece. An open construction would, however, seem unnecessary since the ring is riveted. Still Märtha Strömberg, who published the ring, interpreted it as having a split frontal piece. She dated it to the Migration period by comparing it with the ring from Frituna and further rings from Gotland. Save for its construction and layout, the Revinge ring does not bear any chronologically significant traits.

7. Frituna (SHM 16199), Eksjö, Småland, Sweden. While the rings treated so far have very few datable traits this is not the case with the next piece, the already mentioned ring from Frituna, Southern Sweden. The ring is a stray find found during fieldwork (fig. 2d–g). It is a bronze ring consisting of a thread-like back piece and a flat wide front piece with marked, bent up edges. The back piece is joined with the front piece by means of silver rivets, but the ends of the back piece are shaped as animal heads. The inner diameter of the ring is about 20 cm. On the front piece are mounted three gilded silver sheets, ornamented with punched stamps and polished garnets. Of these only the one in the central front is in place.

The ring was acquired by the State History Museum in Stockholm in 1919 and published shortly thereafter in a brief mention in *Fornvännen* (Fornvännen 1920). It was basing on this mention that Anathon Bjørn dated the ring to the Late Roman period. More recently, Birgit Arrhenius dealt in detail with it and determined the style of the animal heads as Salin's style I. Furthermore, she identified the stamps in the silver sheets as being of late Sösdala style, indicating a date to the transition to the late Migration period (Arrhenius 1972, S. 320–322, Abb. 31). Though Arrhenius originally classified it as a piece of local craftsmanship, she has later used it to illustrate Southeastern European in-

fluence in Scandinavia due to the garnet which she suggests is imported from there (Arrhenius 1988, S. 466, Tab 80. XI. 17).

8–16+++ . Gotland, Sweden. From Gotland are known a number of rings and fragments of rings of strong resemblance with the afore presented specimens. They were presented and dealt with by Birger Nerman in his monography of the Migration period of Gotland (Nerman 1935).

8–9. Öster-Ryftes, Fole, Gotland, Sweden. Two bronze rings with minor silver rings and silver gilded sheet applied. The rings share the construction with the above presented rings: a threadlike back piece is joined to a wide, flat front piece by rivets, two in each side. The frontal piece differs, however, since it is narrower and has a rhomboid shape with a small rectangular plate in the middle. At this central plate, there are traces that something, perhaps a silver sheet or a precious stone, has been applied. The front piece of the first ring (fig. 1d) has bent up edges and a central horizontal middle rib reminiscent of the ribs at the rings from Koss and Austraat. The front piece of the second ring (fig. 1e) is flat and ornamented along the edges with a groove and crescent shaped stamps. The find was made by a farmer below a stone in the field and consisted of two further bronze neck rings, 17 dinars, a golden bracteate, belt fittings etc., leading Nerman to dating the find to Montelius period VI. 2, i. e. the second half of the Migration period (Nerman 1935, h. 72, 98, fig. 153, tab. 40. 404).

10–11. Gudings, Eke, Gotland, Sweden. Two bronze rings ornamented with minor silver rings and gilded silver sheet. The first ring is described as similar to the first ring of the Öster-Ryftes find. The second is depicted and described in more detail (fig. 1f). This ring shares the rivet joint with the afore-treated rings, but deviates by the fact that it is only riveted on one side, and is thus consisting of only one piece. The flat front piece is even narrower than at the already mentioned specimens from Gotland and it lacks their rhomboid shape, but in spite of this, there is no doubt of their close typological affinity. These rings were found together with four other neck rings by a farmer under a stone next to a bog. Nerman dates them to the second half of the Migration period (Nerman 1935, h. 72, 99, tab. 40. 403).

In addition to these four complete specimens, Nerman lists a number of more or less certain fragments of similar rings.

12. Sandegårda, Sande, Gotland, Sweden. Cremation grave. Fragment of a front piece of a bronze

ring like the above presented Gotland rings. It is found in association with two brooches dating from the second half of the Migration period (Nerman 1935, h. 72, 118, grave find no. 188, tab. 35. 355; 36. 371).

13. Unknown find place, Gotland, Sweden. Fragment of bronze neck ring, probably part of the flat frontal piece of a ring with central rib like one of the rings from Öster-Ryftes (Nerman 1935, h. 72–73, fig. 156).

14. Stray find, Gotland, Sweden. Fragment of front piece, probably of similar ring (?) (Nerman 1935, h. 72).

15. Stray find, Gotland, Sweden. Fragment of the thread shaped back piece of a similar ring? (Nerman 1935, h. 72).

16+++ . Tuna, Väte, Gotland, Sweden. Several fragments of bronze rings like Nerman fig. 153–155, tab. 40. 403–404. The fragments stem from the farmstead Tune where similar finds have been collected since 1841. The find is consequently not a closed context. Nerman interprets it as a ploughed over bog sacrifice, arguing that the find mainly consists of neck rings and finger-rings, and that the artefacts are mutilated (cut, bent, burned). The bulk of the material can be dated to his period VI. 2, i. e. the latter half of the Migration period (Nerman 1935, h. 72, 94–98, fig. 154). One of the fragments is a front piece (fig. 1g) ornamented with stamps and bears traces of that something, perhaps metal sheet or glass has been soldered on to it.

Nerman points to the ring from Frituna as the closest parallel, and further he mentions a golden ring from Straarup, Jutland, Denmark (Müller 1896, fig. 561) and a golden ring from Ofeigstad, Vestfold, Norway (Rygh 1885, fig. 299) as typologically more remote relatives.

Riveted rings summary

Hereby a small group of large Scandinavian rings has been described. Their main characteristics are a flat upright frontal piece joined with a thread-like round back piece with the use of rivets. The rings are usually made of bronze but even silver rings occur. The rings may be ornamented with silver, gilded silver, precious stones and stamps. The rings are closed, making it difficult but not impossible to use them as neck rings depending on head size.

While the rings from the Scandinavian mainland are quite similar, the Gotland rings form their own typological group, mainly due to their narrow and more pointed rhomboid front piece. There is, however, no doubt about their close affinity, not

only due to the diagnostic rivet-joints, but also due to the combination of a threadlike back piece with a wide, flat front piece, and the application of minor rings on the ring-body, especially close to the joints. Even the choice of metals could be mentioned, bronze, silver, and gilded silver. The majority of the rings are made of bronze, while the minor rings and ornamental sheets are of silver or gilded silver.

The rings are usually stray finds or have little information about their origin. The little evidence we have indicates that they were deposited in wetlands or under stones, possibly as sacrifices. Only one, a fragment (find no. 12), is reported to be found in a grave. Due to the close typological affinity it can be assumed that the rings represent a relatively short time span. The rings which have datable features or contexts can be dated to be the Late Migration period and since the ring construction is so special, this date can with great probability be extended to all the pieces. The Gotland rings deviate somewhat

from the rings from the mainland. It is a question whether this is due to regional or chronological variation.

Parallels or sources of inspiration

When treating these rings researchers have often brought attention to two golden rings, one from Ofeigstad, Re, Vestfold, Norway (Rygh 1885, fig. 299), and one from Straarup, Denmark (NM 8563, Store Dalby, Tyrstrup, Haderslev, Denmark, Boye 1859, p. 39; Müller 1896, h. 61, fig. 561). These specimens share many features with the here presented rings, but not the diagnostic riveting (fig. 3a–b). The rings do not have a dating context so they may only be dated by means of style and typology, and on this basis they have been dated to the Early Migration period (Müller 1896, h. 61; Marstrander 1952, h. 19). Kent Andersson does not include the rings in his study on gold jewellery from the Roman period in Scandinavia (Andersson 1993; 1995), what can be interpreted as an indirect acceptance

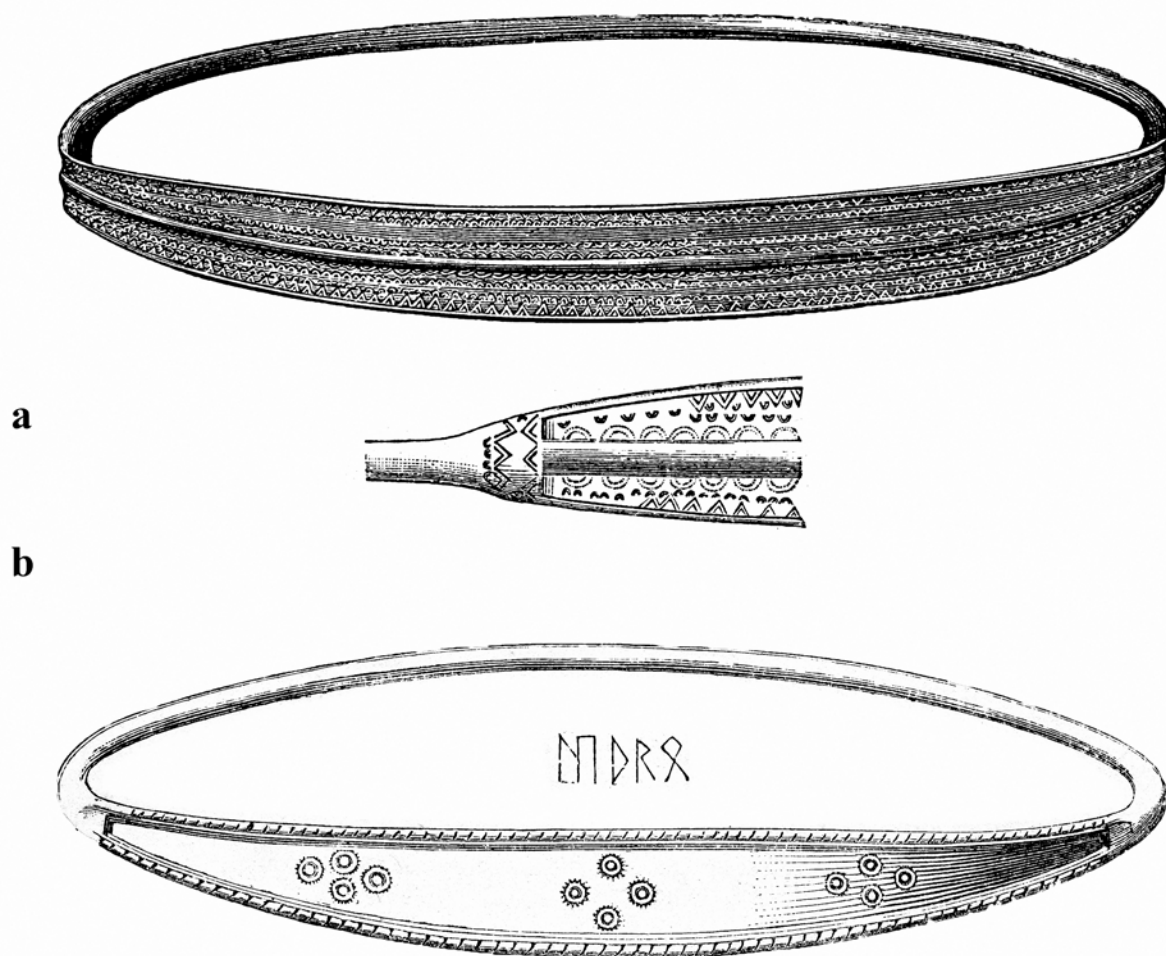


Fig. 3. *a* — golden ring from Ofeigstad, Re, Vestfold, Norway (Rygh 1885, fig. 299);
b — golden ring from Straarup, Store Dalby, Hatting, Vejle, Denmark (Boye 1859, h. 39)

of this dating. The two golden rings have often been interpreted as diadems.

This interpretation they have in common with a group of rings found in or at the eastern fringe of the so-called Gothic corridor between the Baltic and the Black Sea, though I have not found an argument for this interpretation (Булычев 1899; Гей, Бажан 1993). Most recently, these rings have been treated by Maxim Levada (Левада 2010; see also: Гей, Бажан 1993; Nowakowski 2003). Levada lists thirteen find locations in the area between the southeast Baltic coast and the north coast of the Black Sea. The rings are of bronze and have a wide front piece while the back of the rings are thread-like. Contrary to the here treated Scandinavian rings, these rings are open in the back and have mushroom-shaped terminals. The front piece is ornamented with punched geometric figures and on some specimens there are inlays of red enamel.

Levada divides the rings into three varieties: the first, including the rings from Sandrausiškė, Rokenai and Babienta (fig. 4. 1–3), is characterized by a relatively narrow frontal plate that is smoothly narrowing and transforming into long, wire-like endings. This variety is typical for the north-west territory of the area of distribution (Левада 2010, с. 563, рис. 10. 1–3; Gaerte 1929; Stawiarska 1981, s. 376, tab. XXXIX. 20). The second variety has a wider, rhombic frontal plate (Левада 2010, с. 568, рис. 10. 4–16; Булычев 1899, табл. VIII. 4–6; Смирнов 1970; 1974; Гей, Бажан 1993) and long, mostly twisted, wire-like endings. This variety includes rings from Basivka, Moshchina, Troitsa, Krasnyy Mayak, Lukovnya, and perhaps even Porech'ye (fig. 4. 4–16). This variety has the widest distribution, covering most of the distribution territory of the type though not the area of the first variety (fig. 5). The third variety which includes rings from Sukhonosivka, Basivka, Zhukin, Mezhibor'ye, Moshchina, Zbaravichi and perhaps a fragment from Sutok are characterized by a wide, long frontal plate and short wire-like endings (Левада 2010, с. 568, рис. 11; Булычев 1899, табл. VIII. 1–2; Митрофанов 1978, рис. 23.13). These rings concentrate in the middle Dnieper region. The rings have a long chronology, the earliest being the ring from Sandrausiškė, which may be dated to the early or mid-second century AD, Krasnyy Mayak may be dated to B2/C1, Moshchina and Mezhibor'ye to C2, and finally the Sukhonosivka to the early fifth century (Левада 2010, с. 585–587).

The general dating of these rings is, therefore, significantly earlier than the dating indicated for the Scandinavian rings. Though the Sukhonosivka find seems to narrow the chronological gap and it could be argued that due to the typological variation and very few chronological fix points of the Scandinavian rings would allow for suggesting a longer lifetime of this type, it is unfortunately among the earlier types (varieties 1 and 2) of the Eastern European rings that they find their closest resemblance. It is therefore a question whether there is any relation between the two groups of rings after all, but if any, then the Scandinavian rings must be the result of a south-eastern influence. Again, we have to return to the Frituna ring, since Birgit Arrhenius has pointed out that the application of garnets in the way it is done on this specimen as well as the garnet itself is a sign of south-eastern influence. Furthermore, it is very hard to find other parallels and this is why I chose to present the rings in this connection.

Diadems — Regalia — Collars?

Finally, we shall return to the initial question. Are these rings diadems? Does evidence exist of the use of diadems among the barbarians of Northern Europe in the Iron Age? The best argument for interpreting the here presented Scandinavian rings as diadems is that they are closed and that their diameter is so small (about 20 cm) that it is only just possible to put your head through them and use them as neck rings. On the other hand, it would be quite possible to wear them on top of the head keeping a head scarf in place or on high-piled hair. But diadems are usually open. Common to them and the rings dealt with here is a wide vertical frontal piece, but this feature is shared with many neck-rings. Thus the question remains: are these rings diadems, and did the Barbarians of the North wear such things?

When browsing through the literature I have not found much evidence about diadems in the Iron Age. Nerman takes up the problem and refers to a find from Saltuna at Bornholm, where a Migration period ring is said to have been found around the skull in a grave. Nerman is of the opinion that this observation is dubious (Nerman 1935, S. 71, F. 1). Oscar Almgren, on the other hand, mentions three examples of rings from Gotland and Öland which are said to be found around the skull of the deceased in inhumation graves (Almgren 1923, S. 2, F. 2–3; finds nos. 5–6; Stenberger 1933, h. 1). However, those finds are dated to the Early Pre-Roman Iron

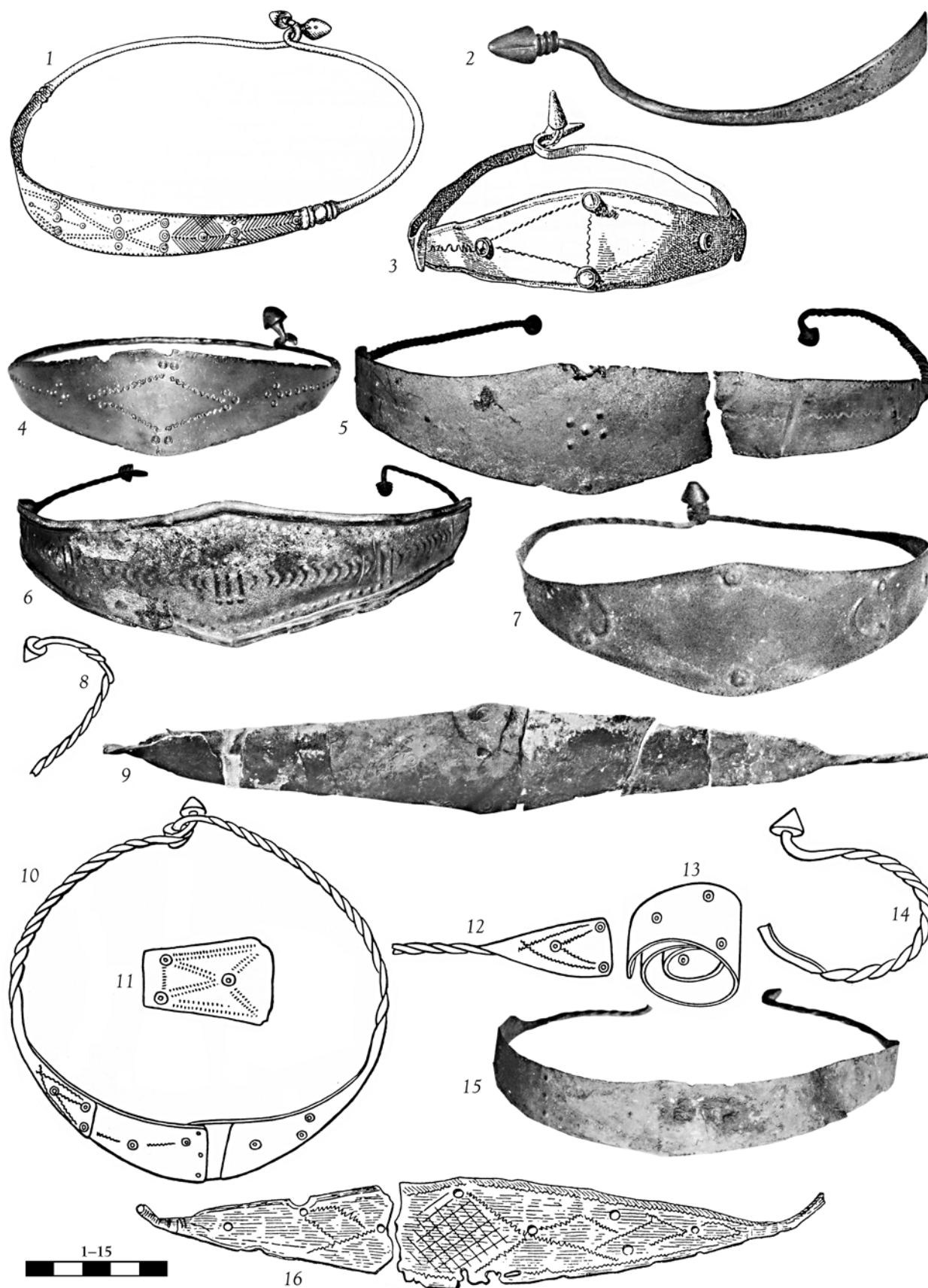


Fig. 4. Bronze rings of Levada's varieties 1 (1-3) and 2 (4-16). 1 — Sandrausiškė; 2 — Rokenai; 3 — Babienta; 4 — Krasnyy Mayak; 5-7 — Basivka; 8 — Lukovnya; 9, 15 — Moshchina; 10-14 — Troitsa; 16 — Porech'ye (Левада 2010, рис. 10)

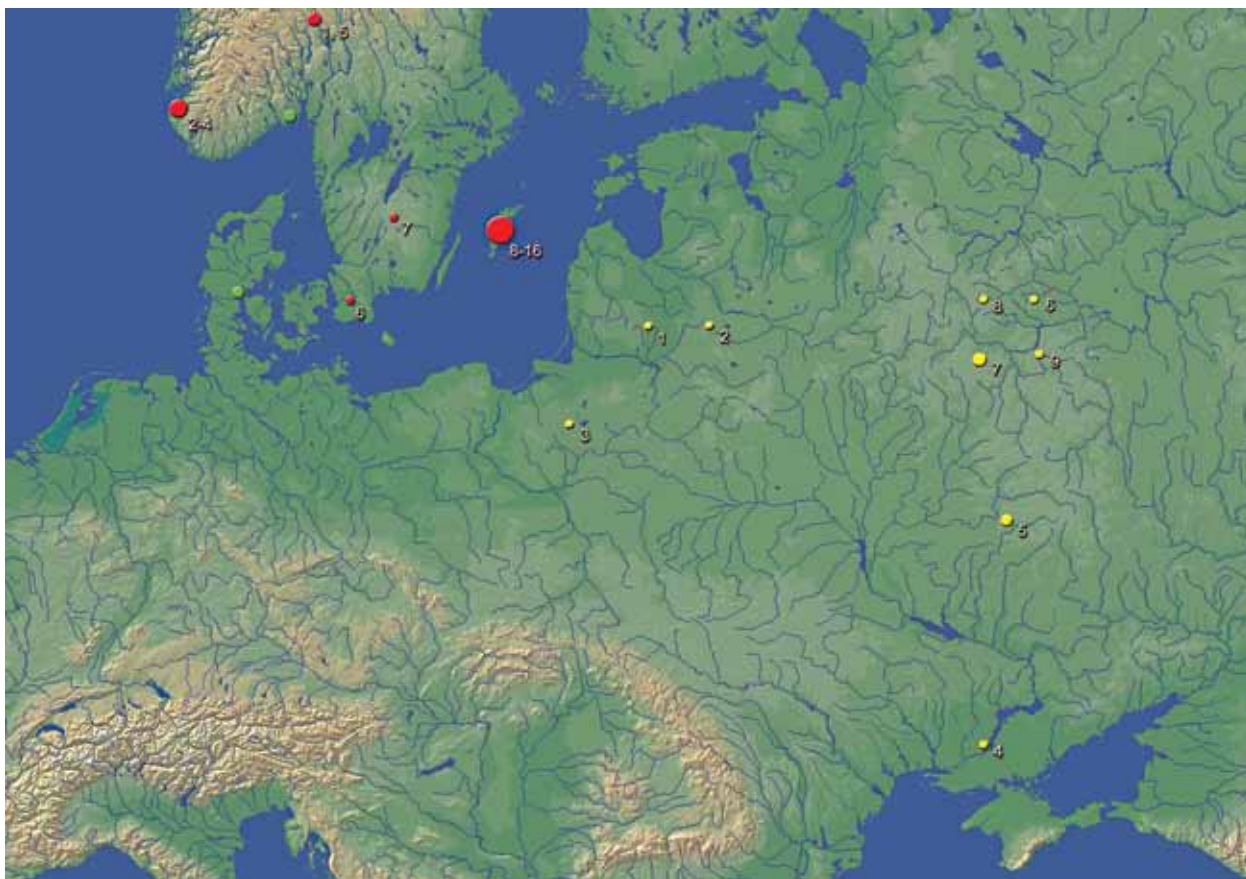


Fig. 5. Distribution map of the rings mentioned in the text.

Red — riveted rings (1 — Koss; 2-4 — Austraat; 5 — Mo; 6 — Revinge; 7 — Frituna; 8-16 — Gotland);
Green — golden rings from Ofeigstad, Norway and Straarup, Denmark;
Yellow — rings of Levada's varieties 1 and 2
 (1 — Sandrausiškė; 2 — Rokenai; 3 — Babienta; 4 — Krasnij Mayak; 5 — Basivka; 6 — Lukovnya;
 7 — Moshchina; 8 — Troitsa; 9 — Porech'ye) (drawing: the author)

Age. Common to all the reports of finds with rings around the skull is that they were made in the nineteenth century and by non-professionals. Besides, our particular ring type has not been found in such a manner, so the use of it remains an open question.

The Migration period is often called the Golden Era of Scandinavia due to the many treasures known from this period. These finds even include huge and elaborately worked neck rings like the golden collars of the Early Migration period. One may therefore find that the rings treated here would seem far too modest to this *nouveau-riche* like setting and that they certainly not would be worn as diadems. It must, however, be admitted that there is a hint of "glamour" connected to a few of the rings, especially the ring from Frituna with its inlaid polished garnets. There is no doubt that the elaborate work of this ring would be better exposed on top of the head rather than around the

neck. Also some of the Gotland rings show traces of applied ornaments, but unfortunately these are not present, perhaps they were torn off before the rings were deposited.

I have not found much about diadems in the Iron Age and no classical illustrations of barbarians using them. There may be many reasons for this, one obvious one is that the Romans mainly depicted battles with barbarians and diadems were not worn in battle.

Among the Romans, a diadem was used when crowning the new emperor, but diadems were also worn by women. At the crowning of Julian the Apostate in AD 360 in Paris it is said that it was not possible to get a proper diadem, and Julian rejected to accept a woman's diadem, so after some consideration a torque was used in the place of a diadem. The torque was later adopted into the crowning ritual, and at the crowning of Leo I (AD 457) he was not only crowned with a torque but also received

one in the hand (Adler 1993, S. 45–46). In imperial Rome the torque was a symbol of military rank and became a part of the insignia of the imperial guard. It may therefore be no coincidence but rather a carefully chosen symbolic action on the side of Julian, since the Roman torque at this point was a symbol of military rank and tradition and since he was crowned by the troops.

As these examples demonstrate one form may have several uses due to its inherent symbolic meaning. When a “neck ring” is meant to be worn as a diadem or to play the part of handheld regalia, the diameter becomes less important. This could be an explanation to the awkward size of the riveted rings.

The riveting is an interesting feature in itself. Apart from being a special design, it may have something to do with the use of the rings. Were the ring parts meant to be joined at the neck as collars? In such a case, the diameter becomes of less relevance, and the ring wearer would not be expected to take it off again. If so, then one may ask if the rings were meant for human beings or idols, and if for humans then what was the position of these humans: priest, sacrificial victims? These questions are hard to answer, as the rings are usually found as stray finds or as deposits.

Thus my paper ends with more questions than it started, but if it inspires to further research on the subject, the aim has been fulfilled.

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Ес МАРТЕНС

**Диадемы? В поисках датировки, назначения и происхождения
клёпанных гривен из Скандинавии**

Резюме

В данной статье рассматривается группа малоизвестных клёпанных колец из Скандинавии, которые иногда называют «диадемами». В намерения автора входило не создать развёрнутое исследование предмета, но привлечь внимания к этой группе изделий в надежде на то, что они смогут занять надлежащее место в наших представлениях об использовании колец в эпоху Великого переселения народов. Эти кольца сравниваются с группой колец, характерных для территории между восточным побережьем Балтийского моря, Москвой и Крымом, но, по причинам хронологическим, два типа колец могут иметь лишь дальнюю связь между собой.

Dieter QUAST

THE LINKS BETWEEN THE CRIMEA AND SCANDINAVIA:
SOME JEWELLERY FROM THE THIRD CENTURY AD
PRINCELY GRAVES IN AN INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT

The term “contacts” is frequently used in archaeology to refer to a near enough neutral definition of the relationship between two regions or rather the people living in them. In this respect material deposit find “contacts” through “foreign” finds and features and their distribution can take place in different ways. Here, in some respects, there are direct contacts to show. These allow themselves particularly clearly to be recognized when finds and/or features from a region A occur in a faraway region B. In between these two regions, however, there is nothing similar to be found despite their inter-linking common heritage. The rings of Havor of Gotland (Sweden) and the ancient colony of Olbia at the estuary of the Southern Bug (today at Parutino, Nikolayev administrative district, Ukraine), with their trumpet shaped ends from the first century AD, are good examples of this (Nylén, Lund Hansen, Manneke 2005, p. 26–33). It can be assumed, that in most cases mobility or migration were responsible for direct contacts. Differently adjudged are the “chain contacts,” where a staged distribution occurred. A pertinent example of this is the Neolithic transition of Europe. During the Roman Iron Age, the networks of barbarian elites formed the basis of such chain contacts. Four factors may have been responsible for such distribution; namely persons, goods, ideas and technology transfers (Quast 2009a) (fig. 1).

The princely graves from Zakrzów

An interesting “intermediate stop” on the way from the Crimea, or more generally the Ukraine, to the north is illustrated by the princely graves of Wrocław-Zakrzów. The site of the find is in archaeological research well documented; that is why it is only necessary to reiterate a few essential details (Grempler 1887; 1888; Kramarkowa 1990; Quast, Demidziuk 2011). Zakrzów (previously Sakrau) today is part of the city of Wrocław and lies about eight km north-east of the city centre on the right

hand side of the river Oder, at the Dobra (previously Elsbach or Juliusburger Wasser), a small inlet of the Widawa (Weide). During 1887–1888, three chamber graves had been discovered. Grave I contained the remains of a man, grave II that of a woman (fig. 2) and grave III that of a male child. All three graves had been categorised as period C 2, in other words between 260 and 300/310. For grave III, there is an Aureus of Claudius II Gothicus (268–270 AD) as a *terminus post quem*.

Grave II is in the context of the conference of particular interest, because the grave furniture of the woman shows in the main a very clear distinct connection to the Ukraine and to the Crimea. The origination of the violet cut-glass beaker (E 229) (fig. 3) from the south-east European region has already been emphasised on a number of occasions (Lund Hansen, in this volume, with further reading). The girdle set with the large carnelian insets also shows the next correlation to the Crimea, as only recently stressed again by Renata Madyda-Legutko (2011; cf. additionally: Soupault-Becquelin 1999). These relationships become particularly evident in respect to the Black Sea region, as well as to the region relating to the Chernyachov culture, particularly when the neck jewellery is being examined and in relation to the filigree ornamentation that has been applied on a number of objects.

The neck jewellery from grave II

Amongst the most magnificent finds from grave II are without doubt eight gold pendants ornamented with filigree and granulation (fig. 2 above). Six of these are *lunula*- or *pelta*-shaped; the other two are vase-shaped. All specimens demonstrate individual production; there are no identical pieces. The differences can be seen in the size of the eyelets and the filigree and granulation ornamentation. One of the *pelta*-shaped specimens is accentuated through a central stone inset, braided gold wire and

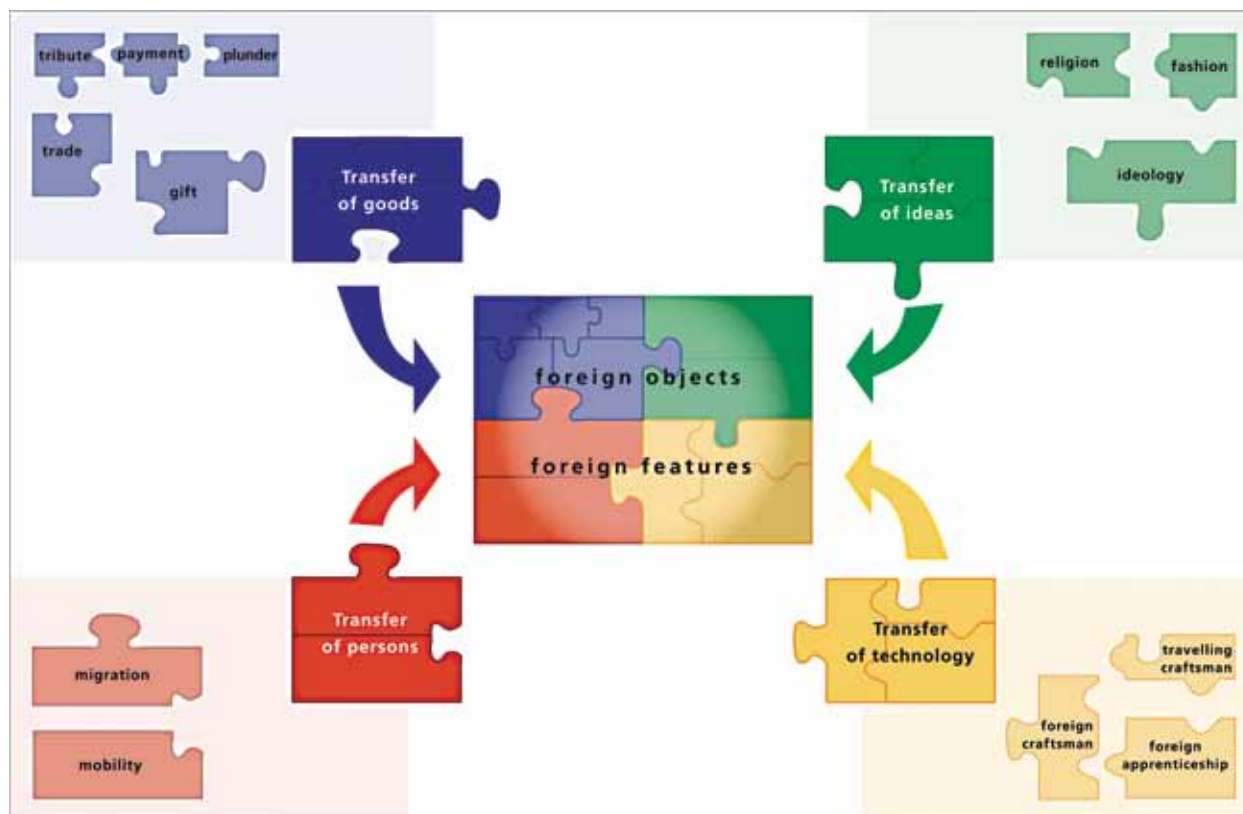


Fig. 1. Possible ways of interpreting foreign finds and features. Diagram by Michael Ober (Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, Mainz)

“shell-shaped” overlay. It remains unclear, due to the inexpertly conducted excavation, whether the discovered “set” of eight pendants are complete, or whether other, originally existing specimens of a complete set, have not been excavated. Analysis carried out to date has implied at least this assumption and if it were reconstructed it would be a double-row “chain” (Langenheim 1938). However, on the basis of a symmetrical one-row mounting — and most comparisons suggest this — there would be at least one additional *pelta*-shaped specimen necessary.

Comparable neck jewellery, to the best of my knowledge, has as yet not been known from the earlier Roman Iron Age princely graves. Generally, it appears that neck jewellery seems to consist of golden necklace rings and/or individual pendants (cf. for instance: Schulz, Zahn 1933, S. 6f., Taf. 1, 5). There are, however, a few extraordinary findings, which have among them different pendants of neck and chest jewellery. As all of these have been recovered inexpertly, there is nothing known about the positioning of the individual elements. Approximately of the same time as the Zakrzów burial is the discovery of Cejkov (previously Czéke) (Třebišov area, Slovakia). It contained a number of

differently shaped sheets made out of gold; however, it cannot be determined for sure whether it had been stitched on cloth trimmings (Beninger 1931, S. 184f., N. 1; S. 197f.; Taf. 7). Prominent are five curved circular-shaped discs. Such shaped discs were also discovered in the double grave of Årslev (Funen, Denmark), however in that case they were figural and of near double the size (Mackeprang 1940, h. 93 fig. 11; Storgaard 1990, h. 28, fig. 5; Jørgensen, Vang Petersen 1998, h.176f.). The middle clasps were formed over a pattern block as lion’s heads. All seven discs from the Funen double grave were fastened with braided gold wire pendants with garnet and carnelian insets. These principally rectangular pendants are in each case moulded with six half-rounded incisions on the sides, so that they are reminiscent of a piece of puzzle. The pendants were found on the chest of the female individual. In the south Scandinavian region, the lion head discs appear entirely foreign, and they are unanimously interpreted as south-east European imports, without however up until now no comparable discoveries being found (Storgaard 1990, h. 29f.; see also: Mordvinceva 2001, S. 8f., Taf. 49. 88). More distinctly these relationships stand out in the discoveries of sacrificial or treasure findings from Brangstrup,



Fig. 2. Grave contents of the woman's grave from Zakrzów (without vessels). Not to scale (Museum of Archaeology in the City Museum of Wrocław)



Fig. 3. Zakrzów Grave II. Purple-coloured thick glass beaker with facet-cutting. Not to scale (Museum of Archaeology in the City Museum of Wrocław)

which, as well as Årslev, are dated to the advanced period C3 (Jørgensen, Vang Petersen 1998, h. 172–175). Particularly the origin of the figural ornamented golden *lumula* pendants can be identified to the region of the Chernyachov culture (Werner 1988, S. 269–277). Nevertheless, the hemispherical shape, with granulate adorned gold metal sheet, point to Southeastern Europe, because it seems that this object is made for a coating of a disc fibula with a central inset of stone. In terms of Pontic works, these are comparable to known brooches from Sarmatian graves in Hungary (Párducz 1935, Taf. 6. 1, 3; Vaday 1994, p. 111; p. 121, pl. 7. 10). Unfortunately, it is unclear, if in Brangstrup it is about a treasure discovery, or about a sacrifice, by which from the latter it might be assumed to be even a case of repeated deposits due to the relevant occurrence. Should these discoveries, however, be about a unique deposit, it should be possible to reconstruct a necklace with the *lumulae* and the right-angle pendants.

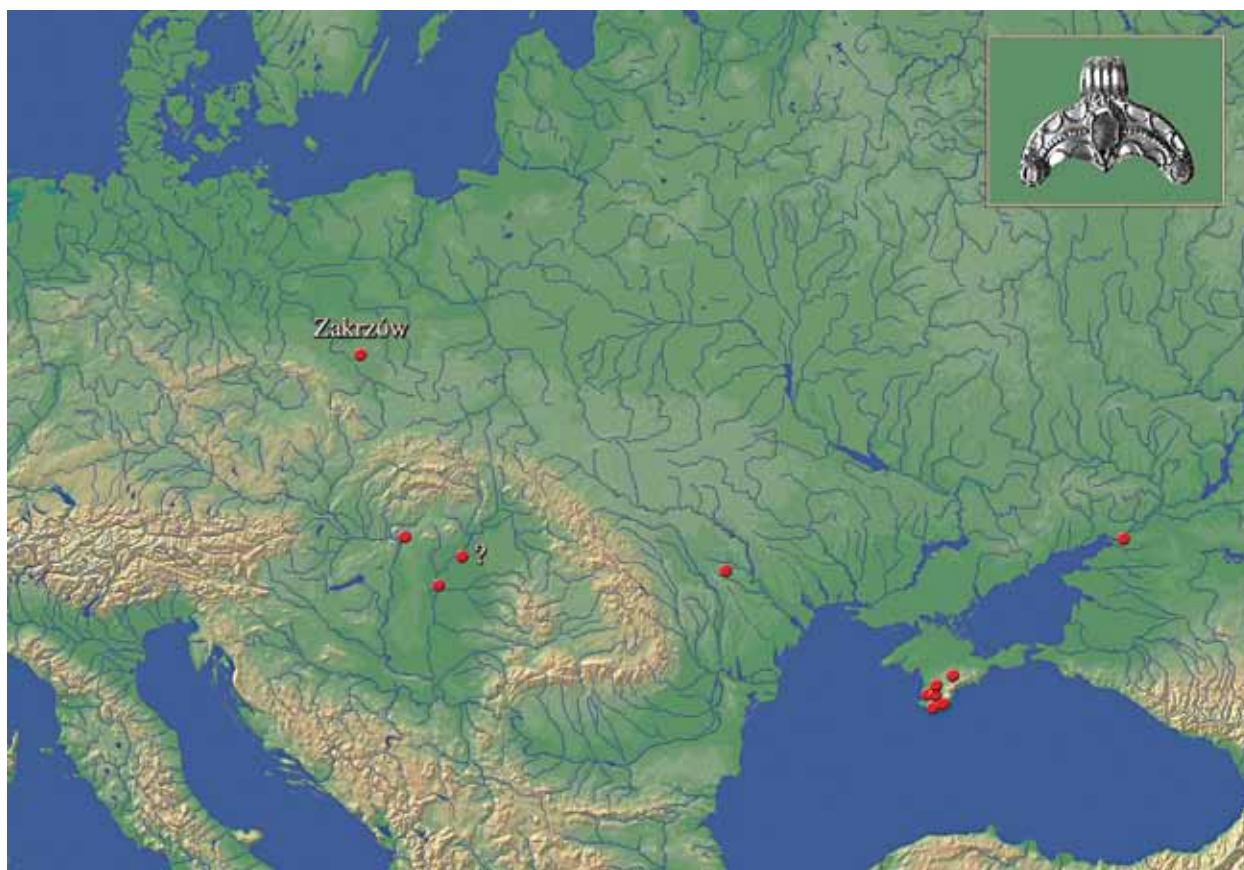


Fig. 4. Distribution of the golden lunula pendants of the Roman Iron Age with stone inset (Quast 2011a)

All the listed finds lead in their final analysis to very unclear conclusions. The small overall number of necklaces in the *Germania magna* and the foreignness of the individual pendants (particularly from Årslev and Brangstrup) point to an influence from outside. The nearest comparison to the Zakrzów necklace jewellery can be traced back to the Roman empire and the Pontic region however each with differing shapes of pendants. From the Roman empire chains have survived with stringed decorative coins and in some cases also with edged cameos for instance from Naix-aux-Forges (department of Meuse, France) (Brenot, Metzger 1992, p. 328, num. 35, et tab. 2; Schone Schijn... 2002, h. 78, fig. 45; cf. additionally: Yeroulanou 1999, p. 201f, cat. no. 1–3; 5; 7; Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli 1992, p. 208–210, num. 260–262). Between the individual pendants sit small-sized tubes with zigzag shaped wires. Necklaces from the Pontic region are somewhat “plainer.” However, also there have been sets found where individual pendants have been separated through golden small sized tubes, where the three-dimensional zigzag lines have, however, been produced through compression. From Sarmatian barrow 26 in Gradeshka (Odessa admin-

istrative district, Ukraine), which is dated back to the third or fourth century, originates such necklace jewellery consisting of five gold, filigree ornamented *lunulae* (Skarby... 2006, s. 136, num. 28). Here in the north of the Black Sea region can be seen Hellenistic traditions, where the shape of the pendants are being mirrored in the necklaces, but also in the wearing of magnificent neck jewellery in general (see for example: Ruxer, Kubczak 1972, tab. 9; 20; 26; 53; Pfeiler-Lippitz 1972, S. 108f., Taf. 30–32; Mordvinceva, Treister 2007, Taf. 40. A254. 2; Treister 2004).

The shape of the Zakrzów pendants is unique. There are no comparable pieces to the vase-shaped samples known and also the *pelta* shape is without exact similarities, although *lunula*-shaped pendants were spread over a long period of time (Wrede 1975, S. 243–254; Каргопольцев, Бажан 1993; Tempelmann-Mączyńska 1986; for Roman *lunulae* cf.: Klumbach 1939, S. 115–117, F. 7; Schnurbein 1977, S. 96f., F. 492–494; Zadoks-Josephus Jitta, Witteveen 1977, p. 167–195; Boos, Dallmeier, Overbeck 2000, S. 24–27, N. 7). Examples with granulation and filigree ornamented wire are known from the ancient Mediterranean region,



Fig. 5. Distribution of the Roman Iron Age goldsmith workmanship with applied braid bands.
Red circle: linear. Green quadrat: curvilinear (Quast 2011a)

but displaying a differing, virtually round shape (Marshall 1911, pl. 68. 2932–2933; Ruxer, Kubczak 1972, s. 269f., tab. 66. 1; Greifenhagen 1970, Taf. 34. 15–16; Tesori... 1991, p. 152, num. 182; Froehner 1897, p. 7f., num. 12; tab. 9. 56 “Egypte”; Bilder... 1998, S. 231, N. 170, Abb. auf S. 234; Allason-Jones 1989, p. 55, no. 47, pl. 17; Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli 1992, p. 177, num. 202; cf.: Martin-Kilcher 2008, S. 83). Looking at individual ornamental parts of the pendants of Zakrzów’s grave, there are further hints indicating ties to the Pontic region. *Lunula*-shaped pendants with stone insets can be found in several numbers in Sarmatian graves already in the first centuries AD (fig. 4). In the Black Sea region, they recognisably go back to Hellenistic examples and were probably produced in Bosporan goldsmith workshops from where the intricately granulated ornamented samples from the Chernyakhov context originated as well (Bóna 1963, S. 289f.; Werner 1988, S. 268f.; Левада 2006, с. 201–205, 235, рис. 8; с. 236, рис. 9; Гопкало 2008, с. 59–62; табл. VII; карта 29).

The filigree ornamentation

In this context, it makes sense to concentrate on the filigree ornamentation that are found on the pendants and brooches from Zakrzów. In Roman territory, and even in Gaul, granulations and applied filigree-wired ornamentations were evidently hardly used in the second and third century. Pattern-shaped soldered on wires were seemingly only popular in Northern Italy, the Alp region and the bordering regions (Martin-Kilcher 2008, S. 97–99). In the west, however, wire ornamentation was dominated by cut through pieces of workmanship (for instance: Martin-Kilcher 2008, S. 78–85, Abb. 3. 6; 3. 9–10, 12, 14). In the Barbaricum, filigree ornamentation was more commonly used (especially in period B2 and C1), particularly on charms and beads, but also on finger rings and brooches (Andersson 1995, h. 121–147, kart 119–127). The goldsmith works of Zakrzów, however, show some special characteristics. Thereby are two different “versions” of the filigree works of interest, on the one hand individual ornaments, which are being introduced fur-

ther down in this arteicle, and on the other hand a special framing on the pendant with carnelian insets. Additionally to a row of granules there can be seen a braid, which has been braided together with two strands of straight wire. Similar braids (fig. 5) are already being found on Roman pieces of jewellery in the first century, for instance on a bulla from Pompeii (Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli 1992, p. 132, num. 114; Martin-Kilcher 2008, S. 98, Abb. 3. 24-2), but also on a bracelet from Rhayader (Radnorshire, Wales, United Kingdom) (Pfeiler 1970, S. 51–53, Taf. 10; Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli 1992, p. 154, num. 157). In the Barbaricum, they are known since (and especially in) the Early Roman Iron Age (period B2), amongst others known on some of the brooches of the shape Almgren 101, like Tostedt Wüstenhofen (Harburg district, Germany) grave 118 (Wegewitz 1944, S. 53, Abb. 49, Taf. 10. 118; Die Langobarden 1988, S. 104f., N. 12), on some knee fibulae, for instance from Darzau (Quarstedt, Lüneburg district, Germany) (Almgren 1923, Taf. 6. 147; Schliep-Andraschko 1990/1991, S. 423–429, Abb. 1), furthermore on brooches in the shape Almgren 88 (Tingvollheimen, Østfold, Norway) (Plahter, Astrup, Straume 1995, p. 20, fig. 20), Almgren 108, for instance from Lunde (Buskerud, Norway) (Almgren 1923, Abb. 5. 108), and Almgren 121, for instance from Ringsarvfe (Gotland, Sweden) (Almgren 1923, Abb. 6. 121). Also imprints of such like braids made out of sheet metal have survived in a number of cases (for instance: Almgren 1923, Taf. V. 118; Schach-Döriges 1970, S. 62f., Taf. 107. 1; Artelius 1992, h. 30, fig. 24; Carnap-Bornheim, Ilkjær 1996, S. 403, Taf. 46–47 (“imprint 1c”), and “list of findings 17,” N. 5, 33, 35, 41, 43, 50, 51; Straume 1998, S. 439, Abb. 5. 9; Gupte 2004, Taf. 21; Skorupka 2004, s. 29, rys. 96; Tuszyńska 2005, tab. 28 .1; 52. 3; Walther 2008, S. 138, Abb. 7).

Characteristic of the Germanic brooches, as well as of the Roman arm bracelets, are that the braids have always been placed in a linear fashion. Also for the sheets with impressions they have exclusively used linear pattern blocks. It is a totally different thing with the braids from the Sarmatian, or in general, from the eastern European region. There can also be found the braids from the first century AD, like the necklace from the grave of Porogi dis-

plays. The disc fibula from the Georgian Batumi can be interpreted as Asia Minor / Syrian work and which has been dated back to the seventh decade of the second century and its portrait that has been cut into the central rock crystal can be attributed to Lucius Verus. Strap edgings of a bridle from barrow 8 of Komarov II (Rostov administrative district, Russian Federation) dated already to the second half of the fourth century, the brooches from the second treasure from Szilágysomlyó (today Şimleul Silvaniei, Sălaj county, Romania) are already from the Migration period, also those from the treasure of the Szilágysomlyó (today Şimleul Silvaniei, Sălaj county, Romania). In addition to the linear-lined braids found in the West, there are similar ones in the East, where the outline of the decorative surface is being taken in (“curvilinear”) in a framed way and these can only be found in the East (fig. 5). The pendant from Zakrzów belongs to this group.

Of special importance for the antiquarian analysis of the brooches of Zakrzów and the pendants are the filigree ornaments. Such wire decorations play in the Early Roman Iron Age a noticeably inferior role. On the footplate of a brooch from grave III can be found a double spiral (fig. 6). Amongst the elements of the necklace can be found further “designs,” which, however, are in this case being neglected (Quast 2011a). In addition, the pendant with the carnelian inset shows also leaf or shell-shaped application (fig. 5). Such metal applications are more likely to be found in the East, as for instance some of the supporting evidence demonstrates from Chersonesos in the Crimea (Пятьшева 1956, табл. 3. 15; 12. 12; Mordvinceva, Treister 2007, Taf. 69. C/1. 2. 1. 13). In this direction point also the filigree ornaments, which have only seldom survived from Roman sites, but more often from the north Black Sea area. There, most of them are already known from the early Hellenistic era and can be found often in Sarmatian graves. The draft¹ of a distribution map clarifies the “origin” of the design that has been used in Zakrzów, and accordingly the rooms in which such like ornamentation has customarily been fitted.

Towards Southeastern Europe points even clearer the distribution of the double spirals made of smooth or pearled wire,² as they also decorate the

¹ It is just a draft, as often the inadequate quality of the print in the publications in addition to the mostly small print size do often not make it possible that the motives can be recognized (cf. also: Carnap-Bornheim, Ilkjær 1996, S. 395).

² As double spirals there will only be those recognized that have a number of loops. To differentiate are simple S-shapes or question-mark-shaped wiring, often with corrugation of the loops (cf. for example: Nylén 1968, Taf. 24. 4; 27; 28; Юрочкин, Труфанов 2003, рис. 4. 47).



Fig. 6. Distribution of the filigree wiring laid on in double spirals on goldsmith workmanship of the Roman Iron Age (Quast 2011a)

foot plate of the pageant fibula of grave III from Zakrzów. Also this ornament shows again the already known distribution pattern (fig. 6) to be found in the north Black Sea area, with sporadic supporting proof in the Carpathian Basin and as a western “exception” — however with differently sized spirals — two finger rings from the Thetford treasure in Norfolk (United Kingdom) (Johns, Potter 1983, p. 87f., no. 11–12). It is noticeable that this motive, which has been used until the Migration period in the Carpathian Basin and in the Crimea, reached at period C3 also Scandinavia namely on objects, that show recognisable references to the south-eastern region. This applies for instance to a pendant which is attached to a lion’s head medallion from the grave of Årslev on Funen (Denmark), and ultimately also for a bracteate from period C3 from Gunheim (Telemark, Norway). Maybe it is no coincidence that the golden *lunula* from Kvarmløse

(Zealand, Denmark), which is decorated with a double spiral, in combination with a pair of sheet metal fibula with stamped ornaments in the style of Sösdala, ended up in a grave. The close relationship to Southeastern Europe, which is displayed through this stamped ornamentation (“Sösdala-Untersiebenbrunn-Coşoveni”), has become a topic in research many times (e. g.: Tejral 1997, S. 335–339; Fabech 1991, S. 132f.; Bitner-Wróblewska 2001, p. 89–106).

In summarising the research into the individual filigree wire ornaments from grave II and III in Zakrzów, it is shown, that they are to be traced back to the Southeastern Europe and respectively to the north Black Sea area. However, there is a time gap between most of the listed comparable finds from this region and the Zakrzów graves between 100 and often even 200 years.³ They can only be bridged with few finds, because with the

³ A comparable phenomenon is also to be observed with the golden “kolben” armlets. Between these of the Sarmatian graves (first to the mid-second century) and those from the Germanic princely graves is a chronological gap of at least one generation (cf.: Carnap-Bornheim, Ilkjær 1996, p. 360–365).

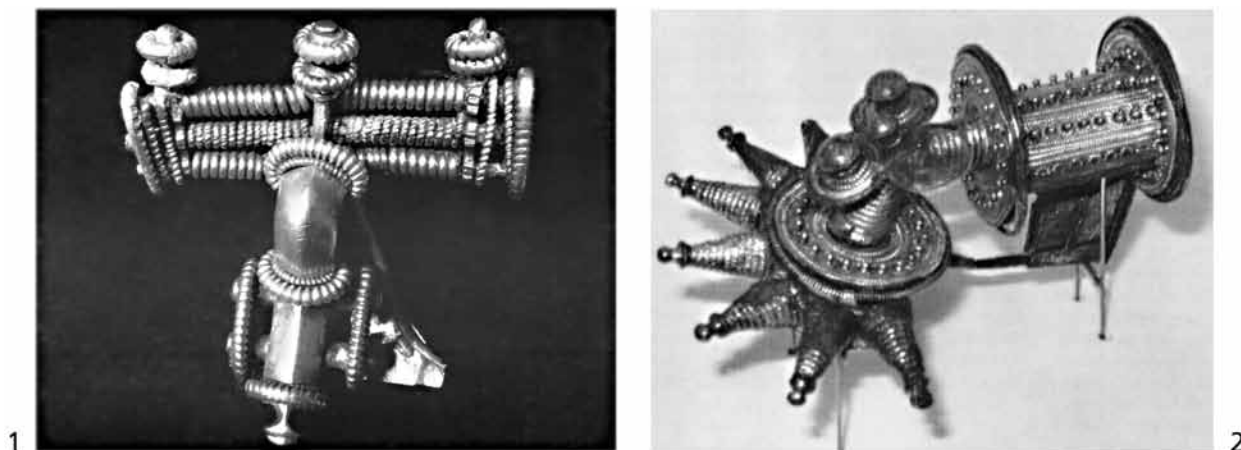


Fig. 7. Brooches from (1) Culciu Mare (Satu Mare county, Romania) and (2) Kobberup (Jutland, Denmark). Not to scale (1 — Muzeul... 2007, p. 194, fig. 223; 2 — Przybyła, Lund Hansen 2010, p. 247, fig. 13)

dissemination of the Chernyakhov culture a close and dense collection of burial fields can be traced, but lacking on princely graves which prove the connection. The comparatively small amount of goldsmith workmanship with granulation and filigree in the Chernyakhov culture can noticeably be traced back to the Hellenistic examples (Werner 1988, S. 268f.).

For the Zakrzów grave II, the filigree ornaments — exactly like the belt fitting (fig. 2), of the neck jewellery and the thick, purple coloured facet-cut glass beaker (fig. 3) — show the close connection to the area of today's Ukraine. In addition, there is in the grave, however, also a number of objects, which are certainly from the near surroundings, in the area of the Przeworsk culture been produced. This includes particularly the numerous clay vessels, but also the silver brooches with inverted foot of the shape Almgren 158 (fig. 2) which almost represents a leading example. The pair of big, heavy pageantry brooches (fig. 2) from the grave, however, is to be evaluated differently (Quast 2011b). Indeed many small details can be clearly derived from the shape of Almgren 101, however it also appeared (Muzeul... 2007, h. 194, fig. 223) (fig. 7. 1) a quite comparable fibula from northwest Rumania, in Culciu Mare (Muzeul Județ Satu Mare, Romania). In this region, influences from the Przeworsk culture are noticeable especially in the younger Roman Iron Age (Godłowski 1992a, S. 33; 1992b, S. 66; Stanciu, Matei 2006; Andrzejowski 2010, p. 77–78). Certain similarities however also show a rosette brooch from Kobberup (Jutland, Denmark)

(fig. 7. 2), which is dated back to period C1b or C2 (Przybyta, Lund Hansen 2010, S. 272, N. 14 [with older literature]; S. 247, Abb. 13; S. 254, Abb. 22). The far from each other situated places of finds illustrate the inter-regional interconnectedness of barbarian upper classes, which led to the development of a unified or at least similar “sign code” and especially to a speedy dispersion of new technology and style of ornamentation.

How are these striking contacts between Zakrzów and the Chernyakhov culture to be interpreted? As the “foreign” objects are seen to be concentrated in the woman's grave, it could be contemplated that she was a woman who married into the family. However, this is only one possibility which cannot be for certain proven, as there is no skeletal material available for scientific analysis. In any case, the objects from Zakrzów grave II demonstrate, that the elite in the middle European Barbaricum were interconnected with that of the Chernyakhov culture, even though on the basis of the missing of princely graves in the latterly mentioned region the proof has to follow by means of the availability of different details. How closely linked the middle European Barbaricum has been with Scandinavia, does not need to be discussed in any more detail at this point (e. g.: Carnap-Bornheim, Ilkjær 1996, S. 291–298; Carnap-Bornheim 1998; 1999; 2003; Quast 2009b, p. 47–53). The princely graves of Zakrzów, set against this background, provide an important link respectively between Scandinavia and the Crimea or rather the Ukraine of today.

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Ди́тер КВА́СТ

**Связи между Крымом и Скандинавией: некоторые украшения
из княжеских могил III в. н. э. в международном контексте**
Резюме

На интересную «промежуточную остановку» на пути из Крыма, или, шире, из Украины на север указывают княжеские могилы типа Вроцлав-Закшув. Особый интерес представляет могила II, поскольку инвентарь (ременная гарнитура, шейные украшения, изделия с филигранью, стеклянный кубок) женского погребения в целом очень ясно указывает на связи с Украиной и Крымом. Поскольку очевидно, что «чужеродные» вещи концентрируются в женском погребении, можно предположить, что она вошла в семью путём брака. Однако это всего лишь одна из возможностей, которая не имеет бесспорных доказательств, поскольку нет костей, которые можно было бы подвергнуть научному исследованию. В любом случае, вещи из могилы II в Закшуве показывают, что элита среднеевропейского Барбарикума была взаимосвязана с элитой черняховской культуры, даже несмотря на отсутствие княжеских могил в последнем регионе. Среднеевропейский Барбарикум был также тесно связан со Скандинавией. На этом фоне княжеские могилы Закшува являются важным связующим звеном между Скандинавией и Крымом или, скорее, современной Украиной.

Stanislav SHABANOV

GLASS BEAKERS WITH POLISHED OVALS FROM THE LATE ROMAN PERIOD IN THE CRIMEA¹

Beakers ornamented with polished ovals are especially notable among the vast variety of Crimean finds of glass vessels from the Late Roman period. The most part of such vessels have been uncovered in the foothill area of the Crimea, in the sites related to Sarmatian-Alan population. Only one artefact originates from a Greco-Roman site. In the Late Roman period, they were distributed in the vast territory from the north Black Sea area to Scandinavia. Crimean finds of beakers with polished ovals could enlarge our knowledge of trade contacts or cultural connections with these areas during the final stage of ancient history.

Not so many glass beakers with polished ovals are known in the Crimea: there are only seven intact and three fragmented specimens. A part of them has already been published, others are introduced into scholarly circulation for the first time. Let me discuss each piece in every detail. One vessel (height 13.5 cm, rim diameter 13.2 cm) was discovered in undercut grave no. 139 in the cemetery of Neyzats located in the middle of the Crimean foothill area, on the right side of the Zuya river, 1 km south of Balanovo village in Belogorsk administrative district (fig. 2. 4). This beaker is hemispherical (fig. 1. 1), with straight wall and flattened bottom; it is made of thick semi-transparent glass having olive tint. The body of the vessel is covered with three horizontal rows of polished ovals. The burials in the undercut were made in two tiers, one above the other. This glass beaker was probably related to the upper burial of a child. It was accompanied with silver two-piece bow fibula with returned foot that corresponds to group 16, subgroup 2, series 1, variant 2 according to Anatoliy Ambroz's classification (Амброз 1966, с. 63) and bronze coin minted in Bosphoros in 313–314 AD (Храпунов 2009, с. 67). The combination of these finds allows one to suggest that the burial was made in the first half of the fourth century AD (Храпунов 2004,

с. 304). There is glass beaker of similar shape and ornamentation that originates from the assemblage in burial no. 100 in Chernyakhov cemetery Velikaya Bugayovka in Kiev administrative district. In contrast to the Crimean artefact, it has smaller dimensions (height 9 cm, rim diameter 10.5 cm), inverted lip, and colourless glass. One should probably date this vessel to the first half of the fourth century AD (Петраускас, Пастернак 2003, с. 68). There is a beaker from grave no. 139 of the cemetery of Neyzats bearing similarity with a vessel discovered near Sigersted (Zealand island, Denmark). There are different opinions concerning the chronology of this find. Although Hans Jürgen Eggers has attributed it to his type 223 and has dated it to phases C2 (200–300 AD) – C3 (300–350/375 AD), he has supposed that such vessels were also used later, in phase D1 (Eggers 1951, s. 180, taf.15, karte 57). Günter Rau has dated the goods from the assemblage of Sigersted (wooden bucket with bronze plates, gold finger-rings and beaker) to the first half or middle of the fourth century AD (Rau 1972, s.129, 170). Eldrid Straume has attributed this vessel to her own Group 1 (Straume 1984, s. 38) and has dated the beaker to the period C3–D1, though expressing doubts that they appeared and were used in period C3 (Straume 1987, 120, taf. 101. 1). Ulla Lund Hansen has dated this beaker to periods C1b (200/210–250/260 AD) – C2 (250/260–310/320 AD) according to the Scandinavian chronology developed by her (Lund Hansen 1991, S. 100, 411). In his analyses of imported glass vessels discovered in Scandinavia, Gunnar Ekholm has attributed the beaker of Sigersted to his own group II B-1 and has found analogies to “small, thin-walled bowls and beakers with round, oval, or elongated facets and sometimes wheel-cut lines” from this group among the Roman glass in Karanis (Ekholm 1963, p. 33).

One glass beaker (fig. 1. 2) (height 11.4 cm; rim diameter 9.2 cm) with cylindrical body and flat-

² This paper is prepared only because of the scholarship granted by Vest-Agder County Council.

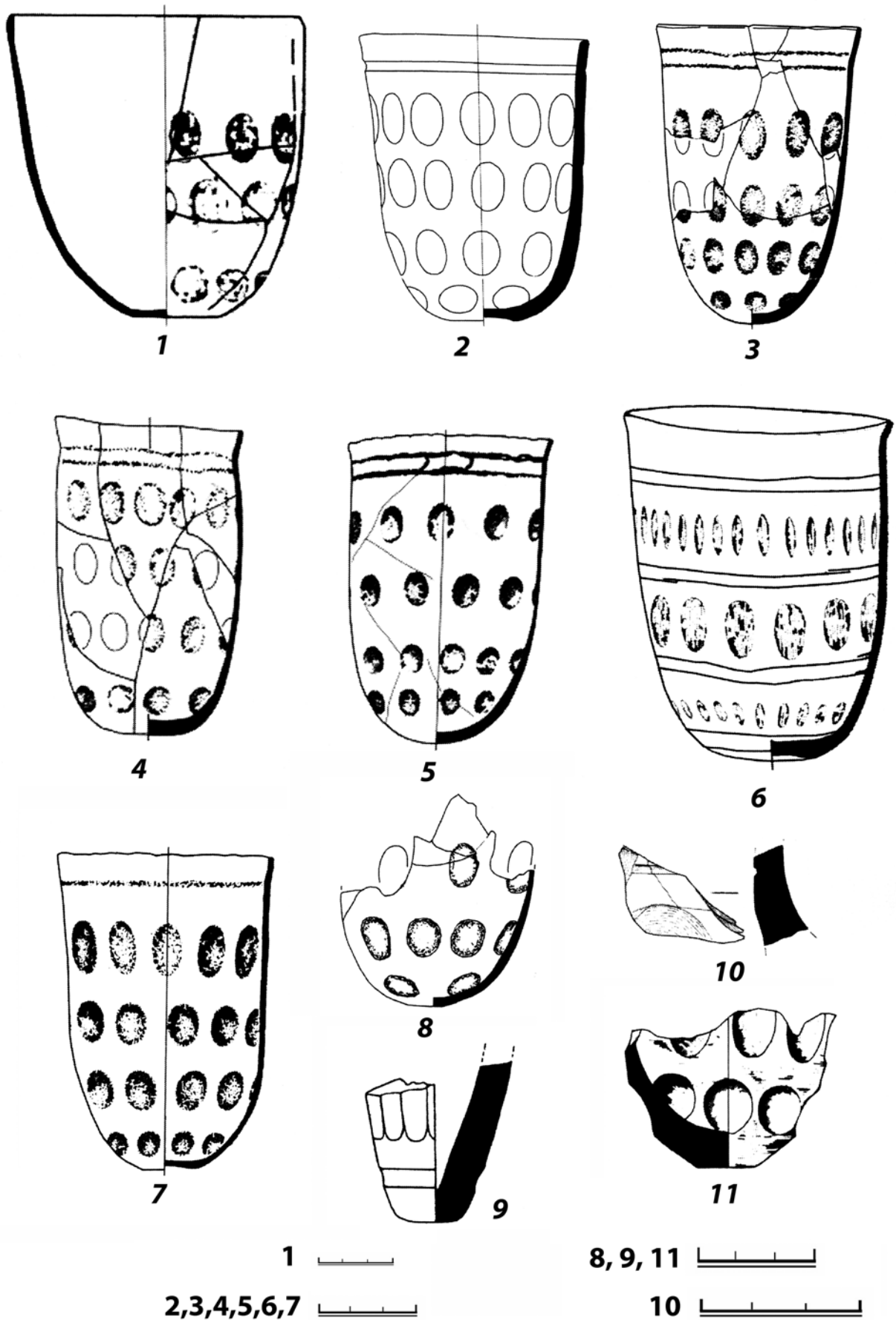


Fig. 1. Glass beakers with polished ovals from the Crimea.
 1-5, 10 — Neyzats; 6-7 — Druzhnoye; 8 — Almalyk-Dere; 9 — Baklinskiy Ovrag; 11 — Pantikapaion

tened bottom was discovered in burial vault no. 301 of the cemetery of Neyzats. The lip of the vessel is slightly inverted. It is made of thick semi-transparent glass of olive colour. The body of the beaker is covered with four horizontal rows of polished ovals and single line below the lip of the vessel. The fourth century AD vault no. 301 contained six burials. The vessel under analysis could hardly be connected to any of them. Three more cylindrical glass beakers with four rows of polished ovals and two uneven lines below lip originate from vault no. 275 in the cemetery of Neyzats. They are made of olive glass and are unearthened in fragments. It is possible to reconstruct their shape and dimensions: height 13.6 cm, rim diameter 9.2 cm (fig. 1. 3); height 15 cm, rim diameter 10.2 cm (fig. 1. 4); height 14 cm, rim diameter 8.5 cm (fig. 1. 5). Burials were made into vault no. 275 throughout the fourth century AD (Khrapunov 2008, p. 214). Another small fragment of thick-walled beaker of dark yellow glass with polished ornament (fig. 1. 10) was discovered in the area of the same cemetery (Храпунов, Мульд 2004, с. 309).

There is a beaker with cylindrical body (fig. 1. 7) and flattened bottom discovered in vault no. 3 of Druzhnoye cemetery, which is located 20 km south-east of Simferopol (fig. 2. 3). The lip is slightly inverted. The vessel is made of thick semi-transparent olive glass. The body of the beaker is decorated with four rows of polished ovals and single uneven line below the lip. Dimensions: height 9.7 cm, rim diameter 6.7 cm. All the burials in the vault no. 3 were made in the fourth century AD (Храпунов 2002, с. 16, 67).

There is a fragment of beaker (fig. 1. 8) of thick olive glass discovered in Almalyk-Dere cemetery at the foot of Mangup plateau in the south-west Crimea (fig. 2. 1). It originates from the fill of a ditch containing plunderers' backfill and, possibly, remains of funeral feasts. The fill also contained fragments of hand-made and red-slip vessels and bones of animals. There were shards of amphorae that dated widely, from the fourth to seventh century.² I should remark that the earliest assemblages in this cemetery contain a great number of finds from the final stage of the Chernyakhov culture (Maćczyńska 2010, p. 91). Fragment of another thick-walled beaker (fig. 1. 11) was discovered during the excavation of the ancient city of Pantikapaion in 1948 (fig. 2. 5). Nina Sorokina

has dated it to the late third or fourth century AD (Сорокина 1962, с. 232).

Cylindrical glass beakers with four lines of polished ovals have been discovered in many areas of Eastern Europe. The number of such finds is especially big in the area of the Chernyakhov culture (Кропоткин 1970, с. 30). When Ol'ga Gey and Igor' Bazhan developed their single chronological system for the cultures of Eastern Europe and Caucasus in the period of the "Gothic invasions," they related the appearance and distribution of such beakers in the Chernyakhov culture to the third (310/320–340/350 AD) and fourth (mid-fourth century to 375 AD) periods of its existence (Гей, Бажан 1997, с. 48). Olive glass beaker discovered in the cemetery of Zhuravki (Сымонович 1964, с. 11, рис. 1. 4) in the Middle Dnieper area should probably be dated to the third or fourth century. Erast Symonovich has summed up the finds of glass vessels from the Dnieper and Black Sea areas of the Chernyakhov culture and has united such beakers into group VI remarking that the earliest pieces have more expressively polished ornamentation. He suggests the second half of the third and fourth century AD as their dating with reference to Sorokina's opinion, who puts Kerch find of such beaker into these chronological frames (Сымонович 1977, с. 181, рис. 1. 18–19).

Lászlo Barkoczi has analysed the finds of glass vessels from Pannonia and has dated the appearance of the type under discussions in Hungary to the late fourth or early fifth century AD (Barkoczi 1988, S. 105, Taf. XV. 166). These vessels are also known in the territory of Romania. About 20 beakers of the type are discovered in the north-east of the country, so the scholars have background to suppose that they came from the centres of production located in the Barbaricum rather than in the territory of the Roman empire (Pánczál, Dobos 2007, p. 69, fig. 2.). Nowadays, there is only one glass-making workshop known outside the empire. Excavations near Komarovo village in Chernovtsy administrative district of Ukraine uncovered the third and fourth centuries AD settlement with traces of glass manufacture. There was large number of fragments of various vessels including thick-walled beakers with polished ovals. Researchers have no doubts that there was manufacture of thin-walled vessels of colourless glass only (Смішко 1964, с. 75, 77; Щапова 1983, с. 153; Щукин 2005, с. 181), though

² I am grateful to the head of the Mangup Archaeological Expedition Aleksandr Gertsen for the information supplied and for the possibility to publish his materials offered.



Fig. 2. Crimean Late Roman sites where beakers with polished ovals were discovered.
1 — Almalyk-Dere; 2 — Baklinskiy Ovrage; 3 — Druzhnoye; 4 — Neyzats; 5 — Pantikapaion

vessels with polished ovals were imported (Шапова 1978, с. 239–240, рис. 2.). They could be used as raw material for making vessels, window-panes, and beads. There is also an idea that workshops of the north Black Sea and Dnieper areas only used ready-made imported glass, so they were secondary manufacturing (Румянцева 2010, с. 73).

Emmanuil Rikman has dated the finds of “cylindrical beakers with polished ovals” from the area in between of the Dniester and the Prut rivers to the third and fourth centuries AD and has noted that, having different forms and variations, they were almost only type of glass vessels amidst the barbarian population of the Dniester area (Рикман 1975, с. 225, 227). This way, the beaker from burial no. 8 of the cemetery near the village of Belen’koye in the area between the Dniester and the Danube is analogous to Crimean finds and dates from the middle or second half of the fourth century AD (Росохацкий 1987, с. 145–146).

For a long time, there was no common opinion regarding the time when Eggers 230 beakers appeared. Developing their chronology, Eggers has dated these vessels to phases C1 (150–200 AD)-C2 (200–300 AD), but he also supposed that they could exist even later (Eggers 1951, S. 180, Karte 58). Rau has disputed this chronology. He has united cylindrical beakers with two polished lines below lip into Kowalk type, the ones with single

line into Nikolaevka type, and has dated assemblages where they were found to the second and third quarters of the fourth century AD (Rau 1972, Abb. 52). Galina Nikitina has agreed with Rau’s idea and has put the beakers discovered in Chernyakhov cemetery Oselivka within the same chronological frames (НИКИТИНА 1995, с. 82). Straume has made the chronology of Eggers 230 vessels earlier and has dated the period of their existence in Scandinavia to phases C2–C3 (Straume 1987, S. 29, Taf. 2. 6, 35, 41, 46, 76). The finds of such beakers in Scandinavia concentrate mainly in the south coast of Norway (Holland 2001, p. 37). Ekholm has analysed imported glass vessels discovered in Norway and has considered that they are of Oriental origin because a great deal of such vessels is found in the South-Eastern Europe and in Asia as well (Ekholm 1963, p. 33). Now one can state that Eggers 230 beakers appeared in the second half of the third century AD, though the main period of their use was the fourth century AD (Шапов 1992, с. 173).

There is a large beaker with cylindrical body and flattened bottom, made of light green glass, discovered in vault no. 78 in the cemetery of Druzhnoye (fig. 1. 6). The lip of the vessel is slightly inverted. The body is covered with four rows of uneven incised lines that divide three ornamental bands each filled with a series of polished ovals of

different shapes. Dimensions: height 14 cm, rim diameter 11 cm. Burials were made into vault no. 78 in the fourth century AD (Храпунов, Храпунов 1999, с. 252; Храпунов 2002, с. 33, 34). Although I have not succeeded in searching for analogies to this glass vessel, there are two beakers discovered in Norway that are similar to Crimean one because of the way of separating ornamental bands of polished ovals with incised lines. They originate from assemblages of Gjerla and Bremsnes. Eggers has attributed the beaker from Bremsnes to type 236, has dated it to phase D, and has suggested that they were produced in the Roman empire (Eggers 1951, S. 180, Kat. 323, Karte 58). Straume has interpreted two such vessels as type VI and has dated them within the limits of phases C2–D and C3–D (Straume 1987, S. 77, 83; Taf. 6. 15, 2; Karte 4. 2, 15). Ekholm has identified them to a special type Bremsnes (Ekholm 1956, s. 51, abb. 6k). Igor' Gavritukhin has interpreted "thick-walled truncated conical beakers decorated with dense polished planes" to type Lugi and has set them off as series Bremsnes thus agreeing with Straume's chronology (Гавритухин 1999, с. 52–53, рис. 3. 83; 4. 1; 19).

There is another interesting find to be mentioned in the context of this paper. The excavation of Baklinskiy Ovrage cemetery in vicinity of Skalistoye village in the administrative district of Bakhchisaray (fig. 2. 2) discovered fragment of a glass beaker with polished ornament of dense ovals (fig. 1. 9). It is made of green glass and probably had body shaped as truncated cone. The graves of the cemetery contained materials from the second half of the fourth to the ninth century (Айбабин, Юрочкин 1995, с. 125). Similar vessels are known in the area of the Chernyakhov culture; they date to the late fourth and fifth centuries AD (Сымонович 1957, с. 24, рис. 4, 8; Сымонович 1977, с. 181–182; Гавритухин 1999, с. 49; Магомедов 2001, с. 65–66, рис. 66. 3). Rau has interpreted them as type Gavrilovka 5 and has dated them from the last quarter of the fourth to the first quarter of the fifth century (Rau 1972, S. 166, Fig. 52). There is analogous conical beaker discovered in Swedish Högom; Straume has attributed it to her own type VII of se-

ries A and has dated it to phase D2 (Straume 1987, S. 110).

* * *

Conical glass beakers were produced in clay or stone moulds of yellow-greenish, olive glass by sagging. These vessels were cold decorated with use of polishing wheel to make ovals and straight lines (Магомедов 2001, с. 65). There are different versions concerning the place where such vessels were manufactured. Researchers put such centres on the Rhine, whence and via Northern Europe goods came to the Baltic and Black Sea areas; according to another interpretation, glass beakers were the product of East Mediterranean or even Egyptian workshops. There are finds of vessels with polished planes in the Near East and in the west areas of China.³

Some scholars think that there is need to look for the place where these glass vessels were manufactured in barbarian areas of the north Black Sea area and in the Byzantine empire (Lund Hansen 2010, p. 87). This version raises doubts because now there is no archaeological evidence for the making thick-walled beakers in the north Black Sea glass workshops located in Greco-Roman cities and their vicinity (Chersonesos, Bosphoros, Al'ma-Kermen). Sorokina has related the appearance of isolated specimens of thick-walled beakers in Olbia with the development of intermediate trade with the people of the Chernyakhov culture (Сорокина 1976, с. 203–204).

Symonovich has disproved the opinion of Western European researchers regarding the north Black Sea origin of glass beakers; his argument was the absence of glass-making in the north Black Sea cities as such. Although the information used by him is absolutely out of date now, there is another interesting observation produced by him. Symonovich thinks that such vessels were manufactured in the Near East centres of craft production and related their distribution in Northern and Eastern Europe with the migration of Greco-Roman craftsmen to West Roman frontiers, whence glass beakers came to the people of the Chernyakhov culture (Сымонович 1957, с. 28–29). This inference is doubtful as well because known work-

³ There are hemispherical beakers with polished ovals discovered by excavations in Bahrain and dated from the second and third centuries AD (Andersen 2007, p. 97). There are two vessels with polished ovals discovered in the cemeteries of Zhagunluke and Yingpan in Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region of the People's Republic of China in assemblages dated from the Early Jin Dynasty (265–420 AD); the excavators have attributed them as pieces of Western art (Ancient Glass 2009, p. 59, 60, photo 2.11, 2.12). It is known that the goods from the Roman empire penetrated into China via this region.

shops of the Rhine did not produce such beakers (Doppelfeld 1966, S. 64). In my point of view, another Symonovich's idea is beyond any doubt: in the Late Roman period, trade contacts were established along the same route as the migration of the barbarians from Northern Europe to the Black Sea area (СЫМОНОВИЧ 1957, с. 30).

It is also possible that the earliest beakers with polished ovals came to the Crimea as far back as the late third century AD. Their number increased in the fourth century. It is hard to determine the way by which these vessels came to the Sarmatian-Alan environment. In the cemeteries of Neyzats and Druzhnoye, they have been discovered within assemblages containing both local (barbarian

and Greco-Roman) goods and artefacts related to the Germanics: weapons, ornaments, and ceramic vessels (Храпунов 2003; Стоянова 2004; Власов 2000). Now this group can be enlarged with glass beakers with polished ovals.

Although direct contacts between the population of the Crimean foothills and the people originated from Southern Norway or their descendants are possible, the appearance of glass beakers in the Crimea was possibly related to the intensification of contacts between the population of the peninsula and barbarians of the Dnieper area, people of the Chernyakhov culture in particular. For now, it would be difficult to determine the form of these contacts and the extent of their development.

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Станислав ШАБАНОВ

Стеклянные кубки со шлифованными овалами позднееримского времени из Крыма

Резюме

Из всего многообразия крымских находок стеклянных сосудов позднееримского времени особый интерес вызывают кубки со шлифованными овалами. В Крыму их известно всего семь целых и три фрагментированных экземпляра. Больше всего их найдено в предгорных районах Крыма, в памятниках, связанных с сармато-аланским населением. И только один экземпляр происходит из античного памятника. Уже на протяжении многих десятилетий ведется дискуссия о месте производства стеклянных кубков со шлифованным орнаментом. Одни исследователи помещают центры их производства в западно-римских провинциях, другие — на Ближнем Востоке и в Северном Причерноморье. Высказываются мнения о собственно варварском их происхождении. Возможно, разрешить этот вопрос помогут дальнейшие находки подобных сосудов.

Наиболее ранний фрагмент стеклянного кубка из Пантикапея найден в слое конца III в. н. э. Распространение в варварской среде предгорного Крыма они получают в IV в. н. э. Целые формы найдены в могильниках Нейзац, Дружное, в комплексах, содержащих как местные (варварские и античные) вещи, так и предметы, связанные с германцами. К последним относятся предметы вооружения, украшения, керамические сосуды. Этот ряд могут пополнить и стеклянные кубки со шлифованными овалами. Сейчас сложно говорить об условиях, при которых стеклянные кубки попали в Крым. По этому поводу можно высказать лишь два предположения. Во-первых, нельзя исключать прямых контактов между населением крымских предгорий и выходцами из Южной Норвегии или их потомками, а во-вторых, появление стеклянных кубков в Крыму также можно связывать с усилением контактов между обитателями полуострова и варварским населением Приднепровья, в частности с носителями черняховской культуры. На данный момент трудно сказать, какую форму носили эти контакты и до какой степени они были развиты.

Frans-Arne STYLEGAR

WEAPON GRAVES IN ROMAN AND MIGRATION PERIOD NORWAY (AD 1–550)

Introduction

The present paper deals with a minority of burials in Roman (B-C) and Migration period (D) Norway, namely the ones containing weapons. Its aim is two-folded: 1) to present an overview of this material to non-Norwegian colleagues, and, 2) to discuss the significance of the weapon burial rite in its Scandinavian and North European context. Regarding the first, I intend to focus on the chronology, regional distribution and typology of burials with weapons. As for the latter, the emphasis will be on weapon graves as evidence both of the militarisation of barbarian society in general and more specific of warlike relations between the Roman empire and the north Germanics, particularly the question of Scandinavian auxiliaries in the Roman army.

In the Nordic area, the first weapon graves appear in the Late Pre-Roman Iron Age; mainly, but not exclusively in parts of Denmark (Hedeager 1992, p.115). Well-known examples are found on Bornholm (for instance Simblegård) and Funen (Langå). As for Norway, a small number of finds, mostly from the south-eastern part of the country and all of them cremations, shows this early development here as well (fig. 1) (cf.: Martens 2008). The oldest group of weapon graves in the Barbaricum occurs east of the river Oder in the early part of the Late Pre-Roman Iron Age, and according to some researchers, the rite might have its origins in the Upper or Middle Vistula area (Adler 1993, S. 211).

Although there are clear regional differences when it comes to leaving weapons with the dead (Hedeager, Kristiansen 1981, p. 122 f.; Watt 2003), the practice of leaving weapons with the dead from that point onward exists in many parts of Scandinavia right through to Christian times, i. e. to the late tenth and early eleventh centuries. For large tracts of Norway, the majority of weapon graves do in fact belong to the Viking period (late eighth to mid-eleventh century).

In this paper, I use the following abbreviations to signify museums where collections are kept: *B* — Bergen Museum (Bergen), *C* — Museum of Cultural History (Oslo), and *S* — Museum of Archaeology (Stavanger).

Norway's physical geography

Norway is one of Europe's most mountainous countries; average elevation is 460 m, and more than 30% of the mainland is located above the tree line (fig. 2). It's long and rugged coastline (covering 13° latitude from 58°N to 71°N) is strewn with some 50,000 islands (figs. 2 and 3). The whole of Norway was glaciated during the last ice age, as well as during several earlier glacial stages. The glacier's movement carved out valleys, some of which became fjords when the ice melted, and the retreating glacier left pockets of sediment which have attracted settlements since the Neolithic.

The large mountain range that runs through the Scandinavian peninsula separates the eastern from the western parts of the country. This, and the limited distribution of land suitable for agriculture, means that Norway during most historical periods has been characterised by a limited number of clearly demarcated settlement regions and districts, separated by mountains, woodland and/or water. Due to the same limited distribution of sediment, the settlement structure, in the Roman period as in historical times, has by and large been characterised by either single farms or very small clustered settlements. The land to the east of the Scandinavian mountains (Østlandet) is dominated by a number of valleys congregating on the Oslofjord, among them Gudbrandsdal, Valdres, Hallingdal, and Østerdal. Some of Norway's main agricultural areas are situated in the south-eastern part of the country, primarily in the lowland Oslofjord area (Østfold and Vestfold) and in the districts centred on the lakes Mjøsa, Randsfjorden, and Tyrifjorden. The southernmost part of the country mostly consists of low hills to the south of the mountain range,

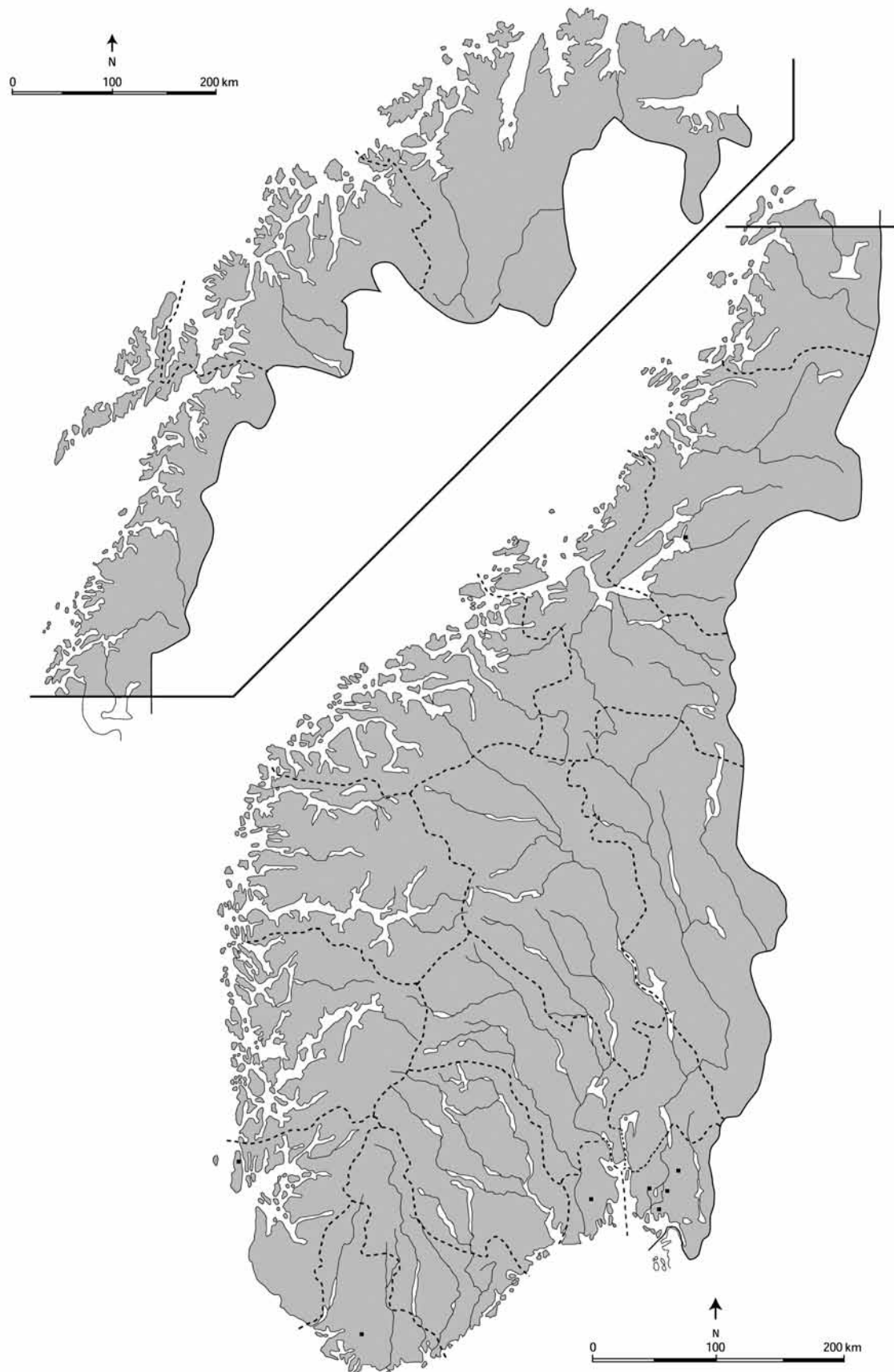


Fig. 1. Pre-Roman period weapon graves in Norway (illustration: the author)



Fig. 2. Satellite image of southern Norway with snow shown as red highlights make the terrain very visible (image: Jacques Desclotres, MODIS Rapid Response Team, NASA/GSFC; Wikimedia Commons)

only broken by river valleys where the estuaries in particular are suitable for settlement. Two smaller areas stand out for being very flat and historically speaking relatively densely populated; the coastal districts of Lista and Jæren.

Western Norway is dominated by deep fjords, the largest being Sognefjord and Hardangerfjord, with steep mountains going all the way to the sea. In this traditionally treeless area, the main settlement districts are situated on larger islands like Karmøy, as well as in the inner fjord areas. Further north, the area bordering on the Trondheimsfjord with its more gentle landscape constitutes another major agricultural region (called Trøndelag), comparable to the Oslofjord area. Here, the valleys congregating on the fjord open up and form rather extensive lowland areas. North of Trøndelag the landscape is again dominated by high mountains stretching all the way to the coast, and with numerous fjords. Along the coast of North Norway are several large islands, including Lofoten and Vesterålen.

Norway's long coastline means that, historically speaking, the main routes linking the different regions and settlement districts were coastal routes using boats or ships. In a mountainous country like this, inland routes were never as important as the sea routes. However, a number of main routes through the inland valleys of Østlandet connected the Oslofjord area and Vestlandet and Trøndelag, respectively.

Types of burials

Mortuary customs in Roman and Migration period Norway are varied and complex. Both extensive cemeteries, smaller clusters of graves and isolated graves are known, the first two probably reflecting variations in settlement structure between villages or clustered settlements on the one side, and single farms on the other (cf.: Stylegar 2006). Well-known cemeteries like Gunnarstorp and Store-Dal in Østfold in the Oslofjord region are of the first mentioned type, as is the Veien cemetery in Buskerud, bordering on the Tyrifjorden.

Mounds as well as cairns are common in most of the country during this whole period. The mounds are sometimes surrounded by circular ditches or stone settings, or they have a standing stone on top. There is a myriad of grave types beside mounds and cairns: singular standing stones, several stones put together as circular, square, triangular or ship-shaped stone settings, and flat graves without any visible marking above ground.

Both cremations and inhumations are widespread. In a macro-perspective, cremation was the only rite in the Pre-Roman Iron Age, and its domination continues throughout the Roman and Migration periods (and, in most parts of Norway, even later — until Christianisation, in fact). However, the very first inhumations appear in the Early Roman period. In this respect, Norway is no different from most Germanic areas. The oldest inhumations in the country are associated with the above-mentioned extensive cemeteries in the Oslofjord area. In the Late Roman period, and even more so in the Migration period, we have the majority of inhumation graves in the western and northern parts of the country.

Among the inhumations, wooden coffins and stone cists ("hellekister") are both common. A minority of inhumation graves are dug into the ground, while in most cases the dead body has been put on the ground (either in a wooden coffin or stone cist or without) and a mound erected on top. There is a small number of graves in wooden chamber, starting in the Late Roman period. In the Migration period the stone cists can be oversized, some of them 6 or 7 m long. The latter is a regional trait, found in the south-western part of the country (Stylegar (in print)). Inhumation graves are often richly furnished, often with a number of vessels for food and drink that are usually placed at the foot-end, i. e. in most cases to the south. In many instances, the deceased is laid to rest on textiles, horsehides, etc.

There are also several different types of cremations. Urn burials are the most common type; the urn is either a ceramic vessel, a wooden vessel or an imported Roman bronze vessel. Sometimes the cremated bones are tucked into sheets of birch bark. Most urn burials either have very few furnishings or lack them completely. It is not uncommon to find fibulae and other dress accessories, and likewise bear claws from skins which were either worn by the dead or served as blankets during the burning of the dead body. Some urn burials do, however, come with rich furnishings, and this goes for other types of cremation burials as well. The urn is either dug into the ground or put in a mound or cairn; sometimes in a small stone cist. Cremation pits and cremation layers without urns are also known. It is often difficult to distinguish between cremation layers and urn burials in a vessel made from clay or organic material.

Weapons in cremation graves are in most cases ritually destroyed, often by bending.

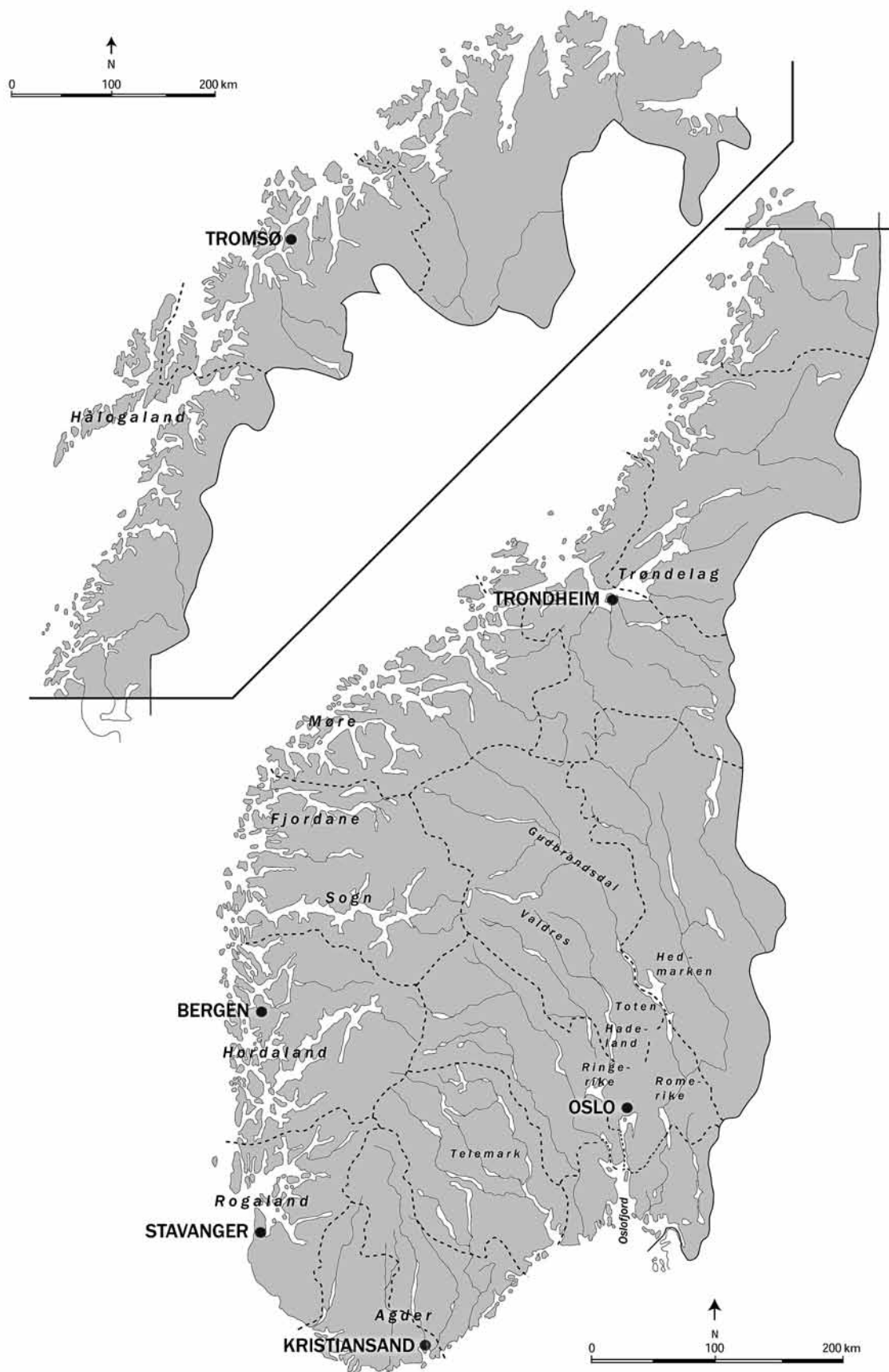


Fig. 3. Map of Norway with regions and districts mentioned in the text, as well as main modern cities (illustration: the author)

It is necessary to say a few words about the material presented in this paper. In total, 552 weapon graves dating from the Early Roman period through the Migration period are included. Most of these graves, but far from all of them, are easily accessible through published find catalogues (mainly: Fett 1940; Ilkjær 1990; Bemman, Hahne 1994). I also rely on a number of regional studies (Shetelig 1900, 1912a, 1912b; Grieg 1926, 1932; Hougen 1924, 1929; Herteig 1955; Petersen 1957; Sjøvold 1962; Straume 1962; Munch 1965; Marstrander 1983; Resi 1986).

The Early Roman period (B1-B2)

Let us now, picking up from where we left, i. e. at the end of the Pre-Roman Iron Age, have a closer look at the distribution of various types of weapon graves over the next few centuries (fig. 4). Starting with the Early Roman period, there is still a very limited number of burials with weapons, although many more than in the previous period. Apart from a cluster of graves near the Oslofjord (most of them in Østfold), as in the previous period, there is now a handful of weapon graves in Jæren, near Stavanger, as well as scattered graves in the coastal districts in the West, and a few in Trøndelag. There are about as many inhumations as cremations. The former are part of a bigger picture of early inhumations dating from the first and second centuries AD, many of which do not contain any weapons, but are otherwise richly furnished. The inhumation graves with weapons are in most cases cut into the ground, a trait which seems rather typical of this period but which occurs only a few times in the following periods, and with a mound built on top. The large stone cists (“hellekister”) do not appear until the Late Roman period. As for the cremation graves, they are of one of two major types — urn burials, with the urns in the Early Roman period in most cases made from either wood or clay, or cremation layers. In a small number of burials dating from this period, a Roman bronze cauldron is used as an urn.

The major difference regarding the distribution of weapon graves in comparison with the Late Pre-Roman period is the substantial number of graves in the inland districts of Østlandet, called Opplandene (literally the “uplands”), an area with no weapon graves dating to the Late Pre-Roman Period. There is a cluster around lake Mjøsa (the historical districts of Toten and Hedmarken), and also around two other big inland waters of East Norway, namely lake Randsfjorden and lake Tyrifjorden (the historical districts of Hadeland and Ringerike, respective-

ly). All these weapon graves are cremations, and, although a number of them are urn burials (one of them, interestingly, using a shield boss as urn — C22139 from Dystingbu, Hamar, Hedmark), there are no instances from Opplandene where a Roman bronze vessel is being used as an urn in this period. This, however, would change in the Late Roman period.

The Early Roman period material from Norway is too small, 60 graves in total, and too heterogeneous to make any assumptions about weapon combinations etc. Two graves stand out as being more richly furnished than the others; both are inhumations, and both are from the Oslofjord area (C23000 from Jarlsberg, Tønsberg, Vestfold, and C28973 from Hunn, Fredrikstad, Østfold). A third grave should be mentioned; an urn burial from Rogaland dating from B2, and which has, and this is indeed a rarity, a horse bit among its furnishings (S3086 from Ølberg, Sola).

The Late Roman Period (C1-C2)

In the third century, we are dealing with a significant rise in the number of weapon graves. There is a total of 195 graves with weapons dating from periods C1 and C2 (fig. 5). The distribution of the graves is in some ways similar to what we saw in the previous period; thus, the districts bordering on the Oslofjord still have a number of finds, as have Jæren as well as Trøndelag. Now there is also a certain density of weapon graves in Sogn, and the first graves are appearing in the coastal districts in northern Norway, including Lofoten. The distribution pattern is characterised by a number of marked clusters separated by large tracts where weapon graves are rare or non-existing.

But the outstanding feature regarding the distribution is again the graves in the “uplands” of eastern Norway. Almost half of Norway’s Late Roman weapon graves stem from the central settlement districts of Hedmarken, Toten, Hadeland, and, as a “newcomer,” Valdres, which is a mountain valley situated halfway between Oslo and Bergen. Valdres and Hadeland alone account for nearly a quarter of all Late Roman Period weapon graves in Norway. The number of weapon graves in these upland parts of the country is matched by Gotland only in Scandinavia.

In Opplandene, as in eastern Norway as such, the weapon burial rite peaks in the Late Roman period, in fact it peaks in C1.

As in the previous period, the weapon graves is not a homogenous group. For instance, both cre-

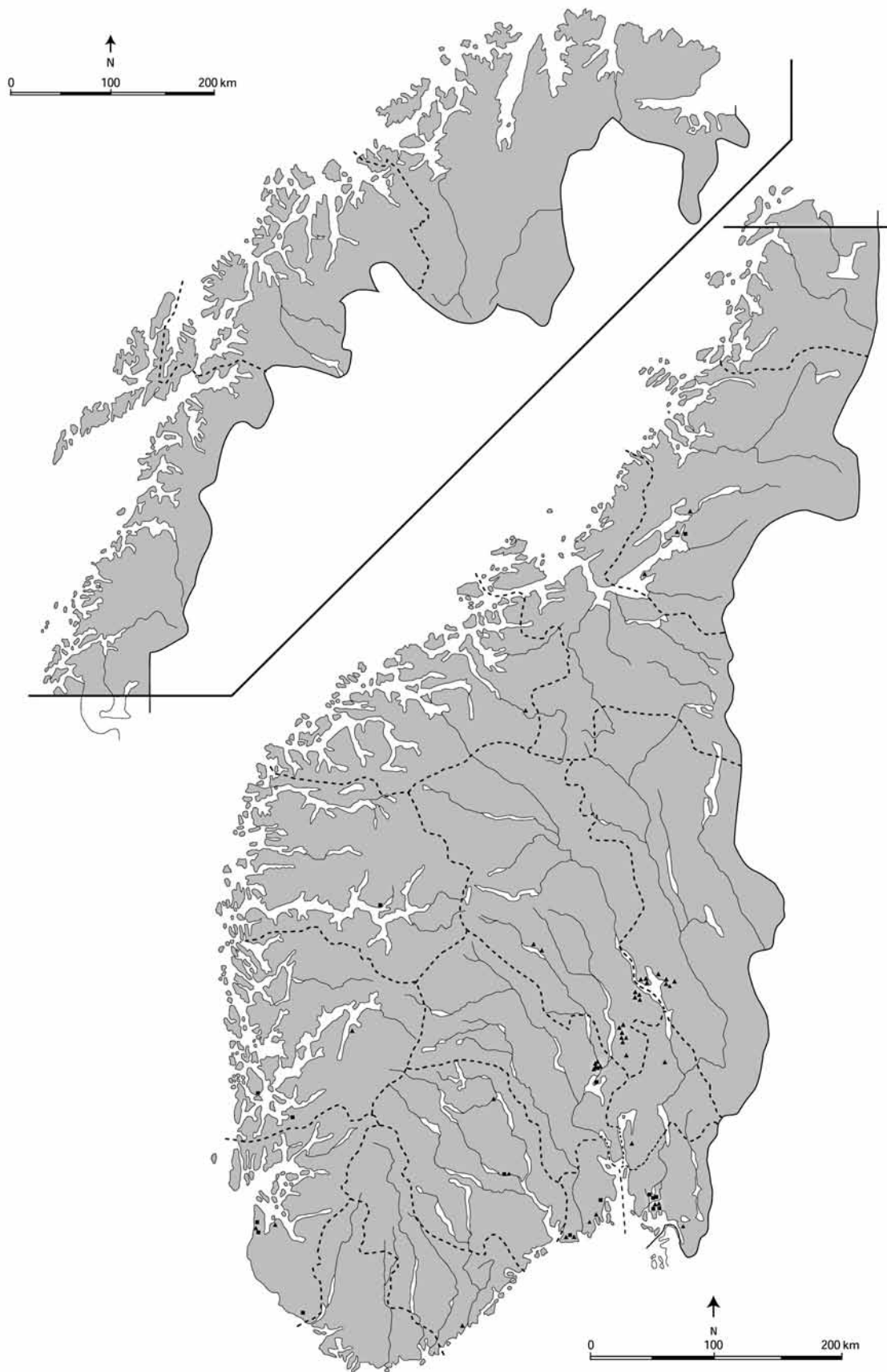


Fig. 4. Early Roman period (B1-B2) weapon graves in Norway. Squares: Inhumations. Triangles: Cremations (illustration: the author)

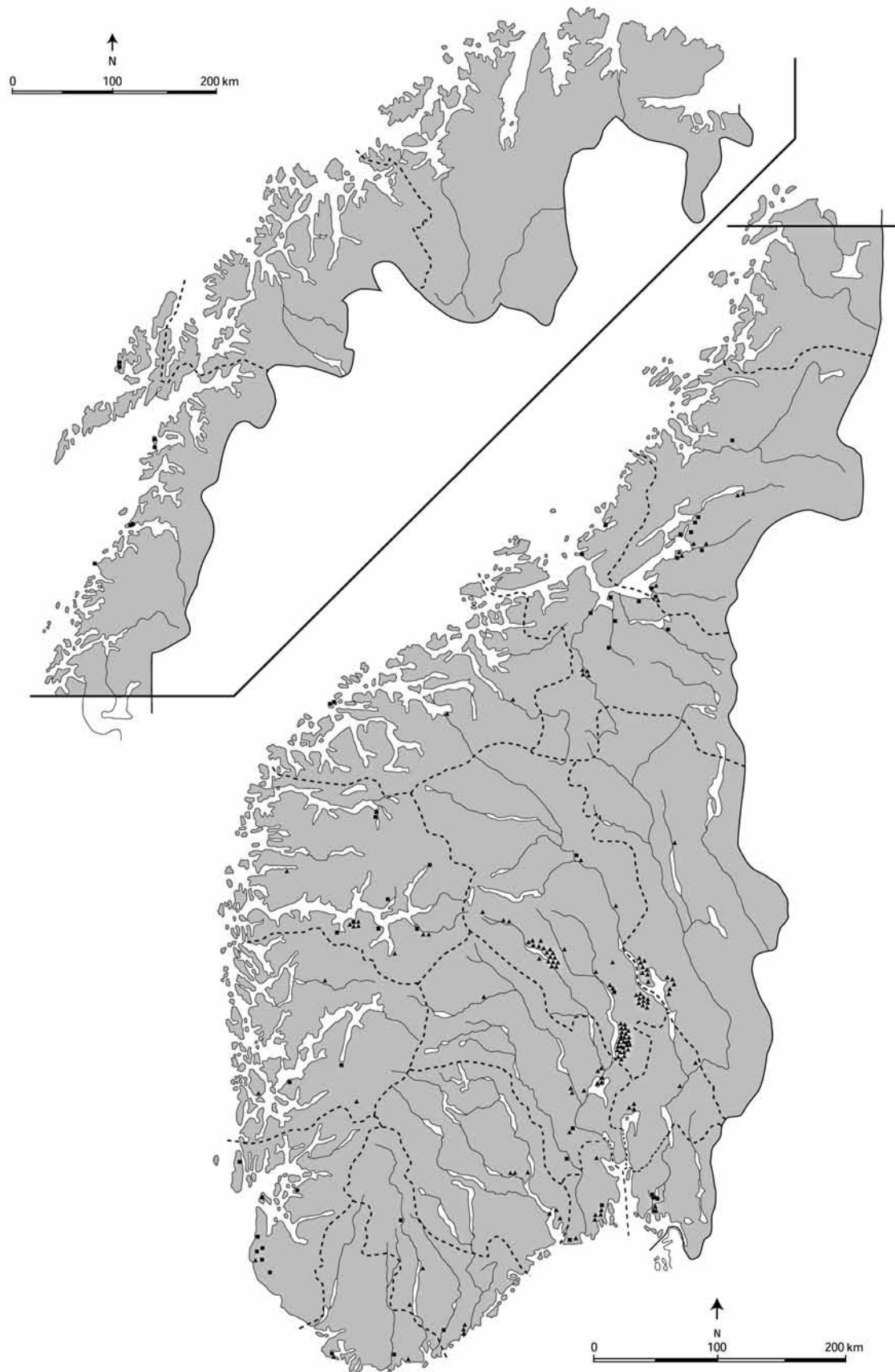


Fig. 5. Late Roman period (C1-C2) weapon graves in Norway. Squares: Inhumations. Triangles: Cremations (illustration: the author)

mations and inhumations occur regularly, even if it is possible to discern regional regularities in this respect. Thus, while both rites are found in the Oslofjord region, in the West and in Trøndelag, cremations dominate in the former region and inhumations in the latter two (even if the typical “hellekister” are not introduced until C2, and then only slowly). North of Trøndelag only inhumations are known, while all weapon graves in the Opplandene are cremations.

The majority of weapon graves in this period are poorly furnished except for the weapons. But there are a few outstanding finds which are indeed richly furnished. First among them is of course the chieftain’s grave from Avaldsnes in Rogaland (B610). The Avaldsnes find includes a golden neck ring weighing close to 600 kilograms.

A particular type of urn graves stand out clearly against the background of cremation layers, which seems to be the otherwise dominant type of rite in Opplandene. This is the urn burials which I mentioned earlier, the ones where the urn is an imported Roman bronze vessel. In most cases the vessel in question is a so-called Østland cauldron, Eggers’ types 38–42 (cf.: Eggers 1951). The burials in Østland cauldrons can be male or female, although the majority seems to be male. Most such graves have little or no furnishings. But there is a characteristic group of burials in Østland cauldrons which also contain weapons. Even if these occur as isolated graves in many coastal areas north to and including Trøndelag, there is a marked cluster in Opplandene, more precisely in Hadeland (there are no such graves in Valdres, for instance).

These particular weapon graves have caused much debate among scholars, and I will discuss them more closely later on.

The Migration period (C3-D2)

At first glance, the total number of the Migration period weapon graves, 296, seems to prove a further strengthening of the weapon burial rite in the fifth and early sixth centuries. However, what we are dealing with is a regionalisation of the rite; while most areas can document either a stand-still or a decrease in weapon burials in this late period, there is a marked growth in the number of graves in the West, i. e. the districts of Agder, Rogaland, Hordaland, Sogn and, to some degree, Møre, as well as in the North (fig. 6). There are several clusters of weapon graves in the West, the first and foremost being Jæren. Agder, Rogaland, Hordaland and Sogn account for over sixty per cent of the weapon graves

in this period. In these areas the weapon burials are almost exclusively inhumations, and they are intimately connected to the huge stone cists, the “hellekister.”

In the East, weapon graves are now completely absent from many areas, most conspicuously from Hadeland, while Valdres still has a number of graves. As for the Oslofjord region, most of the weapon graves in this period are found in Vestfold and Telemark, on the western side of the fjord, but even there the number of graves is decreasing, even if the remaining ones are more elaborately furnished than in the preceding period. The majority of these late weapon graves belongs to the early part of the period. Eastern Norway is now unequivocally bi-ritual; the relatively few and scattered weapon graves are either cremations or inhumations. In Opplandene there is still a predominance of cremation graves, with only the uppermost part of Valdres, which historically speaking has had extensive contacts to the West, being dominated by inhumations.

Urn burials, including in bronze cauldrons, are a significant trait in western Norway in the Migration period. But, in contrast to the preceding period, they no longer feature weapons. In the East urn burials — with or without weapons — are virtually non-existing.

In the bigger scheme of things, Hadeland and the Oslofjord region follows Denmark, mainland Sweden and large parts of the Barbaricum in that the practice of putting weapons in graves decreases after period C1a (Ilkjær 2001, S. 2).

The “hellekister” in the West is a special case. They first appear in C2, as stated above, and they peak in D1. The same goes for the weapon graves in western Norway. The “hellekister” are made of flagstones, they are very often “oversized,” i.e. very long and relatively narrow, and it is difficult to point to any real model for this typical western rite. The Roman Period stone cists in Jutland, Denmark (see: Lysdahl 1971), are too different to be considered as the model for the “hellekister,” although there are some affinities between the Jutland cists and a local group of subterranean cists in the district of Vest-Agder.

For most of the Roman period, and to some extent still in the Migration period, there seems to be a negative correlation between graves with weapons and graves with drinking equipment made from glass or bronze or other imported objects, as well as personal jewellery and food offerings. The main exceptions are obvious high-status graves like Avaldsnes, Sætrang (C617), and Snartemo

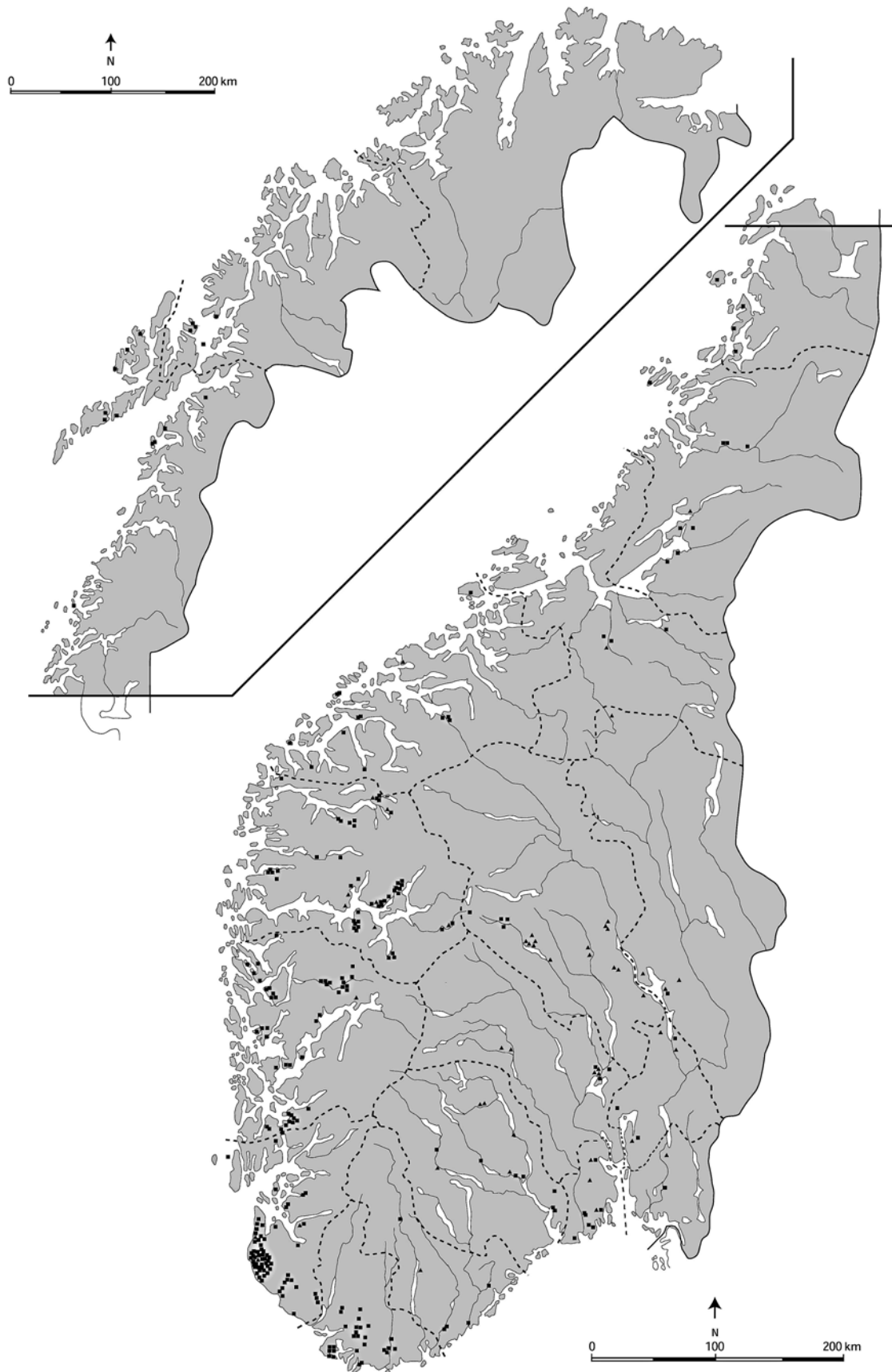


Fig. 6. Migration period (C3-D2) weapon graves in Norway. Squares: Inhumations. Triangles: Cremations (illustration: the author)

(C26001). Still, there is a greater degree of overlap between richly furnished graves and weapon graves in the latest phases of the Late Roman period (C2–C3) and in the Migration period than in the preceding periods, and this is particularly so in western Norway, where quite a few “hellekister” contain both weapons and several ceramic vessels, jewellery in the shape of golden finger rings, in some cases imported glass beakers etc.

Weapons and status

What do the weapon graves represent, then, status wise? The use of weapons in burial rituals is basically a reflection of the militarisation of societies in the tribal zone beyond the *limes* (Stylegar 2008). Lotte Hedeager’s 1992 study of the Roman period weapon graves in Denmark concluded that weapons are usually found with younger men, “*in other words, weapons are particularly linked to the function of the active warrior*” (Hedeager 1992, p. 162). Several more recent studies have taken Illerup and the other Roman period war-booty offerings in Southern Scandinavia as their departure point, and tried to correlate weapon combinations and military hierarchy from these finds with other types of archaeological source material, not least the contemporary weapon graves (Carnap-Bornheim 1992; Gansum 2000; Ilkjær 1990; 1993; 2001; 2003; Ilkjær, Carnap-Bornheim 1999; Solberg 2003, s. 103–123; Stylegar 2008).

As for Norway, Roman period weapon graves have been the subject of a number of recent studies (Joki 2006; Eketuft Rygh 2007; Storli 2006; Stylegar 2008). Inger Storli, for instance, has suggested that a relative distribution of weapon groups similar to the one argued by Hedeager in her 1992 work can be discerned in Northern Norway. She follows Hedeager in arguing that individuals buried with a complete set of weapons represent a military elite (Storli 2006, s. 88–89).

But it makes sense to distinguish between the earlier graves furnished exclusively with weapons, and the later ones which includes weapons as well as a wide array of other categories of objects. It is possible, indeed, it is likely, that while the earlier graves signal a warrior identity or warrior status pure and simple, in the latter ones we are dealing with a more complex, probably aristocratic identity, where the martial theme are expressed as part of a bundle of different aspects, including the long-distance political contacts witnessed by Roman import finds. Let us concentrate on the early graves, and view them in light on what they might tell us about warrior

status and military organisation in the Roman period Scandinavia.

The types of weapons used by Germanic armies in the Late Roman period are well known and well studied. Thanks to the excavations and subsequent publications of Illerup, Ejsbøl and other war-booty offerings, we now also have a rather clear picture of functional aspects and internal organisation of Germanic armies. Jørgen Ilkjær and Claus von Carnap-Bornheim differentiates between three qualitatively different combinations of weapon equipment, and thus three different levels of hierarchy in the besieged army at Illerup: *army commanders* with swords, shields, belts, and riding gear decorated with mounts made of gilded silver, *officers* with swords, shields, belts, and riding gear decorated with bronze mounts, and *regulars* or infantry with a combination of weapons different from the officers, most often a spear, a javelin, and a shield with mounts primarily made of iron. In the only partially excavated Illerup “A” offering, 5–6 sets of weapons associated with the uppermost level were found, against 35–40 associated with the middle level, and c. 350 with the lower (Ilkjær 2003, s. 50).

A study of the Late Roman weapon graves from Opplandene, altogether c. 150 finds, makes a useful comparison with these results from Illerup (Stylegar 2008). Here, the numerical distribution of weapon types is rather similar to the one from Illerup: 12 % of the weapon graves can be attributed to Ilkjær’s level 2, against 88 % in level 3. For Illerup “A,” the comparable ratios would be 9 % and 89 % respectively. Only one burial in the study area belongs to level 1 — the C3 burial from Sætrang in Ringerike, Buskerud, with a bandoleer with silver fittings (C617). This single burial of course defies any statistics (it equals 0,7 %; just one more find would bring the percentage up to 1,3, and thus very close to Illerup’s 1,5 %).

The geographical distribution of weapon graves in Opplandene is interesting in this regard. As mentioned already, there are major clusters of such graves in some local areas, like Hadeland, Hedemarken and Valdres. But there are other, more enlightening facts about the distribution of weapon graves in this area. There is a tendency for graves with swords, either belonging to level 2 or level 3, to form large, marked clusters. Graves with lance and/or javelin (and sometimes shield) as the only weapon(s), however, also occur in more peripheral areas, and thus have a much more widespread distribution than the sword graves. In the Illerup find, swords are associated with the upper and middle

level of the military hierarchy, as well as with a minority within the lower level. But topographically speaking there seem to be clear differences between weapon graves with or without swords, as graves with swords are found first and foremost in clusters which also contain level 2 graves, i.e. graves associated with the middle level of the Illerup hierarchy. There is only one kind of military organisation which seems to fit this pattern, namely aristocratic retinues — with chieftains and their sword-bearing retinues residing on central farms, while spear-wielding regulars who could be called upon in case of war, otherwise were making a living on more peripheral farms (cf.: Stylegar 2008).

There is an extensive literature concerning the retinue or *comitatus* described by Tacitus (*Germania* 13–15) and said to be widespread among the Germanics (see for instance: Carnap-Bornheim 1992). The *comites* would consist of both cavalry and infantry (Kristensen 1983). They had taken a special oath which obliged them to assist their leader (*princeps*) in war as well as peace. In return, they received maintenance, gifts and a part of the spoils in case of raids or other war-like activities. The *princeps*' reputation depended on the number of brave warriors in his retinue, which again depended on his generosity and luck in war. In peace time the retinue was a heavy burden, economically speaking (Hedeager, Tvarnø 2001:105). Dagfinn Skre argues that “the aristocracy in the Nordic countries had warriors attached to their persons and households from the Roman Period and well into the Middle Ages” (Skre 1998, s. 261).

Roman *auxilarii*?

Several of the third century weapon types occurring regularly in the Opplandene region of eastern Norway, have close parallels in a south-eastern zone stretching through Gotland, Bornholm, Funen, Southern Jutland, Mecklenburg, western Prussia, Silesia and Bohemia, while they are comparatively rare both in western Scandinavia and north-western parts of the Continent (Grieg 1926:91). A long time ago, Haakon Shetelig pointed out that these types probably represents the weapons used by Roman supporting troops, *auxilarii* (Shetelig quoted in: Grieg 1926, s. 91; cf.: Albrethsen 1997).

The characteristic clusters of the third century weapon graves in Opplandene were introduced into the scholarly debate by Shetelig already in 1900, and he returned to comment on this phenomenon at several later occasions (Shetelig 1900; 1920; 1925): “*Cremation burials with a rich equip-*

ment of weapons and often with imported bronze vessels appear sporadically, one and one, from the beginning of the Roman Iron Age on both sides of the Oslofjord, and in the lake districts in the Uplands, at Tyrifjorden and Randsfjorden. ... It is the older finds, from the first and third centuries, that have this rather widespread and even distribution across Eastern Norway. But during the third, and even stronger in the fourth century, the burials of this type cluster very clearly in one single, limited area, in Hadeland with Toten and Valdres, the old historical Hadeland, while they gradually disappear elsewhere” (Shetelig 1925, s. 136).

In 1920, he explicitly linked the Late Roman period weapon graves in Hadeland, Toten and Valdres to finds from the area occupied by the Marcomans and their Germanic allies during the Marcoman Wars of the late second century. “*The men buried here,*” he wrote, “*seem to be strangers towards traditions and rites in the local area, and at the same time they have very close connections to Barbaric-Roman culture in the border areas of the Empire. Through literary cues one is led to believe that this people were migrants returning home, people who had been with the German tribes in Bohemia or on the Danube”* (Shetelig 1920).

Shetelig especially linked this return to the name Hadeland, i. e. “land of the warriors” (Shetelig 1920; for the possible meaning of the landscape name, see: Sandnes, Stemshaug 1997). Shetelig's hypothesis was later supported by Sigurd Grieg, even if the latter believed that the people buried in the weapon graves in Opplandene were new immigrants from Europe, and not warriors returning home (Grieg 1926, s. 91). Others have been more sceptical; Asbjørn Herteig in his study of Toten argued that most weapon graves in the area stem from what today are wealthy farms, and thus that the weapon burial custom reflected the upper strata of a farming society (Herteig 1955).

Still, the distribution pattern of the weapon graves in Opplandene seems to me to give support to Shetelig's ideas, in the very least to a variety of his hypothesis. Three different questions have to be answered: Why do the weapon types and weapon combinations in Scandinavian graves adjust to changing conditions in the Roman army with little or no delay? How do we interpret the particular *pattern of distribution* of weapon graves in areas like Opplandene; meaning not only the characteristic clusters in smaller districts like Hadeland, but also the way the different types of weapon combinations are distributed? The distribution pattern

does not fit well neither with the idea of individual warriors returning from service on the European continent, nor with a farming population utilising martial symbolism simply as a status marker. It is a whole *system* we seem to be dealing with, and this strongly suggests that what we have for instance in Hadeland, is either a local or regional military organisation, or/and a larger group of warriors returning home *or* settling in a new area.

There seems to be a mutual relationship between this military organisation in Opplandene and the Germanic armies pushing against the Roman Empire's northern frontier on the upper and middle Danube in the late second century, or indeed the Roman armies defending the frontier. Discussing the Illerup "A" find, Pauli Jensen *et alii* suggest that the similarities between "*the Germanics who fought on the Roman side in the Marcoman Wars and later on served as mercenaries in the period after Marcus Aurelius, have brought home with them their knowledge of the Roman military structure*" (Jensen, Jørgensen, Lund Hansen 2003, s. 325). Poignant examples from east Norway in this respect are a handful of weapon graves with spurs and three or more spears, in the fashion of Roman cavalymen (for instance C28980 from Hunn, Fredrikstad and C3109 from Vesten, Fredrikstad) (cf. Kontny 2008:118, Hyland 1993).

It is not only a question of transferring knowledge, however. Many of the weapon graves in Opplandene contain weapons which are not only based on Roman models, but are in fact Roman products. These are double-edged swords, some of them with figure inlays (Rygge 1970; Ilkjær, Carnap-Bornheim 1999; 2000). Shield-bosses, lances and spears appear to be Scandinavian products (Rygge 1970; Ilkjær, Carnap-Bornheim 1999; 2000); interestingly, the major iron-producing areas in Norway during the Late Roman period are situated in Valdres, Gudbrandsdal and Trøndelag, i. e. areas with many weapon graves (Stenvik 1997; Larsen, Rundberget 2008). Apart from swords, many weapon graves in Opplandene, especially in Hadeland, contains imported bronze vessels. These graves in particular link Opplandene with European mainland.

Among the Late Roman period weapon graves the ones where an imported bronze cauldron serves as an urn is a characteristic group. In these graves weapons, and sometimes a few other types of personal objects, are kept in a bronze vessel together with the cremated bones.¹ The cauldron, in most cases a so-called Östland cauldron (Eggers types 37–43), is often placed in a small stone chamber inside a mound; there are only a couple of examples of the cauldron being placed in a pit below the surface. These "cauldron burials" from the second and third centuries have a distribution very similar to the distribution of weapon types discussed above (fig. 7); they are found along an axis stretching from Norway along a south-eastern route through Central Europe, where similar graves are known from cemeteries like Hagenow in Mecklenburg, and ending in present-day Bohemia and cemeteries like Dobřichova-Pichora (Droberjar 2006; Voss 2007; Baumgartl 2009). Some of these cemeteries have a very large percentage of weapon graves, as have districts like Hadeland and Valdres in Norway (Kolník 1980; Droberjar 2006). As U.-H. Voss (2007) argues about the cemetery of Hagenow, five or six generations of an elite manifest rank and status through burial rites, using weapons and military equipment, as well as other artefacts stemming from participation both in Roman military service and Germanic retinues. Early Germanic kingdoms like Maroboduus', which were consciously modelled on the Roman system, would give ample opportunities for the barbarian elite in this respect. It seems only natural to interpret the "cauldron burials" in Opplandene in this light.²

The weapon graves from Opplandene are not very lavishly equipped. Except for weapons and (in some case) a bronze urn they do not contain much. Other Roman period burials from Norway, often inhumations, are richer in the sense that they have more Roman imports (glass vessels and bronze drinking utensils) as well as objects made from precious metals in them, but these graves do not, as a rule, contain weapons (examples from eastern Norway are Store-Dal graves 5 and 6 — 21555 and C21581). Some of these latter graves, spread out both geographically and chronologically, might

¹ Cremations in bronze urns are known from different regions in Norway in the Roman period, but only in Hadeland and Sogn do they regularly contain weapons. Later, in periods C3 and D1, cremations in bronze urns, so-called Westland cauldrons, are indeed relatively widespread in western Norway; they never contain weapons, however.

² I would also like to mention Gad Rausing's (Rausing 1987; cf.: Maxfield 1981, p. 96 f.) interesting, but speculative discussion regarding bronze vessels and drinking horns found in many Scandinavian graves as possible Roman *donna militaria*.

represent individuals having diplomatic contacts with the Romans, i. e. *foederati* (cf. Grane 2007 for a number of possible examples from Denmark). This is a possible explanation also for a small number of very rich weapon graves situated away from the clusters with ordinary weapon graves, with Avaldsnes and Kongshaugen/Giske, both from western Norway, as the prime examples (B617 and B10790).

**Addendum: Auxiliaries' graves,
Chatyr-Dag and the Norwegian connection**

In a context like the present publication, it seems fitting to comment rather briefly upon the Late Roman Period cemetery of Chatyr-Dag in the Crimea, as the graves there have been connected not only to Germanic *auxilarii*, but even to auxiliaries originating from present-day Norway (Kazanski 1991; Мыц и др. 2006).

Auxiliaries in the Roman army were recruited from peoples that did not have Roman citizenship. Men who came to the auxiliaries were either volunteers or conscripts. Some allied tribes, such as the Batavians, provided troops to the Romans in place of taxes of money or goods. Certain auxiliary units were formed of single ethnic groups, such as *cohors I Hamiorum Sagittariorum*, a unit of Syrian archers stationed on Hadrian's Wall in Britain (Anderson 2009, p. 16). The Roman army was essentially based on heavy infantry, thus it favored the recruitment of auxiliaries with different specialities, such as missile troops, cavalry, or light infantry. So what do we know about the burial rites of these Roman *auxilarii*?

Burial with weapons is not a "Roman" rite, meaning that it is not an Italian tradition, despite the fact that Roman weapons appear in numerous burials, even within the Empire.³ "*Depositing weapons in graves*," writes Nico Roymans, "*represents a tradition which was not practiced within the Roman army; members who died during active service were buried by their fellow soldiers without their equipment*" (Roymans 1996, p. 35). Discussing weapon graves in native cemeteries within the Empire, Roymans suggests that these belong to "*veterans of auxiliary units who, on ending their active service, had taken their equipment or part of it home. When they died, they were buried according to native traditions*" (Roymans 1996, p. 35). But weapon buri-

als also occur in some Roman legionary sites, like Krefeld-Gellep, as well as in Hees and Hatert near Nijmegen (Anderson 2009, p. 147 f.).

There are several cemeteries within the borders of the Empire which have been interpreted as belonging to auxiliary units. Well-known examples are Windisch-Dägerli in Switzerland and Brougham in England (Hintermann 2000; Cool 2004). Both these cemeteries are located next to a known and long-used military installation, and with the majority of the burials dating to the period of military occupation. Several different legions and auxiliary units were stationed at Windisch (Vindonissa), while Brougham (Brocavum) seems to have housed only one auxiliary unit — the cavalry unit *numerus equitum Stratonicianorum* (Anderson 2009, p. 106). Both cemeteries included urned as well as unurned burials, and *militaria* were found in a number of graves. Not only men, but also women and children were buried in these cemeteries (Anderson 2009, p. 123).

Other cemeteries have been more or less convincingly linked to Germanic auxiliaries, even if written sources do not specifically mention the presence of *auxilarii* units in the area. This is the case for instance with a single weapon burial in Algarve, Portugal and the cemetery of Queen Alia Airport, Jordan. In the Algarve case, the identification of the deceased as a Roman auxiliary soldier of Germanic descent is based on the sword found in the grave; in the Jordanian case a single cremation burial in an inhumation cemetery seems to be the only basis for the identification of the deceased as a barbarian auxiliary (Ibrahim, Gordon 1987; Mendes 1999; cf.: Anderson 2009, p.138 f.).

As for the cemetery of Chatyr-Dag in the Crimea, it is situated on the south-eastern slope of the mountain ridge of this name, ca. 8 km to the north of Alushta and near the modern road between this city and Simferopol. 55 graves were excavated at Chatyr-Dag between 1980 and 2002 (Мыц и др. 2006). The cemetery was used from c. AD 250 to the early part of the fourth century. Most of the burials were cremation pits, but a number of burials were cremations in stone cists with bent weapons and tools and agricultural implements. This particular combination is otherwise known in the Crimea only from Charax, which had hosted a detachment of the *Legio XI Claudia* at the end of the

³ It ought to be mentioned that Guy Halsall has recently argued that the fourth century so-called "Föderatengräber" in Northern Gaul, which often includes weapons, are actually Roman. He suggests that these graves are publicly created "texts" making claims for local power (Halsall 2010)

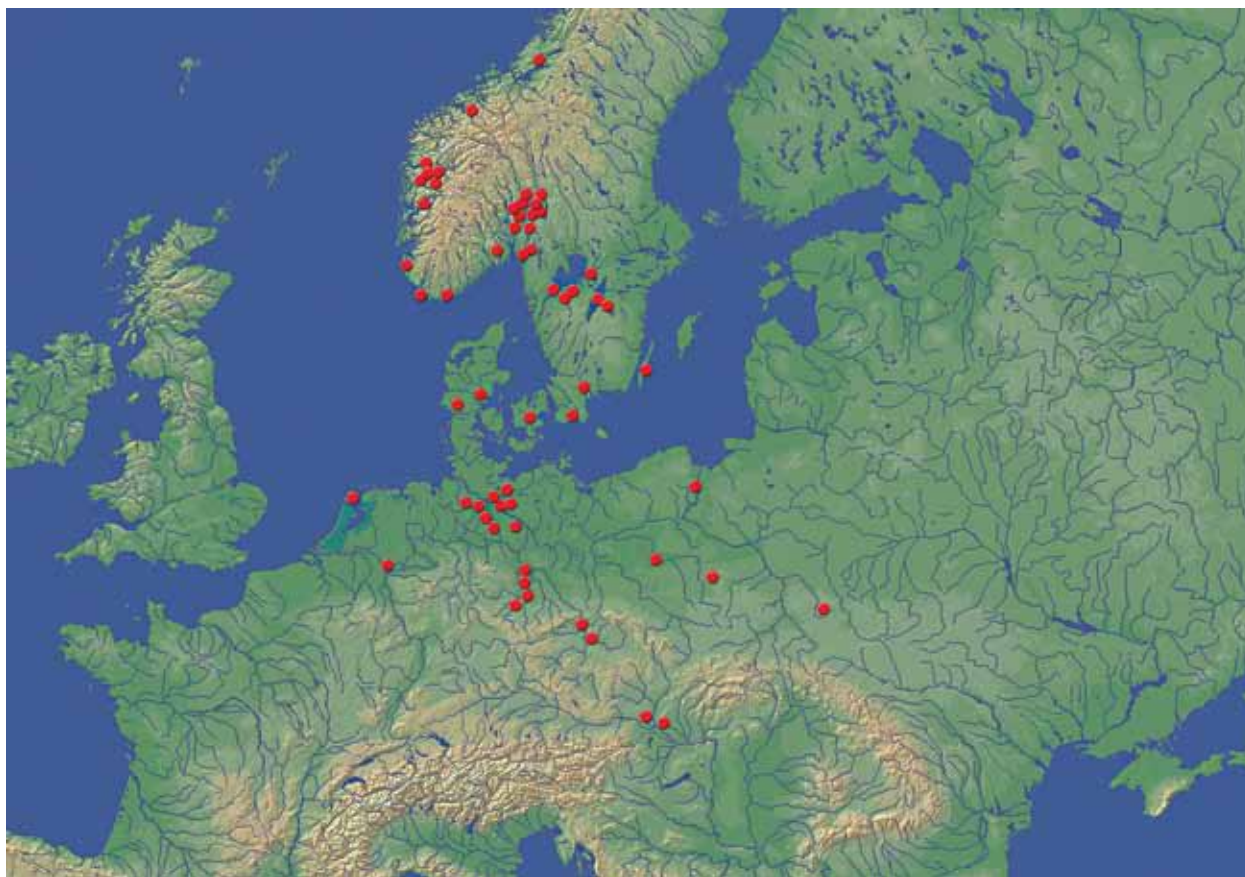


Fig. 7. Roman period weapon graves (cremations) in bronze urns (illustration: the author)

second century (Мыц и др. 2006). Thus it seems logical to look outside the Crimea for the origins of the people buried in these two cemeteries.

Viktor Myts *et alii* seek to put the cemetery at Chatyr-Dag into the historical context of relations between the Roman empire, the Bosporan kingdom and other peoples in the Crimea in the late third century. They argue that the emperors of the tetrarchy used barbarian mercenaries to guard an important mountain road along the southern coast of the Crimea from Chersonesus to Theodosia. Both Chatyr-Dag and Charax lay exactly on this road (Мыц и др. 2006, с. 193). As for the origins of the men buried at Chatyr-Dag, Myts *et alii* state that no similar burial rite is known neither from the north Caucasus nor from Central and Eastern Europe. The only place where cremations in stone cists with weapons and agricultural implements are known in the Roman period, they continue, with reference to Michel Kazanski (Kazanski 1991, p. 496), is south Norway (Мыц и др. 2006, с. 193).

These authors make a convincing case for interpreting the cemetery at Chatyr-Dag as belonging to Roman auxiliary troops. But the identification of

these soldiers with people of Norwegian origins is not rock-solid.

Kazanski (1991) mentions a number of graves, mostly from Opplandene, as examples of graves where cremations in stone cists and bent weapons as well as agricultural implements as furnishings occur. While all these traits are indeed known from Roman period Norway, they are hardly ever found combined. Kazanski mentions graves like Snortheim (C24329) and Fjellberg (C25197) in Valdres, Snipstad (C1246), Valle (C22282) and Gile (C5528 and C5534) in Toten, and Egge (C1077) in Hadeland. All these graves are weapon graves, and all are cremations. Except for Egge, the weapons in them are bent. Egge and Gile are cremations in small stone cists, but not the other ones. All of them are burials in mounds, and not dug-down (as opposed to the flat graves at Chatyr-Dag). Agricultural implements are furthermore rare in Norwegian graves from this period. None of the graves mentioned by Kazanski have them. In eastern Norway, some Roman Period urn burials have a small sickle or leaf knife, but these never combine with weapons. A small handful of weapon graves do have a type

of curved iron knife probably used for preparing animal hides, but this type of object is almost exclusively found in women's graves (Gustafsson 1981; see also: Petersen 1957; Grieg 1926, s. 96). The weapon graves in southern Norway in most cases contain weapons only, and almost never any objects except personal equipment (mostly small objects which would have been attached to the belt).

The particular combinations known from Chatyr-Dag do not to my knowledge occur in Norway at all in the Roman period, even if all the single elements can be found in Norway. But the

same can be said for different parts of Europe. Bent weapons are of course a tradition with roots in the Pre-Roman Iron Age, and it is found many places in Northern Europe, including in a minority of cases within the Przeworsk and the Chernyakov cultures (Moscati 2001). Cremations with weapons and agricultural implements (sickles and curved knives) feature prominently in Germanic cemeteries in Saxony, Mecklenburg and Pommerania; this is indeed one of the main differences between the weapon graves at Hagenow, for instance, and the ones from Hadeland.

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Франс-Арне СТЮЛЕГАР

**Погребения с оружием в Норвегии римского времени и эпохи
Великого переселения народов (1–550 гг. н. э.)**

Резюме

В данной статье анализируются погребения с оружием римского времени и эпохи Великого переселения народов (1–550 гг. н. э.), раскопанные в Норвегии до настоящего времени. Рассматриваются основные типы погребений с оружием, а также их хронологические и региональные особенности. Показано, что погребения с оружием римского времени встречаются в виде характерных групп на некотором расстоянии друг от друга, и выдвинуто предположение, что распространение разных типов оружия в каждой группе говорит о военной организации дружинного типа. Поскольку типы оружия и его сочетания в норвежских могилах с течением вре-

мени изменялись в тесной связи с развитием военных технологий в Римской империи и германских обществах вблизи от Лимеса, и к тому же в тех же самых могилах имеется существенное количество римского оружия и другого военного снаряжения, автор выдвигает предположение, что погребения с оружием в восточно-норвежском регионе Оппланн связаны с людьми, принадлежавшими к подразделениям римских вспомогательных войск. Также рассмотрены и другие погребения и могильники в Европе, возможно, принадлежавшие военнослужащим вспомогательных подразделений, в том числе крымский некрополь Чатыр-Даг.

Aleksandr VASIL'YEV

DRUZHNOYE AND THORSBERG: SOME ASPECTS OF THE STUDY OF BELT SETS FROM THE LATE ROMAN PERIOD

Grave 3 of Druzhnoye cemetery contained an artefact consisting of quadrangular frame with three straight and one bow-curved edge. The inner space of the frame has projecting scroll on either parallel flank (fig. 1. 3).

The excavator Igor' Khrapunov has interpreted this artefact as a buckle and has pointed out that it has no direct analogy (Храпунов 2002, с. 50). In grave 3 of Druzhnoye, the buckle under study was discovered in grave goods of burial vault with large set of reliable chronological indicators of the "developed fourth century" (buckles with tongue turned over the frame edge and step cut near its root, red-slip plates PRS 1 and 2, amphorae Shelov F, glass tulip-shaped glasses with base-rings) (fig. 1. 4–5, 7–9). Beakers of type Eggers 230 (fig. 1. 6) discovered in the same vault allows one to synchronise it with Central European phase C3 (Храпунов 2002, с. 169, рис. 69. 7–9, с. 170, рис. 70; с. 171, рис. 71; с. 172, рис. 72; с. 173, рис. 73. 6–7, 10–11, 13).

The buckle under study was placed near the head of burial D, close to the edge of short sword with cuts near the grip, about 7 cm from the tip of the blade (Храпунов 2002, с. 104, рис. 4. D. 1, 2). In other warrior's graves of Druzhnoye, there were no buckles near swords. Most likely, the buckle was not used as intended in time of the burial, and its tongue could have been missing long since.

In my opinion, the closest analogies to the Druzhnoye buckle under analysis originate from the famous bog find in Thorsberg, Schleswig-Holstein state (Raddatz 1957, Taf. 20. 1, 3). The shape of the frame of one of Thorsberg buckles is analogous to the find of Druzhnoye, but its scrolls do not have spiral curving (fig. 1. 17); the second buckle, on the contrary, has circular frame with straight back edge, but its scrolls touch the inner contour of the frame with their tips similarly to the Crimean artefact (fig. 1. 16).

Klaus Raddatz has called these belt clasps "buckles with twisted tips of frame," has shown provincial Roman prototypes of this form, and has

dated them to the period of transition from phase B2 to phase C1 (Raddatz 1957, S. 52). Today, the earliest horizon of Thorsberg finds with artefacts of interest has been dated to phase C1a (Ilkjær 1990, S. 332, Abb. 201). Regarding the specific shape of the tongue, Raddatz associate it with fleur-de-lis (Raddatz 1957, S. 48). Oleg Sharov interprets it as a stylized image of flying bird and calls such tongues "ornithomorphic" (Шаров 2010, с. 274).

Apart from morphological differences between the buckles of Druzhnoye and Thorsberg, there also is a constructive one. Crimean find has one-piece construction scheme, though the buckles from the bog find have typical Scandinavian two-piece construction with the back side of the frame forming independent pin. One-piece frames are typical feature of the Black Sea buckles, though two-piece construction predominated both in the Barbaricum and in the Roman provinces. It is interesting to note that the buckles of Central European appearance close to types ML G 14, 25, 20 discovered in the north Black Sea area (fig. 2. 8–15, 18) also have one-piece frames (Васильев 2005, рис. 1. 2–5, 7–10; 2. 1, 2, 10; Кармов 2004, с. 35, рис. 2). Both Black Sea finds of the buckles with double tongue (fig. 2: 16–17) belong to type ML G 26 (Васильев 2005, рис. 1. 1; 2. 9), which is less frequent in comparison with analogous buckles with two-piece construction of the frame (Madyda-Legutko 1986, S. 225). Perhaps all of them were produced already in the north Black Sea area according to north-west samples, but in local technological tradition. The same observation concerns the Druzhnoye find as well.

The tongue of the Druzhnoye buckle is missing; the buckle could possibly have a plate. Thorsberg buckles have rectangular plates: this form of plate is likely the most popular among the belt clasps in the European Barbaricum. As for the tongue, one of Thorsberg buckles has it with small transverse crest closer to the root, though he other has it of complicated figured form, with plated rectangular extension at the root and paired scrolls above it —

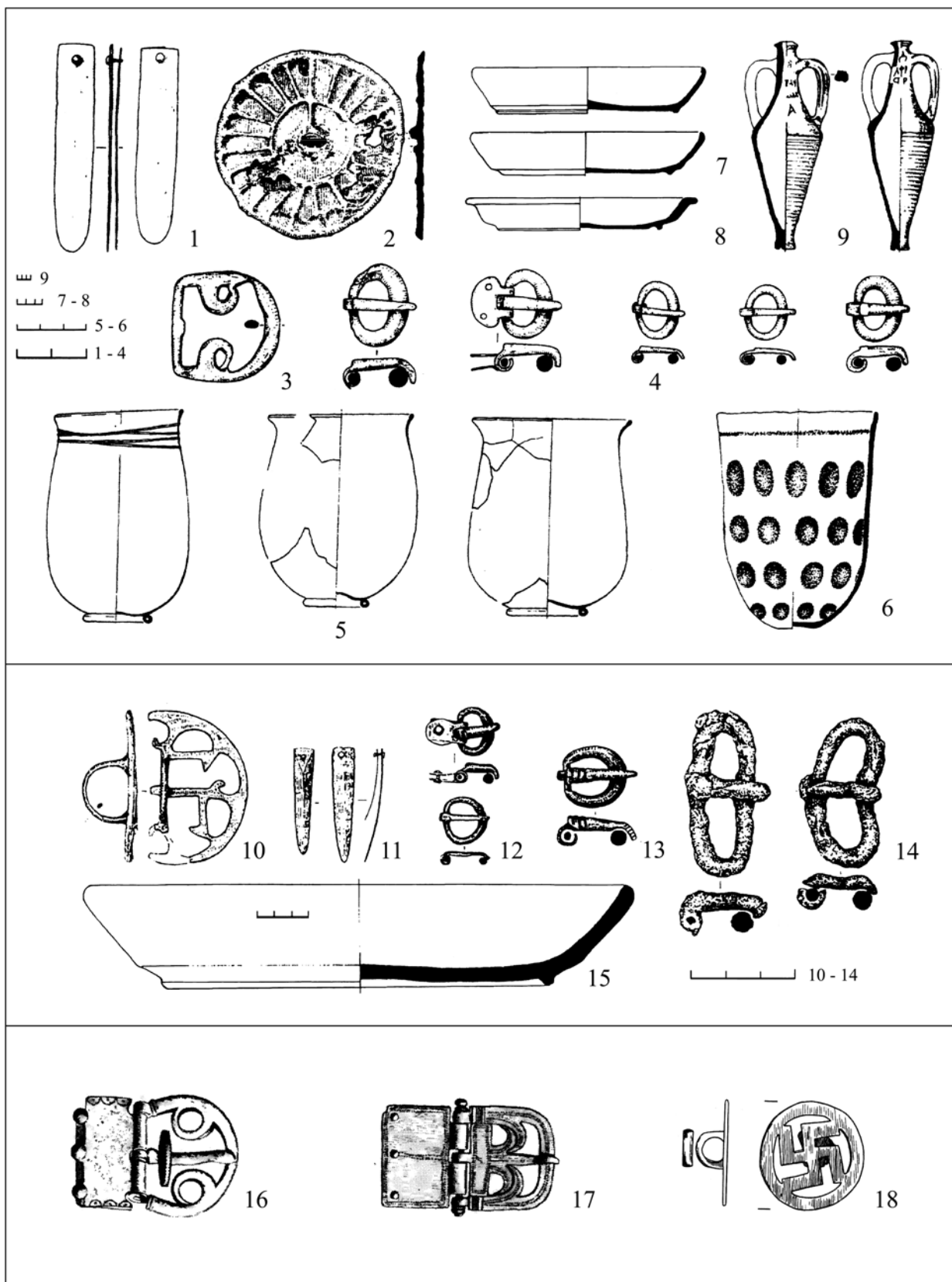


Fig. 1. 1-9 — Druzhnoye, grave 3; 10-15 — Druzhnoye, grave 87; 16-18 — Thorsberg (not to scale)

they are made exactly to fit the contour of scrolls on the frame.

Although such a feature as rectangular plated extension on the tongue to cover inner space of the frame is not very often, it is very widespread geographically. There is another buckle from Thorsberg with analogous tongue (fig. 2. 1). Besides that, a series of rather different artefacts with rectangular plated extensions originates from the area of the West Balt culture (fig. 2. 2–6); a pair of buckles with the same tongue originates from a Sarmatian burial in Hungary (fig. 2. 7); finally, entire series of finds of similar appearance originates from Bosporos and its eastern periphery (fig. 2. 8–15, 18) (Raddatz 1957, Taf. 7. 5; Madyda-Legutko 1986, G14 — one specimen, G25 — two specimens, G45 — two specimens¹; Вадаи, Кульчар 1984, рис. 1. 8, кат. 39; Васильев 2005, рис. 1. 2–4, рис. 2. 1–2, 8, 10; Сазонов и др. 1995, рис. 2. 7; Малашев, Яблонский 2008, с. 330, рис. 206. 3). Among the Bosporan finds of the series, I would like to mention the buckle with quadrangular extension on the tongue which, with symmetrical cuts on the back side, has a shape similar to contour of flying bird (fig. 2. 13). Hence, this tongue is between the fleur-de-lis tongues and the tongues with rectangular extension. Taking wide distribution of this feature, small total number of known specimens, and extreme morphological heterogeneity of the buckles with rectangular plated extension of the tongue into account, I would not interpret them as a representation of a single local tradition (e. g. Balt one).

As for the buckles with inner space of the frame covered with scrolls on the frame and tongue adjusted to each other, they are perhaps even more variant and also have wide chronological and territorial distribution.

Prototypes of this detail are Roman warrior's belt buckles. The shape of the frame with scrolls supplying its inner space with *pelta*-shaped contour appeared in the age of early Principate on openwork loops for hanging scabbard of legionary daggers (Bishop, Coulston 1993, fig. 40. 2c; 42). Buckles with scrolled tongue inscribed into the inner *pelta*-shaped space of the frame appeared in the same period (Bishop, Coulston 1993, fig. 59. 8, 15–16, 19; Višić-Ljubić 2006, Slika 1–4.). From this moment, buckles with *pelta*-shaped inner contour

of the frame became one of the most stable forms amidst the Roman military costume accessories (Bishop, Coulston 1993, fig 80. 8; p. 156, fig. 112. 7, 11; Oldenstein 1977, S. 212, Taf. 74. 977). This form could be found even on late Greco-Roman belts decorated with typical zoomorphic motifs (Костромичев 2006, рис. 6. 2; Zommer 1984, Taf. 14. 1. Sorte 2. Form B; 15. 5. Sorte 2. Form D). It is important to note that provincial Roman buckles have fleur-de-lis-shaped tongue always in combination with hinged construction of the buckle itself. It predominated in the first century (fig. 3. 1); later on, in the second and third centuries, it is more rare (fig. 3. 2), because cast solid "shortened bow-shaped" buckles became more popular and became prototypes of many Black Sea finds (Труфанов 2004, с. 167–169); finally, in the fourth century, hinged construction became widespread again (fig. 3. 3–4).²

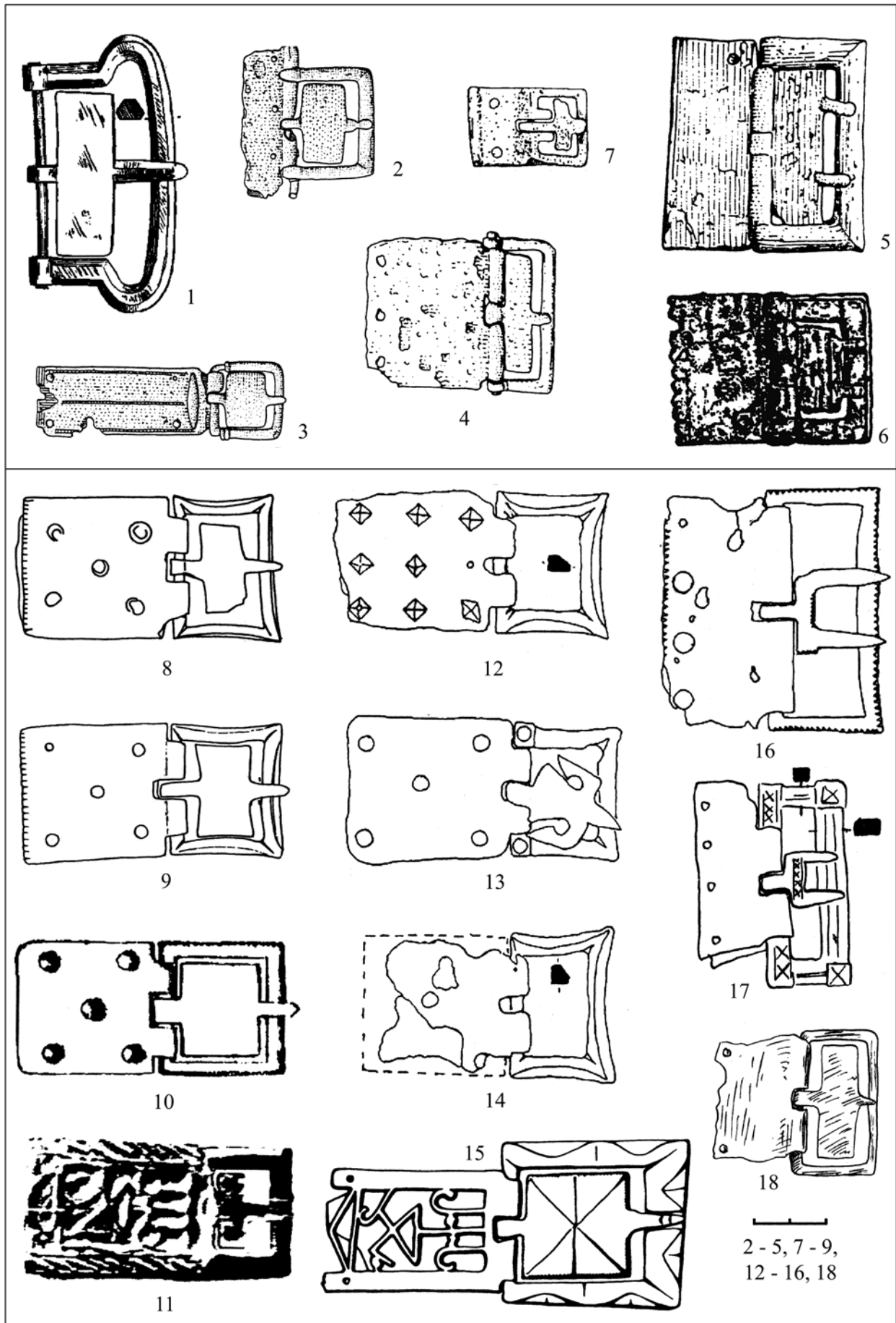
In the territory of the Barbaricum, fleur-de-lis-shaped tongues and frames with inner scrolls appeared at buckles of types ML B2, B9, and G 31. In Madyda-Legutko's corpus, all of them are represented as isolated specimens. Buckles with twisted edges of frames and straight tongues appeared much often. The researcher has dated type B2 to phase B2 and type B9 to phase C1 (Madyda-Legutko 1986, S. 13–14).

Madyda-Legutko cites the only artefact of type B9 from burial 79 of the cemetery of Michałkowo (fig. 3. 20), which is the only datable find in the assemblage, so it cannot be a reliable chronological indicator. This cemetery probably belonged to the Wielbark culture though its burial rite had some traceable Przeworsk features. According to the publishers, it existed from period C1 to period C2–C3 (Okuliczowie 1976, s. 450, ryc. 22. b; s. 459). Buckles of the type were discovered in burial 250A of Wielbark cemetery of Pruszcz Gdański and in Chersonesos (fig. 3. 14, 19). The Pruszcz Gdański assemblage contained different goods, which allow the one to date the burial within period C2. Although definite archaeological context of the Chersonesian find is unknown, Kostromichev relates it to the presence of the Roman garrison in the city (Pietrzak 1988, s. 62–63, rys. 13; Костромичев 2006, рис. 3. 5).

Madyda-Legutko has pointed out that type B9 is synchronous to more popular types B7 and B8,

¹ One is published in Renata Madyda-Legutko's catalogue, another in: Кулаков 2003–2004, с. 307, рис. 24.

² I am grateful to Daniil Kostromichev who has consulted me concerning the aspects of studies of Roman military buckles.



which differ from each other only by the shape of the tongue. Types B7–9 date from the early stage of the Late Roman period, i. e. phase C1 (Madyda-Legutko 1986, S. 13–14). The researcher notes that the buckles of type B7 were not accompanied with goods capable to clarify their chronology. A buckle of type B7 was discovered in Lundteigen burial belonging to By-Gruppe of Scandinavian weapon graves according to Jan Bemmann and Güde Hahne, which was about the end of stage C1b and most part of stage C2 (Bemmann, Hahne 1994, Abb. 96. 3; S. 307, 484; Ilkjær 1990, S. 322, Abb. 201; Godlowski 1994, S. 176, Abb. 5). For the chronology of type B8 typical of the Luboszyce culture crucial are the finds accompanied by comb Thomas I in Niederbersbach and spur Ginalski G2 in Marxdorf (Madyda-Legutko 1986, S. 13–14). Regarding the comb, it could date rather widely, within phases C1 and C2, though spurs of the cited type — from the turn of phases C1a and C1b to phase C2 inclusively (Ginalski 1991, s. 70, 73, ryc. 19). Grzegorz Domański has dated the assemblages from Niederbersbach and Marxdorf to phase C2 (Domański 1981, s. 263, 265, tab. XXXVIII. 11, 21). This way, the most probable chronology for clasps ML B7–9 is phases C1b–C2.

In my point of view, a buckle from barrow 22 of West Balt cemetery of Osowa (ML G 31) is a Roman import from a later period. This is indicated by a typical cut-through “keyhole-shaped” decoration characteristic to Roman warrior’s belts from the fourth century, first of all from the middle of the century. This way, this artefact has no direct connection to the spread of fleur-de-lis motif in ornamentation of buckles in the Barbaricum, though type ML G31 is a variant of Roman military buckle of Sommer’s variant 2B (Sommer 1984, Taf. 13. 5–6; 14. 1–4).

In the context of my present research, there is need to analyse another specific series of buckles from the north Black Sea area, which was recently noticed by Sharov (Шаров 2010, с. 274). These are belt clasps with circular one-piece frame, fleur-de-lis tongue, and circular or rectangular plate.

Massive buckle with three rivets in the middle of circular plate from the Crimea (fig. 3. 18) was mentioned as far back as Bernhard Salin’s famous

research (Salin 1904, S. 117, Abb. 308). In burial 1 of barrow 11 of the cemetery of Tanais (fig. 3. 5–12), similar buckle was discovered together with analogous buckle of smaller size with missing tongue and a pair of two-piece strap-ends with circular top edge of the clip and battle-axe-shaped pendant composing single set with the above-mentioned buckles (Шаров 2010, с. 276, рис. 16). Morphology of frames and plates of these buckles corresponds to Vladimir Malashev’s type П2. Analogous strap-end was discovered in another burial of Tanais (267/1970) together with buckles П2 with usual straight tongues and end-pieces H2 (Шаров 2010, с. 277, рис. 17), which allow one to date the burials within the frames of Malashev’s group IIa (first half of the third century) (Малашев 2000, рис. 1, 2). As a rule, in the north Black Sea area similar strap-ends compose assemblages with buckles with tongues with rectangular plated extension covering the inner space of the frame.

There are several glass and red slip vessels discovered together with details of belt set which allow one to clarify the chronology of the burial.

Aleksandr Trufanov calls the red slip cups with applied pseudo-handles (fig. 3. 11–12) type 2.1 (ХИ 56), which appears in burials of chronological groups 4 and 5 of Late Scythian cemeteries in the Crimean foothills (Труфанов 2005–2009: 154–155, 159, 283, рис. 97), i. e. the second century AD in absolute dating. All the analogies I know to the glass bowl with inverted rim, which is decorated with two symmetrically located applications with corrugated outer surface (fig. 3. 10), date from the second and third century (Ancient Glass 1976, p. 29, no. 114; Doppelfeld 1966, Taf. 84, Num. 725). According to the materials of the Athenian Agora, *balsamarii* with wide neck of medium height, globular body and concave bottom similar to the one from the burial under analysis (fig. 3. 9) have narrow dating of the early second century or wider, of 50–150/200 AD (Weinberg, Stern 2009, p. 105, 128, fig. 16. 239. G 204). Burial 52 in the cemetery of Sovkhoz no. 10 contained *balsamarium* of similar form accompanied with finger-ring with enamelled plate with analogies in Late Scythian burials from the mid-second century or first thirty years of the third century (Стржелецкий и др. 2003–2004, с.

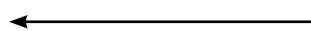


Fig. 2. 1 — Thorsberg (not to scale); 2 — Grachyovka (Gracevka); 3 — Knis; 4 — Wyszembork; 5 — Nikutowo; 6 — Lauth (not to scale); 7 — Szarvas; 8 — count Uvarov’s collection; 9 — Krasnyy Yar, barrow 3; 10–16 — Kerch (10–11 not to scale); 17 — Olbia (not to scale); 18 — Gorodskoy farm, burial 16

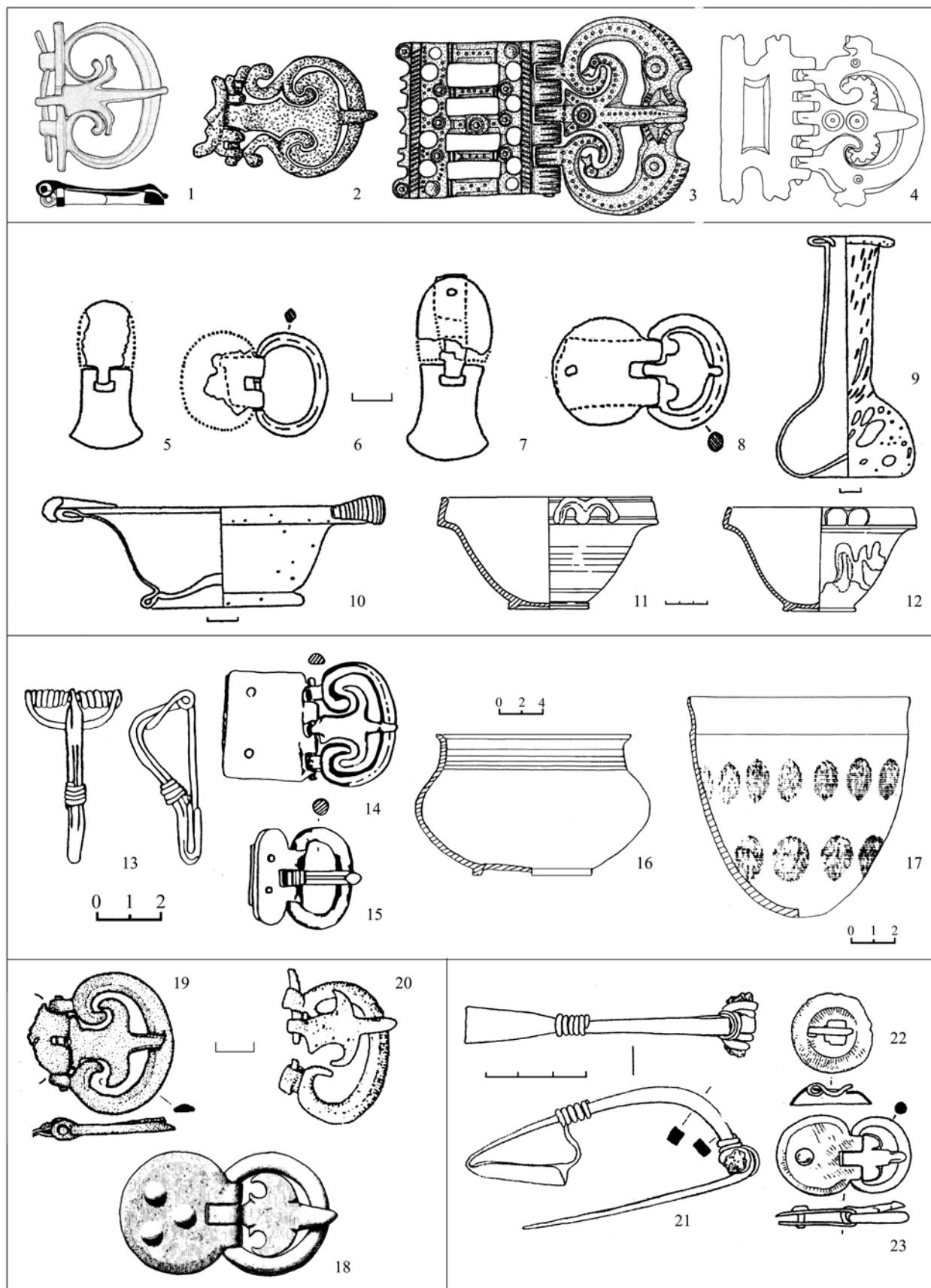


Fig. 3. 1 — Salona (not to scale); 2 — Pfünz (not to scale); 3 — Colchester (not to scale); 4 — Furfooz (not to scale); 5–12 — Tanais, burial 1, barrow 11; 13–17 — Pruszcz Gdański, burial 250A; 18 — Crimea (not to scale); 19 — Chersonesos; 20 — Michałkowo, burial 79; 21–23 — Ust'-Al'ma, grave 793

211, таб. 7. 69, 72; Труфанов 2005–2009, с. 222, XII 78, рис. 62. 20, 22, 26; с. 288, рис. 101. в; с. 290, рис. 102. б). Most likely, the *balsamarum* of Tanais burial has to be dated within the limits of the second century and the entire assemblage to the end of this century.

Another assemblage with analogous buckle is grave 793 in Ust'-Al'ma cemetery. To determine its chronology, two-piece bow-shaped fibula and buckle with convex frame are demonstrative (fig. 3. 21–23). Trufanov dates this assemblage to the second thirty years of the third century (Труфанов 2010, с. 159–161, 163, рис. 13). Actually, I can agree with this chronology, though the brooch Ambroz 15-III in the grave, in my point of view, makes the third quarter of the third century more preferable dating for the whole assemblage.

Burial 227 of the cemetery of Kytai (fig. 4. 1–9) contained a buckle with circular one-piece frame, fleur-de-lis tongue and rectangular plate with two holes in the back side together with buckle П2 and a series of votive buckles and belt-ends of gold foil (Шаров 2010, с. 275, рис. 15).

A typical feature of the decoration of the plate of the buckle of interest finds its closest analogies amidst Chersonesan buckles. In one case, Chersonesan buckle differs from Kytai one with usual straight tongue only, in the other case, such plate connects bow-edge buckle with the belt (fig. 4. 14, 15). Kostromichev cites a series of rectangular fittings of Roman military belts with paired holes on butt edges, which are prototypes of decorations of plates of buckles from Chersonesos and Kytai. There is one Roman fitting of the type originating from Pantikapaion. Ornamental motif of a pair of bud- or bean-shaped cuts in Roman ware dates from the late second or first half of the third century. Kostromichev dates burial 93/1910 to the second half of the second or early third century (Костромичев 2006, с. 52–53, 94, рис. 3. 14, 15–18; с. 104, рис. 8. 1–3). This way, the Kytai buckle dates from the late second century or later.

The Kytai buckle under analysis (fig. 4. 2) reproduces two typical features of Roman strap fitting: fleur-de-lis tongue and paired cuts on butt end of the plate. Both details have analogies among the finds related to the Roman garrison of Chersonesos.

As for votive details of belt sets with impressed "Sarmatian" symbols, they imitate bow-edge and rectangular strap clasps and two-piece strap-ends (fig. 4. 21–24). Similar artefacts are widely presented in burial monuments of Bosporos; in one case, such a buckle still has tongue, cut of foil, with rectangular

extension filling the inner space of the frame (fig. 2. 11) (Быковская 2004, с. 521, фот. 8).

Traditionally, the symbols depicted on plates of these buckles are attributed to Tiberios Ioulios Eupator (154–173/4 AD); recently, however, important arguments have been put against the existence of such symbols of Bosporan kings before Thotheses (286–308 AD) (Завойкина 2003). Apart from the symbols identical to the one on a slab from Tanais bearing the name of Eupator as its dating formula, buckle plates and strap ends have also symbols differing from those attributed to the successors of the mentioned king. In my point of view, this is another argument against the direct attribution of such symbols to the Bosporan kings. At the same time, they could be chronological indicators after all. The presence of artefacts with symbols specially produced for grave goods (i. e. they did not circulate for long, cf.: Храпунов 2005, с. 273) does not allow one to date this assemblage after the late second century. Taking the chronology of the buckles into account, burial 227 in Kytai cemetery dates from the last quarter of the second century.

The analysis of burials from Tanais, Kytai and Ust'-Al'ma has shown that from the late second to the mid-third century in the north Black Sea area there were buckles clearly executed in local tradition, close to Malashev's types П2 and П4, with fleur-de-lis tongues.

Considering that initially this detail of ornamentation of strap clasps appeared in Roman military belts with *pelta*-shaped inner contour of the frame, it would be logical to infer that provincial Roman buckles actually became the prototype for the Black Sea ones. It is important to notice here that similar tongues never appeared with the so-called bow-edge buckles in the north Black Sea area (fig. 4. 13, 17), form of which undoubtedly originated from the mentioned Roman prototypes. In the late second and first half of the third century, when local Black Sea buckles got fleur-de-lis tongues, the number of belt clasps with such tongues in the Roman provinces was relatively small.

Regarding the question of the distribution of buckles with fleur-de-lis tongue in the area of the Germanic Barbaricum, apart from obvious provincial Roman analogies, there is sense to think of possible influence from the Black Sea.

I have already mentioned that the most close (both in regard to the territory and the typology) artefact with such tongue originates from Chersonesos. Against the background of such fea-

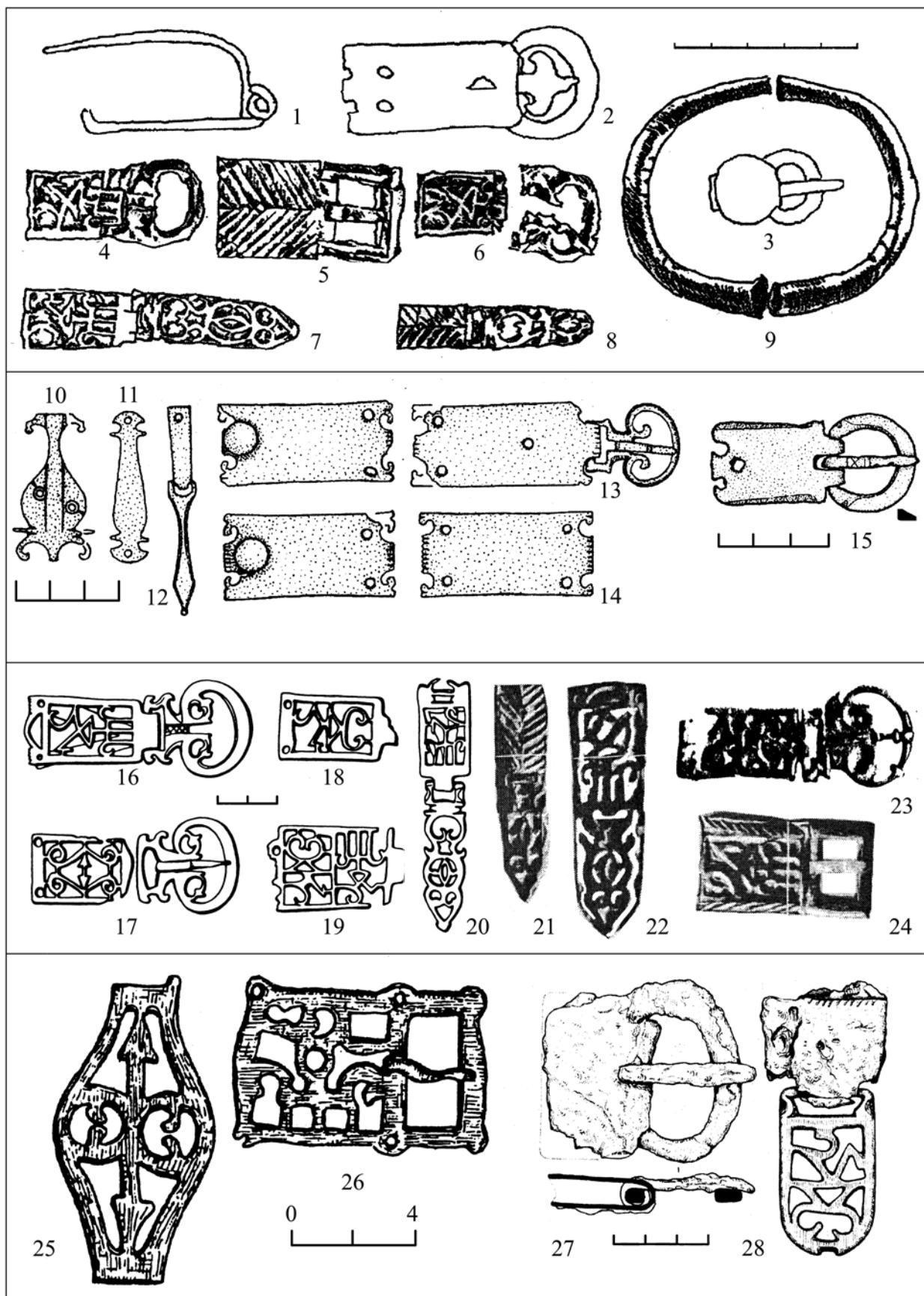


Fig. 4. 1- 9 — Kytai, burial 227; 10-15 — Chersonesos; 16-24 — Kerch (21-24 not to scale); 25-26 — Chernorechenskiy, grave 35; 27-28 — Fontany, grave 4

tures as two-piece *pelta*-shaped frame and fleur-de-lis tongue, Kostromichev includes this buckle, absolutely strange for the north Black Sea area, into his corpus of finds related to the presence of the Roman garrison in that city. As it has already been discussed above, these details are known also on the artefacts from the Barbaricum, though the fact that both direct analogies to the Chersonesan buckle originate from the area of the Wielbark culture raises doubts in its provincial Roman origin.

Chersonesos buckle ML B9 and Druzhnoye buckle close to the finds of Thorsberg belong to still few finds in the Crimea of Germanic origin from the period of Gothic wars (probably to their initial stage). Besides their origin and date, they are united by such a detail, originating from Roman prototypes, as scrolls in the inner contour of the frame and tongue adjusted to each other (for Druzhnoye artefact, this is just a suggestion). It should also be noted that in Druzhnoye, besides the buckle from burial 3D, there is one more instance of delay of imported piece of belt fittings. This is the case of openwork badge for sword belt discovered in grave 87 (fig. 1. 10) together with buckles and strap-ends from phase D1 (fig. 1. 11, 13–14), though analogies to such badges are known from the third century assemblages including those of Thorsberg (fig. 1. 18) (Храпунов 2002, рис. 211. 1–6, рис. 213. 6, 8; James 2004, fig. 36. 18–20; Bishop, Coulston 1993, p., fig. 91. 7–8; Oldenstein 1976, S. 236, Taf. 87. 134; Carnap-Bornhaim 2004, Taf. 35. 3). Similarly to the case with the buckle from grave 3, the context of the find (near the right hip of burial A) (Храпунов 2002, с. 166, рис. 66. A. 4) and its fragmented state supply evidence that the badge had come out of use as intended when the burial was made.

The analysis of the chronology of grave goods from assemblages with buckles with fleur-de-lis tongues shows that they appeared in the north Black Sea area as early as the last decades of the second century. They do not have scrolls on the inner contour of the frame, though their morphology is typical for the Black Sea artefacts (fig. 3. 8; 4. 2). In the same period in the Black Sea area, there was the manufacture of buckles of typical provincial Roman appearance, the so-called bow-edge ones (fig. 4. 13, 16–17). Some specimens have plates with “Sarmatian” symbols. Their set could include strap-ends with analogous images (fig. 4. 20). Finally, in the same time there was series of buckles of western appearance with rectangular plates and frames and tongues with plated extension (fig. 2. 8–15, 18). It is typical of the grave goods in rich Bosporan burials to contain imitations of bow-edge and quadrangular buckles with symbols and analogous strap-ends impressed on gold foil (fig. 4. 4–8, 21–24; fig. 2. 11).

These artefacts altogether make a complex of military belt fittings of Bosporos in the last decades of the second and early third century combining the north Black Sea, provincial Roman, and Germanic (or Balto-Germanic) elements. Individual specimens of ware of this circle or even entire assemblages like sets from Chernorechenskiy and Fontany cemeteries (fig. 4. 25–28) appeared also amidst the population of the Central and south-western Crimea (Айбабин 1996, с. 551, рис. 3. 3–4; Храпунов 2005, рис. 36. 3–4).

As the example of the buckle with scrolls and openwork sword-belt badge from Druzhnoye and buckle ML B9 from Chersonesos, such processes took place in the next chronological period as well, i. e. in the age of the “Scythian Wars.”

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**Дружное и Торсберг.
Некоторые вопросы изучения ременных гарнитур позднеримского времени**

Резюме

В могиле 3 некрополя Дружное был найден предмет, представляющий собой рамку четырёхугольной формы с тремя прямыми сторонами и одной дуговидно изогнутой. Во внутреннем пространстве рамки на двух параллельных боковых сторонах имеется по отростку-завитку.

На мой взгляд, описанная находка из Дружного находится в одном типологическом ряду с двумя пряжками из болотной находки Торсберг в земле Шлезвиг-Гольштейн. Несмотря на имеющиеся морфологические и конструктивные отличия экземпляры из Торсберга на сегодняшний день представляют собой ближайшую аналогию для рассматриваемой пряжки из Дружного. Торсбергские находки датируются этапом С1а.

Язычок одной из торсбергских пряжек имеет сложную форму, он пластинчатый, у основания переходит в прямоугольное расширение, а затем в два завитка, форма которых подогнана под завитки на внутреннем контуре рамки пряжки. Можно предположить, что утраченный язычок пряжки из Дружного имел аналогичную форму.

Описанный язычок вызывает ассоциации сразу с двумя группами пряжек римской эпохи. Во-первых, это пряжки с прямоугольным пластинчатым расширением язычка, которое занимает большую часть внутреннего пространства рамки. Такой язычок имеется ещё у одной пряжки в Торсберге, четыре пряжки с таким язычком происходят из ареала западнобалтийской культуры, две — из Венгрии, и целая серия — с Боспора и его периферии.

Во-вторых, это пряжки с язычком в виде геральдической лилии. Такая форма язычка была характерна для римских воинских поясов на всем протяжении римского времени и служила прототипом для изделий из периферийных регионов. В Барбарикуме пряжки с язычками в виде геральдической лилии немногочисленны и, в отличие от Северного Причерноморья, не образуют устойчивых серий. В понтийской зоне известны пряжки с подобным язычком, морфология которых соответствует типам Малашев П2 и П4. Датируются они концом II – началом III вв. В Херсонесе известна находка подобной пряжки северо-западного происхождения типа Мадыда-Легутко В9, аналогии которой происходят с территории Польши и датируются этапом С1b–С2. Эту пряжку вместе с ременной застёжкой из могилы 3 некрополя Дружное можно отнести к числу немногочисленных крымских находок германского происхождения относящихся к эпохе «Скифских войн». К этому же кругу находок относится римская ажурная портупейная бляха из могилы 87 некрополя Дружное, аналогии которой хорошо известны в комплексах первой половины – середины III в. в том числе и в Торсберге. Обе рассмотренные в статье детали ременной гарнитуры из Дружного фрагментированы и найдены в комплексах с выразительными индикаторами этапов С3 и D1, что свидетельствует о длительном бытовании этих вещей в инокультурной среде уже после того, как они утратили своё прямое функциональное назначение.

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