# ARRC – Acculturation, Romanisation, Roman Culture: Processes of Integration Across the Roman Empire

Edited by László Borhy, Kata Dévai, Linda Dobosi, and Csilla Sáró

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# ARRC – Acculturation, Romanisation, Roman Culture: Processes of Integration Across the Roman Empire

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Edited by
László Borhy – Kata Dévai – Linda Dobosi – Csilla Sáró

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# Once again about 'Sarmatian'-type fibulae (Almgren Group VII, Form 210 and similar) in the Chernyakhiv culture

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**Abstract:** This paper examines the origin of fibulae classified as Almgren Group VII, with a high catchplate and an upper chord, also called 'Sarmatian' type, found in the area of the Chernyakhiv culture. It aims to confirm the probable origin of such brooches within the area of the Chernyakhiv culture on the basis of an extensive series of parallels. The paper presents an analysis of the history and methodology of the study of the type, a typological classification and dating of brooches with a high catchplate and an upper chord within the Chernyakhiv culture, and, based on a comparative analysis with a wealth of parallels, formulates a hypothesis concerning their origin. It is supplemented by a catalogue of finds (Appendix) and illustrations. Given the distinct morphological characteristics of this variant, the question of origin should be evaluated separately for each series, with reference to a wide range of analogies from other, primarily neighbouring, archaeological cultures. Overall, all 'Sarmatian' fibulae found on sites of the Chernyakhiv culture are linked to the development of jewellery-making technologies in the Danubian Roman provinces, particularly Dacia and their dissemination, along with completed products, in the period after the Marcomannic Wars and during the reign of the Severan dynasty (AD 193–235).

**Keywords:** A VII 'Sarmatian' fibulae, Danube Region, Chernyakhiv culture

In the archaeological literature on Roman period antiquities of Central and Eastern Europe, 'Sarmatian-type' fibulae is the term commonly used for a diverse and heterogeneous group of brooches belonging to O. Almgren's Group VII (henceforth referred to as A VII 'Sarmatian' or simply 'Sarmatian' fibulae). These brooches were widespread over a vast territory from the upper reaches of the Elbe and the Rhine to the Oka Basin, and from the southern Baltic coast to the Danube and the Northern Pontic region.

Their common feature is an upper chord on the spring, fastened to the head and supported by a projection that may take various forms (a knob, pin, plate, or hook), or passed through an additional hole on a vertical plate designed to hold the axis of the spring (spring plate).[1]

1 Kolník 1965, 195–196, 198–199; Mączyńska 1999; Mączyńska 2003; Mączyńska 2011, 67–72, Tab. 28; Cociş 2004, 133–135; Cociş 2009; Cociş *et al.* 2010, 205–207; Cociş– Bârcă 2012; Cociş– Bârcă 2013; Cociş– Bârcă 2014; Grumeza 2014, 66; Istvánovits – Kulcsár 2018, 288, 291, 254. kép; Nagy 2025, 2.

✉ Corresponding author

This study investigates the origin and distribution of these artefacts within the territory of the Chernyakhiv culture and attempts to determine the typological and chronological connections between these items and comparable finds from sites associated with neighbouring archaeological cultures in Eastern and Central Europe.

## History and methods of research into 'Sarmatian' fibulae

O. Almgren classified two-piece brooches with an elongated (so-called crossbow) spring with an arched chord and a high catchplate into his Group VII.[2] Such finds are characteristic of the Chernyakhiv culture and are found in large numbers on related sites. They were discovered at many settlements and burial grounds, mostly within the forest-steppe zone.[3] Together with available stray finds from this area, the total number of known specimens exceeds 180 (Fig. 1).[4] The history of these finds, held in museums, research institutions, and private collections, as well as their research from the late 19th to the early 21st centuries, was presented in a previous article, together with a new classification framework[5] and a catalogue of 122 specimens.[6]

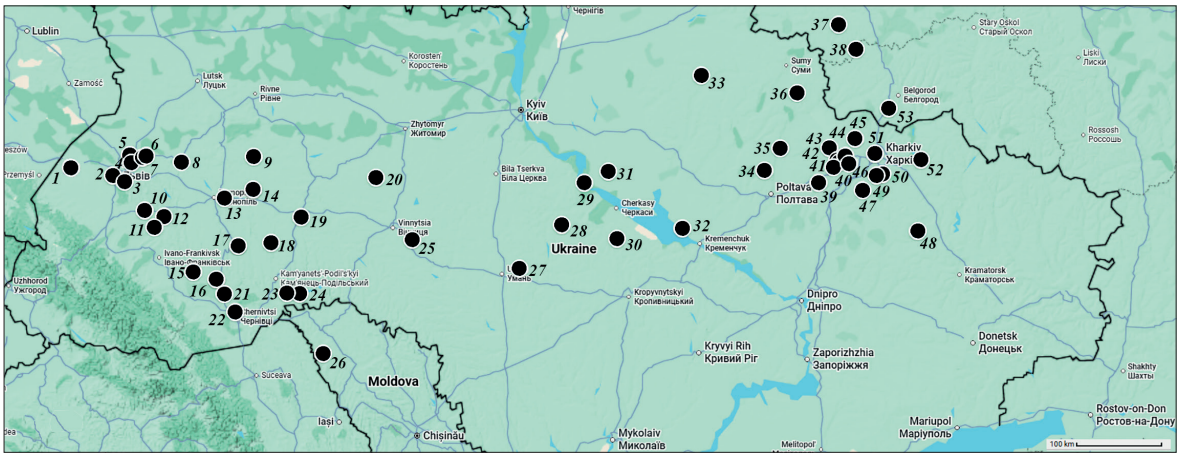



**Fig. 1**. Sites of the Chernyakhiv culture with A VII 'Sarmatian' fibulae. 1 – Horosnytsia, 2 – Sokil'nyky, 3 – Cherepyn, 4 – Staryi Yarychiv, 5 – Zhovtantsi, 6 – Ripniv, 7 – Neslukhiv, 8 – Zahirtsi, 9 – Lepesivka, 10 – Priozerne (Psary), 11 – Demyaniv, 12 – Verkhnya Lypytsia, 13 – Cherneliv-Ruskyi, 14 – Toky, 15 – Nezvisko, 16 – Horodnytsia, 17 – Zhabyntsi, 18 – Werbychka, 19 – Ruzhychanka, 20 – Petrykivtsi, 21 – Verenchanka, 22 – Rohizna, 23 – Luka-Vrublevetska, 24 – Komariv, 25 – Poberezhne, 26 – Khucha, 27 – Lehedzyne, 28 – Zhuravka, 29 – Pekari, 30 – Mykhailivka, 31 – Kovrai, 32 – Hradyz'k, 33 – Matyashiv Yar, 34 – Vasylivka, 35 – Bil'sk, 36 –Boromlya, 37 – Vydrin, 38 – Peny, 39 – Zavhorodne, 40 – Stari Valky, 41 – Mizyaky, 42 – Viytenky, 43 – Khrushchova Mykytivka, 45 – Ridnyi Krai, 46 – Ohultsi, 47 – Ryabukhino, 48 – Pasiky, 49 – Kostyantivka, 50 – Vodyane, 51 – Velyka Danylivka, 52 – Martova, 53 – Holovino.

The initial characterisation of specific features, fundamentally important for precise typological identification and classification, was provided by O. Almgren in his description of Form 210 (henceforth A 210), 'brooches with a separate foot', within Series 1, 'brooches with a knob on the foot'.

2 Almgren 1897, 90–98, 198–208, Taf. 9; Almgren 1923, 253–254.

3 Ambroz 1966, 72–74, Tab. 21.3; Gorokhovskiy – Gopkalo 2004, 122, 125–128, Rys. 11; Mączyńska 2011, 69, 306–309, nos 107–114, 118, 120, 123–125, 127–130, 161–181, Tab. 28.

4 A catalogue of the finds is provided in the Appendix. This number does not include the numerous unregistered finds recovered through illicit metal detecting, photographs of which occasionally appear on online trading platforms and collectors' marketplaces. See, for example, the Violity website.

5 See more details below.

6 Gorokhovskiy – Gopkalo 2004, 103–128, except for a few finds from the left bank of the Dnipro, the publication of which (Lyubichev – Didyk 2002) was not known to us at that time.

Almgren's list of such brooches includes finds primarily from the territory of Austro-Hungarian Galicia between the San River basin, such as a cemetery and settlement at Leżajsk near Jarosław,[7] and the Middle Dniester region, such as a grave find from Horodnytsia and a stray find from Zhabyntsi.

The defining features of these artefacts include a typical profiled body with a sharp break at the junction between the arched bow and the straight foot, the latter often noticeably longer than the 'high' catchplate.[8] The various attributes characteristic of specific variants of Form A210, as described in Almgren's catalogue and presented in the accompanying plates, include a length ranging from 30 to 50 mm; an one- or two-spring construction; the presence or absence of a projection ('knob') on the head; diverse bow forms (strongly or slightly curved, symmetrical or asymmetrical in profile, smooth or faceted, with a variety of geometric cross-sections); decorative elements such as applied wire rings (ranging from two or three to as many as ten, smooth or ribbed), as well as embossed grooves, ridges, and similar details (Fig. 2.A210).[9]

O. Almgren found the general origin of these pan-European fibula variants in prototypes in the Northern Black Sea region, particularly the Bosporan Kingdom and the North Caucasus, represented by Forms 192, 200, and 204 (Fig. 3.A192, A200, A204).[10]

Shortly after the publication of Almgren's book, K. Hadaczek discovered artefacts similar to Form 210 in other regions of Galicia during excavations of a settlement near the village of Neslukhiv in the Western Bug River region and a cemetery near the village of Psary in the Dniester region (Fig. 2.3–5).[11] The first of the discovered items featured a flat, trapezoidal projection on the head and two applied rings, one at the base of the bow and another at the end of the foot, while the other two closely resembled the finds from Leżajsk and Horodnytsia (Fig. 2.1–2). The cultural attribution of these sites, along with other Roman period graves previously found in the same region near the villages of Horodnytsia, Terebovlia, Uvysla, and elsewhere, was determined by analogies with the find material from the cemeteries of Romashky and Chernyakhiv in the Middle Dnipro River region, excavated by V. Khvoika.[12]

About half a century later, E. Symonovych formulated the view that high-catchplate 'Chernyakhiv fibulae' from the Middle and Upper Dniester region (i.e. a settlement near the village of Luka-Vrublevetska and graves in cemeteries at Horodnytsia and Psary) are similar to brooches with an upper chord characteristic of 3rd-century AD Sarmatians in Hungary, studied by M. Párducz.[13]

Following M. Smishko, E. Symonovych dated the finds from Horodnytsia and Psary to the second half or the end of the 3rd century AD[14] and the artefacts from Luka-Vrublevetska to the 4th or possibly even to the late 4th–early 5th centuries AD. Accepting Almgren's theory, he saw their origin in the Northern Black Sea region, identifying some 'provincial Roman fibulae at the turn of the era' discov-

7 The description of the find circumstances, together with the published associated material—pottery, Roman coins, other types of 3rd–4th-century AD brooches, bucket-shaped pendants, and spindle whorls—suggests that the find originated either from a cremation burial or from the cultural layer of a settlement (Rogawski 1856, 64–84, Fig. 1.33).

8 'Height' refers to the width of the catchplate from the edge to the foot of the brooch, while 'length' is the total length of the brooch.

9 Almgren 1897, 91, 96–97, 198–199, Taf. 9.210.

10 Almgren 1897, 92–93, Taf. 9.192, 200, 204.

11 Hadaczek 1904, 14, Tab. 1.1; Hadaczek 1912, 28–30, Tab. 10.

12 Hadaczek 1912, 28–32; Khvoika 1901.

13 Symonovich 1955, 27–29, 30–31, Rys. 8.16–18, Rys. 9.3–5. M. Párducz's series of studies on 'crossbow brooches with high catchplate' discovered at Sarmatian sites in Hungary was published from the early 1930s through the mid-1950s: Párducz 1931, 167–168, Pl. 14.6; Párducz 1956, 145 (Grave 165, no. 1), 159–160 (bibliography and catalog of finds are provided in notes 161–175), Pl. 25.10.a–b, Pl. 26.7.a–b.

14 Smishko 1952, 77. References to M. Párducz's series of studies are provided above in Note 13.

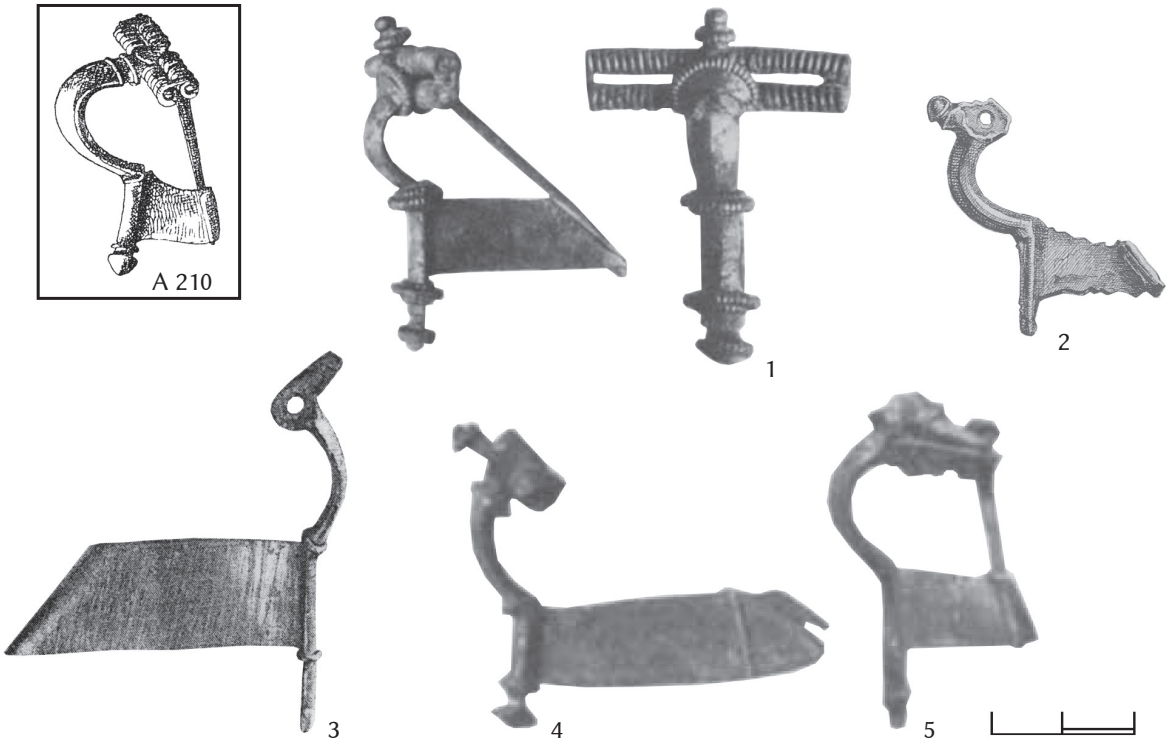



**Fig. 2**. Form A 210 fibulae. 1 – Horodnytsia (Kopernicki 1878, Tab. 3.C), 2 – Leżajsk (Rogawski 1856, Fig. 1.33), 3 – Neslukhiv (Hadaczek 1904, Tab. 1.1), 4–5 – Psary (Åberg 1936, 265, Fig. 5).

ered in Graves 12, 65, and 70 at Olbia in 1902, as well as objects from the Lipitsa and Przeworsk culture complexes of the Upper Dniester and Western Bug regions (Fig. 4.1–3) as prototypes.[15]

The number of Group A VII brooches found in sites of the Chernyakhiv culture had increased significantly by the mid-20th century, their distribution area expanding from the Lower Danube to the Seversky Donets basin.[16]

At approximately the same time, T. Kolník, following E. Symonovych noted the typological similarity between the Chernyakhiv fibulae of Form A210, with an upper chord, and some brooches from Western Sarmatian features in the Middle Danube region, dating to the late 2nd–3rd centuries AD. He also found parallels in the coeval find material of south-western Slovakia, the Przeworsk culture in Poland, Poieneşti in north-eastern Romania, and several other regions.

T. Kolník supported M. Párducz's hypothesis about the autochthonous origin and uninterrupted local evolution of Group A VII brooches in the Middle Danube region, which had dissimilar origins and developed independently from the high-catchplate two-piece fibulae of northern Europe. He designated these artefacts as 'Sarmatian' fibulae.[17]

Regarding the question of origin, he concurred with his Hungarian colleague, linking the genesis of these artefacts to the influence of provincial Roman culture in the Middle Danube region. He referred to prototypes manufactured in Pannonia—specifically, to a brooch published by I. Kovrig[18]—also discovered at barbarian sites in the region, including a cemetery at Bešenov and other sites.[19]

15 Symonovich 1955, 30–32, Rys. 9.1–2.

16 Ambroz 1966, 72–74, Tab. 21.3.

17 Kolník 1965, 189–190, 194–199, Obr. 5.1,3,4,6,8, Obr. 7.4–8,10.

18 Kovrig 1937, 50, Tab. 6.54.

19 Kolník 1965, 194, 198, Obr. 7.1–2.

T. Kolník also identified a distinct variant featuring a broad trapezoidal head within Group A VII, which he interpreted as representing a transition between Roman prototypes with similar heads and 'Sarmatian' brooches (Fig. 4.10).[20]

Almost simultaneously, A. Ambroz—who was not yet familiar with T. Kolník's work at the time—classified Western Sarmatian high-catchplate brooches and those from sites of the Chernyakhiv culture into separate series within a single 'Eastern' subgroup, along with similar finds from Poland and the Czech Republic.[21] Typologically, these brooches were juxtaposed with those in the 'Western' subgroup, characterised by an S-shaped body and a knob on the foot (A193), or by the absence of a knob at the end of the foot—variants typical of the archaeological record of the Elbe basin in present-day Czech Republic, Germany, and Denmark.[22]

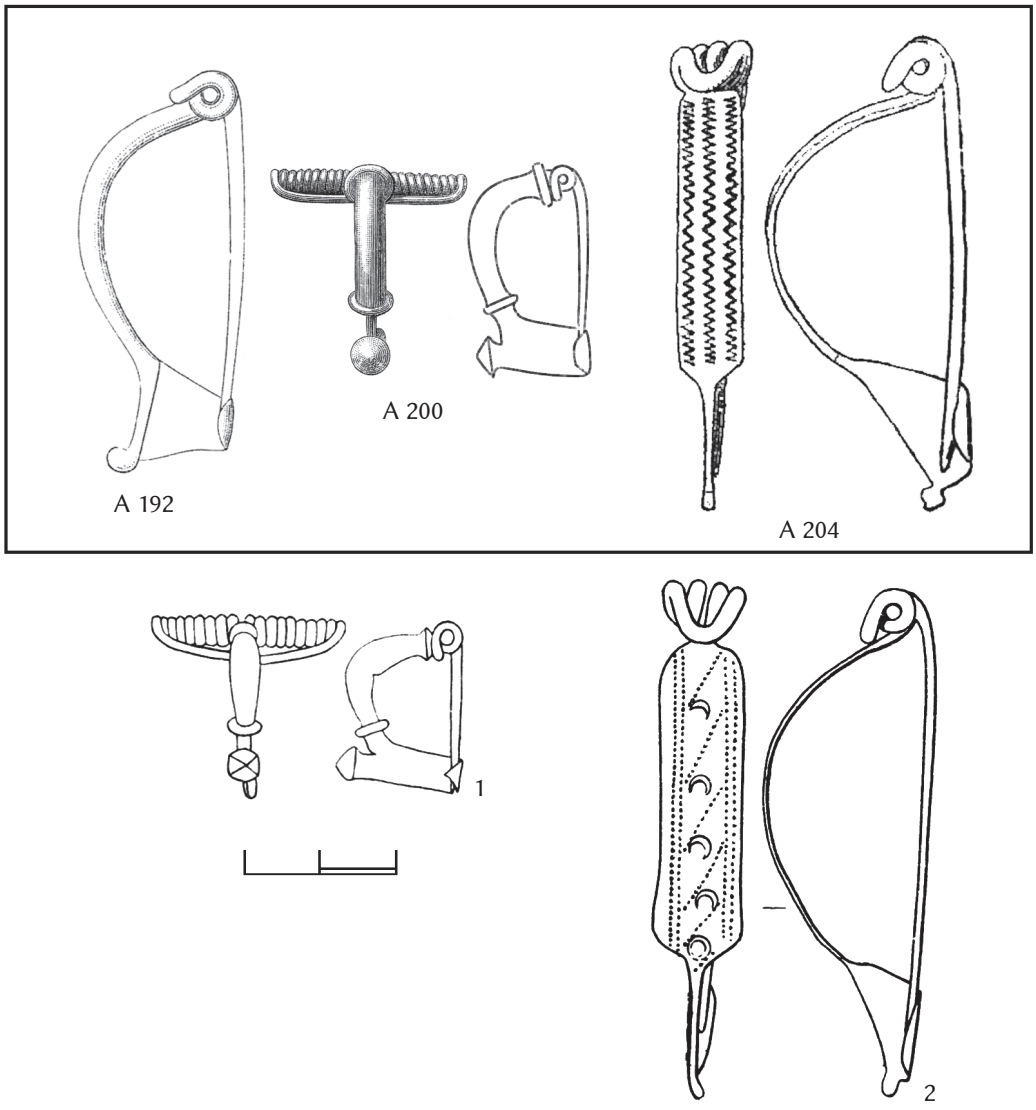



**Fig. 3**. Prototypes of Group A VII fibulae in the Black Sea region and the North Caucasus (Almgren's Forms 192, 200, and 204 and analogies in A. Ambroz's classification). 1 – Group 11, Pontic strongly profiled fibulae of Series II, strongly profiled fibulae with a bead on the head and no catchplate hook, Kumbul'ta village, North Ossetia (Ambroz 1966, Tab. 8.19), 2 – Group 12, brooches with a spring, smooth bow, and a knob at the end of the catchplate (Ambroz 1966, Tab. 5.9).

20 Kolník 1965, 194, 198, Obr. 7.3.

21 Ambroz 1966, 72–74, Tab. 12.3,13–17,20–21.

22 Ambroz 1966, 72, 74.

He also criticised the theories of O. Almgren and E. Symonovich regarding the origin of high-catchplate brooches. He argued that the Bosporan, Caucasian, and Olbian finds mentioned in their works are not the prototypes of this group and questioned their typological classifications and the proposed datings.

Firstly, the Pontic and Caucasian fibulae from Kerch and Galiat, illustrated in Almgren's plate as probable prototypes of the pan-European forms of Group VII (Fig. 3.A200, A204),[23] were respectively attributed to Variant 4a of Group 12 ('Spring fibulae with a smooth body and a knob at the end of the flat catchplate, large, with a barely indicated knob and a flat bow'), dated to the second half of the 2nd–3rd centuries AD,[24] as well as to Variant 3a of Series II, Group 11 ('Strongly profiled fibulae of the Pontic types with a bead on the head and without a chord hook'), dated to the 3rd century AD (Fig. 3.1–2).[25]

Secondly, among the Olbian brooches from the Middle and Upper Dniester regions, regarded by E. Symonovich as prototypes of the high-catchplate fibulae of the Chernyakhiv culture, only the specimen from Grave 12/1902 can in fact be considered provincial Roman.[26] He classified it into Group 10, Subgroup 2, 'Western-type two-piece strongly profiled fibulae with a single bead, no plate above the spring, a ridge on the bow, and a high catchplate', which includes items identical to those produced in Pannonia and also found in Dacia, among the western Sarmatians, and in Slovakia. This variant was presumably dated to the 2nd–early 3rd centuries AD (Fig. 4.1,4).[27] In contrast, the two other fibulae discovered in Graves 65/1902 and 70/1902[28] were produced locally and belong to Variant II-1 of Series II, Group 11, Pontic-style, strongly profiled fibulae with a bead on the head and no chord hook, dated to the 2nd century AD (Fig. 4.2–3,5).[29]

In discussing the origin of high-catchplate fibulae of the Chernyakhiv culture and their parallels, A. Ambroz noted that the actual prototypes of these variants have not yet been identified. However, the widespread distribution of these objects west of the Upper Dniester, contrasted with their rarity further east, indicates that they developed in the southern part of Eastern Europe from the west.[30]

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, E. Gorokhovsky raised the question of fundamental typological differences within Group A VII, distinguishing brooch variants characteristic of the Chernyakhiv culture from forms of the same group found in the Przeworsk and Wielbark cultures in Poland, north-western Ukraine, and south-western Belarus. Previously, Ambroz classified these finds into the same category as comparable forms from Chernyakhiv and Danubian sites, thus creating a single 'eastern subgroup.' Instead, E. Gorokhovsky proposed distinguishing two morphologically independent subgroups: a 'north-eastern' (Vistula–Pripyat) subgroup corresponding to the Przeworsk–Wielbark area, and a 'south-eastern' (Danube–Dnipro) subgroup, which, alongside the Chernyakhiv forms, includes finds from provincial Roman sites inthe Lower and Middle Danube

23 Almgren 1897, Taf. 9.200,204.

24 Ambroz 1966, 44, no. 2. In the cited work by A. Ambroz, the fibula is not explicitly assigned to Almgren's Form 204. Nevertheless, he presents illustrations identical to those published by F. Martin in his study of the Kerch fibulae in the Stockholm Museum and by B. Salin in his monograph (Salin 1904, 6, Abb. 8). Significantly, B. Salin identifies the original source of the illustration as the same one cited by O. Almgren (Almgren 1897, 242, no. 204; Salin 1904, 363, no. 8).

25 Ambroz 1966, 43, no. 25, with reference to Form A200.

26 Pharmakovskiy 1906, 117, no. 12, Rys. 63; Symonovich 1955, 30, Rys. 9.1.

27 Ambroz 1966, 38, no. 1.

28 Pharmakovskiy 1906, 130–131, 133, Rys. 70, Rys. 72; Symonovich 1955, 30, Rys. 9.2.

29 Ambroz 1966, 42, nos 2–3.

30 Ambroz 1966, 73.

region and those characteristic of the barbarian cultures of this region (Carpo-Dacian, western Sarmatian, and others) in the territory of Romania, Hungary, and Slovakia.[31]

M. Mączyńska's work marks the beginning of a new chapter in the study of Group A VII 'Sarmatian' brooches. She attempted to clarify their origin, distribution, and chronology, and to identify possible production centres.[32] She published catalogues comprising approximately 200 finds from about 150 sites across ten countries, including Austria, Hungary, Germany, Denmark, Moldova, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, Ukraine, and the Czech Republic.[33]

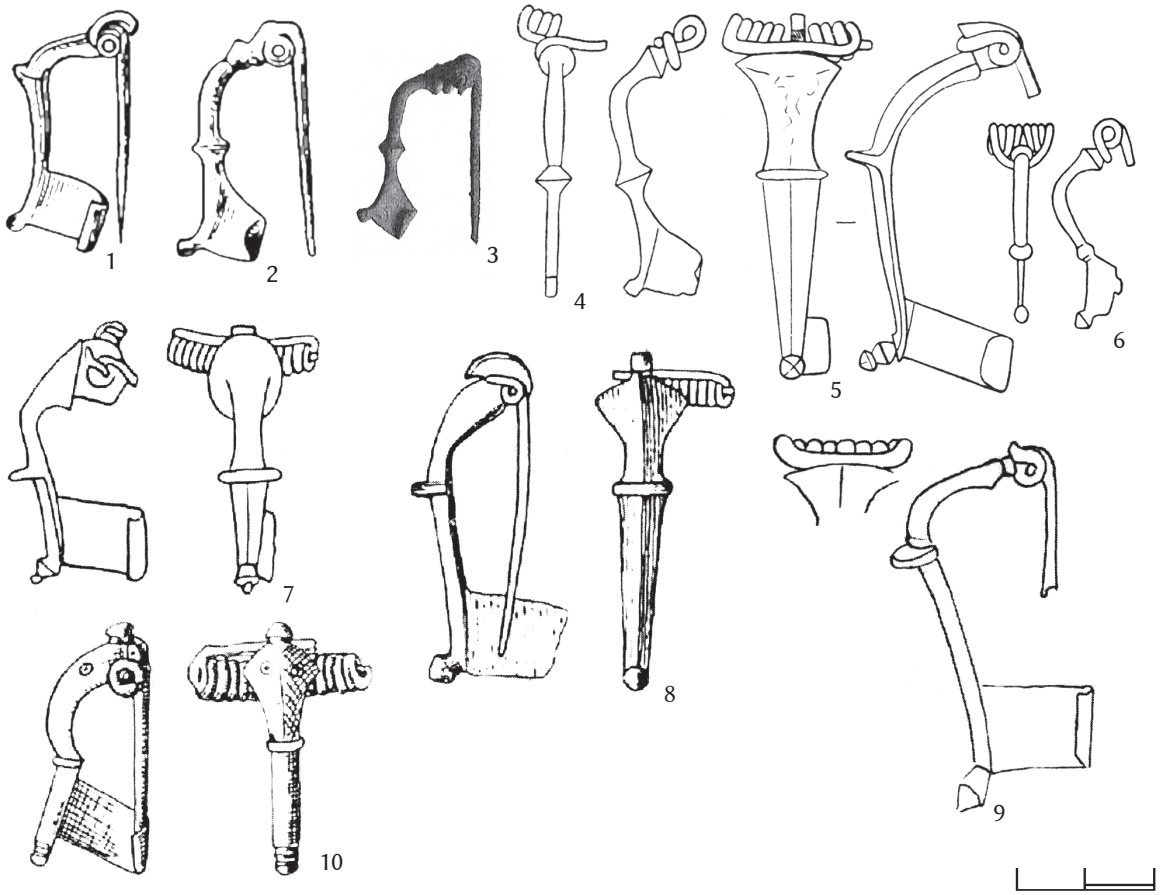



**Fig. 4**. Prototypes of high-catchplate fibulae according to E. Symonovich and T. Kolník. 1 – Olbia, Grave 1902/12 (Symonovich 1955, Fig. 9.1), 2 – Olbia, Grave 1902/70 (Symonovich 1955, Fig. 9.2), 3 – Olbia, Grave 1902/65 (Pharmakovskiy 1906, 131, Fig. 70), 4 – Olbia, Grave 1902/65 (Ambroz 1966, Tab. 8.13). Analogies to these fibulae according to A. Ambroz: 5 – Olbia, Grave 1902/12 (Ambroz 1966, 38, Tab. 7.13), 6 – Kamunta village, North Ossetian ASSR (Ambroz 1966, 42, Tab. 8.9), 7, 10 – unknown provenance (Kolník 1965, Obr. 7.1,3), 8 – Bešeňov, Grave 70 (Kolník 1965, Obr. 7.2), 9 – Hungary, no data available on the findspot (Kovrig 1937, 50, Tab. 6.54).

31 Gorokhovskiy 1987, 62–63; Gorokhovskiy 1988, 42–43; Baran *et al.* 1990, 49–52.

32 Mączyńska 1999; Mączyńska 2003.

33 Mączyńska 1999, 92–99; Mączyńska 2003, 321–328. At the same time, finds from Chernyakhiv settlements and cemeteries in Galychyna, Northern Bukovyna, Podillya, and Romanian Moldova were included in the section titled *The Mixed Cultural Zone in Eastern Poland, Western Ukraine, Transylvania, and Moldova*. There, they were presented alongside artefacts from several Przeworsk settlements and cemeteries, as well as from sites of the Carpathian Barrow culture. By contrast, the section entitled *Chernyakhiv/Sântana-de-Mureş Culture* contained only four finds: one additional specimen from Romanian Moldova (Leţcani) and three others from the Middle Dnipro region (Zhuravka) and the upper Siverskyi Donets basin (Velyka Danylivka and Holovino).

The chronological position of these brooches, found on sites attributed to various cultural groups in different regions, ranges from the second half of the 2nd century AD, corresponding to H. J. Eggers and K. Godłowski's Phase B2/C1 and C1a for Central Europe, represented by 'barbarian' find materials in the northern Danube region (Slovakia, Moravia, and Lower Austria) and specimens recovered from sites of the Przeworsk and Wielbark cultures in present-day Poland, up to the early 4th century (Phase C2), represented by several sites in south-eastern Romania.[34]

Regarding the origin of these artefacts, M. Mączyńska supported, elaborated, and refined the hypothesis of E. Symonovich, also supplementing his catalogue of finds from Olbia with analogies from other northern Pontic sites, including additional finds from Olbia—which he interpreted as prototypes for the type—and a brooch from Grave 4/1947 in a cemetery of Scythian Neapolis. She also interpreted several finds from Hungary and the Carpo-Dacian cemetery at Văleni in Romanian Moldova, as well as brooches originating from provincial Roman sites in Dacia (Transylvania) and the large hoard of Wielbark- and Przeworsk-style jewellery discovered at Lubiana (Gdańsk district, Poland) in eastern Pomerania (Fig. 5.1–11) in the same context.[35]

She mentioned that A. Ambroz had refuted Symonovich's theory that some high-catchplate brooches from Olbia may have served as prototypes for the type under discussion, while also disagreeing with his criticism and pointing out that A. Ambroz himself had failed to offer an alternative hypothesis about the type's origin.[36] Unfortunately, in her discussion of the Olbian prototypes of 'Sarmatian' brooches and the find from Scythian Neapolis,[37] M. Mączyńska relied on schematic and poorly informative drawings published by A. Furmans'ka[38] and V. Babenchikov.[39] Moreover, she failed to take into account Ambroz's typological classification of these finds, the publication of which included detailed descriptions and high-quality drawings of the actual objects.

Thus, on her plate titled *Prototypes of 'Sarmatian' brooches*, she presents four finds from Olbia.[40] Two of these[41] are schematic renderings of the above-mentioned brooches from Graves 70/1902 and 12/1902, first published by B. Farmakovskiy, redrawn by A. Furmans'ka[42] and E. Symonovich, and classified and dated by A. Ambroz. A third brooch from Olbia,[43] similar to the one presented by M. Mączyńska,[44] also comes from the aforementioned Grave 65/1902 and belongs to Series II, Group 11, Variant II-1, comprising strongly profiled North Pontic types with a bead on the head and without a chord hook, dated to the 2nd century AD.[45] The fourth find from Olbia[46] comes from a building excavated in 1938. A. Ambroz assigned it to Group 10, Subgroup 3, western-type two-piece strongly profiled brooches with two ribs on the bow, two bow crests, and a high catchplate, a variant with analogies in Roman Novae in Lower Moesia. This specimen was found together with 2nd–3rd-century AD coins from Antoninus Pius (AD 138–161) to Caracalla (AD 198–217) and is regarded as a very rare provincial product.[47]

34 Mączyńska 1999, 92–99.

35 Mączyńska 1999, 88, 100, 102, Rys. 1.2–4, Rys. 3, Rys. 9.4–10; Mączyńska 2003, 305, 308, Taf. 1.2–4, Taf. 3, Taf. 9.4–10.

36 Mączyńska 1999, 88.

37 Mączyńska 1999, 102, Tab. 3.1–5; Mączyńska 2003, 308, Taf. 3.1–5.

38 Furmanska 1953, 83, 86, Tab. 4.11–12, Tab. 5.1–3, 5.

39 Babenchikov 1957, 123, Tab. 2.2.

40 Mączyńska 1999, 102, Tab. 3.2–5.

41 Mączyńska 1999, Tab. 3.2–3.

42 Furmanska 1953, 83, Tab. 4.11–12.

43 Mączyńska 1999, Tab. 3.5, after Furmanska 1953, 86, Tab. 5.1.

44 Mączyńska 1999, Tab. 3.2.

45 Ambroz 1966, 42, no. 2.

46 Mączyńska 1999, Tab. 3.4, after Furmanska 1953, 83, Tab. 5.5.

47 Ambroz 1966, 39, no. 2.

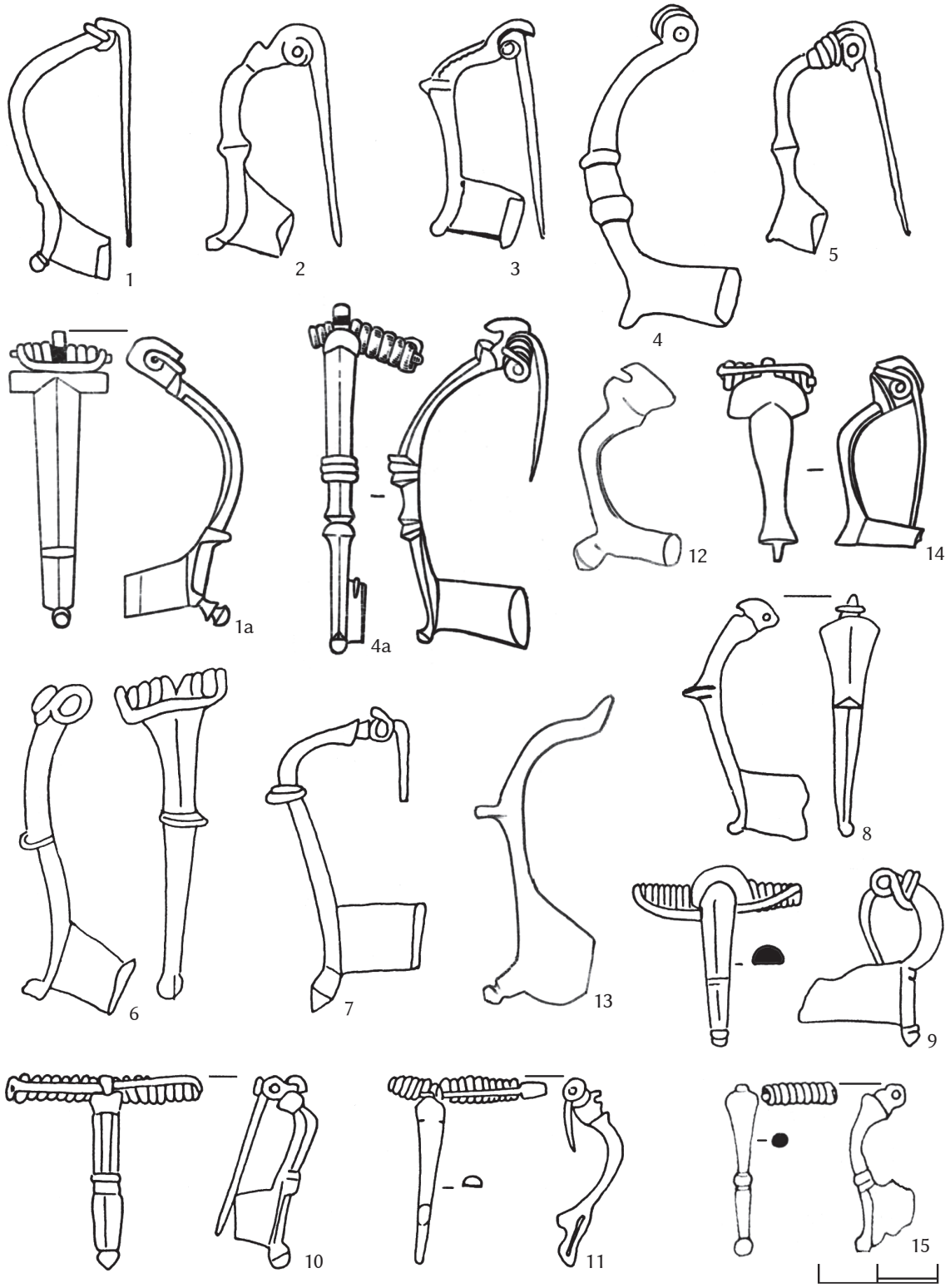



**Fig. 5**. Prototypes of 'Sarmatian' fibulae according by M. Mączyńska. 1 – Scythian Neapolis, Grave 4/1947 (Babenchikov 1957, 123, Fig. 2.2), 1a – Scythian Neapolis, Grave 4/1947 (Ambroz 1966, Tab. 7.2), 2–5 – Olbia (Furmanska 1953, 86), 4a – Olbia (Ambroz 1966, Tab. 7.18), 6 – Tiszafüred (Vaday 1989, 260, 274, Taf. 76.6), 7 – unknown provenance, Budapest History Museum, 8 – Öcsöd-Bábocka (Vaday 1989, 260, 274, Taf. 111.4), 9 – Văleni, Grave 290 (Ioniță – Ursachi 1988, Fig. 32.43), 10 – Văleni, Grave 540 (Ioniță – Ursachi 1988, Fig. 46.38), 11 – Văleni, Grave 489 (Ioniță – Ursachi 1988, Fig. 43.9), 12 – Olbia (Furmanska 1953, Tab. 5.2), 13 – Olbia (Furmanska 1953, Tab. 5.3), 14 – Olbia, Grave1902/105 (Ambroz 1966, Tab. 6.18), 15 – Văleni, Grave 483 (Ioniță – Ursachi 1988, Fig. 43.10).

In addition to the finds from Olbia presented in the plate, M. Mączyńska mentions two further local brooches published by A. Furmans'ka[48] (Fig. 5.12–13).[49] Like the previous examples, both were categorised by A. Ambroz, who interpreted the first one—Find no. 140 from the 1902 excavations, found together with a 2nd-century AD coin—as a typical provincial knee brooch from the 2nd–3rd centuries AD.[50] Akin to the brooch from Grave 12/1902,[51] the second brooch, found in Grave 1a/1906 in Trench A-2, was assigned to Group 10, Subgroup 2, comprising western-type two-piece strongly profiled brooches with a single bead and no plate above the spring, a bow crest, and a high catchplate.

V. Babenchikov[52] also interpreted the brooch from Grave 4/1947 in Scythian Neapolis as a prototype of Group A VII 'Sarmatian' brooches.[53] A. Ambroz assigned this specimen to Group 10, Subgroup 1, comprising western-type two-piece strongly profiled brooches with a bead on the bow, a plate above the spring, and a high catchplate, similar to products of the Danubian provincial workshops.[54]

M. Mączyńska also interpreted three similar finds from Hungary as prototypes of the type. Two came from Sarmatian cemeteries in the Tisza–Danube Interfluve, namely Tiszafüred and Öcsöd-Bábocka in Szolnok County,[55] and one is of unknown provenance.[56] The latter, which I. Kovrig considered a key specimen of a Pannonian brooch variant she defined, was also interpreted by T. Kolník as a prototype of Group A VII brooches.

M. Mączyńska mentions a brooch from Grave 540 of the Văleni cemetery as 'related' to the type in focus[57] together with several other specimens seen as prototypes of 'Sarmatian'-type brooches from the same site, including ones found in Graves 296, 483, and 489.[58]

According to Mączyńska's hypothesis, finds reflecting the material culture of Dacia province played a major role in the development of Group A VII brooches. She emphasises that these artefacts, "mostly originating from provincial Roman settlements, may be regarded as prototypes of the 'Sarmatian' brooches of Central Europe"[59] (Fig. 6).

M. Mączyńska concludes that Group A VII 'Sarmatian' brooches originate in south-eastern Romania (Wallachia) and eastern Hungary, where they developed from provincial, Pannonian and Dacian prototypes, and from where they spread to other regions of Central and Eastern Europe. 'Sarmatian' brooches were most likely developed under provincial Roman influence by Dacian and Sarmatian populations and spread northwards, where some were also produced. However, they

48 Furmanska 1953, 86–87, Tab. 5.2–3.

49 Mączyńska 1999, 88.

50 Ambroz 1966, 28, no. 2a.

51 Ambroz 1966, 42, no. 3.

52 Babechnikov 1957, 123, Tab. 2.2.

53 Mączyńska 1999, 102, Tab. 3.1.

54 Ambroz 1966, 38, no. 2, Tab. 7.12.

55 Mączyńska 1999, 88, 102, Tab. 3.6,8, after Vaday 1989, Taf. 76.6, Taf. 111.4.

56 Mączyńska 1999, Tab. 3.7, after Kovrig 1937, Tab. 6.54.

57 Mączyńska 1999, 88, 102, Tab. 3.10, after Ioniţa – Ursachi 1988, 148, Fig. 46.38.

58 Mączyńska 1999, 88, 102, Tab. 3.9,11, after Ioniţa – Ursachi 1988, 134, 145, Fig. 32.43, Fig. 43.9. The brooch from Grave 483 is illustrated in the publication of the cemetery (Ioniţă– Ursachi 1988, 145, Fig. 43.10). Owing to an apparent misunderstanding, M. Mączyńska assigned all of the finds she cited from the Văleni cemetery to Type 4 according to the classification proposed by the excavators. In fact, the brooches from Graves 483, 489, and 540 were classified by the authors of the site publication as Type 3, whereas only the specimen from Grave 296 was assigned to Type 4 (Variant 4a). This type is also represented by the brooch from Hrave 574, which belongs to Variant 4b (Mączyńska 1999, 88; Ioniţă–Ursachi 1988, 61, 150, 157, Fig. 48.33, Fig. 55.3–4).

59 Mączyńska 1999, 88, citing Gudea – Lucacel 1979, Pl. 4.34,35,37,38,40,41; Crişan 1979, Pl. 8.2,3.

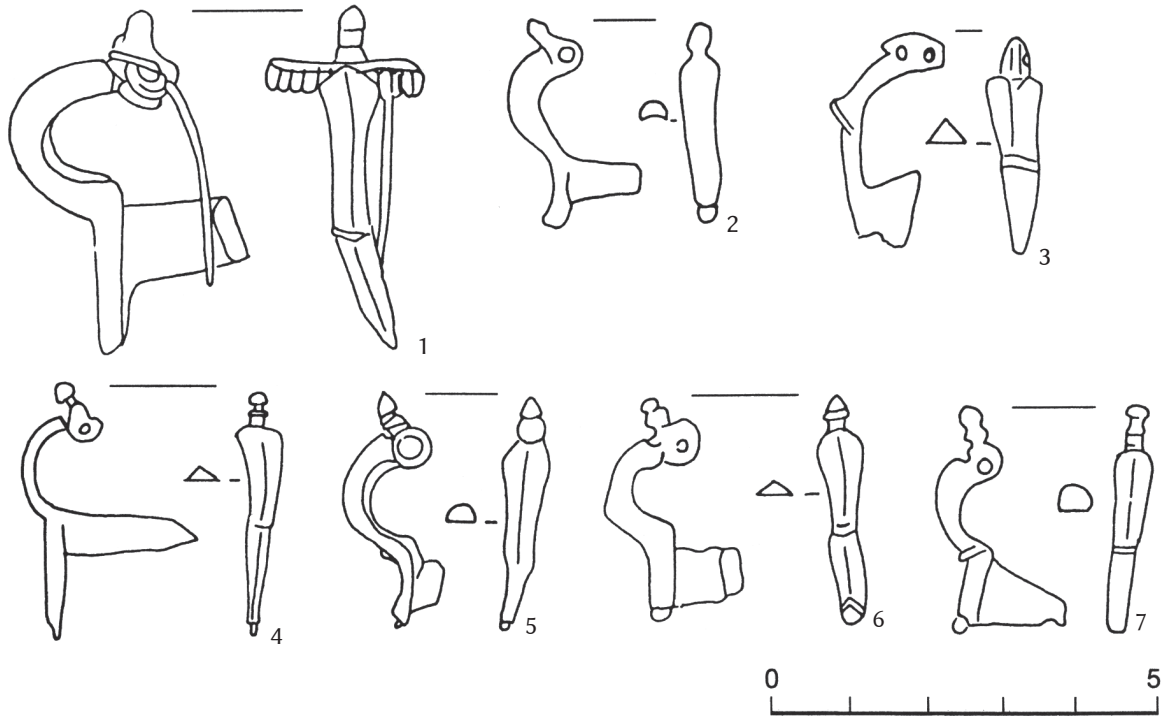



**Fig. 6**. Prototypes of 'Sarmatian' fibulae according to M. Mączyńska. 16 – Veţel (Crişan 1979, 310, Pl. 8.2; Mączyńska 1999, Tab. 9.4), 17–21 – Northern Dacia (Mączyńska 1999, Tab. 9.5–10).

could also develop slightly east of that, as evidenced by early examples from Olbia and Scythian Neapolis—although only a very small number of finds corroborate this version. The distribution of 'Sarmatian' brooches indicates a northward spread from the Sarmatian dwelling area in present-day Hungary and from the province of Dacia. She further emphasises, "Not all 'Sarmatian' brooches should be considered imports from the Lower and Middle Danube region. They were likely produced by itinerant craftsmen, as indicated by their distribution in the Przeworsk and Wielbark cultures."[60] Thus, she raises the possibility of production outside the Danube region, i.e., by communities inhabiting the Vistula Basin. This makes one of Mączyńska's suggestions particularly interesting, namely that some items in the Lubiana hoard, containing not only Wielbark- but also Przeworsk-style brooches—the latter perhaps 'looted' by the Wielbark people—might also be considered prototypes of the type in focus (Fig. 7).[61]

Taken together, Mączyńska's theory on the origin of Group A VII 'Sarmatian' brooches is a synthesis of the hypotheses of O. Almgren and E. Symonovich concerning the influence of ancient jewellery art in the North Pontic Greek cities in the Roman period on the genesis and diffusion of these artefacts among the barbarian tribes of Northern, Central, and Eastern Europe, and Kolník's opinion that the impetus behind the appearance of this kind of jewellery among barbarians across Europe was connected with the jewellery traditions of the Roman provinces in the Middle and Lower Danube region. At the same time, she sees the Carpo-Dacian and Western Sarmatian communities of the Danube region as having played a decisive role in the spread of these jewellery types.

In our previous study on the history of the research, collection, classification, and mapping of Group A VII brooches within the Chernyakhiv culture,[62] considerable attention was paid to items interpreted as 'Sarmatian' by T. Kolník and M. Mączyńska, including a comprehensive structural, morphological,

60 Mączyńska 1999, 90, 110–111, Map 1.

61 Mączyńska 1999, 89–90, Tab. 1.1–4.

62 Gorokhovskiy – Gopkalo 2004.

and stylistic characterisation of these finds and all other high-catchplate brooches from the sites concerned. On this basis, a new classification was developed, comprising typological series defined by specific sets of recurring morphological and stylistic traits, including occasional individual variants, as well as unique ('non-series') brooches, which are rare finds on sites of the culture.[63]

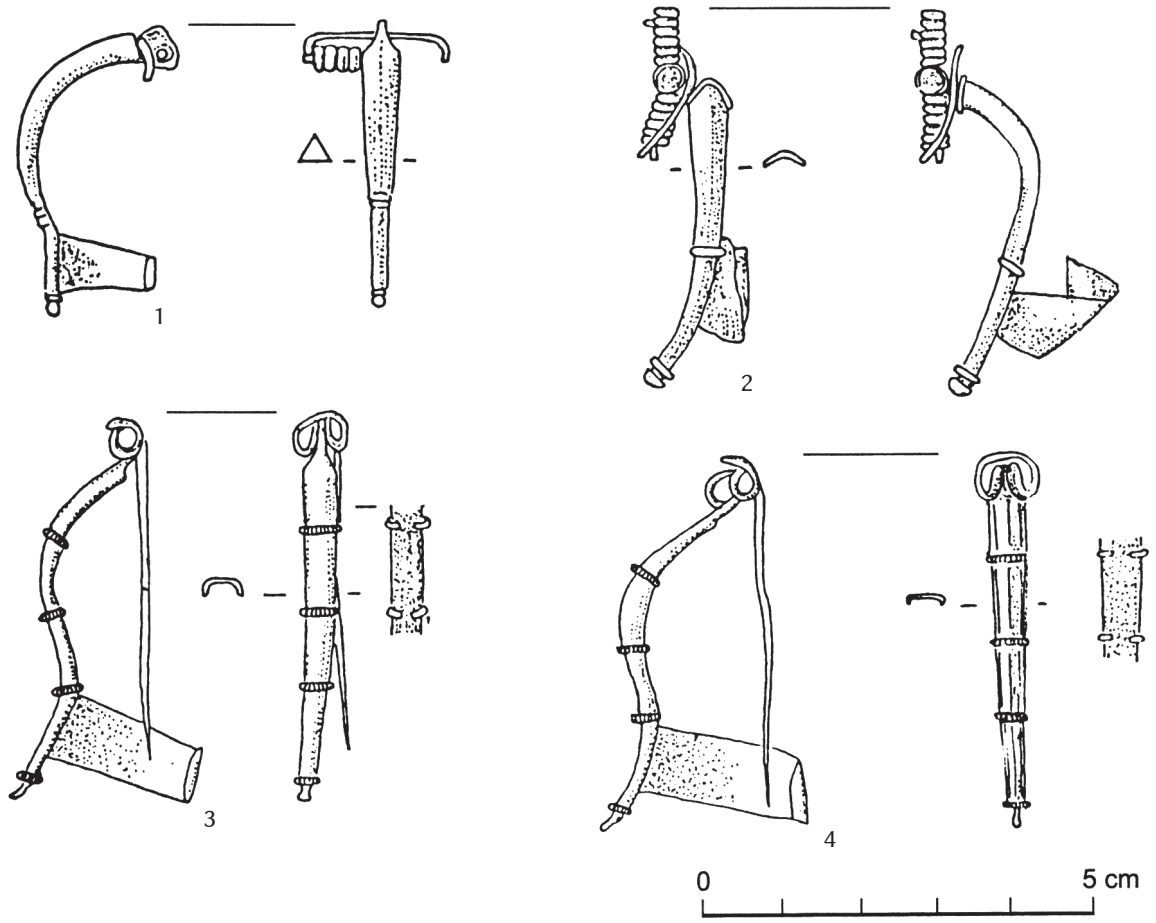



**Fig. 7.** Prototypes of 'Sarmatian' fibulae according to M. Mączyńska. 22–25 – Lubyana hoard (Mączyńska 1999, Tab. 1.1–4).

Based on the presence or absence of an upper chord, Group A VII 'Sarmatian' brooches found on sites of the Chernyakhiv culture could be categorised into two major series: most belong to the Neslukhiv series, followed by the Horodnytsia series.[64] In addition, this technical solution appears on individual brooches from cemeteries and settlements at Boromlya, Lepesivka, and Nezvisko.[65] Whether it also appears in the third (Dnipro) and fourth largest series (Lepesivka) remains unknown[66] as the springs and chords of most specimens did not survive.

The distribution of 'Neslukhiv' brooches shows distinct concentrations within the Chernyakhiv culture: one in the north-western part between the upper courses of the Western Bug, the Dniester, and the Southern Bug, as well as in the Middle Dniester region, and another in the north-eastern

63 Gorokhovskiy – Gopkalo 2004, 112–121, Rys. 1–10.

64 See the eponymous finds and 'classical' specimens in Fig. 2.2–5. Detailed characteristics in this paper are presented in Chapter *Typology and chronology of the 'Sarmatian' fibulae in the Chernyakhiv culture.*

65 Gorokhovskiy – Gopkalo 2004, 114, 116–117, 121, Rys. 1.2,8, Rys. 4, Rys. 5.1–2,4, Rys. 9.1.

66 Gorokhovskiy – Gopkalo 2004, 118–119, Rys. 6–7. The 'monstrous' brooches from Chernyakhiv contexts in Group A VII, Series 5 (Gorokhovskiy – Gopkalo 2004, 119–120, Rys. 8) are not examined in this paper, as they do not belong to 'Sarmatian' brooches.

part, at the upper courses of the Seym and the Siverskyi Donets rivers. By contrast, such items between these areas are scarce.[67]

'Sarmatian' brooches in the north-western concentration were found at settlements such as Neslukhiv, Cherepyn, Ripniv, Demyaniv, and Luka-Vrublevetska, and in cemeteries at Psary and Cherneliv-Ruskyi. In the north-east, they occur exclusively in settlements, including Holovino, Ridnyi Krai, Viytenky, and more.[68] The concentration of such brooches north-east of the Dnipro's left bank and in the Upper Donets region was connected with the migration of Chernyakhiv groups from the upper Western Bug and Dniester regions in the mid–3rd century AD.[69]

Artefacts similar or identical to those in the 'Neslukhiv' series within the Chernyakhiv culture were used primarily south and south-west of the Dniester, mainly at the Lower and Middle Danube, i.e. the Roman *limes* in Lower Moesia and Dacia, in communities of the Poieneşti–Virtişcoiu and Militari-Chilia cultures, as well as Western Sarmatian and other groups in the Tisza Basin, the Tisza–Danube Interfluve, and south-western Slovakia. Based on that, the origin of the type was sought in the provincial jewellery art of the Danubian frontier. One of the most important arguments in support of that is a bronze casting mould for two 'Neslukhiv' brooches, which is kept today at the Natural History Museum Vienna.[70] This, however, made the term 'Sarmatian' brooch obsolete, as it does not reflect the real origin of the type.[71]

'Horodnytsia' brooches, whose principal stylistic feature is a striking ornament consisting of ribbed appliqué rings, have been found primarily in the north-western part of the Chernyakhiv culture, i.e. the forest-steppe zone in the Dniester and Southern Bug regions and on the left bank of the river Dnipro. Their origin is a rather complex question. A small number of similar and identical items have been published from sites mainly farther to the south-west, attributed to the Carpathian Barrow Culture, in northern and eastern Romania, as well as a few examples from Slovakia and other Danubian regions. Single specimens are also known from sites of the Wielbark and Przeworsk cultures in western Belarus and south-eastern Poland. Their unquestionable similarity to Almgren Type 211 brooches—likewise richly decorated with appliqué ribbed rings, varieties of which were popular mainly with communities of the West Baltic and Wielbark cultures—was noted already by O. Almgren in the discussion of certain variants of Type 210. However, this similarity alone is too weak a basis for discussing typological continuity or the derivation of Chernyakhiv fibulae from northern European types. Presumably, 'Horodnytsia' brooches were produced by local goldsmiths of the Chernyakhiv culture under the influence of the late Roman "*mit Ringgarnitur*" decorative trend of Europe.[72]

Brooches of the Dnipro series, distributed east of the Horodnytsia brooches in a relatively narrow zone on the right bank of the Dnipro, as well as on the left bank and in the Upper Donetsk region, are related to the same ornamental style. These brooches may be interpreted with a high degree of certainty as items of East European origin, associated with a specific 'north-eastern' jewellery trend within the Chernyakhiv culture.[73]

The genesis of the relatively rare brooches in the Lepesivka series, likewise typically decorated *mit Ringgarnitur*, has been linked to the influence of the jewellery traditions of the Wielbark culture.[74]

67 Gorokhovskiy – Gopkalo 2004, 121–122, Rys. 11; Baran – Gopkalo 2006, 43, Rys. 18.

68 Gorokhovskiy – Gopkalo 2004, 115; Baran – Gopkalo 2006, 43, Rys. 18.

69 See Gorokhovskiy – Gopkalo 2004, 111 with references.

70 Gorokhovskiy – Gopkalo 2004, 121–123, Rys. 12.1.

71 Gorokhovskiy – Gopkalo 2004, 122.

72 See Gorokhovskiy – Gopkalo 2004, 122–124, with references.

73 Gorokhovskiy – Gopkalo 2004, 124.

74 See Gorokhovskiy – Gopkalo 2004, 124, with references.

Individual Group A VII 'Sarmatian' fibulae include a settlement find from Nezvysko, with parallels in the Przeworsk culture, and another one from House VIII at Lepesivka; the latter has a semicircular shield-shaped head, akin to those known from sites of the Poieneşti-Virtişcoiu culture, and more.[75]

In summary, the classification of Group A VII 'Sarmatian' fibulae found at sites of the Chernyakhiv culture and their comprehensive comparative analysis with similar artefacts from other cultural contexts have demonstrated a connection between the largest series, Neslukhiv, and the jewellery traditions of the Roman province of Dacia and its barbarian Carpo-Dacian and Sarmatian surroundings, as well as the presence of two local trends of the European *mit Ringgarnitur* decorative style within the Chernyakhiv culture, represented by the Horodnytsia and Dnipro series.

The substantial monograph by S. Cociş on the fibulae of Roman Dacia, published in the same year as our article, is pivotal, especially in light of the conclusion that most Group A VII brooches in the Chernyakhiv culture developed under provincial Roman influence, represented, above all, by products of Dacian jewellery workshops. Cociş's catalogue includes 34 'Sarmatian' brooches categorised as 'Type 32', subdivided into seven variants, and dated to the late 2nd–first half of the 3rd century AD. He interprets them as local products, i.e. integral components of the material culture of the Roman province of Dacia, and does not address the question of their possible barbarian origin.[76]

In her comprehensive monograph published in 2011 on the vast collection of diverse brooches and other items in the Lubiana hoard, M. Mączyńska devoted a large chapter to Group A VII 'Sarmatian' brooches.

She discusses the type based on a catalogue and a distribution map—a significantly updated version of those published by her in 1999 and 2003—incorporating discoveries from the mid- and late 2000s. These are primarily materials published by the present authors in 2004, including a casting mould in the Vienna Museum's collection.[77] In addition to fibulae with a preserved upper chord—categorised in this paper into the Neslukhiv and Horodnytsia series or described as individual forms—she defined types with a lower chord or missing spring as 'Sarmatian', referred to here as part of the 'Dnipro' or 'Lepesivka' series.[78]

The analytical part of the chapter is devoted to the characterisation of prototypes and transitional forms, as well as to dating, distribution, production, and origin. Compared to M. Mączyńska's earlier articles from 1999 and 2003, it relies on a wealth of new data, especially finds of casting moulds from a Germanic settlement at Pasohlávky in Moravia, the material of a Przeworsk cemetery at Prusiek in south-eastern Poland, and other findings.

However, in this re-evaluation, she did not alter her previous hypothesis on the Daco-Sarmatian origin of the type under discussion and its development under the influence of the material culture of the Danubian provinces.[79]

Simultaneously with Mączyńska's book, L. Schulte published a comprehensive monograph dedicated to Group A VII brooches found across Europe. The discussion includes a detailed overview of the research history of the type, as well as chapters devoted to typology, chronology, manufacturing, and wearing styles.[80] The catalogue comprises 3,260 items from 22 countries ranging from Great Britain,

75 Gorokhovskiy – Gopkalo 2004, 124.

76 Cociş 2004, 133–135, 211–212, nos 1592–1625, Pl. 113–114; Cociş 2009; Cociş *et al.* 2010, 205–207.

77 Mączyńska 2011, 67–72, 301–309, Taf. 28.

78 Mączyńska 2011, 306, 308–309, nos 113, 163–164, 167, 175–176, 179, 182, 184; Gorokhovskiy – Gopkalo 2004, 118–119, Rys. 6.2–5,7, Rys. 7.

79 Mączyńska 2011, 67–68, 70–72.

80 Schulte 2011a.

the Netherlands, and France to Belarus, Ukraine, and Russia, as well as from Norway, Sweden, and Finland to Serbia, Romania, and Moldova.[81] The typological classification proposed by the author divides the studied material into three subgroups: A VII.1: knee brooch variants, A VII.2: brooches with an S-shaped bow, and A VII.3 (= Almgren's Series 3): brooches with an unarticulated foot and a bow that transitions directly into the catchplate.[82] He repeatedly mentions 'Sarmatian' fibulae in the text, typological classification, and even in the descriptions of individual specimens as a subject of scholarly debate.[83] However, unlike Kolník, he does not define it within the typological framework as a separate unit but assigns every variant, including those with a lower chord, to one of the more than thirty forms identified within the largest subgroup, A VII.2. This subgroup comprises 2,254 finds accounting for about 59.5% of the recorded items.[84] Both the 'Sarmatian' and lower-chord brooches from the Chernyakhiv culture, including sites in Ukraine, Moldova, Romania, and Russia, are classified, together with finds from other regions associated with different archaeological cultures, into ten forms, sometimes with several variants and individual subtypes. These are Forms 6, 15–18, 22–23, 26, 27, 29, as well as the general 'Form 22–30' presented without further differentiation. Distinctions are made based on various criteria, primarily bow profile and size, and less frequently on structural features and stylistic characteristics.[85] Finds from different regional cultures, often with less than uniform features, are assigned to the same categories as Chernyakhiv brooches.[86]

Thus, Form 6, comprising large fibulae with a parabolic bow, includes not only the typical Dnipro series brooch[87] from Building 8 in the settlement of Bukreevka in the Seym River region, but also entirely different fibulae from Denmark (Funen Island), Germany, Austria, Poland, and the Czech Republic.[88] Although Form 15 includes, as a separate form, the 'Horodnytsia' brooch[89] from Grave 24 of Ruzhychanka, it comprises mainly A196–197 fibulae, entirely dissimilar to this find and typical primarily for Scandinavia and the adjacent parts of Germany.[90]In addition to a fibula from Pit 16 in the settlement of Nezvisko,[91] Form 22,[92] comprising brooches with a semicircular bow, includes both distinct and barely similar finds from Denmark and Germany, as well as typologically close ones from the Przeworsk culture.[93] Form 23, comprising brooches with a strongly curved bow, includes a 'Horodnytsia' fibula from a cemetery at Psary (Fig. 2.4), while most finds classified here are smaller, barely similar, and come from sites of the Wielbark, Przeworsk, and other Central European cultures.[94]

Unlike the previous categories, Form 26, brooches with a short bow, is subdivided into four variants (a–d). It comprises a significant number of finds from sites of the Chernyakhiv culture, including Velyka Danylivka, Boromlya, Horodnytsia, Luka-Vrublevetska, Petrykivtsi, Ripniv, Ridnyi

81 Schulte 2011b.

82 Schulte 2011a, 47–153.

83 Schulte 2011a, 21–22, 73; Schulte 2011b, 302–304.

84 Schulte 2011b, 72, 80, 84, 119–120, 126, Abb. 49, Abb. 52, Abb. 78–79, Abb. 83.

85 Schulte 2011a, 79–80, 102–114, 117–120, 124–131, 133, Abb. 49.9, Abb. 67.6, Abb. 74.2–3, Abb. 82.4–6, Abb. 83.2,7–8, Abb. 84.1–3; Schulte 2011b, 233, 283–284, 286, 302–305.

86 Schulte 2011a, 79–80, 95, 98–114, 117–120, 124–131, 133, Abb. 49, Abb. 67, Abb. 74, Abb. 82–84.

87 Gorokhovskyi – Gopkalo 2004, 118, Rys. 6.2.

88 Schulte 2011a, 80, Abb. 49.

89 Gorokhovskyi – Gopkalo 2004, 117, Rys. 5.3.

90 Schulte 2011a, 98–102, Abb. 63–67.

91 Gorokhovskyi – Gopkalo 2004, 121, Rys. 9.1.

92 Forms 16–18, comprising exclusively 'monstrous' A VII Series 4 fibulae, are not considered 'Sarmatian' and are not discussed here.

93 Schulte 2011a, 119, Abb. 78.

94 Schulte 2011a, 120, Abb. 79.

Krai, and more. However, these items are classified here into the Neslukhiv, Horodnytsia, Dnipro, and Lepesivka series, respectively, while one, the brooch recovered from House VIII at Lepesivka, is an individual specimen.[95] Moreover, identical and similar finds that were not classified here are also known from Romania, Hungary, and Slovakia.[96] Form 27, brooches with a slightly curved bow and a chord hook, consists almost entirely of 'Neslukhiv' fibulae from Zhuravka, Ripniv, Rohizna, Ruzhychanka, and Khucha,[97] in addition to two specimens from Austria and Hungary, respectively, and an individual piece from Boromlya.[98] A wide variety of brooches, often resembling those from sites of the Chernyakhiv culture but found in Austria, Hungary, Poland, Romania, or the Czech Republic, represent the bulk of Form 29 and comprise brooches with an upper chord and a uniformly curved bow.[99] In addition, this category includes fibulae found at sites of the Chernyakhiv culture, for example, at the settlements of Horodnytsia, Ripniv, and Cherepin.

In summary, L. Schulte assigned 'Dnipro' and 'Horodnytsia' brooches to Forms 6, 15, and 23, all three comprising principally Western, Northern, and Central European variants, to which these Chernyakhiv brooches are entirely alien. At the same time, the variants from the Middle and Lower Danube region, which are identical or similar to the 'Dnipro', 'Horodnytsia', and 'Neslukhiv' brooches, and the rare individual specimens from Lepesivka and Boromlya were assigned Forms 26, 27, and 29, respectively.

Largely in accordance with Almgren's opinion, presented in the postscript to the second edition of his 1923 monograph, L. Schulte derived A VII.2 brooches in general from three early Roman (2nd-century AD) prototypes. The first major type group is single- and two-piece 'military' wire brooches with a catchplate and their variants, found in Roman camps along the Rhaetian *limes* in Upper Germany (Saalburg, Niederbieber, Osterburken, Zugmantel) and in the neighbouring Rhine River region in western and south-western Germany.[100] The second group comprises provincial Roman and barbarian knee brooches,[101] while the third is barbarian strongly profiled (so-called 'tubular') fibulae with wide heads.[102] In light of that, L. Schulte identified the most archaic variants, distinguishing them as Sub-form A VII.2.1–6, comprising specimens primarily from the western part of the distribution area,[103] but also including, in addition to numerous genuinely Western European finds from various regions of Germany, finds from Central Europe: a 'Sarmatian' brooch from Bezno in the Czech Republic and a strongly profiled fibula from Danków in Poland, both assigned to the 'transitional' Sub-form A VII.2.1,[104] as well as the above-mentioned 'Dnipro' brooch from Boromlya.[105] Other subforms within Form A VII.2 were clearly defined based on a regional-cultural concept, which resulted in categories like the 'Elbe-Germanic circle' (Forms 7–14), 'Scandinavian' (Forms 15–19(20)), 'Central European and adjacent Eastern European' (Forms 21–25), strictly 'Eastern European' (Forms 26–27), and 'Lower Austrian'forms (Forms 28–31). Consequently, most brooches from Chernyakhiv sites he knew about (and referred to as 'Sarmatian') were interpreted as 'Eastern European', with identical and close parallels in Romania, Hungary, Slovakia, and Lower Austria.

95 Gorokhovskiy – Gopkalo 2004, 114–119, Rys. 2–7.
96 Schulte 2011a, 125–126, Abb. 82–83.
97 Gorokhovskiy – Gopkalo 2004, 114, Rys. 2.2–3,11.
98 Schulte 2011a, 127, Abb. 84.
99 Schulte 2011a, 129–130, Abb. 86–87.
100 Schulte 2011a, 72–74, Abb. 44.1–2.
101 Schulte 2011a, 56–57, Abb. 29.1–3.
102 Schulte 2011a, 72–74, Abb. 44.3.
103 Schulte 2011a, 73–80, Abb. 44.3–12, Abb. 45–49.
104 Schulte 2011a, 74, Abb. 44.6,12.
105 Schulte 2011a, 80, Abb. 49.9.

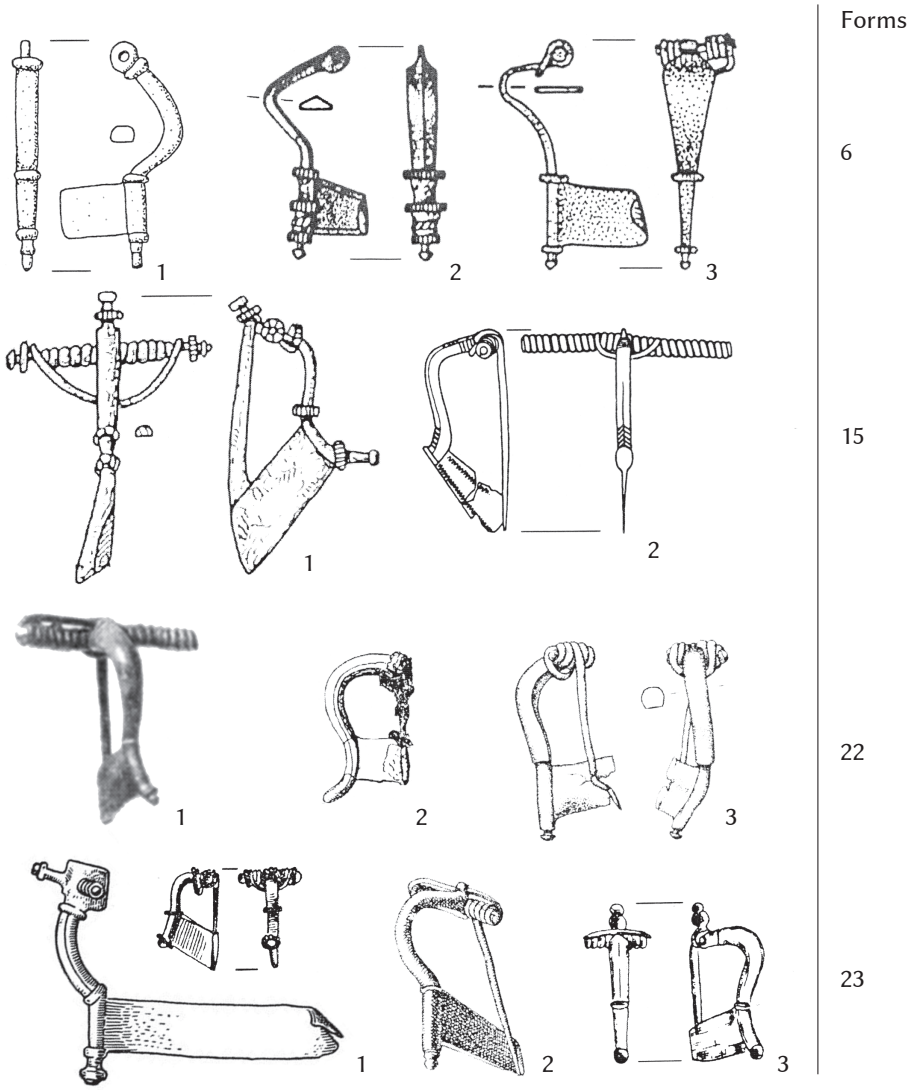



**Fig. 8.** Fibulae from Chernyakhiv sites as classified by L. Schulte. 6.1 – Bukreevka (no. 2928), 6.2 – Gaukönigshofen (no. 470), 6.3 – Drösing (no. 2514), 15.1 – Ruzhychanka (no. 3175), 15.2 – Slusegård (no. 35d), 22.1 – Nezvisko, 22.2 – Siemohnen (no. 2098), 22.3 – Krumpa (no. 1407), 23.1 – Psary, 23.2 – Gronowo (no. 2664), 23.3 – Zwierzewo (no. 2858a), 23.4 – Krapkowice (no. 2688).

That L. Schulte assigned some brooches found in Chernyakhiv contexts to the Western, Northern, and Central European circle may be a result of his insufficient knowledge of the find material; he clearly did not rely on the study published by the authors of this paper, and his catalogue of Chernyakhiv culture finds is far from complete.[106] The typological definitions he proposes for the items in the catalogue are based exclusively on literary sources, primarily drawings and photographs, often of such poor quality as to be entirely unsuitable for further research.[107] Therefore,

106 Gorokhovskiy – Gopkalo 2004, 125–128, no. 1–122; Schulte 2011b, 233, 302–306, no. 2105–2115, 3115–3199.

107 The consequences of L. Schulte's reliance on inaccurate or schematic publications of Eastern European fibula finds may be illustrated by several examples. First, the fibula from Sokal was included in Subgroup A VII.2 ('Transitional' Form 1) (Schulte 2011a, 265; Schulte 2011a, 305, no. 3177) is based on an illustration in D. Kozak (Kozak 1993, Tab. 22.8) that inadvertently combines two different strongly profiled Early Roman fibulae: the 'tubular' fibula from Sokal and a Northern European S-shaped fibula with a broad ribbon bow from Zvenyhorod. Consequently, neither belongs to Group A VII (Smishko 1932, 83, 187, Tab. 3.9–10; Ambroz 1966, 38–39, Tab. 7.6,20). ▸

using his typology in discussions of brooches of the Chernyakhiv culture, especially Group A VII 'Sarmatian' types, is highly problematic.[108]

Only a year after the publication of Mączyńska and Schulte's studies, S. Cociş and V. Bârcă started a series of articles devoted to Group A VII.1 'Sarmatian' fibulae from the Middle and Lower Danube region.[109] Published over the following twelve years, these papers include overviews of research history, analyses of production centres, a revised classification scheme, chronological studies, ethnocultural interpretations, and comparative analyses with parallels from other regions, including the area of the Chernyakhiv culture in south-eastern Europe.[110] The catalogues compiled in the course of this research include 110 items from 68 sites in present-day Romania and the adjacent parts of Hungary and Eastern Slovakia.[111]

The first part of this series[112] consists of two thematically and structurally similar articles devoted to the production centres of the fibulae in question, identified from finds of casting moulds, semi-finished products, and rejects[113] discovered in the Roman province of Dacia and the Barbaricum of Central and Eastern Europe.[114] Thematically, these studies are closely connected with an earlier paper by one of the authors[115] and later publications by the same researchers, including a section in Cociş's monograph entitled *Workshops for the Production of Fibulae in Dacia and Other Danubian Provinces of the Roman Empire (1st century BC – 3rd century AD)*,[116] two articles by V. Bârcă on a casting mould of a Group A VII 'Sarmatian' fibula, discovered in Hungary,[117] and brief reports on new finds of a casting mould for a similar object from Romania and a semi-finished piece from the Czech Republic.[118]

The second part forms a two-part series. The first article assesses Group A VII.1 'Sarmatian' fibulae from Dacia and barbarian sites in the Tisza Basin, while the second evaluates comparable objects

▸ Second, the fibula from Mytkiv, included among the brooches of Form 21 ('with a footplate') (Schulte 2011a, 117–118, Abb. 77.1), is more plausibly identified as a rare variant of the provincial Roman knee fibula corresponding to the type defined by I. Kovrig (Kovrig 1937, 120–122, Taf. 10.105, Taf. 23, top row, far right).
Third, the fibulae from a grave at Horodnytsia are listed in Schulte's catalogue as finds from two different complexes (Schulte 2011a, 303, nos 3133–3134). This duplication stems from an inaccurate drawing in the first publication of the site (Kopernicki 1878, 55–59, Tab. 97), later reproduced schematically by M. Tikhanova (Tikhanova 1957, 184–185, Rys. 11). The same fibulae, reproduced again in a distorted form by V. Grosu (Grosu 1990, 136), are listed elsewhere in Schulte's catalogue as finds from Moldova (Schulte 2011a, 233, no. 2111). Similar examples could easily be multiplied.

108 Critical remarks regarding Schulte's monograph are presented in the work of V. Bârcă (Bârcă 2023, 204).

109 Cociş – Bârcă 2012; Cociş– Bârcă 2013; Cociş – Bârcă 2014; Cociş – Bârcă 2020; Bârcă – Cociş 2022; Bârcă – Cociş 2023.

110 Together with comparable finds from Sântana de Mureş–Chernyakhiv sites in Romania, these fibulae form an important part of the source material used by S. Cociş and V. Bârcă in their studies (see below).

111 Cociş – Bârcă 2014, 209–211; Cociş – Bârcă 2020, 153–155.

112 Its structure largely mirrors that of Cociş's monograph on the fibulae of Roman Dacia: Chapter 2 discusses the workshops in which they were produced, while Chapter 3 addresses their classification and dating (Cociş 2004, 8).

113 Such items are generally interpreted as semi-finished products, although the possibility that some represent production rejects cannot be excluded. As this issue falls outside the scope of the present study, the terminology employed by the authors of the studies discussed below is adopted here.

114 Cociş – Bârcă 2012; Cociş – Bârcă 2013.

115 Cociş 2009.

116 Cociş 2019, 28–34.

117 Bârcă 2019; Bârcă 2023.

118 Bârcă – Cociş 2023, 29, 48, Fig. 7.

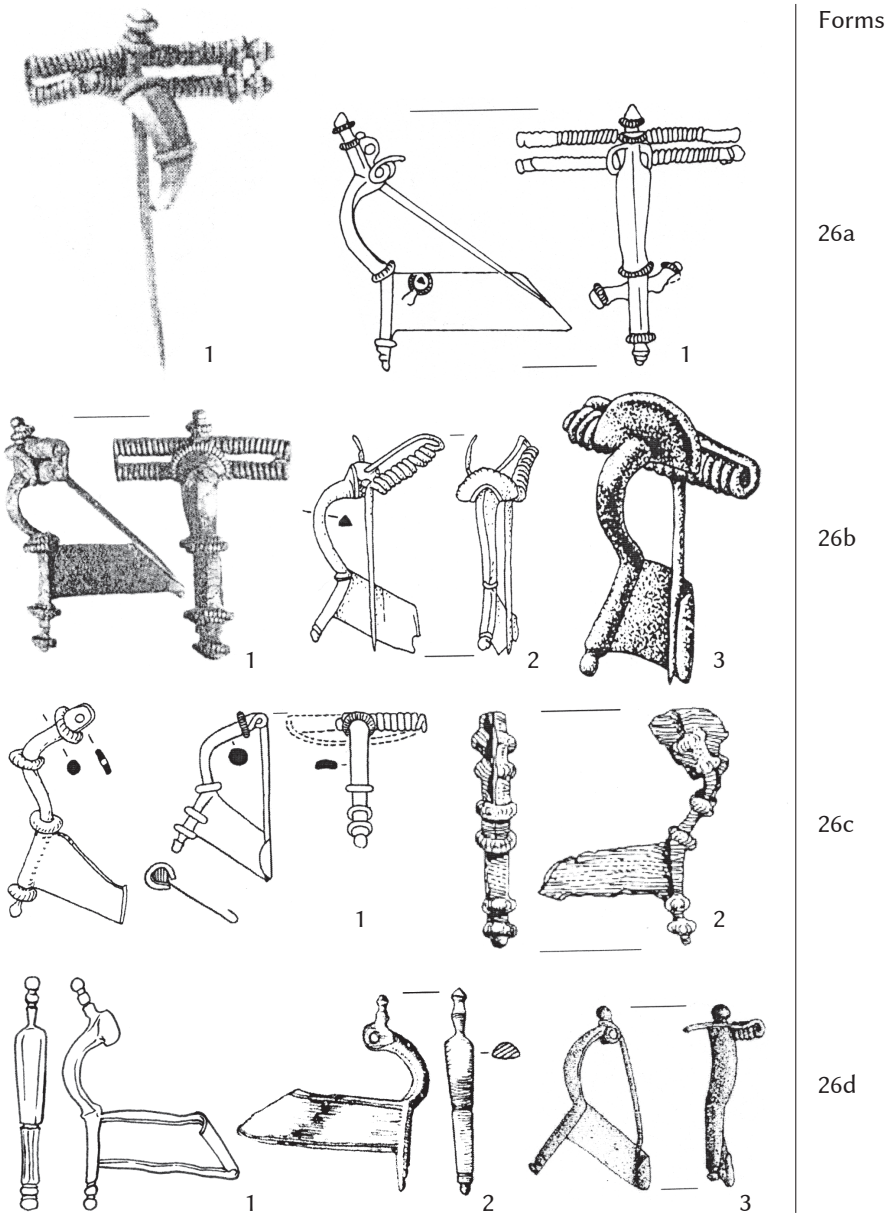



**Fig. 9.** Fibulae from Chernyakhiv sites as classified by L. Schulte. 26a.1 – Nezvisko (no. 3153), 26a.2 – Mătăsaru (no. 2893), 26b.1 – Horodnytsia (no. 3133a), 26b.2 – Lepesivka (no. 3142), 26b.3 – Virtişcoiu (no. 2926), 26c.1 – Lepesivka (no. 3141), 26c.2 – Olbia-Parutino (no. 3157a), 26c.3 – Palterndorf (no. 2538), 26d.1 – Ripniv, 26d.2 – Werbychka (no. 3187), 26d.3 – Kungehyes (no. 3222).

discovered in eastern and south-eastern Romania,[119] including a comprehensive discussion of research history, classification, chronology, and ethnocultural interpretation; both papers are supplemented by catalogues, e.g., of newly discovered specimens from Dacia.[120]

The third part comprises two articles that summarise principal arguments and conclusions, while also expanding them through the inclusion of evidence for newly identified production centres and new finds of Group A VII.1 'Sarmatian' fibulae from Roman Dacia and the barbarian territories of the Middle Danube region.[121]

119 Cociş – Bârcă 2014; Cociş – Bârcă 2020.

120 Opreanu *et al.* 2020, 72–73; Cociş *et al.* 2022, 94; Cociş *et al.* 2024, 82–83.

121 Bârcă – Cociş 2022, 258–259, Figs 5–6; Bârcă – Cociş 2023, 29, 47–48, Figs 6–7.

In the first part of this series of articles, data were presented from 10 archaeological sites dating to the late 2nd–3rd centuries AD, discovered in Central and Eastern Europe between the Elbe and Siverskyi Donets basins. The material from these sites provides evidence for the production of Group A VII 'Sarmatian' fibulae; their spatial distribution is illustrated in the corresponding cartographic schemes.[122]

First, this evidence includes one half of a bronze casting mould from a room excavated within the *vicus* of the Roman city of Porolissum—a major military, industrial, and commercial centre on the north-western frontier of the province of Dacia—and, secondly, finds of bronze and clay casting mould halves from settlements belonging to various barbarian cultures in the Middle Danube and Elbe regions: Kleinhöflein (Austria), Pasohlávky (Czech Republic), Neunheilingen (Germany), and a burial at the Przeworsk culture cemetery of Prusiek in south-eastern Poland.[123]

Semi-finished products of various bronze fibulae of the 'Sarmatian type' were found at Central European settlements such as Bernhardsthal (Austria), Zvončín (Slovakia), and Grodzisko Dolne (south-eastern Poland), as well as at the Chernyakhiv culture sites of Ohultsi and Pasiky in north-eastern Ukraine.[124]

In addition, a half of a bronze casting mould of unknown provenance, preserved in the Vienna Museum of Natural History, and a semi-finished product from Hungary housed in the Mainz museum collection may be mentioned,[125] as well as a half of a clay casting mould from the Sarmatian settlement of Ecser (Hungary), fragments of a bronze casting mould from the Roman settlement of Sânmihaiu Almaşului, located near Porolissum, and a semi-finished bronze fibula from the settlement of Drnholec-Holenice in the Czech Republic.[126]

Summarising their research, S. Cociş and V. Bârcă note that such craft complexes probably operated at numerous barbarian settlements, although they do not exclude the hypothesis that Series 1, Group A VII 'Sarmatian' fibulae may have been produced by itinerant craftsmen. According to their observations, the documented principal production area of these objects, apart from the workshop at the Roman town of Porolissum, is associated with the Germanic world or with regions under Germanic influence. Consequently, they reject any direct association of these fibulae with the Sarmatian world, suggesting instead that the Sarmatians borrowed the type from Germanic peoples. They saw the origin of Group A VII, Series 1 'Sarmatian' fibulae in the Przeworsk culture, from which they believed they had spread southwards and eastwards.[127]

These ethnocultural theoretical conclusions, with only minor adjustments[128] are reiterated in the subsequent sections of the series, including its concluding articles.[129] They are also reflected in the works of V. Bârcă devoted to the interpretation of a casting mould for a similar fibula from Ecser, dated to the 3rd century AD. He argues that such items were crafted at the site by a craftsman who had arrived from the Germanic world, in an area inhabited by Sarmatian and Yazygian populations.[130]

122 Cociş – Bârcă 2012, 91–94, Fig. 7; Cociş– Bârcă 2013, 164–173, Fig. 7.

123 Cociş – Bârcă 2012, 91–92, 98–100, 102, Fig. 1.2–4, Fig. 2.1, Fig. 3.1,4, Fig. 5; Cociş– Bârcă 2013, 164–168, 170–171, Fig. 1.2–4, Fig. 2.1, Fig. 3.1,4, Fig. 5, with further literature. Later, Prusiak was removed from the list of workshops and the corresponding maps of their locations, as the type of fibula cast in this mould was not classified as 'Sarmatian' (Bârcă – Cociş 2022, 259, Fig. 6).

124 Cociş – Bârcă 2012, 92–93, 99–100, Fig. 2.2,4–7, Fig. 3.2–3, Cociş – Bârcă 2013, 164, 166–168, 170, Fig. 2.2,4–7, Fig. 3.2–3, and references.

125 Cociş – Bârcă 2012, 91–92, 99, Fig. 2.3; Cociş – Bârcă 2013, 164, 166, 168, Fig. 2.3.

126 Bârcă – Cociş 2022, 259, Fig. 6.6,12–13; Bârcă – Cociş 2023, 29–30, 48, Fig. 7.6,12–13.

127 Cociş – Bârcă 2012, 95; Cociş – Bârcă 2013, 161.

128 See in detail below.

129 Bârcă – Cociş 2022, 250, 252.

130 Bârcă 2019, 199; Bârcă 2023, 119.

The new classification of fibulae of Group A VII, published in the second part of the series of articles by S. Cociş and V. Bârcă,[131] was primarily based on six principal distinguishing features, each of which served as the basis for identifying a specific typological unit within the overall typological framework.

The first three features concern the structural characteristics of the objects: the position of the chord, the method of its attachment to the head, and the number of springs, between one and three. The following three features relate to the metal from which the object was manufactured (bronze, silver, or iron), the presence or absence of decoration, and the size of the item. Other attributes characteristic of the examined objects, including certain morphological features, are mentioned in the descriptions of individual classification units but are not treated as criteria for identification.

Guided by the principle of differentiating fibulae with a high catchplate, as proposed by T. Kolník,[132] the authors divided the examined material into two variants: A, with a lower chord, and B, with an upper chord.

Within variant B, the objects were further differentiated based on the method of chord attachment into two subvariants: B1, with the chord fixed to a head without a distinct projection, and B2, with the chord attached to a head featuring a projection (the so-called 'button'). The latter are the focus of their study. More specific subvariants within this category were distinguished based on the remaining features.[133]

Fibulae from the territory of Roman Dacia, including those associated with barbarian metalworking at its north-western periphery, i.e. the Sarmatian culture of the Tisza region, and the so-called 'Daco-Vandal' brooches from northern Romania and eastern Slovakia, were classified according to this scheme.[134] Finds from Dacia and Sarmatian sites in western Romania and eastern Hungary were equally assigned to Subvariant B2a1a1, dated to the last two decades of the 2nd century to the mid-3rd century AD, corresponding to Phases B2/C1–C1b in the Central European chronological system by H. J. Eggers and K. Godłowski.[135]

Other subvariants were also represented by finds from northern Romania and eastern Slovakia. Among the analogies cited for these were Group A VII fibulae from the Chernyakhiv culture, classified into subvariants proposed by S. Cociş and V. Bârcă.

Subvariant B2b1a1 is represented by a single fibula from the settlement of Humenné in eastern Slovakia (Fig. 12.16), dated to Phase C1b (AD 210/220–250/260). Its analogies from the Chernyakhiv

131 Cocış – Bârcă 2014, 195–197.

132 For more details, see above.

133 According to the number of springs: B2a one spring, B2b two springs, B2c three springs. According to raw material: B2a1, B2b1, and B2c1 bronze, B2a2, B2b2, and B2c2 silver, B2a3, B2b3, and B2c3 iron. Based on the presence or absence of decoration: B2a1a and B2a1b single-spring bronze brooches, B2a2a, B2a2b single-spring silver fibulae, B2a3a, B2a3b single-spring iron fibulae, B2b1a and B2b1b two-spring bronze fibulae, B2b2a and B2b2b two-spring silver fibulae, B2b3a and B2b3b two-spring iron fibulae, B2c1a and B2c1b three-spring bronze fibulae, B2c2a and B2c2b three-spring silver fibulae, B2c3a and B2c3b three-spring iron fibulae.
Subvariants identified based on the size of the bow and the footplate: B2a1a1 and B2a1a2 non-decorated single-spring bronze items, B2a1b1 and B2a1b2 decorated single-spring bronze items, B2a2a1 and B2a2a2 non-decorated single-spring silver items, B2a2b1 and B2a2b2 decorated single-spring silver items, B2a3a1 and B2a3a2 non-decorated single-spring iron items, B2a3b1 and B2a3b2 decorated single-spring iron items, B2b1a1 and B2b1a2 non-decorated two-spring bronze items, B2b1b1 and B2b1b2 decorated two-spring bronze items, B2b2a1 and B2b2a2 non-decorated two-spring silver items, B2b2b1 and B2b2b2 decorated two-spring silver items, B2c1a2 non-decorated three-spring bronze items, B2c1b1 and B2c1b2 decorated three-spring bronze items.

134 Cocış – Bârcă 2014, 197–206, 209–211, Figs 1–3, Fig. 6.

135 Cocış – Bârcă 2014, 197–199, 203, Fig. 1, Fig. 2.1–14.

culture include a stray find from Kovrai in the western part of the left bank of the Dnipro (Fig. 12.12);[136] besides, such fibulae are known from contexts associated with the Przeworsk culture in eastern Romania and the south-eastern part of the present-day Czech Republic.[137]

Subvariant B2b2b1a, two-spring silver fibulae, are known from northern Romania, including the settlement of Zalău and the cemetery of Medieşu Aurit, likewise dated to Phase C1b. Their analogies from Chernyakhiv sites include finds from Horodnytsia, Petrykivtsi, Nezvysko, Hryhorivka, and Boromlya (Fig. 14.30–34);[138] besides, such brooches are known from sites of the Przeworsk culture in eastern Romania.[139]

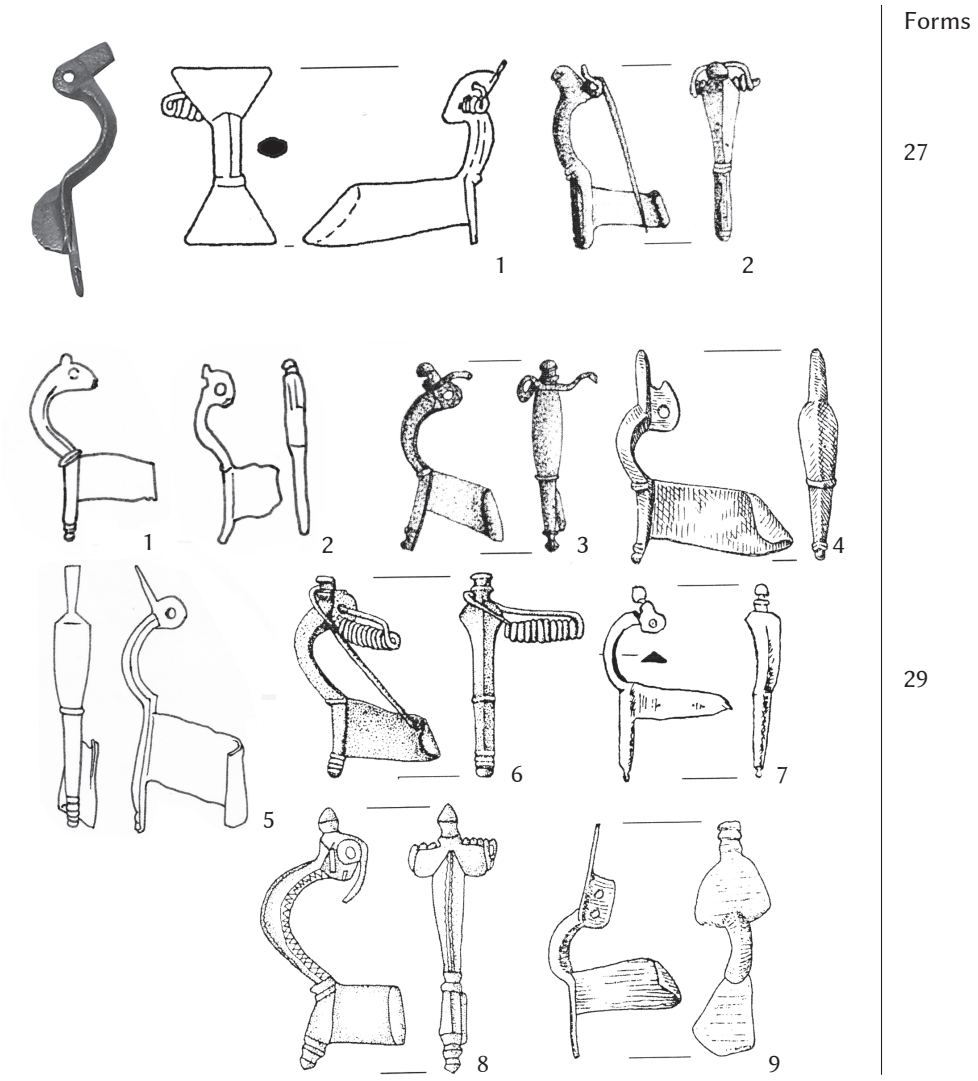



**Fig. 10.** Fibulae from Chernyakhiv sites as classified by L. Schulte. 27.1 – Ripniv, 27.2 – Boromlya (no. 3118), 27.3 – Jászberény (no. 3218), 29.1 – Horodnytsia, 29.2 – Sokil'nyky, 29.3 – Ripniv, 29.4 – Törökszentmiklós (no. 3241), 29.5 – Udeni (no. 2921), 29.6 – Cucorăni (no. 2881), 29.7 – Moigrad (no. 2898), 29.8 – Lorch (no. 2597), 29.9 – Târgşoru Vechi (no. 2918).

136 These refer to random finds published by M. Lyubichev and V. Didyk (Lyubichev – Didyk 2002, Fig. 4.4–5), which, according to our classification, belong to the 'Neslukhiv' series.

137 Cociş – Bârcă 2014, 199, 203–204, nos 94–97, Fig. 2.13.

138 They belong to different categories, the 'Horodnytsia' and 'Dnipro' series, in our classification (Gorokhovskiy – Gopkalo 2004, 117–119, 122–127, Rys. 5.1–2,4, Rys. 6.8,9), mentioned above and discussed further below.

139 Cociş – Bârcă 2014, 200, 203–204, notes 94–97, Fig. 3.2–3.

A B2c2b2a subvariant (three-spring silver fibulae) was published from the settlement of Culciu Mare in the same region (Fig. 14.39), tentatively dated to the second half of the 3rd century AD. It is analogous to a brooch from Petrivske in the upper reaches of the Siverskyi Donets River (Fig. 14.35).[140] The two items differ in details but feature a similar basic design. Additional parallels were found among brooches from eastern Germany and Lower Austria.[141]

Brooches from eastern and south-eastern Romania were classified and dated within the same typochronological framework. They come from sites associated with the Chernyakhiv culture in western Moldova and Muntenia (Wallachia), the Poieneşti–Vârteşcoiu and Militari–Chilia cultures, and the Sarmatians. S. Cociş and V. Bărcâ correlated the subvariants in their framework with

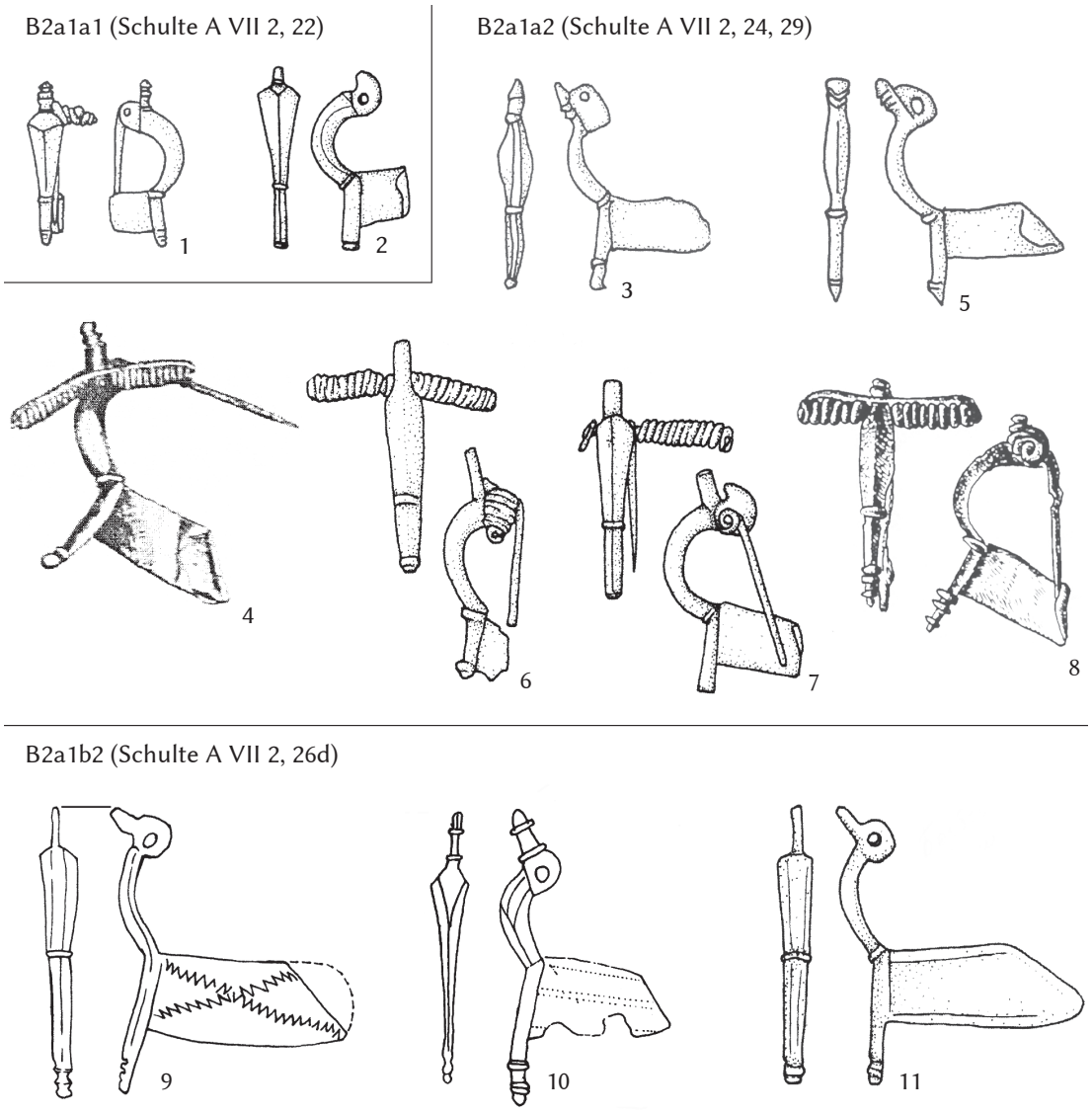



**Fig. 11.** 1 – Leţcani (Cociş – Bârcă 2020, Pl. 1.2), 2 – Cucorăni (Cociş – Bârcă 2020, Pl. 1.1), 3 – Dobrovăţ (Cociş – Bârcă 2020, Pl. 1.5), 4 – Lunka (Dragomir 2001, 93, 193, Fig. 50.1), 5 – Poieneşti (Cociş – Bârcă 2020, Pl. 1.7), 6 – Sohodor (Cociş – Bârcă 2020, Pl. 1.8), 7 – Poieneşti (Cociş – Bârcă 2020, Pl. 1.4), 8 – Hlinaia (Cociş – Bârcă 2020, Pl. 15.2), 9 – Demyaniv, settlement, 1987, above Building 4 (Gorokhovskiy – Gopkalo 2004, Rys. 2.12), 10 – Werbychka (Mączyńska 2003, Taf. 6.6), 11 – Barboşi (Cociş – Bârcă 2020, Pl. 2.12).

140 A random find of a rare variant from the 'Dnipro' series (Gorokhovskiy – Gopkalo 2004, 118, 122, 127, no. 96, Rys. 6.10, Rys. 11.60).

141 Cociş – Bârcă 2014, 200, 205–206, nos 127–129, Fig. 3.4.

pecific categories by L. Schulte, referring to them in their article as 'types'.[142] The mentioned parallels include Group A VII 'Sarmatian' fibulae from eastern Chernyakhiv contexts.

The fibula from Grave 23 of the Chernyakhiv culture cemetery at Leţcani was assigned to Subvariant B2a1a1 (Schulte's Type A VII 2.22) and interpreted as an archaic item incorporated in a considerably later assemblage, dated to the late 4th or early 5th century AD.[143] The actual chronological position of this variant was determined based on such a find from House 11 at the settlement of Cucorăni (the 'Carpic' Poieneşti–Vârteşcoiu culture). The related assemblage was dated by fragments of Shelov Type D or Vnukov Type C IVD narrow-necked, light amphorae to between the last quarter of the 2nd and the second half or third quarter of the 3rd century AD; however, said assemblage also displays features characteristic of the earlier Shelov Type C, or Vnukov Type C IVC variant, specifically its late variant C IVC2, dated to the second half of the 2nd century AD.[144]

Accordingly, the brooch from Cucorăni was dated to the end of Phase C1a and Phase C1b, while the respective subvariant was regarded as having remained in fashion between the last two decades of the 2nd century and the mid-3rd century AD. Analogies from sites of the Przeworsk culture further support this interpretation,[145] Roman Dacia, and barbarian assemblages from the Tisza and Middle Danube regions.[146]

Subvariant B2a1a2 (Schulte type A VII 2, 24, 29) comprises fibulae from two Chernyakhiv sites in western Moldova, the settlement of Dobrovăţ and the cemetery of Lunca (Fig. 11.3–4). The former is dated to the 4th century AD, whereas the latter is dated to the 3rd century AD.[147] In addition, several further brooches from sites of the Poieneşti–Vârteşcoiu and Militari–Chilia cultures of the late 2nd to early 4th centuries AD, discovered in western Moldova and Muntenia, were also assigned to this variant, including finds from the settlements of Cucorăni (House 7),[148] Uden,[149] and others,[150] from Grave 15 of the Sohodor cemetery, and from the Sarmatian Grave 2 in Borrow 8 near the village of Hlinnaia in eastern Moldova.[151]

This category includes specimens that differ considerably in essential morphological features, particularly the shape of the bow, which may be oval, trapezoidal, or of other forms (Fig. 11.5–8). However, this diversity casts doubt on the validity of assigning them to the same variant.

Subvariant B2a1b2 (Schulte's Type A VII 2, 26d) is represented by a single specimen found in a Roman settlement at Bărboşi in the Lower Danube region.[152] Its closest analogies are brooches from the Upper

142 Cocış – Bârcă 2020, 140–150.

143 Cocış – Bârcă 2020, 141, 165, 175, Pl. 1.1, Pl. 11.3.

144 Cocış – Bârcă 2020, 140–141, Notes 32–43, 165, Pl. 1.1.

145 In the discussion of parallels from Przeworsk sites, the authors mention Table 7 in Mączyńska's article, but without specifying which object in the table they are referring to (Cocış – Bârcă 2020, 141, note 50), which makes it unclear which particular forms of 'Sarmatian' fibulae they consider analogous to subvariant B2a1a1 (Schulte Type A VII 2, 22). This is particularly problematic because said table contains thirteen very diverse items (Mączyńska 2003, 316, Taf. 7).

146 Cocış – Bârcă 2020, 141, Notes 50–52.

147 Cocış – Bârcă 2020, 142, 165, Notes 59–60, Pl. 1.5.

148 This fibula, like the previously described find from House 11, was found together with Shelov Type D – Vnukov C IVD amphora fragments, which exhibit archaic features characteristic of the late variant of Shelov Type C – Vnukov C IVC (C IVC2) amphorae. This variant is dated no later than the end of the 2nd century AD, when it was replaced by Shelov Type D – Vnukov C IVD vessels (Cocış – Bârcă 2020, 142, note 58).

149 A coin of Emperor Galerius Maximian, dated to AD 302–303, was discovered at the settlement.

150 House 21 in Băicăneşti, Văleni, Murgăneşti, Piatra Neamţ-Dărmăneşti, Poieneşti, and Şirna.

151 Cocış – Bârcă 2020, 142–143, 165–166, 179, Pl. 1.3–4,6–8, Pl. 2.9–11, Pl. 15.2.

152 Cocış – Bârcă 2020, 143, Note 75, 166, Pl. 2.12.

and Middle Dniester regions, one discovered in a house at the Chernyakhiv settlement of Demyaniv and stray finds from Werbyczna.[153] These were classified as the same subvariant (Fig. 11.9–10).

The distribution of this subvariant and Subvariant B2a1b1 is characterised by a concentration in western and eastern Ukraine, as well as a presence in eastern Poland.[154] Guided by studies on the chronological position of brooches of the Chernyakhiv culture, 'massive' brooches of this subvariant were in use between AD 230 and 320, appearing in phase C1b and remaining in fashion until the beginning of Phase C3.[155] Corresponding finds from Moldova and Wallachia (Muntenia)[156] are believed to be coeval.

Subvariant B2a1b4 brooches (Fig. 12) are represented by finds from the eponymous settlement and cemetery at Poieneşti of the 'Carpic' culture, the settlement of Piatra Neamţ-Dărmăneşti, and a Sarmatian burial in Borrow 2 at Pânceşti. Analogies date these finds to Phases C1b–C2.[157] They are compared with brooches from Roman Dacia and its barbarian periphery,[158] as well as with specimens found in Przeworsk and Chernyakhiv cultural contexts.[159]

Mentioned analogies from a Chernyakhiv context include the aforementioned stray finds from Kovrai (Fig. 12.12), which S. Cociş and V. Bârcă in a previous article compared with a fibula of a different subvariant (B2b1a1) from the settlement of Humenné in eastern Slovakia (Fig. 12.16). The latter displays clear morphological differences both from the Kovrai finds and eastern Romanian examples classified as Subvariant B2a1b4: the shape and section of the Romanian specimens resemble more those of fibulae found in Chernyakhiv sites at the left bank of the Dnipro.

They cite a less convincing analogy, a specimen from the settlement of Grodzisko Dolne (south-eastern Poland), attributed to the Przeworsk culture, which has a narrower bow and is consequently less massive than the fibulae from Kovrai, Pânceşti, and Poieneşti (Fig. 12.13, Fig. 12.12,14,15).

This example clearly illustrates the significant methodological shortcomings of Cociş and Bârcă's classification, which does not rely on basic bow form and major details, i.e. elements determined already by the casting mould, but a set of structural, metric, and other attributes instead, which, as demonstrated, does not preclude inconsistencies, such as the classification of identical fibulae into different typological categories.

Subvariant B2b1a2 (Fig. 12.18–19) includes two-spring bronze fibulae from Structure 4 in a settlement of the Chernyakhiv culture at Bârlad-Valea Seacă and from Grave 215 in the 'Carpic' cemetery of Găbăra-Moldoveni.[160]

Judging from the published illustration,[161] the heavily burnt brooch from Găbăra-Moldoveni, unlike the specimen from Bârlad, was decorated with applied ribbed rings, similar to the morphologically

153 Cociş – Bârcă 2020, 143, Notes 76–77.

154 Essentially matching the distribution of the 'Neslukhiv' series (Gorokhovskyi – Gopkalo 2004, 121–122, Rys. 11, Baran – Gopkalo 2006, 43, Rys. 18). See also Cociş – Bârcă 2020, 143, Notes 79–81.

155 Cociş – Bârcă 2020, 143.

156 S. Cociş and V. Bârcă disagree with Gh. Bichir, who dates such fibulae not only to the 3rd century AD but, based on A VII-type brooches from the unpublished Chernyakhiv settlement of Ioneşti and other similar sites, also to the entire 4th century AD (Cociş – Bârcă 2020, 143, 149, Notes 78 and 156).

157 Cociş – Bârcă 2020, 145–146, 167, 177, Fig. 3.16,17–20, Fig. 13.3–4.

158 Unfortunately, specific analogies are not presented, which would be very important, as they did not mention Subvariant B2a1b4 brooches from Dacia and its north-western barbarian periphery in the previous study of the series (Cociş – Bârcă 2020, 146, Notes 116–117; Cociş – Bârcă 2014, 204).

159 Cociş – Bârcă 2020, 146, Notes 114–117.

160 Cociş – Bârcă 2020, 146–147, 168, 177, Pl. 4.21–22, Pl. 7.1–6.

161 Bichir 1973, Pl. 169.4.

related two-spring silver fibulae which, according to the classification of S. Cociş and V. Bârcă, belong to a different subvariant, B2b2b1a.[162]

The authors correctly observe that such bronze objects are rare in the barbarian world and are probably simplified imitations of silver specimens. Based on analogies, they propose a dating to Phases C1b–C2.[163]

A considerable number of fibulae from eastern Romania[164] discussed in the second article of the two-part series by S. Cociş and V. Bârcă could not be assigned unequivocally to a particular typological category because of the presence of two perforations in the spring support plates, intended for the attachment of the axes of the now-missing springs. They determined such brooches as be-

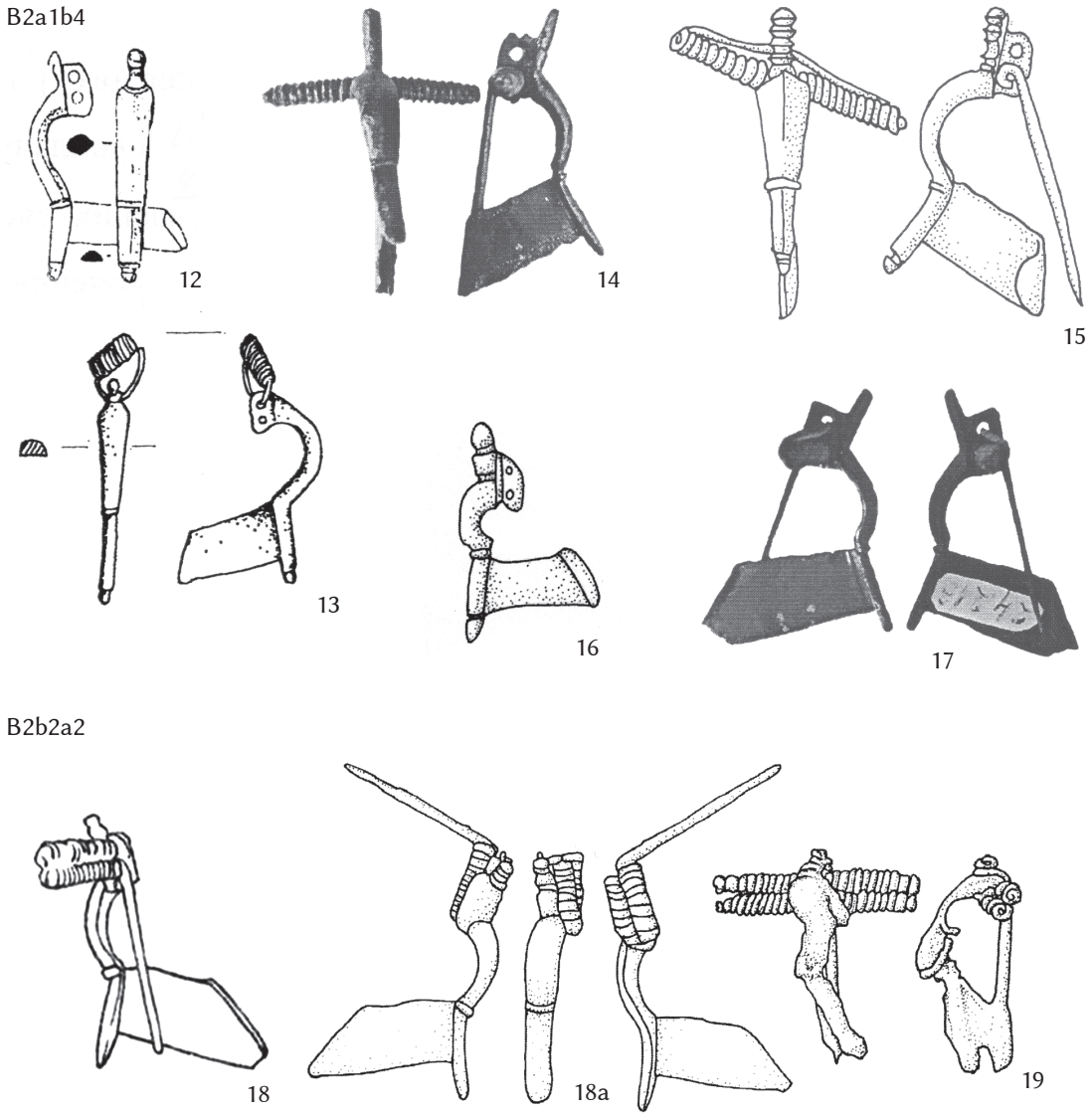



**Fig. 12.** 12 – Kovrai (Lyubichev – Didyk 2002, Rys. 4.4), 13 – Grodzisko Dolne (Podgórska-Czopek 2009, Tab. 12.2), 14 – Panceşti (Cociş – Bârcă 2020, Pl. 3.16a), 15 – Poieneşti (Cociş – Bârcă 2020, Pl. 3.18,20), 16 – Humenne (Cociş – Bârcă 2014, Fig. 2.15), 17 – Panceşti (Cociş – Bârcă 2020, Pl. 3.16), 18–18a – Bârlad-Valea Seacă (Palade 1980, Fig. 18.6; Cociş – Bârcă 2020, Pl. 4.21), 19 – Gabăra-Moldoveni (Cociş – Bârcă 2020, Pl. 4.22).

162 Cociş – Bârcă 2014, 200, 205, Pl. 3.2–3.

163 Cociş – Bârcă 2020, 147

164 Seventeen objects.

longing either to the single-spring Subvariant B2a1b4, in which the chord passed through the upper perforation, or to the two-spring Subvariant B2b1a2.[165]

Among these finds, four fibulae excavated in Chernyakhiv settlements deserve particular attention: three from Bârlad–Valea Seacă and one from Tecuci-Rateş.[166] An almost complete brooch and a body and catchplate fragment of another (Fig. 13.20–21) were found in Houses 8 and 18, respectively; the features were interpreted as the remains of bone workshops.

Assumedly, the reworked brooch fragment from House 18 was intended for remelting to produce bronze rivets for composite bone combs. House 8 also contained two silver Roman coins issued byAntoninus Pius (AD 138–161) and Marcus Aurelius (AD 161–180), while Pit 1 yielded the foot fragment of a brooch with a high catchplate with two perforations and a coin issued by Philip the Arab (AD 244–249).[167]

The remaining objects discussed by S. Cociş and V. Bărcâ in this context come from settlements of the Militari–Chilia and Poieneşti–Vârteşcoiu cultures (Bucharest–Străuleşti, Mătăsaru, and others),[168] the Lipia-Maidan cemetery,[169] Grave 15 in the Sohodor cemetery, and a Sarmatian grave in Borrow 2 at Pânceşti.[170]

Of particular interest is the discovery of a semi-finished fibula from the settlement of Bucharest-Străuleşti (Militari–Chilia culture), which was also interpreted as a possible model for a casting mould.[171]

Despite their fragmentary state, S. Cociş and V. Bărcâ date many objects of uncertain typological affiliation by analogy to the period between the third decade of the 3rd century and the first decade of the 4th century AD, that is, to the interval between Phase C1b and the early part of Phase C3.[172]

This section of the study, in addition to the previously discussed section devoted to Subvariant B2a1b4, highlights another methodological shortcoming of the applied classification: it is unsuitable for the classification of incomplete specimens without a spring, even though the bow is available for a comprehensive morphological analysis.

At the time, we proposed a typological identification of the brooch from House 8 at the settlement of Bârlad-Valea Seacă, whose morphological features closely match those of 'Neslukhiv' brooches of the Chernyakhiv culture.[173] Based on the presence of these features, primarily an elongated trapezoidal bow, parallels include not only the finds from Pânceşti, Sohodor, and Şirna (Fig. 13.23–24), which appear among the brooches discussed in the same part by S. Cociş and V. Bârcă, but also fibulae assigned to other subvariants from the same Sohodor site, Bărboşi, and Poieneşti.[174]

Following the same methodological approach, another variant may be distinguished within the 'Neslukhiv' series. This includes the brooch from Tecuci-Rateş, characterised by a rounded head

165 Cociş – Bârcă 2020, 147–150, 167–174, Pl. 3.16a, Pl. 4.23–27, Pl. 5, Pl. 6.35–36, Pl. 8–10.

166 Cociş – Bârcă 2020, 147–149, 168, 170, Pl. 4.23–25, Pl. 6.36, Pl. 8–9.

167 Cociş – Bârcă 2020, 147, Notes 126–134.

168 Bârlad-Prodana, Gura-Idrichi, Măluşteni, Poieneşti, and Şirna. Piatra Neamţ-Dărmăneşti, Târgşor, and Şirna.

169 In association with a coin from Viminacium, dated to AD 241–242, minted during the reign of Emperor Gordian III.

170 Cociş – Bârcă 2020, 148–150, 168–170, 174, Pl. 4.26–27, Pl. 5, Pl. 6.35, Pl. 10.

171 Cociş – Bârcă 2020, 148.

172 Cociş – Bârcă 2020, 150.

173 Gorokhovskyi – Gopkalo 2004, 115–117, Rys. 4.3.

174 Cociş – Bârcă 2020, 165–167, 169, Pl. 1.8, Pl. 2.12, Pl.3.17–19.

giving the bow, tapering towards its lower part, an almond-shaped outline, as well as by a very tall projection of decorative character (Fig. 13.27). Comparable features may be observed in the head and bow of the blank from Bucharest-Străuleşti and the fibula from Bârlad-Prodana (Fig. 13.28–29).[175]

The two-spring silver fibulae with applied rings from the Mătăsaru settlement of the Militari–Chilia culture were assigned to the same subvariant, B2b2b1a, as the above-mentioned brooches from the Zalău settlement and the Medieşu Aurit cemetery. They were likewise assigned, according to Schulte's classification as referred to by the authors, to 'Schulte's Type A VII 2.26.'[176]

They mention, as analogies, both silver and bronze brooches from sites of the Przeworsk and Wielbark cultures in Poland and from sites of the Chernyakhiv culture in the area between the Upper Dniester region and the Siverskyi Donets River, such as Horodnytsia, Petrykivtsi, Nezvysko, Hryhorivka, and Boromlya.[177] Based on these analogies, they date the finds to Phase C2, suggest

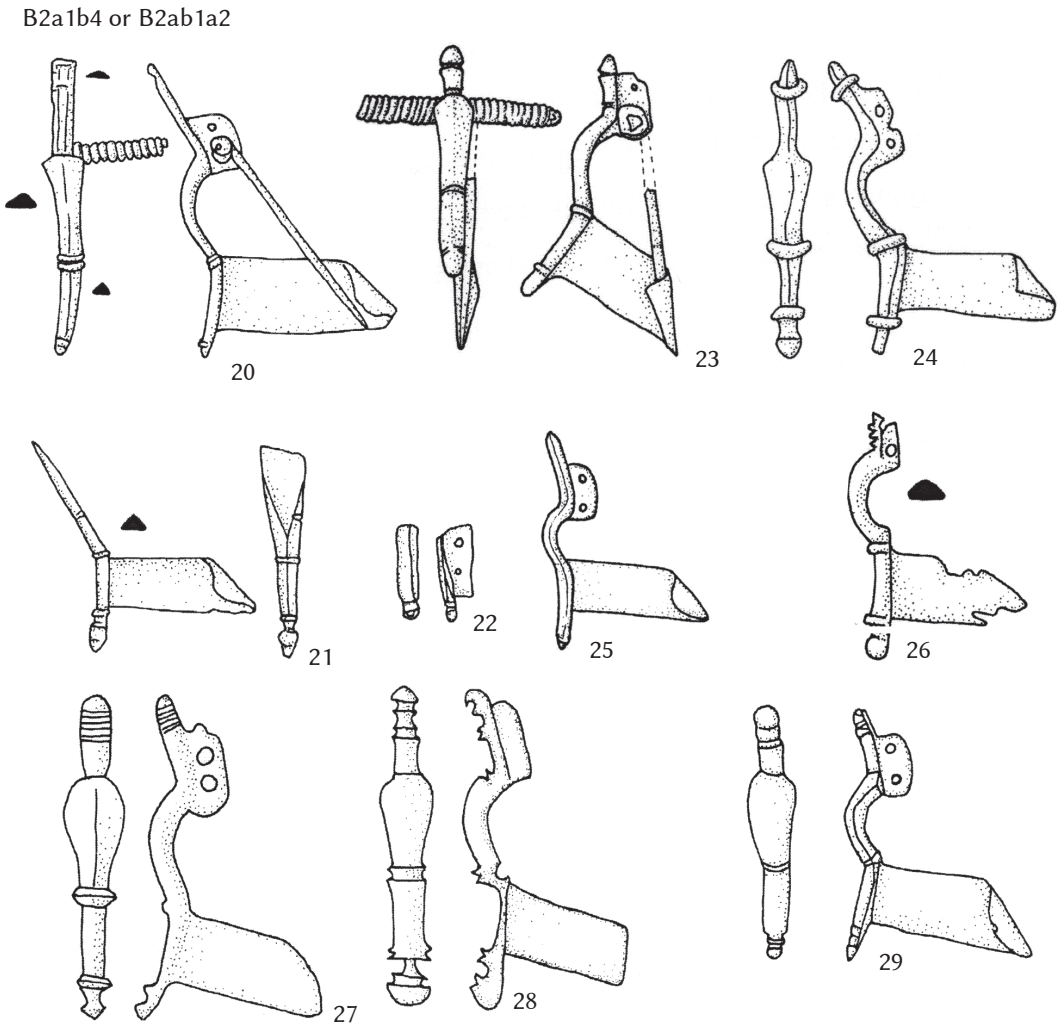



**Fig. 13.** 20–22 – Bârlad-Valea Seacă (Cociş – Bârcă 2020, Pl. 4.23–25), 23 – Sohodor (Cociş – Bârcă 2020, Pl. 5.33), 24 – Şirna (Cociş – Bârcă 2020, Pl. 5.34), 25 – Măluşteni (Cociş – Bârcă 2020, Pl. 5.28), 26 – Târgşor (Cociş – Bârcă 2020, Pl. 6.35), 27 – Tecuci-Rateş (Cociş – Bârcă 2020, Pl. 6.36), 28 – Bucureşti-Străuleşti (Cociş – Bârcă 2020, Pl. 4.27), 29 – Bârlad-Prodana (Cociş – Bârcă 2020, Pl. 4.26).

175 The finds from Piatra Neamţ Dărmăneşti and Poieneşti, characterised by a bow of uniform width, represent another variant of the fibulae mentioned by S. Cociş and V. Bârcă (Cociş – Bârcă 2020, 169, Notes 30, 32, Pl. 5).

176 Cociş – Bârcă 2020, 150, Pl. 6.38.

177 Cociş – Bârcă 2020, 150, Notes 171–173.

that they belonged to members of the social elite, and regard them as products of Northern European origin.[178]

By classifying every aforementioned brooch from Chernyakhiv sites into a single subvariant, B2b2b1a, S. Cociş and V. Bârcă fail to take into account the fact that these objects are morphologically heterogeneous and belong to two distinct typological series—the 'Horodnytsia' and 'Dnipro' series—which differ in their areas of distribution and, consequently, in their origins.

The variant represented by finds from Horodnytsia, Petrykivtsi, Nezvysko, and similar sites is characteristic primarily of the western area of the Chernyakhiv culture, extending from the Dniester region to the right bank of the Dnipro River. By contrast, the fibulae from Hryhorivka and Boromlya represent a variant characteristic predominantly of the left bank of the Dnipro River, the Donets Basin, and a relatively narrow riverine zone along the right bank of the Dnipro.[179]

Here, we observe the same methodological shortcoming in the classification proposed by S. Cociş and V. Bârcă as has already been noted about the fibulae assigned to Subvariants B2a1a2 and B2a1b4, and those lacking an unequivocal typological attribution and potentially belonging either to Subvariant B2a1b4 or to B2b1a2. Specifically, the classification fails to account for essential morphological features characterising the bows and the additional elements of the brooches.

In the conclusions of the second study of the series, they date Group A VII, Series 1 fibulae from eastern and south-eastern Romania generally within Phase C1 band the early part of Phase C3 (AD 230–320/330). They also suggest that these objects most probably appeared in the region as early as the beginning of the 3rd century AD, during the late Phase C1a.

They interpret the appearance of these artefacts in this territory as indicating the migration of certain Germanic groups from the Upper Dniester region and areas north of it, and regard them as evidence for the emergence of an early Chernyakhiv population in the lands east and south of the Carpathians.[180]

However, they do not take into account the opinions of scholars studying the Chernyakhiv culture, who believe that the population associated with the Cherepyn–Demyaniv sites in the Upper Dniester region was not Germanic but Slavic.[181]

In the third and concluding part of their series of articles devoted to the study of fibulae of Group A VII Series 1 upper-chord brooches from Romania and the neighbouring regions, S. Cociş and V. Bârcă summarised the conclusions published in their works between 2012 and 2020.

According to these conclusions, the artefacts in question, dated between the last decades of the 2nd century and the first decades of the 4th century AD, are of Przeworsk and Wielbark origin and are evidence of the incursions and settlement of Germanic groups in the territories surrounding the province of Dacia, beginning in the last quarter of the 2nd century AD.

They also interpret certain subvariants from eastern and south-eastern Romania as indicating the arrival of populations associated with the early phase of the Sântana de Mureş–Chernyakhiv culture in these regions.[182]

Throughout the 2000s and 2010s, M. Lyubichev devoted several studies to the origin of Group A VII fibulae from sites in the Dnipro–Donets interfluve.[183] His conclusions served as one of the grounds

178 Cociş – Bârcă 2020, 151. In the first study of the series devoted to this find group, they date these fibulae to Phase C1b (Cociş – Bârcă 2014, 205).

179 Gorokhovskiy – Gopkalo 2004, 117–119, 122–124, Rys. 5–6, 11; Baran – Gopkalo 2006, 43, Rys. 18.

180 Cociş – Bârcă 2020, 152–153.

181 See below for details.

182 Bârcă – Cociş 2022, 252; Bârcă – Cociş 2023, 25, 36–37.

183 Lyubichev – Didyk 2002; Lyubichev 2003; Lyubichev 2008; Lyubichev 2010; Lyubichev 2019.

upon which S. Cociş and V. Bârcă abandoned the term 'Sarmatian' and began referring to fibulae with a high catchplate and an upper chord as 'Germanic'.

The principal arguments advanced by M. Lyubichev in his 2003 article were analysed in our study and subjected to criticism.[184]

The discussion was further developed in the context of the so-called Boromlya horizon at the left bank of the Dnipro River,[185] which is characterised, among other features, by the presence of Group A VII fibulae. The widely cited concept of the 'Boromlya horizon', proposed by Lyubichev, developed from Nekrasova's identification of the earliest stage of the Chernyakhiv culture expansion into the forest-steppe zone of the left bank of the Dnipro River[186] and from Shchukin's recognition of a distinct cultural and chronological horizon characterised, among other features, by the presence of Group A VII fibulae.[187]

Thus, the 'Boromlya horizon' is a historiographical construct whose content requires extensive and detailed definition—a task beyond the scope of this study. It should nevertheless be emphasised that the origin and ethnocultural attribution of the sites assigned by M. Lyubichev to the 'Boromlya horizon' remain the subject of ongoing scholarly debate.

E. Symonovich, for example, attributed the Late Roman settlements at the north-eastern part of the left bank of the Dnipro River, characterised by large quantities of distinctive hand-formed pottery and fibulae of the type in focus, to the Chernyakhiv culture.[188]

A. Nekrasova proposed distinguishing between two chronological stages in the process of 'Chernyakhovisation' of the forest-steppe on the left bank of the Dnipro River. Based on amphorae and Group A VII fibulae, she dated the first stage, represented by five archaeological features—two houses at Ridnyi Krai-3, a house and a working pit at Boromlya-2, and House 8 in Bukreevka-2—a settlement layer at Besedivka, and a cremation burial in a Type D amphora in a cemetery at Novoselivka, to the second half of the 3rd and the 4th centuries AD.

Noting the similarities between the early Chernyakhiv complexes of the Left Bank and the sites of the Upper Dniester region, she raised the hypothesis that a Slavic group from the Dniester region moved into the left bank area of the Dnipro River in the second half of the 3rd century AD, mixed with the local communities associated with the Kyiv culture, and introduced the traditions of Chernyakhiv-style wheel-thrown pottery.[189]

A. Oblomsky interpreted these archaeological assemblages as belonging to the 'Seim–Donets' variant of the Kyiv culture.[190]

In his 2005 monograph, M.B. Shchukin distinguished a specific cultural-chronological 'Boromlya horizon', comprised of settlements characterised not so much by hand-formed pottery evoking Wielbark and Przeworsk traditions as by vessels resembling those of the Demyaniv–Cherepyn group, the flagship finds of which include Group A VII fibulae.[191]

He raised the possibility of a distinct chronological horizon with high-catchplate fibulae, which he termed the 'Boromlya horizon' and interpreted as reflecting an eastward migration of groups from

184 Gorokhovskiy – Gopkalo 2004, 111, 112, 125.

185 Lyubichev 2008, 51.

186 Nekrasova 1990a; Nekrasova 1990b, 59–60.

187 Shchukin 2005, 132–133.

188 Symonovich 1983.

189 Nekrasova 1990a; Nekrasova 1990b, 59–60.

190 Oblomsky 2003, 32–40.

191 Shchukin 2005, 132–133.

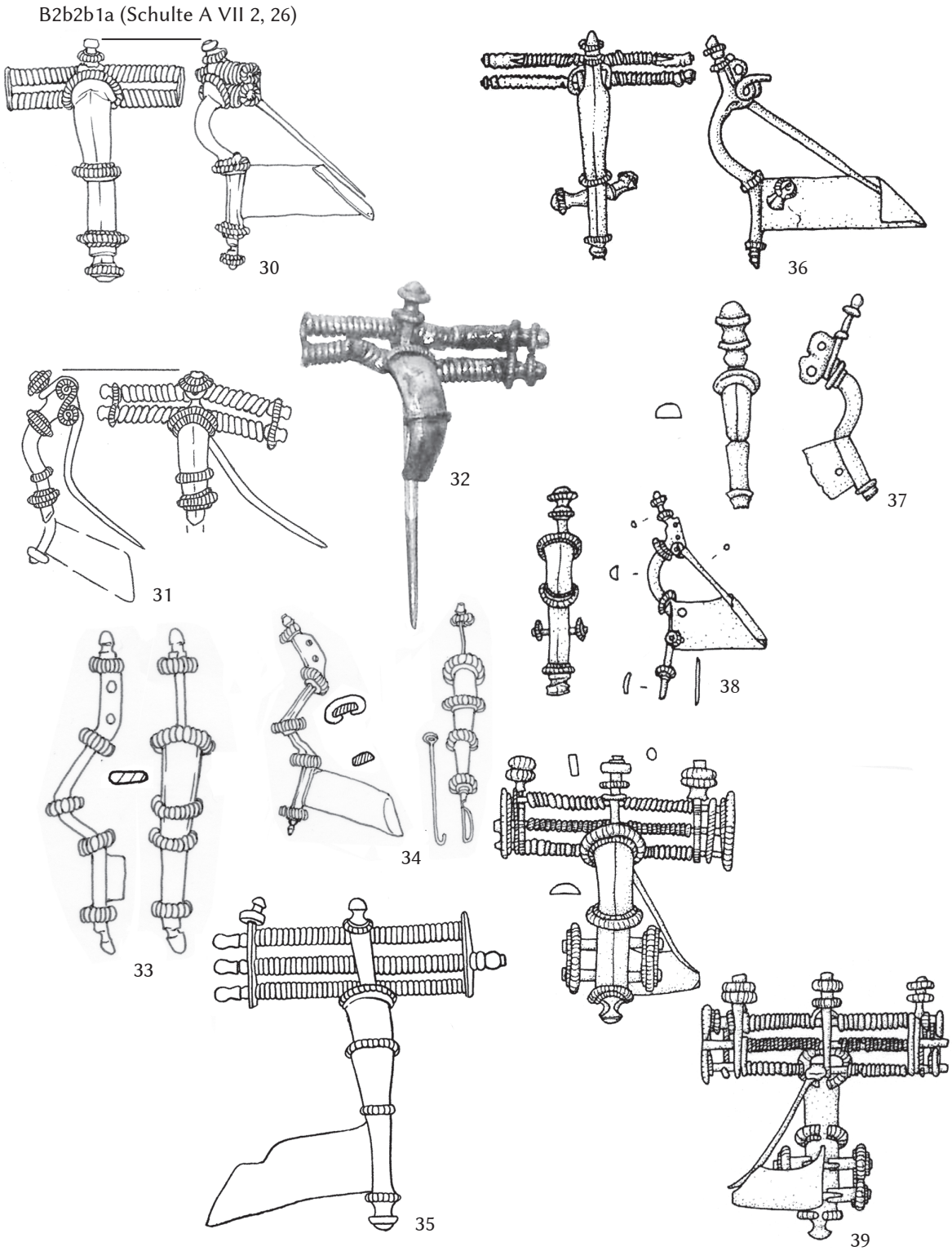



**Fig. 14.** 30 – Horodnytsia, grave (Kopernicki 1878, Tab. 3.C; Almgren 1897, 198–199; Åberg 1936, 265, Fig. 1), 31 – Petrykivtsi, cemetery, cultural layer (Magomedov – Levada 1997, Rys. 1.9), 32 – Nezvysko, settlement, House 1 (Smirnova 1964, 202, 203, Rys. 5.9–10), 33 – Boromlya, settlement, cultural layer (Gorokhovskiy – Gopkalo 2004, Rys. 6.8), 34 – Hrygorivka, settlement, stray find (Gorokhovskiy – Gopkalo 2004, Rys. 6.9), 35 – Petrivs'ke (Gorokhovskiy – Gopkalo 2004, Rys. 6.10), 36 – Mătăsaru (Cociş – Bârcă 2020, Pl. 6.38), 37 – Zalău (Cociş – Bârcă 2014, Fig. 3.2), 38 – Medieşul Aurit (Cociş – Bârcă 2014, Fig. 3.3), 39 – Culciu Mare (Cociş – Bârcă 2014, Fig. 3.4).

the Upper and Middle Dniester region as far as the Upper Don, driven by pressure from Wielbark (Dytynychi wave) and Przeworsk populations.[192]

Unlike M. Shchukin, M. Lyubichev interprets the 'Boromlya horizon' as referring exclusively to sites in the forest-steppe zone in the Dnipro–Donets area, defining them as 'a group of settlements that existed here during Phases C1b–C2 and appeared as a result of the migration of part of the population associated with Demyaniv–Cherepyn-type sites in the Upper Dniester region, incorporating certain elements, but not part of the Chernyakhiv culture'.[193]

According to his interpretation, Group A VII fibulae are important indicators of said migration, and the migrants inherited them from their ancestors—a population associated with the Zubrytska culture—which, in turn, adopted the type from the Wielbark culture.[194]

However, only a single high-catchplate fibula is known from the Zubrytska cultural context, found at the Sokilnyky site.[195] Since the settlement also has a Chernyakhiv layer and the fibula was recovered from a cultural layer rather than a closed feature, it most likely belongs to the Chernyakhiv horizon. Therefore, it is included in our analysis.

Ultimately, the main cause of disagreement was correctly identified as a difference in methodological approaches to interpreting the same sites, which were understood either as settlements of the Kyiv culture or as communities arriving from the Western Bug and Dniester regions.[196]

Nevertheless, the debate concerning the ethnic attribution of the population behind the so-called Boromlya horizon continued. I. Gavritukhin suggested that the people behind this horizon could be the Heruli, whom Jordanes located near Lake Maeotis and described as subjects of Ermanaric.[197]

Based on numismatic evidence, the pottery record, and written sources, researchers studying Roman imports in the Chernyakhiv culture suggested identifying the population of the 'Boromlya horizon' with the 'Borani' tribe mentioned in the *Historia Nova* of Zosimus, completed by AD 498.[198]

Returning, however, to the theory of M. Lyubichev—cited by Romanian archaeologists to support the Przeworsk origin of Group A VII 'Sarmatian' fibulae[199]—a statement of his must be quoted here: "To a considerable extent, it was precisely the analysis of finds of Almgren's Group VII high-catchplate fibulae that made it possible to raise the question of the origin of the 'Boromlya horizon', as this type is part of its definition. A thesis was advanced regarding the existence of a so-called 'chain of fibulae' between the Dniester region and the Dnipro–Donets areas where these fibulae appear in concentrations, and interpreted it as marking the route of migration of Proto-Slavs from one region to their kinsmen in another, leaving behind Kartamyshevo-2–Ternovka-2 and Shyshyno-5–Shmyrevo-type sites [of the Kyiv culture—author's note]."[200]

Thus, the genesis of Group A VII 'Sarmatian' fibulae has remained a subject of heated debate. M. Mączyńska, a scholar who delved into the study of the type in context with the Przeworsk and Wielbark cultures, sees their origin in Roman Dacia and the barbarian Carpo-Dacian and Sarmatian cultures of the Middle and Lower Danube. By contrast, scholars studying the same Danubian finds,

192 Shchukin 2005, 133.
193 Lyubichev 2008, 51.
194 Lyubichev 2003, 75.
195 Kozak 2008, 292, Rys. 139,12.
196 See Oblomsky 2021 with further literature.
197 Gavritukhin 2011, 57.
198 Myzhgyn – Didenko 2021.
199 Cociş – Bârcă 2020, 139.
200 Lyubichev 2003, 77; Lyubichev 2008, 51; Lyubichev 2019, 144.

S. Cociş and V. Bârcă, attribute them primarily to the Przeworsk culture and, to a certain extent, the Wielbark and Chernyakhiv cultures, which they identify with Germanic peoples.

Accordingly, this issue remains far from resolved and, in our view, requires further in-depth analysis of the available evidence, as it is directly linked to the problem of interpreting the Group A VII ‘Sarmatian’ fibulae in the Chernyakhiv culture.

## Typology and chronology of the ‘Sarmatian’ fibulae in the Chernyakhiv culture

Any hypothesis on the genesis of Group A VII fibulae—a type used by communities associated with various archaeological cultures, among which the Chernyakhiv culture occupies a prominent place—should be based on a detailed classification and a methodologically sound comparative analysis with analogies and probable prototypes.

Group A VII fibulae in the Chernyakhiv culture were manufactured from non-ferrous metal alloys, principally copper alloys and silver. Their bodies were mould-cast, which determined the fundamental characteristics of the finished object, including basic design, structure, proportions, and relief ornaments. This must be taken into accountboth when developing a classification, that is, a list and hierarchy of attributes, and when classifying these artefacts.

Group A VII fibulae are two-part constructions consisting of a body and a spring mechanism. The body comprises the head, bow, foot, and catchplate, whereas the spring mechanism includes the pin, spring, chord, and spring axis. The method of joining the body and the spring mechanism, whereby the spring axis is inserted into a perforation in the spring support, and the chord is secured in one way or another, frequently to a projection on the head, determines the structure of the fibula.

The body may be described with its general shape, profile, and the proportions of its principal components. In some cases, the main elements are separated by cast ribs. Most commonly, such ribs separate the bow from the foot or accentuate the form of the catchplate at its upper and lower edges.

The headplate may be simple or complex, the latter incorporating a projection and a spring support. The bow is characterised by its profile, shape, and cross-section. The foot is defined by its form and by the presence or absence of a decorative terminal, either in the form of a knob or as relief ornamentation. The catchplate may be rectangular or trapezoidal; it is also characterised by its proportions and the presence or absence of engraved decoration.

‘Sarmatian’ fibulae, with an upper chord, have a complex headplate with a projection. The projection may be decorative or functional, serving to secure the chord. In examples from the Chernyakhiv culture, the projection may take the form of a spike, plate, knob, or button.

Cylindrical or truncated pyramidal spikes are sometimes engraved and feature aserrated surface or relief decoration. Some brooches have prismatic faceted projections.

Semicircular, subtriangular, trapezoidal headplates, sometimes with a notch for the chord, forming the so-called ‘bird-head’ type, are either parallel to the body, while a trapezoidal, ‘paddle-shaped’ projection may be perpendicular to it.

Regardless of the presence of a projection and a support for one, two, or three springs, the form of the head is determined by the mould.

High-catchplate fibulae from the Chernyakhiv culture may be classified into three distinct series based on recurring combinations of these attributes: the ‘Neslukhiv’, ‘Horodnytsia’, and ‘Dnipro’ series. In addition, some brooches correspond to the definition of ‘Sarmatian’ fibulae but do not fit into either; these are referred to here as ‘non-series’ fibulae.

## Neslukhiv series

'Neslukhiv' fibulae were made exclusively from copper alloys. In addition to a high catchplate, a complex head, and a headplate with a projection—obligatory features of the series—these brooches also exhibit several characteristics predetermined by the mould.

Their bodies are slightly curved and elongated trapezoidal; the bow and the foot are of equal length. Although size may vary within the series, their proportions remain constant.

The cross-section of the bow is predominantly faceted, triangular, rhomboid, or polygonal. The mould predetermined the width of the bow, whereas the cross-section of the casting may be modified. The foot is either plain and undecorated or ornamented with ribs and grooves. The transition from the bow to the foot and to the catchplate is accentuated by ribs cast with the body of the fibula.

The mould also determined the shape of the head projection and the character of the spring support. These elements are sometimes modified after casting.

In a previous study, variants of these brooches were distinguished based on the form of the head projection:

a) with a truncated conical or pyramidal spike (Zhuravka) (Fig. 16.1);
b) with a beaded projection (Ripniv) (Fig. 16.7);
c) with a serrated projection (Demyaniv, Holovino) (Figs 8–9);
d) with a narrow trapezoidal plate-like projection, spatula-shaped in profile (Luka-Vrublevetska, Ripniv) (Fig. 19.1,3–4);
e) with a narrow projection, beak-shaped or trapezoidal in profile (Luka-Vrublevetska, Neslukhiv, Ruzhychanka, Demyaniv) (Fig. 17.4,6–8);
f) with a narrow semicircular plate featuring a notch for attaching the chord—the so-called 'bird-head' type (Riabukhine, Zavhorodnie) (Fig. 17.2–3);
g) with a semicircular projection (Horodnytsia settlement, Sokilnyky);
h) with a mushroom-shaped knob (a fibula of unknown provenance in the collection of the Lviv Historical Museum and Ridnyi Krai-3) (Fig. 18.3,5).

The vast majority of 'Neslukhiv' fibulae have been discovered in the Western Bug basin, the Upper and Middle Dniester region, the eastern, left bank of the Dnipro River, and the upper reaches of the Siverskyi Donets.[201]

The chronology of the 'Neslukhiv' series is established by dated assemblages discovered at sites in both the western and eastern areas of the Chernyakhiv culture. Such fibulae were found together with fragments of ancient light pottery amphorae of Shchukin's[202] 'Tanais' type or Shelov's Type D in House IV in Cherepyn, a settlement in the upper Western Bug basin,[203] as well as House 1 at Ridnyi Krai-3 and Holovino on the left bank of the Dnipro River.[204]

According to the latest typological and chronological framework developed by S. Didenko, these amphorae correspond to variants D1, D2, and D3, dated to AD 200–260.[205]

201 Gorokhovskyi – Gopkalo 2004, 121–122, Rys. 11; Baran – Gopkalo 2006, 43, Rys. 18; Lyubichev 2019, 252–253, Rys. 52.

202 Shchukin 1968, 42–43, Fig. 1.a.

203 In our earlier article, the fibula from Cherepyn was mistakenly assigned to a different category—the 'Horodnytsia' series—based on a highly schematic drawing in the publication and a brief description mentioning its decoration with applied rings (Gorokhovskiy – Gopkalo 2004, 118, 127, no. 118). Next, M. Lyubichev (Lyubichev 2010, 145), drawing on classification, attributed it to the 'Dnipro' series, although no such finds were known from west of the Dnipro's right bank. The issue could be clarified thanks to photographs kindly provided by I. Gavrytukhin in 2013, for which we are grateful.

204 Shelov 1978, 17–18, Fig. 7.

205 Baran 1981, Pl. 38.8–11,16; Lyubichev 2010, 145, 148–149, Fig. 7.16,19; Lyubichev 2019, 93; Didenko 2018, 47, 50, 258, 261, nos 3 and 17.

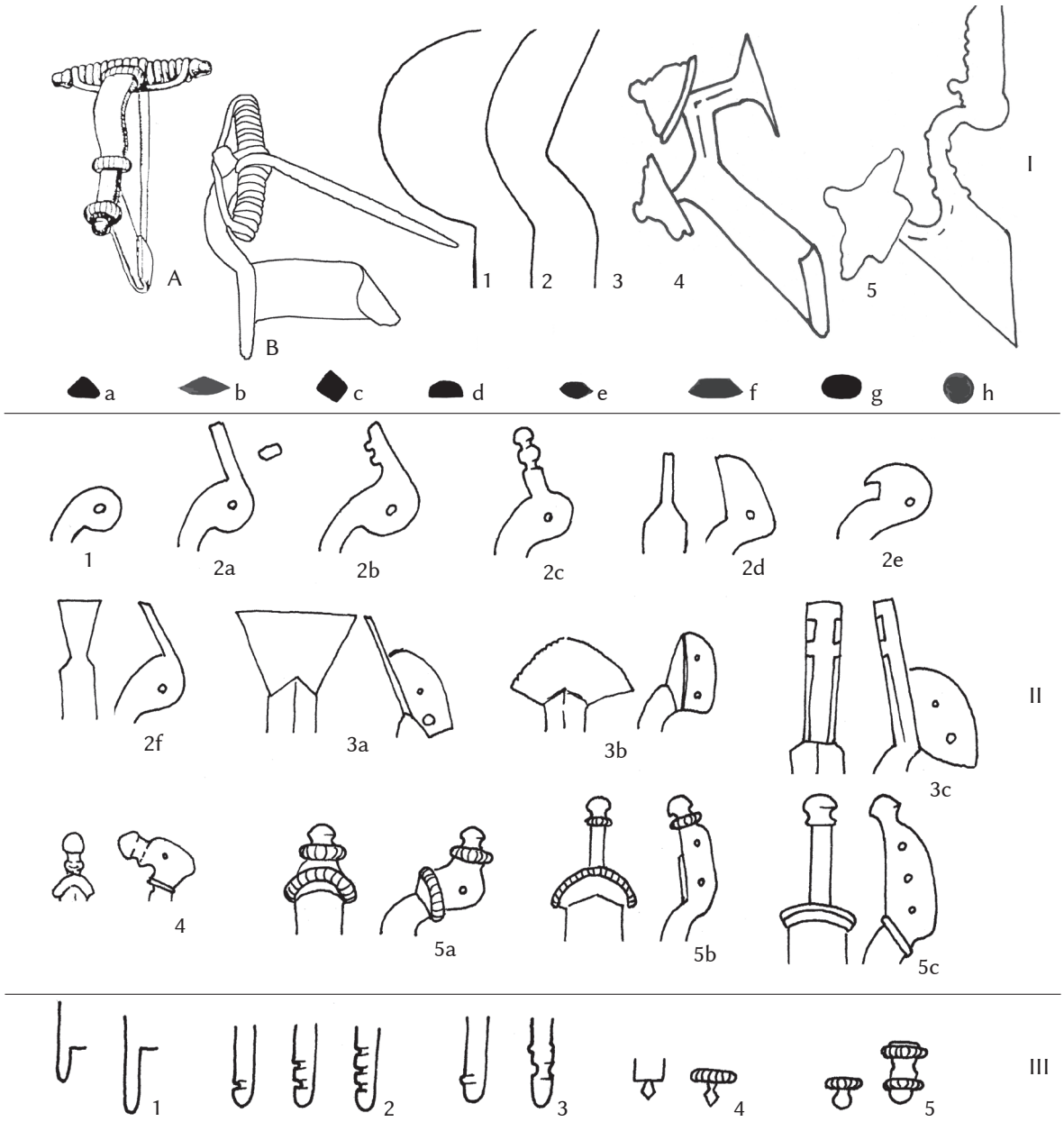



**Fig. 15**. Structural features of A VII fibulae in the Chernyakhiv culture.

Several structures at the Cherepyn settlement yielded Type D *amphorae*. Houses VI and XI and Building A contained sherds of Subtype D1 vessels (AD 200–230), and D1–D3-subtype *amphora* fragments (AD 200–260) were retrieved from House IV, where the fibula was discovered, and Building A.

In addition, Houses VI and XI yielded fragments of *terra sigillata* produced by workshops of the Comitialis III style (last decade of the 2nd century to the first quarter of the 3rd century AD) and the Helenius style (first half of the 3rd century AD), according to the typology of S. Didenko.[206]

Jointly, the *terra sigillata* and the *amphorae* date these contexts to the late 2nd–first half or mid-3rd century AD. The fact that House XI, which yielded the *terra sigillata*, is adjacent to House IV, where the fibula was discovered, corroborates this dating.

206 Didenko 2018, Fig. 144.5–7.

Another supporting argument is an iron key recovered from the same assemblage, which belongs to a type known in the Northern Black Sea region from funerary contexts dating to the late 2nd and 3rd centuries, particularly the first half of the 3rd century AD. Its close parallels are known from Grave 11 in a cemetery of the Chernyakhiv culture at Ruzhychanka.[207]

The keys from Ruzhychanka[208] were discovered in one of the earliest graves of the cemetery,[209] associated with the Chernyakhiv culture, the archaic 'Ruzhychanka' grave horizon, corresponding to the second third–third quarter of the 3rd century AD.[210]

A. Kokowski classified such keys as Type E and dated them broadly within Phases B2–C3 of the Central European framework for the Roman period, corresponding to the 2nd–4th centuries AD.[211]

The grave also contained an iron shield handle and fragments of a hemispherical glass phiale decorated with a relief X motif. The shield handle, classified as Type 9 in M. Jahn's typology, is dated to the Late Roman period, i.e., the 3rd–4th centuries AD.[212]

Parallels to the phiale[213] are known from Chernyakhiv cemeteries, including Grave 96 in Cherneliv-Ruskyi and Grave 105 in Romankivtsi; they may be identified as Eggers Forms 205, 212, 213, 215, or 216, generally dated to Phases C1a–C2, corresponding to the late 2nd–early 4th century AD.[214]

Recently, V. Shchepachenko identified it as D. Foy et al.'s Type IN 110 or IN 117 and cited analogies from 3rd-century AD contexts in Selonge (France) and Niederbieber (Germany), thereby specifying the grave's dating in Ruzhychanka to AD 250/260–300/320.[215]

Unfortunately, his conclusion and the interpretation of the graves at Cherneliv-Ruskyi and Romankivtsi contain several misunderstandings, methodological shortcomings, and factual errors.[216]

207 Lyubichev 2010, 148–149, Fig. 7.18; see also Lyubichev 2019, 92 with further literature.

208 Vinokur 1979, 114, 117, Fig. 7.2–4; Gorokhovskyi 1988, 36, Fig. 8; Gopkalo 2012, 331, 344, Notes 6–8, 355, 382, Fig. 1.11–13, Ill. 10.6–8.

209 Gorokhovskyi 1988, 45; Gopkalo 2012, 337, 341.

210 Gorokhovskyi 1987, 62–64, 66–67; Gorokhovskyi 1988, 36–37, 42–43, 45.

211 Gopkalo 2012, 331.

212 Gopkalo 2012, 332, 344, Note 3, 382, Ill. 10.3.

213 Vinokur 1979, 114, 117, Fig. 7.1; Gorokhovskyi 1987, 62, 66, Fig. 1.1; Gorokhovskyi 1988, 36, 42, Rys. 6; Gopkalo 2012, 331, 344, Note 1, 355, 382, Fig. 1.5, Ill. 10.1.

214 Gorokhovskyi 1988, 42; Gopkalo 2012, 331; cp. Eggers 1955, 202–203, Fig. 4.61a; Nikitina 2008, 77–78, 202, Fig. 15.4, with reference to Eggers Forms 217–222.

215 Shchepachenko 2024a, 65–66; Shchepachenko 2024b, 175, 195–196, Note 17, 201, Fig. 1.9,11–14.

216 The author mistakenly dated Grave 11 in Ruzhychanka to the second half of the 3rd – first quarter of the 4th century AD (Shchepachenko 2024a, 65), with references to Gopkalo's articles (Gopkalo 2011, 73 and, mistakenly, Gopkalo 2013, 341, 331—as these pages actually belong to Gopkalo 2012). No such dating was presented in the cited studies, which do not discuss absolute chronology at all. He repeats the mistake in Shchepachenko 2024a, 66, when referring to the same publication (Gopkalo 2011, 73, 84) in the context of the dating of Grave 105 in Romankivtsi.
A further problematic aspect concerns the dating of Grave 96 in Cherneliv-Ruskyi and Grave 105 in Romankivtsi (Shchepachenko 2024a, 61, 66; Shchepachenko 2024b, 174–175), which he allegedly dated using a chronological framework developed by E. Gorokhovskyi. Although the author states that he follows Gorokhovskyi's chronological system (Shchepachenko 2024b, 174, note 25), its application appears inconsistent, as the two graves are assigned, without further justification, to the second ('Berezhanka') phase (Shchepachenko 2024b, 174–175). In fact, E. Gorokhovskiy explicitly attributed both graves to the first ('Ruzhychanka') phase, together with Grave 11 in the eponymous cemetery (Gorokhovskyi 1988, 45).
A similar problem concerns the fibula with a bent foot from Grave 96 in Cherneliv-Ruskyi. Although E. Gorokhovskyi classified it as Variant A5, Shchepachenko interpreted it as a chronological marker of ▸

Concerning the absolute dating of the Ruzhychanka phiale through analogies, it must be emphasised that its only close parallel is the phiale from Niederbieber, since the bowl from Selonge, while it features a similar ornamentation, has an entirely different shape. The *terminus ante quem* for the Niederbieber find is AD 260, corresponding to the destruction of the Roman military camp at the Upper German–Raetian *limes*.[217]

The dating of analogous phiales, such as those from Cherneliv-Ruskyi (Eggers Type 216) and Romankivtsi, based on finds from classical and barbarian sites across Western and Eastern Europe, also corresponds to this dating. The production and distribution of such glass bowls in the north-western provinces of the Roman Empire, particularly in Gaul and Upper Germany, began no later than the first half of the 3rd century AD, when they also appeared in the Danubian provinces and the Northern Black Sea region.[218]

The *terminus ante quem* for their widespread distribution in the southern part of Eastern Europe is established primarily by finds from ancient cities and neighbouring territories that suffered catastrophic destruction in the mid-3rd century AD, notably building complexes destroyed around AD 240 at Gorgippia and, somewhat later, at Tanais, Olbia, and the Alma-Kermen hillfort in Crimea;[219] for a general overview of the chronology of Black Sea sites destroyed between the AD 230s/240s and AD 260s/270s.[220]

Accordingly, there are no convincing grounds for narrowing down the dating of the Chernyakhiv complexes from Cherneliv-Ruskyi and Romankivtsi to the second half of the 3rd and the early 4th century AD, or even more to AD 270–330, especially when such dating is based on the presence of a fibula with a bent foot and a circular wire buckle with a thin faceted body and rhomboid cross-section.[221]

Grave 104 in the Cherneliv-Ruskyi cemetery contained a 'Neslukhiv' brooch and a two-part omega-shaped buckle, one of the chronological indicators of the early Chernyakhiv culture, and in particular of the archaic 'Ruzhychanka' grave horizon, dated to the second third–third quarter of the 3rd century AD.[222]

A similar buckle from Grave 261 in the same cemetery was discovered together with a comb with a triangular back. Although the dating of such combs is broader, the two graves may be coeval.[223]

▸ the 'Berezhanka' phase (Shchepachenko 2024a, 61, Note 6). Gorokhovskyi, however, regarded this fibula as characteristic of the earlier 'Ruzhychanka' phase (Gorokhovskyi 1988, 42).
Another discrepancy concerns the bronze buckle from Grave 105 in the Romankivtsi cemetery. V. Shchepachenko highlights its resemblance to 'items of series *Ж* or *З* according to Gorokhovskyi' and uses this parallel to date it to the late 3rd or the early 4th century AD (Shchepachenko 2024a, 66; Shchepachenko 2024b, 175). In fact, buckles of series *Ж* and *З* belong to the Late Chernyakhiv period, mainly to the final ('Zhuravka') horizon, dated to the last third of the 4th and the first third of the 5th century AD, and cannot be used to date the Romankivtsi find (Gorokhovskyi 1988, 41, 45, Figs 82, 88).
An examination of these interpretations and the accompanying bibliographical references suggests that the chronological position of Chernyakhiv assemblages with glass *phiales* is based primarily on an article by O. Petrauskas (Petrauskas 2017, 126–127, Taf. 1). In our view, reliance on this study alone would have been preferable to incorporating arguments based on inaccurate citations or misinterpretations of other scholars' work.

217 Ritterling 1911; Eggers 1955, 210–211, 215–218, no. 29, Abb. 7.29, Abb. 8.29.

218 For a list of sites and literature, see Puklina 2018, 68–73; Shchepachenko 2024b, 175, Note 38.

219 Puklina 2018, 68–73.

220 See Gorokhovskyi *et al.* 1985, 25–26, 28, Rys. 1.4.

221 Shchepachenko 2024a, 61, 66; Shchepachenko 2024b, 174–175.

222 Gorokhovskiy 1987, 62–64, Rys. 1.2,5; Gorokhovskiy 1988, 36–37, 42–43, 45, Rys. 5; Gereta 2013, 46, 168, Rys. 61.2–3.

223 Gereta 2013, 78–79, 235, Rys. 127.6–7.

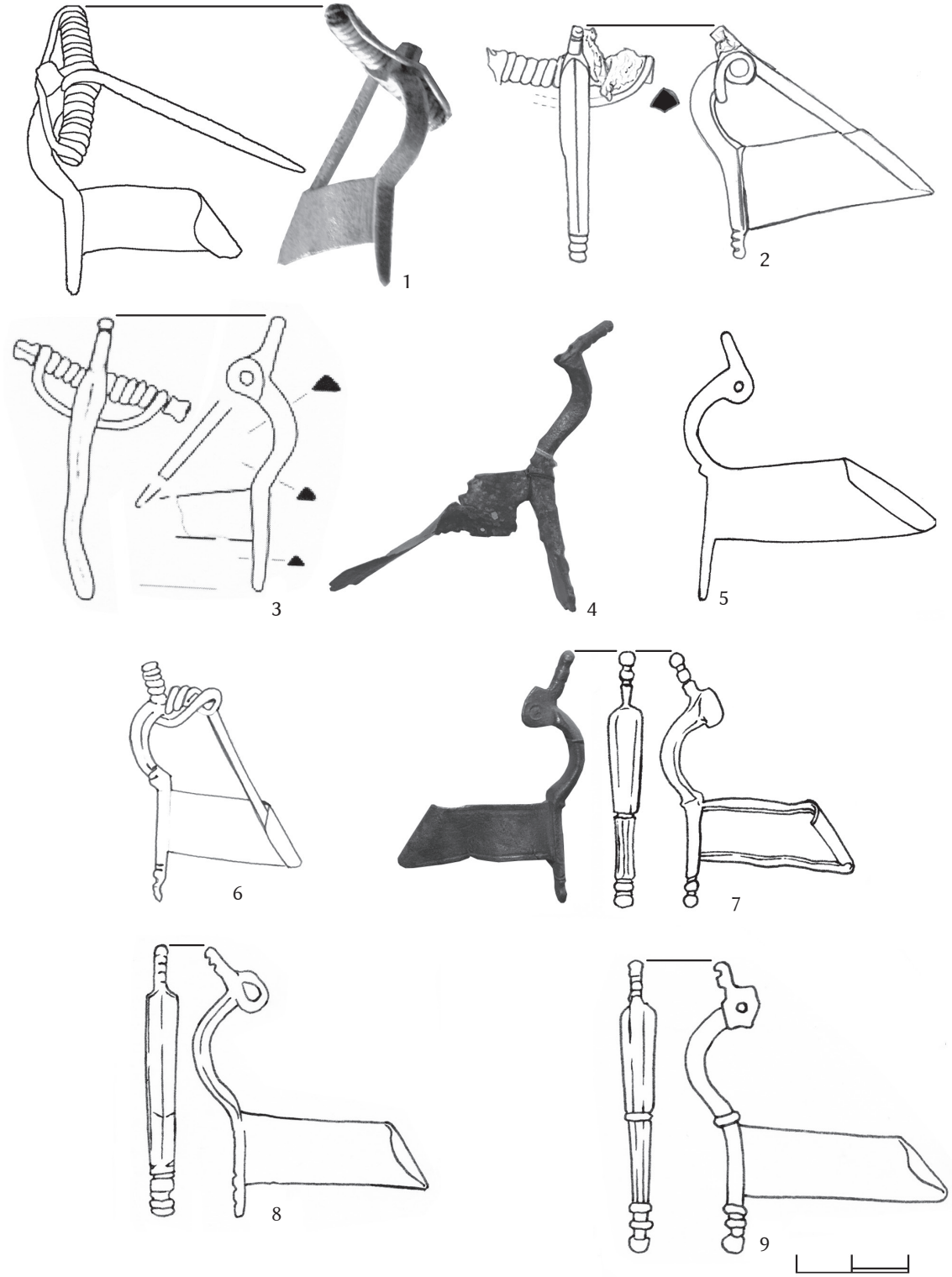



**Fig. 16**. 'Neslukhiv' fibulae. 1 – Zhuravka, Grave 33, 2 – Cherneliv-Ruskyi, Grave 261, 3 – Poberezhne-1a, cemetery, cultural layer, 4 – Demyaniv, settlement, cultural layer from the 1987 excavation, 5 – Demyaniv, settlement, 1987 excavation, above Building 4, 6 – Cherneliv-Ruskyi, cemetery, Grave 104, 7 – Ripniv, settlement, Excavation 2 in 1960, House 22, 8 – Demyaniv, settlement, excavated in 1968–1970, House 4, 9 – Holovino, settlement, cultural layer.

In summary, every associated settlement feature and grave belongs to the early Chernyakhiv culture, dated to the first half–third quarter of the 3rd century AD. Thus, 'Neslukhiv' brooches are important chronological indicators.[224]

Analogies with a determined chronological position corroborate this dating. 'Neslukhiv' brooches are rare in the find material of the Chernyakhiv culture in Romania;[225] the known specimens have both standard and unique features.

A fibula representing a special variant, No. 10, of the 'Neslukhiv' series was discovered in House 8, a bone workshop, in the Chernyakhiv settlement of Bârlad–Valea Seacă in Romanian Moldova.[226] Its most distinctive stylistic feature is the projection on the head, in the shape of an elongated faceted prism, which clearly imitates the shape and ornamentation of the foot elements of Roman hinged and T-fibulae of the first half–third quarter of the 3rd century AD.[227] Accordingly, this feature may be regarded as a chronological indicator.[228]

Another fibula from Feature 4 in the same settlement has a unique two-spring mechanism, which has no parallel within the 'Neslukhiv' series.[229]

Another piece of corroborating evidence is a bronze casting mould discovered in a building complex dated to the first half of the 3rd century AD in the Roman city of Porolissum, the capital of the military-administrative district of Dacia Porolissensis, originally established as a military camp in the province of Upper Dacia. The mould was used for producing fibulae identical to some specimens found in Chernyakhiv contexts;[230] moreover, several of the almost twenty Group A VII fibulae from Porolissum and other Roman Dacian sites represent direct analogies to fibulae from the Chernyakhiv culture. Comparable examples are also known from the Poieneşti–Vârteşcoiu culture, whose territory partially adjoined that of the Chernyakhiv culture.

The discovery of a semi-finished 'Neslukhiv' fibula at Ohultsi in the upper Siverskyi Donets basin attests, in the opinion of S. Cociş and V. Bârcă, to the local production of such brooches during

224 A fibula of the same series from the settlement of Luka-Vrublevetska, associated with a surface building uncovered in Trench III/XIV in 1957 (the so-called woodworker's dwelling), was formally found together with a fibula with a bent foot and a smooth three-sided bow, similar to those from complexes of the second ('Berezhanka') grave horizon, dated to the last third of the 3rd–first third of the 4th century AD (Tikhanova 1977, 70, 74, Fig. 4.2–3; Gorokhovskiy 1988, 35, 37, 43, Fig. 28).
However, it is premature to treat these finds as a single assemblage, since they were discovered at a considerable distance from one another—approximately 5.5 m apart and at different depths (33 cm and 63 cm, respectively)—and only one of them was found within the debris of the dwelling (Tikhanova 1977, 71, Fig. 2.A3, Ж).
The analysis of dated parallels provides additional arguments for the dating of the series. Finds of Group A VII 'Neslukhiv' fibulae are rare in the find material of Chernyakhiv period sites in Romania.

225 An overview of such brooches with sites of the Poieneşti–Virtişcoi and Militari–Chilia cultures, and those of Sarmatians in eastern and south-eastern Romania, can be found in Cociş – Bârcă 2020, 138, Note.

226 Palade 2004, 58–59, 319, Fig. 32.3; Popuşoi 1996.

227 Gorokhovskiy – Gopkalo 2004, 115–117, Rys. 4.3; Gorokhovskyi *et al.* 1985, 32–34, 39, nos 57–64, Rys. 7.2, Rys. 8; Cociş 2004, 154, 413, Pl. 159.2138–2139.

228 A Roman T-shaped hinged fibula with a foot shape and ornamentation imitated by the projection on the head of the Bârlad fibula was found in a hoard at Chauševo in northern Bulgaria together with a coin of Gordian III (AD 238–244). Another such brooch was discovered at the Roman military camp of Zugmantel on the Rhine, abandoned by the Romans around AD 260 (Gorokhovskyi *et al.* 1985, 39, no. 61).

229 Palade 1980, 247, Fig. 18.6; Palade 2004, 69.

230 Gudea – Tamba 2008, Figs 4–5.

Phase C1 band reflects the migration of certain Germanic groups towards the north-east from the last quarter of the 2nd century AD onwards.[231] However, as noted above, this hypothesis requires considerably more evidence.

### 'Horodnytsia' series

'Horodnytsia' fibulae were made from silver or copper alloys and are characterised by a knob or button on the head and by a bow ornamented with a series of applied wire rings, most of them ribbed. The bow is slightly curved, might be faceted or smooth, and has a corresponding triangular, trapezoidal, or semicircular (segment- or lens-shaped) cross-section.

Based on a combination of structural, morphological, and metric features, including the characteristics of the spring mechanism, the configuration of the constituent elements, and their dimensions, 'Horodnytsia' fibulae may be classified into three variants:

a) Massive two-spring fibulae with an upper chord, a broad, faceted bow (6–8 mm), and an overall length of 40–50 mm (Horodnytsia, House 1 in Nezvysko, a layer in the Petrykivtsi cemetery) (Fig. 20.1,4).
b) Single- and two-spring fibulae with either a lower or an upper chord, structurally similar to the preceding variant. All are relatively small, with a narrow, faceted or semicircular bow up to 5 mm and an overall length of approximately 40 mm (Priozerne 1,[232] Grave 24 in Ruzhychanka, Grave 5 in Toky, Grave 130 in Cherneliv-Ruskyi) (Fig. 20.3,5,6).
c) Massive single-spring[233] fibulae with a segment- or lens-sectioned, ca. 8 mm broad bow and a total length over 40 mm[234] (stray settlement finds from Kostyantivka and Pasiky). A single perforation in the spring plate indicates this construction, although the form of the chord remains unknown because there is no find with a spring mechanism.

Variant A and B brooches are dated by grave finds, such as Grave 24 in Ruzhychanka, Grave 5 in Toky, and Grave 130 in Cherneliv-Ruskyi. These assemblages yielded an Eggers Type 189 glass cup,[235] a bent-foot fibula of variant A1 (Cherneliv-Ruskyi, grave 130), a comb with a low subtriangular back (Ruzhychanka, grave 24), and a bead of Group 1 according to O. Gopkalo.[236]

Accordingly, these complexes correspond chronologically to the above-mentioned burials containing fibulae of the 'Neslukhiv' series and may be dated to the early, 'Ruzhychanka' horizon in cemeteries of the Chernyakhiv culture, corresponding to the second third–third quarter of the 3rd century AD.[237]

Comparable glass cups are characteristic particularly of the early and mid-3rd century AD, although they occasionally occur in somewhat later assemblages. Consequently, the dating proposed by H. J. Eggers to the second half of the 2nd century AD, within Phase C1,[238] is now outdated.

Grave 5 at Petrykivtsi contained a foot-and-catchplate fragment of a fibula tentatively assigned to the 'Horodnytsia' series and a military brooch with a spiked foot, characteristic of Wielbark culture assemblages of Subphase C1b, dated to the late first quarter—second third of the 3rd century AD.[239]

231 Cociş – Bârcă 2014, 206–209, Fig. 7.8–9.
232 Details of the chord and bow cannot be discerned in the published photos.
233 Indicated by a single hole in the spring plate, the chord of the spring is missing.
234 The exact length cannot be measured because the head and foot ends have broken off.
235 Horodnytsia; see Eggers 1951, 151, no. 2052.
236 Gopkalo 2008, 103–104, Fig. 3.5.
237 Gorokhovskiy 1987, 62–67, Rys. 2.1; Gorokhovskiy 1988, 36–37, 42–43, 45, Rys. 1–2, Rys. 11.
238 Eggers 1955, 202–203.
239 Magomedov – Levada 1993, 92–93, 180, Rys. 39.4,7; Belyavets 2007, 316, 319, Rys. 7.6,1–2.

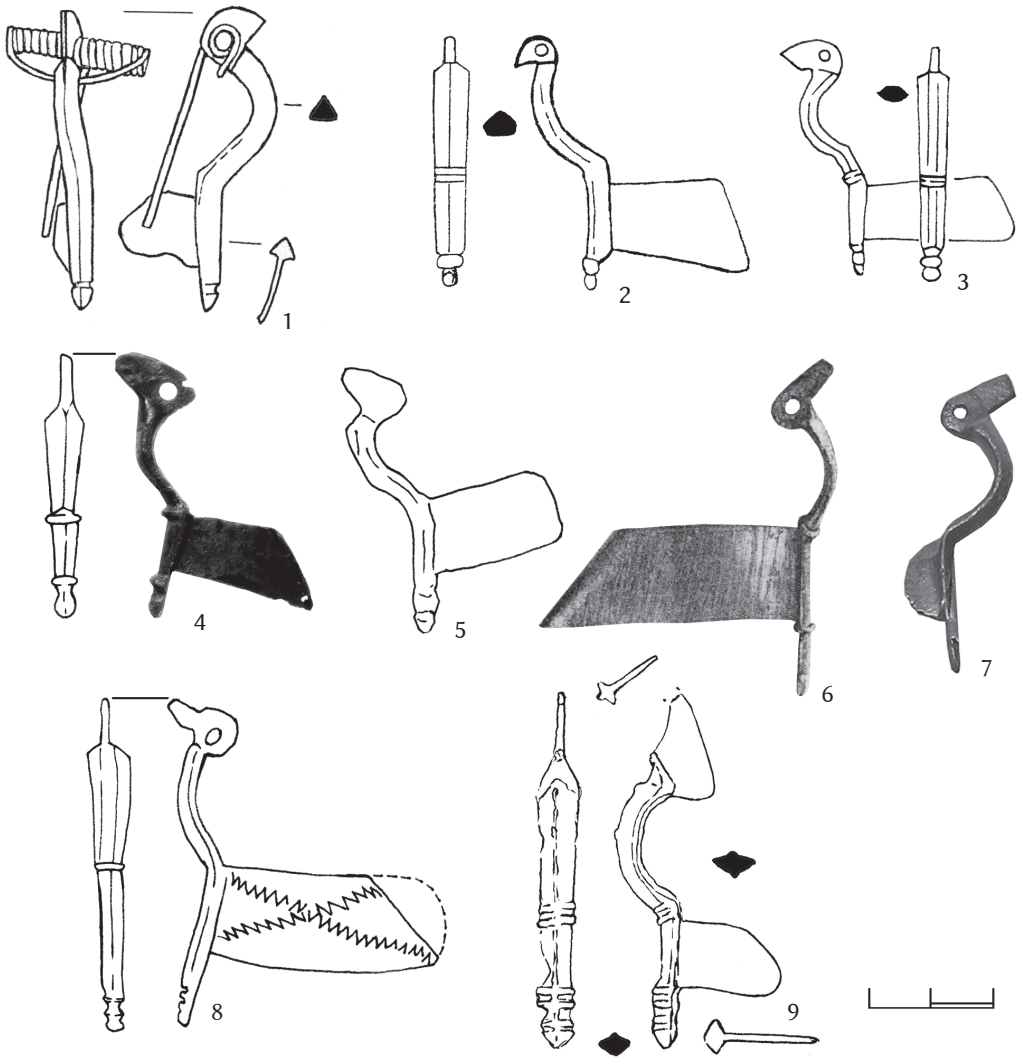



**Fig. 17**. 'Neslukhiv' fibulae. 1 – Lehedzyne, cemetery, cultural layer from the 2010 excavation, 2 – Zavhorodne, settlement, stray find, 3 – Ryabukhino-1, settlement, stray find, 4 – Luka-Vrublyevetska, settlement, excavation III/XIV, surface house, 5 – Ruzhychanka, cemetery, Grave 13, 6 – Neslukhiv, settlement, stray find, 7 – Ripniv, settlement, Excavation 2 in 1959, stray find, 8 – Demyaniv, settlement, 1968–1970 excavations, House 4, 9 – Ohultsi, settlement, stray find, semi-finished product.

A pair of two-spring fibulae analogous to the find from Toky are known from Grave 36 at Petrovichi in western Belarus, a cemetery of the Wielbark culture. The grave also contained a bent-foot brooch,[240] a comb with a low subtriangular back, a large assemblage of beads, and other grave goods dated generally to Subphase C1b, possibly extending into the beginning of phase C2, corresponding to the late first quarter—second half of the 3rd century AD.[241]

V. Belyavets compares this fibula with Almgren's Form 161 and A. Kokowski's Variant ZM-25 of the Masłomęcz group, assigning it to Subphase C1a, corresponding to the end of the 2nd century and

240 V. Belyavets draws a parallel to Almgren's Form 161 and Kokowski's ZM–25 variant of the Masłomęcz group, assigned to Subphase C1a, corresponding to the end of the 2nd – first decades of the 3rd century AD (Belyavets 2007, 316, 321, Fig. 8.3). It must be noted, however, that this is a brooch variant typical to the Wielbark culture, with a quadrangular, rhomboid-sectioned bow adorned along the outer edge with a row of small incisions imitating stamped 'goose-foot' patterns. Similar brooches are occasionally also found in Chernyakhiv contexts, but those are usually younger.

241 Belyavets 2007, 316, 318, 321, Fig. 8.1–2.

the first decades of the 3rd century AD.[242] It should be noted, however, that this is a typical Wielbark fibula variant characterised by a quadrangular bow of rhomboid cross-section, its outer edge adorned with a row of small incised 'goose-foot' patterns. Similar brooches also occasionally occur in Chernyakhiv assemblages, though in later contexts.

An additional indication of the archaic position of the complexes containing these fibulae within the relative chronology of the Chernyakhiv cemeteries is their location within the earliest sections of the burial grounds.[243]

Thus, there are sufficient grounds for synchronising both dated variants of the 'Horodnytsia' series with the fibulae of the 'Neslukhiv' series and for regarding them as a second important chronological indicator of early Chernyakhiv antiquities of the 3rd century AD, especially in relation to burial assemblages dating to the second third and third quarter of the century.

Describing a fibula from Romania associated with a Militari–Chilia complex and analogous to the second variant of the series under consideration, Gh. Bichir suggested that such objects remained in use until the beginning of the 4th century AD.[244] However, no reliable evidence currently supports such a late chronology for Chernyakhiv culture sites.

The chronology of the third variant of the Horodnytsia series remains uncertain owing to the absence of securely dated assemblages. It may only be tentatively assumed that, on typological grounds, these fibulae are somewhat later than the first two variants.

### Unique ('non-series') variants

Group A VII brooch finds from the Chernyakhiv culture include several specimens that represent rare forms and cannot be assigned to any typological series.

Variant 1 – represented by a find from Pit 16 at the Nezvysko settlement in the Dniester region (Fig. 21.3). Its basic design and the dimensions of the bow resemble Almgren's Form 193, but it has an upper chord threaded through a perforation in the spring plate above the spring.

A. K. Ambroz described it as a unique brooch from southern Eastern Europe, characterised by an 'S-shaped bow and a button at the end of the foot'. He compared it with Central European fibulae from the Elbe region, characteristic of sites in the Czech Republic, Germany, and Denmark, while emphasising the preliminary character of this identification, which was based solely on a published photograph.[245]

Direct examination of the original fibula allowed a substantial refinement of classification.[246] The closest parallels for the object are found not in the Elbe region but in the find material of the Przeworsk culture, dated to the late 2nd and early 3rd centuries AD, whose characteristic features include the same decoration of the head with several grooves.[247]

A similar fibula, unfortunately known only from a schematic drawing, originates from the Chernyakhiv settlement of Horodnytsia in the Dniester region.[248]

Variant 2 – represented by a stray find from Pekari in the Middle Dnipro region (Fig. 21.6). This relatively large and massive fibula is characterised by a pronounced semicircular or crescent-shaped

242 Belyavets 2007, 316, 321, Fig. 8.3.

243 See, for example, Gopkalo 2012, 337–339.

244 Bichir 1984, 46–47, Pl. 39.1.

245 Ambroz 1966, 74, Tab. 21.3.

246 Gorokhovskyi – Gopkalo 2004, 121, 124, Rys. 9.1.

247 Mączyńska 1999, 106, Tab. 7.3,6, Tab. 8.1–2.

248 Gorokhovskiy – Gopkalo 2004, 121, 124, Rys. 9.2.

bow, a ribbed foot, and spherical knobs on both the head and the foot. Based on the slot in the head, it possessed an upper chord of the so-called 'West Sarmatian' type.[249]

Similar brooches are known from contexts dated to the second half or the end of the 2nd century, or to the turn of the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD, in Slovakia.[250]

Variant 3 – represented by a fibula from the Verkhnya Lypytsia settlement (Fig. 21.5). It has a crescent-shaped bow, a ribbed foot, and spherical knobs on both the head and the foot. However, it is smaller and less massive than the specimen from Pekari, having a slender bow of circular cross-section and a somewhat elongated foot.

Its characteristics likewise recall the archaic forms of Almgren's Group A VII fibulae and suggest that it is broadly contemporary with the fibula from Pekari.

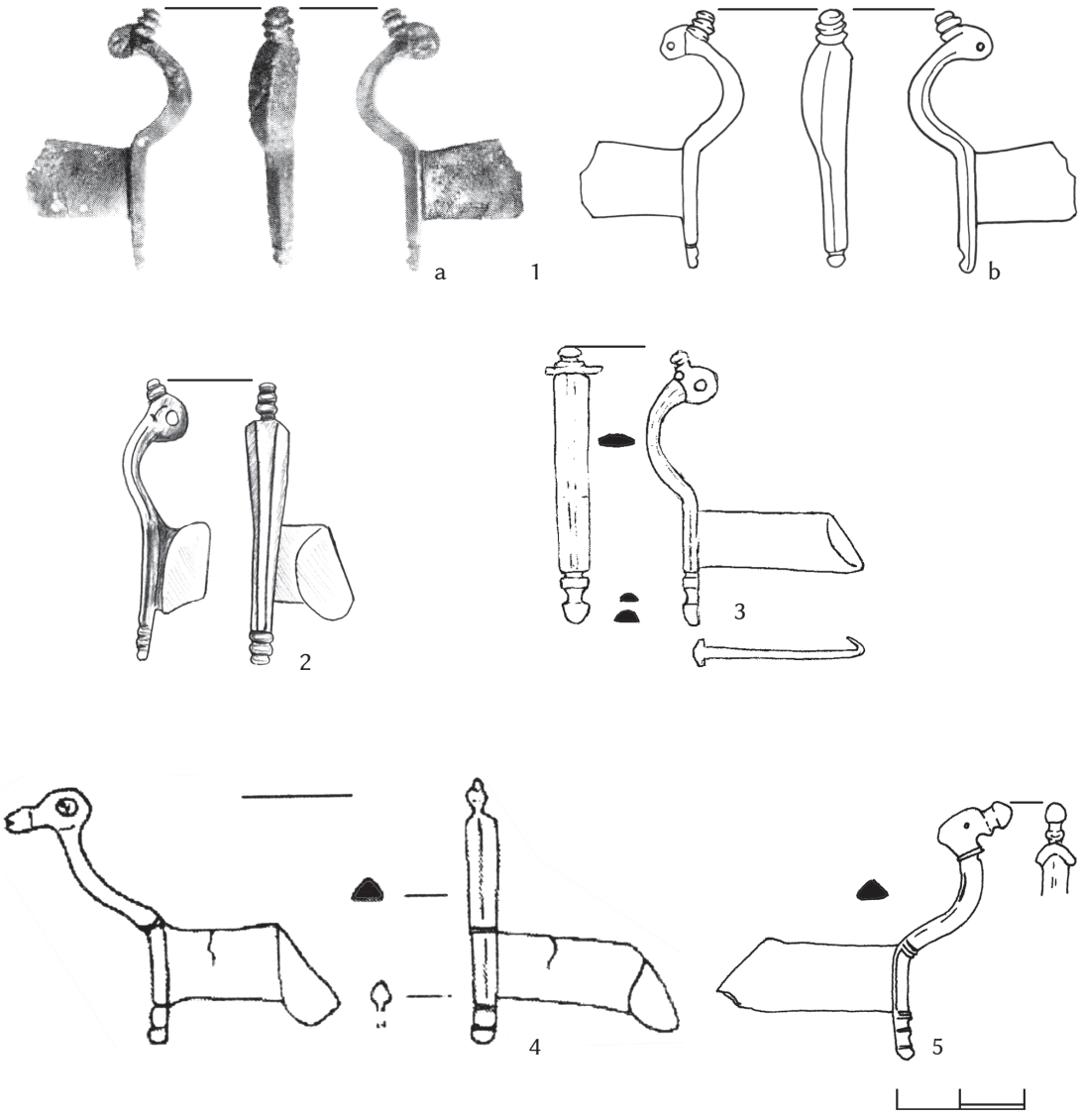



**Fig. 18**. 'Neslukhiv' fibulae. 1 – Zhovtantsi, stray find, 2 – Verenchanka-Captain Zota Street, settlement, cultural layer, 3 – Ridnyi Krai-3, settlement, 1984 excavation, House 1, 4 – Viytenky, cemetery, surface find, 5 – unknown provenance.

249 Ambroz 1966, 72.

250 Kolník 1964, 416, Obr. 1.3; Kolník 1965, 190, 194, 198, 218, Obr. 5.1, Obr. 7.5.

Variant 4 – represented by a fibula from House VIII at the Lepesivka settlement in Volhynia (Fig. 21.1). It is characterised by a head with a semicircular, shield-like plate decorated with incisions around the edge; it also has an upper chord passing through a perforation in the spring plate above the spring. Its bow and foot resemble certain 'Neslukhiv' brooches. Its parallels are currently known only from sites of the Poieneşti–Vârteşcoiu culture in Romanian Moldova, dated to the late 2nd and 3rd centuries AD.[251]

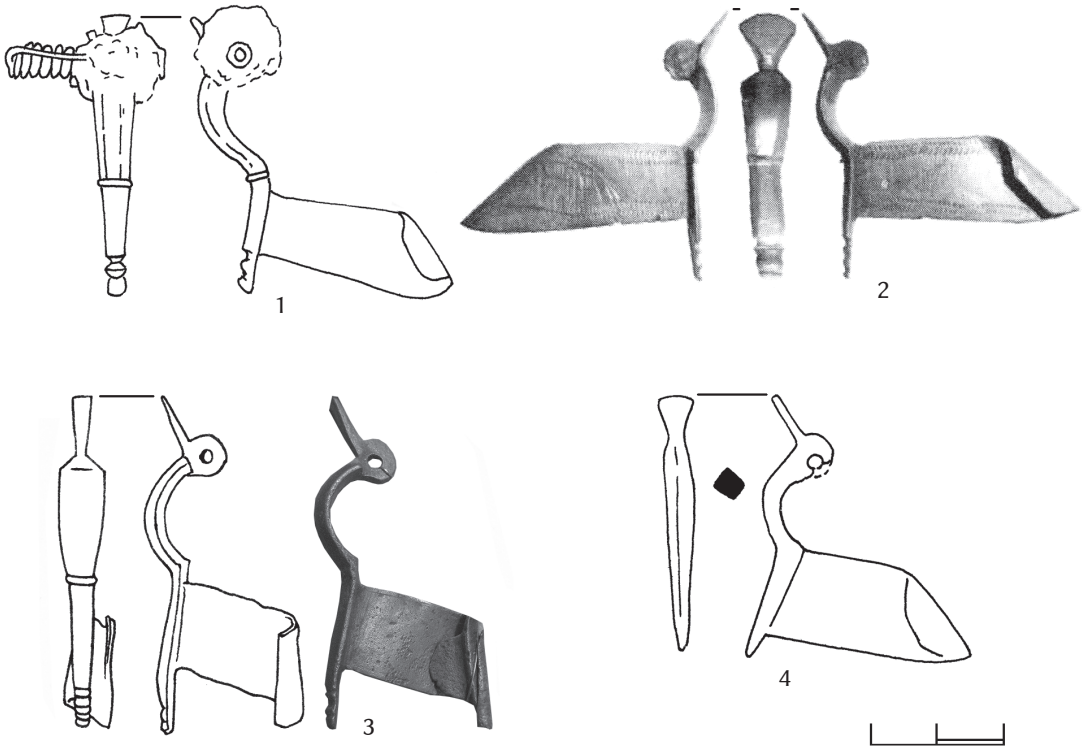



**Fig. 19**. 'Neslukhiv' fibulae. 1 – Luka-Vrublyevetska, settlement, House 2, 2 – Zhovtantsi, stray find, 3 – Ripniv, settlement, cultural layer from Excavation 2 in 1959, Square 14 *Б*, 4 – Luka-Vrublyevetska, settlement, House 1.

Variant 5 – represented by a so-called 'symmetrical' fibula from House 3 at Boromlya (Fig. 21.2). Its trapezoidal shield-shaped headplate and footplate are identical; they are connected by a narrow, faceted bow. Its spring mechanism, with an upper chord, resembles that of the Lepesivka fibula.

This brooch was also described as 'butterfly-shaped' and compared with various brooches from Wielbark cemeteries at Pruszcz Gdański and Oksywie in Poland, the richly furnished 'princely' grave at Stráže in Slovakia, and settlement finds from Târgşor and Dărmăneşti in Romania.[252]

Of these, only the find from Dărmăneşti, a site of the Poieneşti–Vârteşcoiu culture, may be regarded as a close analogy to the Boromlya fibula.[253] Gh. Diaconu dated this object to AD 220–250, together with a similar brooch from Târgşor, and suggested that such objects may have remained in use between AD 250 and 300.

The house complex at Boromlya also contained fragments of Type D light pottery *amphorae* with an elongated biconical body, closely resembling and probably contemporary with those from House 1

251 Bichir 1973, 87, Pl. 171.4–6.

252 Lyubichev 2010, 145, 147, Fig. 6.II.1.

253 Măţasă *et al.* 1961, 345–346, Fig. 6.2.

and from a Late Sarmatian grave at Gradeshka on the Lower Danube, dated to the late 3rd and early 4th centuries AD.[254] These finds outline the chronological position of the brooch from Boromlya.

## The origin of Group A VII 'Sarmatian' fibulae in the Chernyakhiv culture

Group A VII high-catchplate fibulae are a key chronological and ethnic indicator in early Chernyakhiv find materials. Accordingly, the question of their origin is directly linked to the broader problem of the culture's genesis. As noted in Chapter I, the main aspects of the origin of Group A VII fibulae in a Chernyakhiv context were examined by the present authors in a 2004 study. The material discovered and published since the mid-2000s allows us to reassess our earlier observations and conclusions, particularly regarding fibulae of the 'Sarmatian' type, a substantial part of Group A VII within the Chernyakhiv culture. These finds, published, for example, in studies devoted to the topic by M. Mączyńska, include items matching the 'Neslukhiv', 'Horodnytsia', and 'Dnipro' series or are interpreted as isolated (non-series) variants in our classification.[255]

Given the distinct morphological characteristics of these subtypes and variants, the origin of each series should be considered separately, with reference to a broad range of analogies from other, primarily neighbouring, archaeological cultures.

### 'Neslukhiv' series

Analogies to 'Neslukhiv' brooches in the Chernyakhiv culture, including distant ones featuring certain morphological differences, are known primarily from sites in the Lower and Middle Danube region, including the Roman province of Dacia and its extensive multi-ethnic barbarian periphery.

During the 2nd to early 4th centuries AD, the eastern part of this periphery was inhabited by groups associated with the Poieneşti–Vârteşcoiu and Militari–Chilia archaeological cultures, identified as the Carpi and the so-called 'Free Dacians' known from written sources. Along the eastern frontier, in the interfluve of the Prut and Siret rivers, Chernyakhiv sites with 'Neslukhiv' brooches in their find material occur in direct proximity to those of the Poieneşti–Vârteşcoiu culture.[256]

To the north-west of the Dacian borders, in the upper Tisza basin, archaeological sites with heterogeneous assemblages combining local and intrusive Przeworsk elements, commonly described as 'Dacian–Vandalic', coexisted with sites of the Przeworsk culture.[257] South-west of these areas, adjacent to the Dacian *limes*, lay the territory of the Sarmatians of the Tisza region and the Tisza–Danube interfluve, forming the eastern sector of the barbarian periphery of Lower Pannonia.

The northern frontiers of this Roman province, together with those of neighbouring Upper Pannonia, were inhabited by Germanic tribes, the Quadi and Marcomanni, who, together with the Sarmatians, the Vandals, and other Danubian barbarian groups, repeatedly invaded Roman territories during the second half of the 2nd century AD, in the period of the so-called Marcomannic Wars.[258] Coeval sites of the Przeworsk culture have also been found within Sarmatian territory.[259]

254 Gudkova – Redina 1999, Rys. 2.1.

255 Mączyńska 1999, 96–98, 110–111, Map 1: 89–95, 99, 102, 105–107, 109–115; Mączyńska 2011, 69, 306–309, notes 107–114, 118, 120, 123–125, 127–130, 161–181, Abb. 28; Gorokhovskyi – Gopkalo 2004, 115–119, 121–124. References are also provided here to the catalogue in the appendix (Gorokhovskyi – Gopkalo 2004, 125–128).

256 Cociş – Bârcă 2020, 180, Pl. 16,4, 8, 12, 14, 25. See also the corresponding sections in the preceding chapters of this article.

257 Gindele 2010; Istvánovits – Kulcsár 2018, 265, 225–226 kép; Soós 2019.

258 Tejral 2017; Istvánovits – Kulcsár 2018, 227–318, 187, 188, 199, 232–233, 242 kép.

259 Istvánovits – Kulcsár 2018, 296, 259 kép.

The over thirty finds of high-catchplate brooches with an upper chord from sites in Roman Dacia are key to the question under discussion.[260] The proportions of relatively small specimens are constant; besides, they have subtriangular or trapezoidal bows attached often at a sharp angle to the foot, sometimes accentuated by a rib. Notably, such brooches in numbers are only known from Dacia among the Roman.[261]

Most such brooches—ca. twenty—are known from Porolissum, where a casting mould attests to their local production (Fig. 22.1). Brooches that may have been produced in the related workshop—possibly including specimens cast in the mould discovered—were also found at the marketplace adjacent to Porolissum (Fig. 22.2).[262]

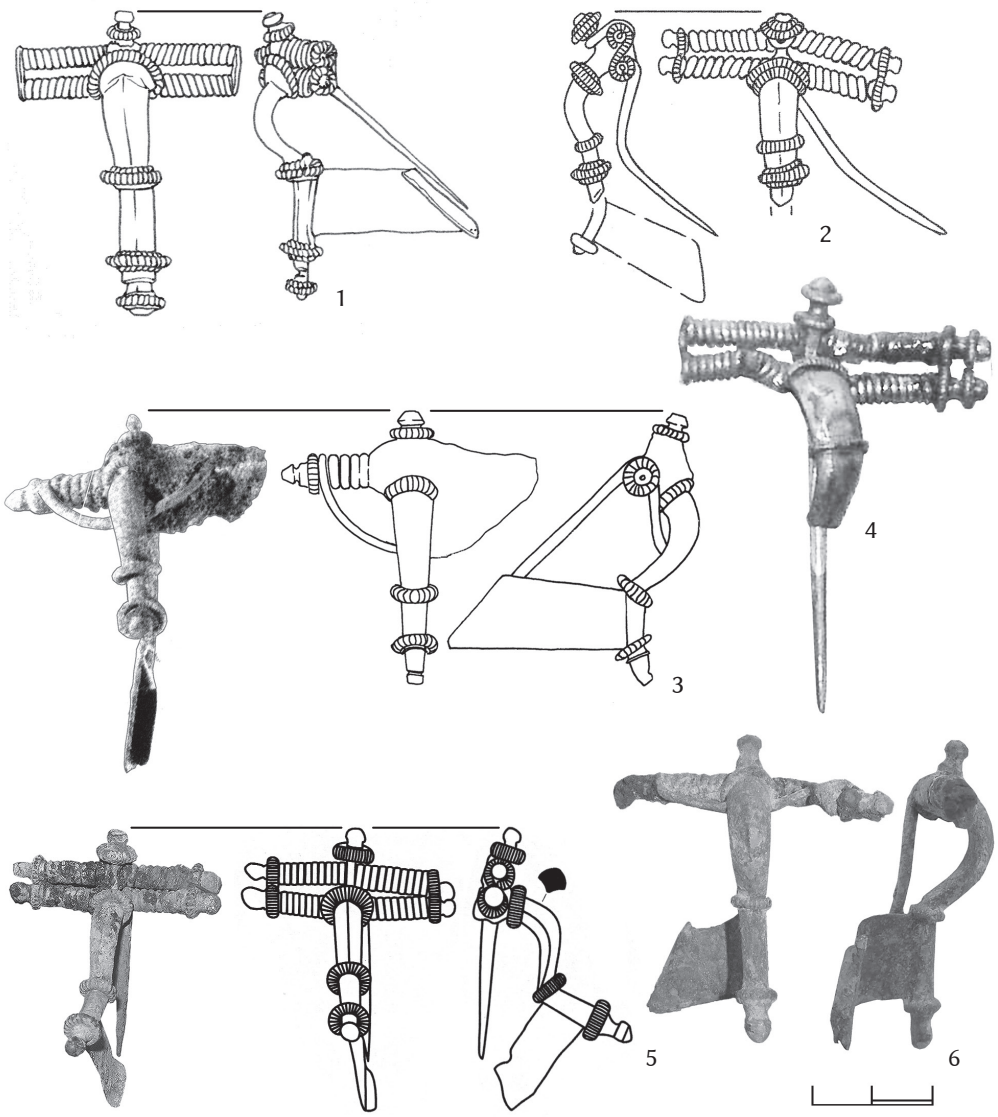



**Fig. 20**. 'Horodnytsia' fibulae. 1 – Horodnytsia, grave, 2 – Petrykivtsi, cemetery, cultural layer, 3 – Ruzhychanka, cemetery, Grave 24, 4 – Nezvysko, settlement, House 1, 5 – Toky, cemetery, Grave 5, 6 – Cherneliv-Ruskyi, cemetery, Grave 130.

260 Cociş 2004, 133–135, 211, 367–368, notes 1594–1617, Pl. 113.1594–1605, Pl. 114.1606–1616; Bârcă 2023, 210, Fig. 9.1–8.

261 Isolated specimens of similar fibulae, representing individual variations, are known from Bărboşi in Lower Moesia (Sanie 1981, Pl. 47.10), Viminacium in Upper Moesia (Redžić 2007, 55–56, Tab. 26.289), and Lauriacum in Noricum (Jobst 1975, 75–76, 174, no. 193, Taf. 26.193).

262 Opreanu *et al.* 2020, 73, Fig. 4.23, interpret these fibulae as likely belonging to barbarian women sold into slavery.

Comparable items, cast in the same or similar moulds and bearing with two perforations for securing the axes of two springs or a single axis and the upper chord in the headplateare known from several sites north-west and east of the Dacian *limes*, including a fibula from the settlement of Humenné in eastern Slovakia (Fig. 22.3),[263] three finds from the settlement of Bârlad-Prodana of the Poieneşti–Vârteşcoiu culture in Romanian Moldavia (Fig. 22.5),[264] Grave 15 of the Sohodor cemetery (Fig. 22.4),[265] and Building 4 in the Chernyakhiv settlement of Bârlad-Valea Seacă (Fig. 22.6).[266]

A semi-finished or defective, unfinished specimen of the same variant was published from an unknown location in Hungary (Fig. 22.7).[267]

Other brooches from Roman Dacia, especially the amphitheatre at Porolissum[268] and the fort of Ilişua[269]represent further analogies and possibly direct prototypes of the 'Neslukhiv' series.

Analogies to the 'Neslukhiv' series were also found east of the Dacian *limes* at sites belonging to the Poieneşti–Vârteşcoiu and Militari–Chilia cultures, including Cucorăni (Fig. 11.7),[270] Grave 1410 in Poieneşti (Fig. 12.15),[271] Sohodor (Fig. 11.6, Fig. 13.23),[272] Târgşor (Fig. 13.26),[273] and others.

Similar fibulae are also known from cultural layers and features of several barbarian (Germanic) settlements situated near the northern frontiers of the two Pannonias, such as Ipolytölgyes in Hungary[274] and Chotín VII (Fig. 23.6),[275] Veľký Meder,[276] Hamuliakovo (Fig. 23.3,5),[277] Bratislava-Trnávka,[278] Bratislava-Devínska Nová Ves,[279] Zohor (Fig. 23.3),[280] as well as at some distance from the Pannonian *limes* at Branč (Fig. 23.2)[281] in south-western Slovakia. They are also known from southern Moravia (Drnholec-'Holenická pole') (Fig. 23.9)[282] and Kletnice (Fig. 23.10).[283]

263 Strakošová 1992, Obr. 52.3; Cociş – Bârcă 2014, Fig. 2.15.

264 Bichir 1973, 103; Cociş – Bârcă 2020, Pl. 4.26.

265 Cociş – Bârcă 2020, Pl. 5.33.

266 Palade 1980, Fig. 18.6; Cociş – Bârcă 2020, Pl. 4.21,7.

267 Behrens 1954, Abb. 10.2.

268 Bajusz – Cociş 1995, Pl. 2.14.

269 Gaiu – Cociş 2001, 90–91, Pl. 2.10; Cociş *et al.* 2010, Pl. 2.23.

270 Croitoru 2011, Fig. 24.670.

271 Spânu 2019, Pl. 64.3–4.

272 Croitoru 2011, Fig. 19.613.

273 Cociş – Bârcă 2020, Pl. 6.35.

274 Erdeli – Lamiová-Schmiedlová 1971, Obr. 5.3.

275 Romsauer *et al.* 2019, Obr. 48.2–3.

276 Varsik 2011, Abb. 5.4–5.

277 Iván – Ölvecky 2014, Fig. 8.8–9.

278 Varsik 2003, Abb. 8.7; Abb. 18.3.

279 Elschek 1997b, Obr. 20.6.

280 Elschek 1997a, Obr. 16.3.

281 Vladár 1962, Obr. 86.2; Kolník *et al.* 2007, Obr. 13.1. At the settlements of Branč and Chotín VII in south-western Slovakia (Romsauer *et al.* 2019, Obr. 61.1–8), as well as at Hroznová Lhota II, Želetice, and Ostrožská Nová Ves V in southern Moravia (Zeman 2017, Obr. 8.19–20.22), Group A VII fibulae comparable to those of the Chernyakhiv culture occur together with spindle whorls of Type B112 according to B. Magomedov. The latter are likewise known from the Chernyakhiv settlements of Cherepyn, Ripniv, Bovshiv, and Demyaniv, as well as from the settlement of Bârlad-Valea Seacă discussed above (Magomedov 2015, 126–127, Fig. 5).

282 Komoróczy *et al.* 2019, Obr. 19.15.

283 Klanicová – Komoróczy 2008, Obr. 6. These were accompanied by finds of *terra sigillata* from Rheinzabern, Westerndorf, and even Pfaffenhofen, dating to the late 2nd–first half of the 3rd century AD. According to J. Tejral, their use may have continued beyond the mid-3rd century AD (Tejral 2011, 55).

V. Bârcă and S. Cociş[284] clearly delineated the 'barbarian' production region of Group A VII fibulae between the outer spurs of the Western Carpathians and the Eastern Alps based on five sites clustered along the Danube bend in south-western Slovakia, south-eastern Bohemia (southern Moravia), and at both banks of the Morava River; however, these workshops produced typologically different items in the late 2nd and 3rd centuries AD. Local production is attested by a bronze casting mould at the settlement of Kleinhöflein[285] in Lower Austria,[286] pottery casting moulds in a jewellery workshop at the settlement of Pasohlávky in southern Moravia, and semi-finished items or rejects[287] and finished products[288] found at other sites. Assumedly, the workshop at Pasohlávky emerged near the Pannonian frontier, opposite the Roman fort at Mušov, owing to the proximity of barbarian craftsmen to a local metal source.[289]

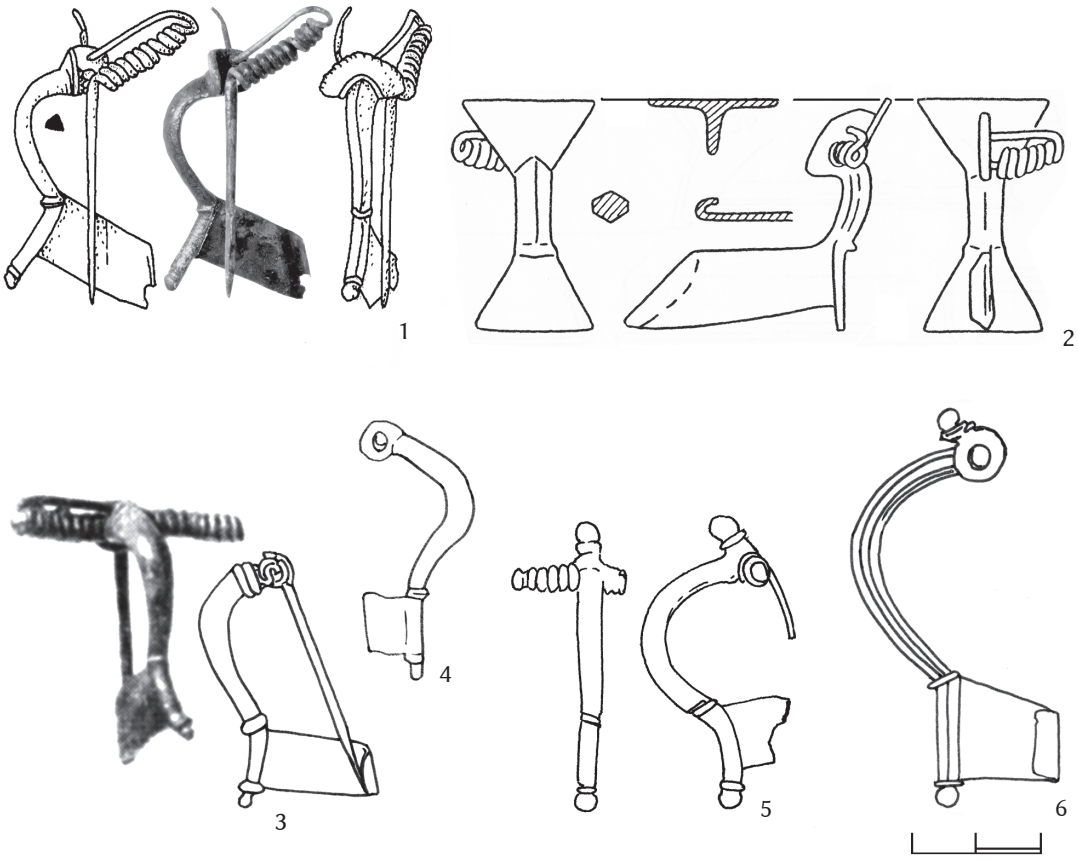



**Fig. 21**. Unique ('non-series') fibulae. 1 – Lepesivka, settlement, House VIII, 2 – Boromlya, settlement, House 3, 3 – Nezvisko, settlement, Pit 16, 4 – Horodnytsia, settlement, cultural layer, 5 – Verkhnya Lypytsia, cultural layer, 6 – Pekari, stray find.

284 Bârcă – Cociş 2022, 259, Fig. 6.2–5, 13; Bârcă 2023, 209, Fig. 8.2–5.13.

285 It was found together with a fragment of *terra sigillata* dating to the late 2nd–early 3rd century AD (Kren – Pollak 2008, Abb. 41.5).

286 Kren – Pollak 2008, Abb. 41.1.

287 Semi-finished high-catchplate brooches and/or rejects are known from the settlements of Bratislava-Devínska Nová Ves and Zvončin in south-western Slovakia (Bazovský 2009, Obr. 1.10–11), Drnholec-'Holenická pole' in southern Moravia (Komoróczy *et al.* 2019, Obr. 21), and a 4.25 cm long specimen from Bernhardsthal in Lower Austria (Stuppner 1990, 236, Abb. 917).

288 A fibula from Neurissen, cast in a mould from a workshop at Pasohlávky (Klanicová – Komoróczy 2008; Klanicová 2010; Tejral 2011, Abb. 14.6), has a *terminus post quem* provided by construction materials from a dismantled section of the baths of the Roman fort, dating to around the AD 180s.

289 Bazovský 2009, 436.

This production circle, provisionally termed the 'Moravian Circle', likely supplied not only the inhabitants of Germanic settlements in the region but also communities west and north of that with jewellery.

In morphological terms, the 'Neslukhiv' series and their Danubian analogies are unrelated to the Germanic fibulae cast in the moulds found at Kleinhöflein and Pasohlávky or comparable ones, as those have longer bows and shorter, sometimes outwardly bent, feet. By contrast, they resemble considerably more brooches cast in the mould found in the Porolissum workshop and those made using the bronze mould of unknown provenance in the collection of the Vienna Natural History Museum.[290]

Roman bronze casting moulds apparently served for producing items in large series, clearly intended also for consumers beyond the provinces. Barbarian craftsmen rarely used such moulds, preferring more accessible, cheaper pottery moulds instead. The find material of the 'Moravian Circle' and other finds of moulds and semi-finished (or defective) items from other locations in the Danubian Barbaricum suggest this. The discovery of a clay casting mould at Ecser 7 (Hungary)[291] indicates that 'Sarmatian' fibulae were also manufactured locally by Sarmatian communities at the eastern periphery of Roman Pannonia. It is particularly worth highlighting that the finds from Porolissum include parallels or prototypes of fibulae with a very broad subtriangular, trapezoidal, or almond-shaped bow, characteristic of Sarmatian sites in the Tisza River basin and the Tisza–Danube interfluve.[292]

It should also be borne in mind that the specialised knowledge and practical skills required for the production of cast fibulae could only be acquired through prolonged training and practical experience. Mastery of the technology of non-ferrous metal alloys, the techniques employed in their processing, and the complex sequence of manufacturing operations involving a variety of specialised tools necessarily depended upon the transmission of knowledge and professional skills from master to apprentice. Moreover, given the regulated nature of production in the Roman world, including the age- and gender-based division of labour, it is difficult to envisage that such a specialised and technically demanding craft as jewellery manufacture could have been practised by untrained self-taught artisans. Production skills were therefore most probably transmitted within hereditary professional workshops specialising in fibulae, where the various stages of the manufacturing process were presumably divided among craftsmen. These workshops were, in all likelihood, provincial Roman in character.

Earlier, while studying fibulae of the 'Sarmatian' type from south-western Slovakia, T. Kolník suggested that their prototypes were late provincial Roman strongly profiled fibulae with a high catch-plate, especially Type A84 and related forms, characteristic of the Middle and Lower Danubian provinces and widely used by barbarians in Central and Eastern Europe during the second half of the 2nd century AD.[293] He also sees certain 'hybrid' or 'transitional' forms as deriving directly from these types.[294]

290 Gschwantler – Winter 1991, 134, Abb. 7. The authors associate the mould with provincial Roman artefacts from Austria (the territory of Noricum or Pannonia). L. Schulte suggested that it could also be found in Hungary (Schulte 2011a, 309, no. 3250). However, given that the museums of Vienna hold numerous provincial Roman finds from the former Austro-Hungarian region of Transylvania, this specimen could also be found in the territory of Roman Dacia, where such fibulae were proven to have been produced in a workshop in Porolissum.

291 Istvánovits – Kulcsár 2016, 124, Fig. 3.1; Istvánovits – Kulcsár 2018, 291, 254. kép 1.

292 Cociş 2004, Pl. 113.1594,1598; Pl. 114.1606–1616; Opreanu *et al.* 2020, 73, Fig. 4.21; Vaday 1989, Abb. 12.11,15; Cociş – Bârcă 2014, Fig. 2.4–5,7,10; Istvánovits – Kulcsár 2018, 291, 254. kép 3; Nagy 2023, Abb. 69, 92, 177, 187.

293 Kolník 1965, 194, Obr. 7.2.

294 Kolník 1965, 194, Obr. 7.3.

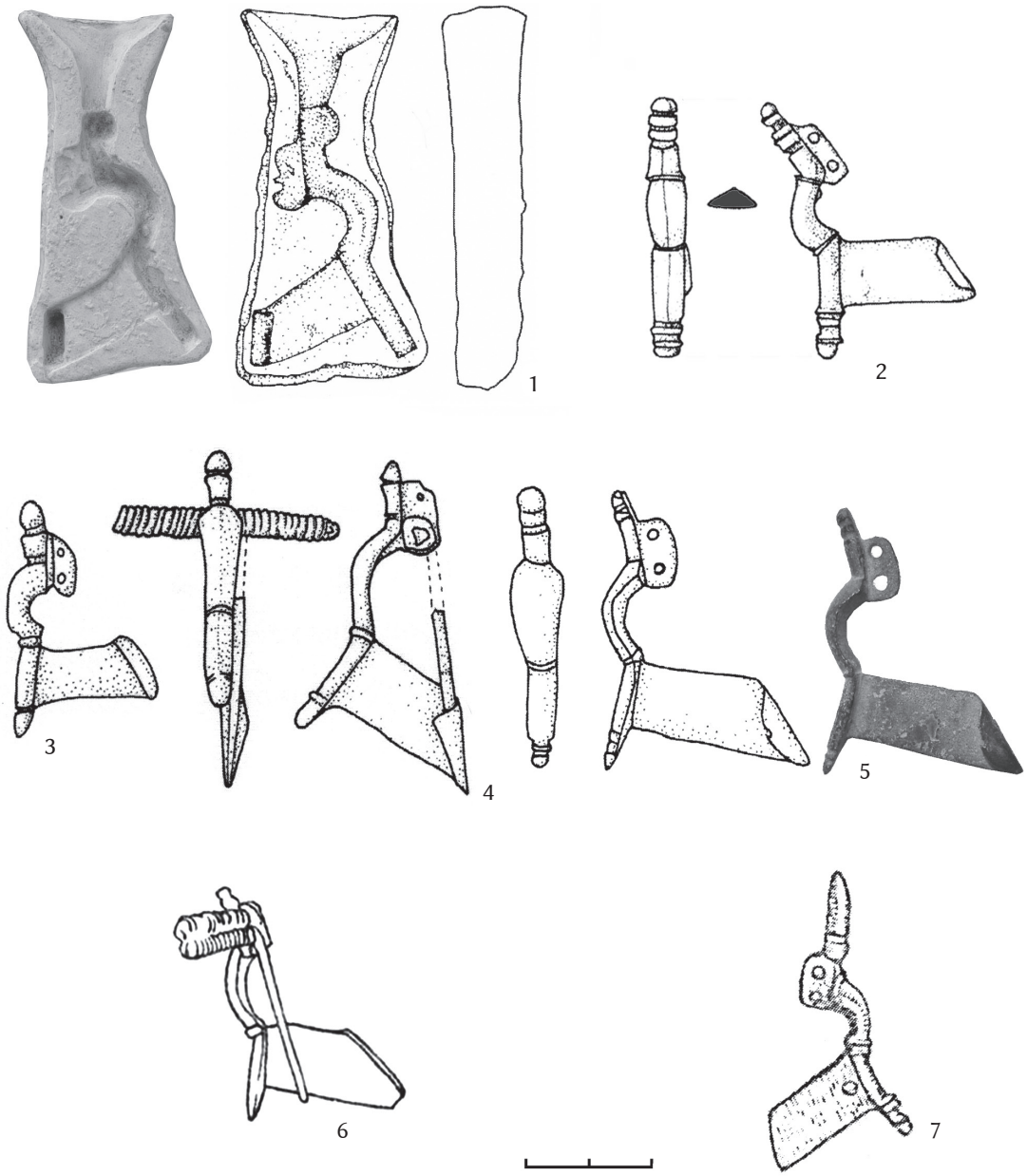



**Fig. 22**. The mould from Porolissum and fibulae that could be cast in it. 1 – The mould from Porolissum (Gudea – Tamba 2008, Figs 4–5), 2 – Porolissum *vicus* (Opreanu *et al.* 2020, Fig. 4.23), 3 – Humenne (Strakošová 1992, Obr. 52.3; Cociş – Bârcă 2014, Fig. 2.15), 4 – Sohodor, Grave 15 (Cociş – Bârcă 2020, Pl. 5.33), 5 – Bârlad-Prodana (Cociş – Bârcă 2020, Pl. 4.26), 6 – Bârlad-Valea Seacă (Palade 1980, Fig. 18.6), 7 – Hungary (Leibniz Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum Mainz, Inv. no. O21579) (Behrens 1954, Abb. 10.2).

His observation is now supported by a series of finds of such hybrid-transitional fibulae from the Danube region (Fig. 24). High-catchplate fibulae in Dacia include specimens that clearly reproduce the design of the strongly profiled A84 fibulae and related forms, most notably the distinctive expanded head and the bow with concave sides.[295] Comparable finds are known both from the Roman provinces and their barbarian periphery, including a brooch of unknown provenance published by T. Kolník from the collection of the Bratislava museum (Fig. 24.2), finds from the marketplace at Porolissum (Fig. 24.1), the Sarmatian cemetery of Madaras in Hungary (Fig. 24.3), the Poieneşti-

295 Cociş 2004, Pl. 24–38, Pl. 113.1597,1604–1605, Pl. 114.1607,1610,1615; Opreanu *et al.* 2020, 73, Fig. 4.22.

Vârteşcoiu settlement at Cucorăni in north-eastern Romania (Fig. 24.4), and the Roman necropolis of Viminacium in Upper Moesia (Fig. 24.5). Nearly all of these fibulae feature an identical spring mechanism, with an upper chord threaded through an additional perforation in the headplate to secure the spring mechanism, which may indicate a common source of origin.

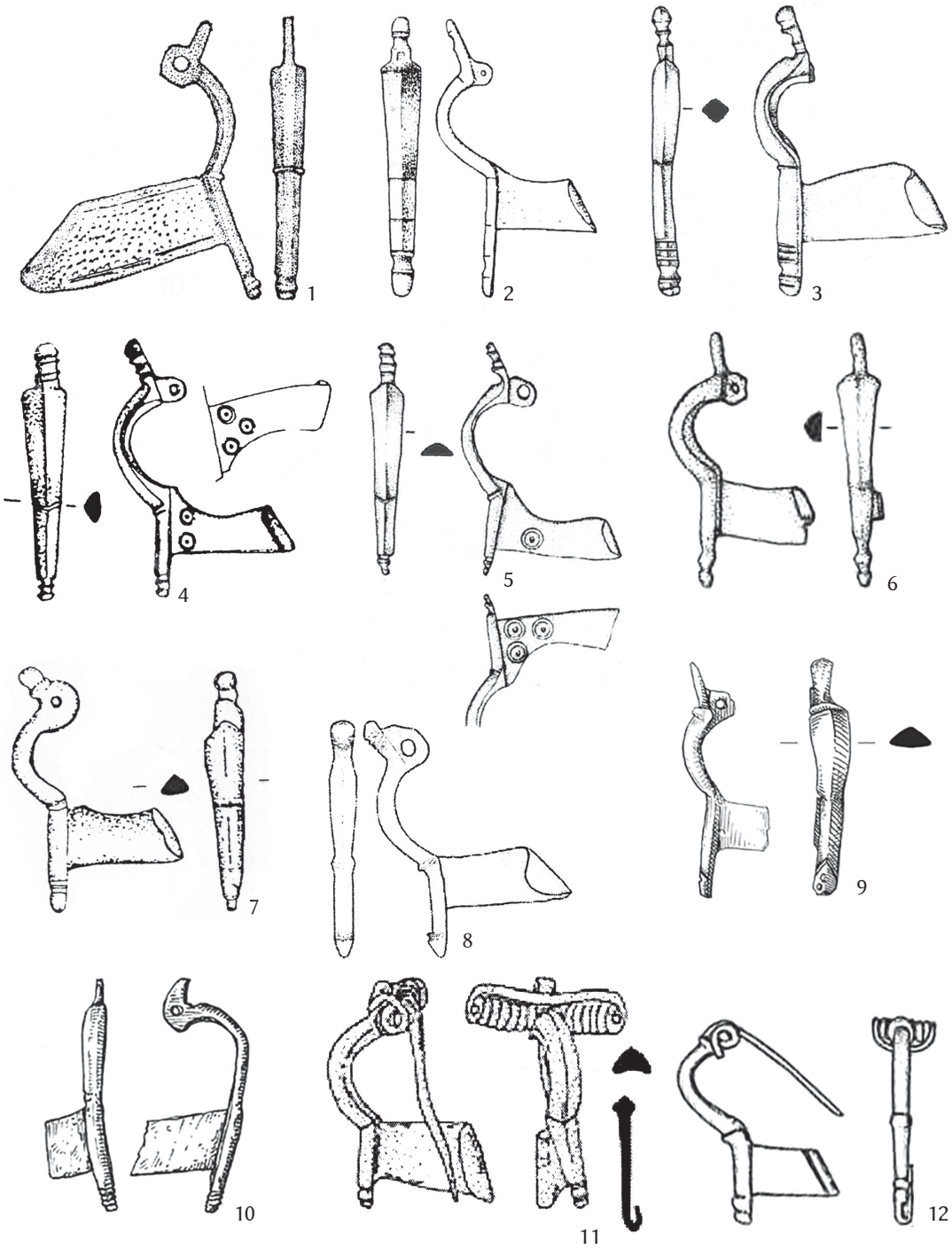



**Fig. 23**. 1 – Barboşi (Sanie 1981, Pl. 47.10), 2 – Branč (Vladar 1962, Obr. 86.2; Kolnik *et al.* 2007, Obr. 13.1), 3 – Hamuliakovo (Iván – Ölvecky 2014, 8. kép), 4 – Bratislava-Devínska Nová Ves (Elschek 1997a, Obr. 20.6), 5 – Vel'ky Meder (Varsik 2011, Abb. 5.5), 6 – Chotín VII (Romsauer *et al.* 2019, Obr. 48.2), 7 – Zohor (Elschek 1997a, Obr. 16.3), 8 – Poienești, Feature 1163 (Spânu *et al.* 2018, Fig. 7.2), 9 – Drnholec 'Holenická pole' (Komoróczy *et al.* 2019, Obr. 19.15), 10 – Kletnice, Feature K691 (Klanicová – Komoróczy 2008, Obr. 6), 11 – Strážnice I (Zeman 2017, Obr. 28.3), 12 – Chotin VII (Romsauer *et al.* 2019, Obr. 48.3).

The processes behind the 'hybridisation' of features culminating in the emergence of the 'Sarmatian' fibula type cannot be reconstructed in every detail. Nevertheless, it is entirely plausible that craftsmen at the barbarian periphery of the Danubian provinces modified high-catchplate fibulae in attempts to recreate or imitate earlier, traditional, prestigious, and 'fashionable' forms, thus creating the transitional variants described above. These variants may be regarded as intermediate stages in a typological sequence that begins with A84 fibulae and related forms. Diverse high-catchplate fibula variants emerged simultaneously in different parts of the Danube region, each with a specific set of design solutions that may be regarded as regional or 'ethnic'.

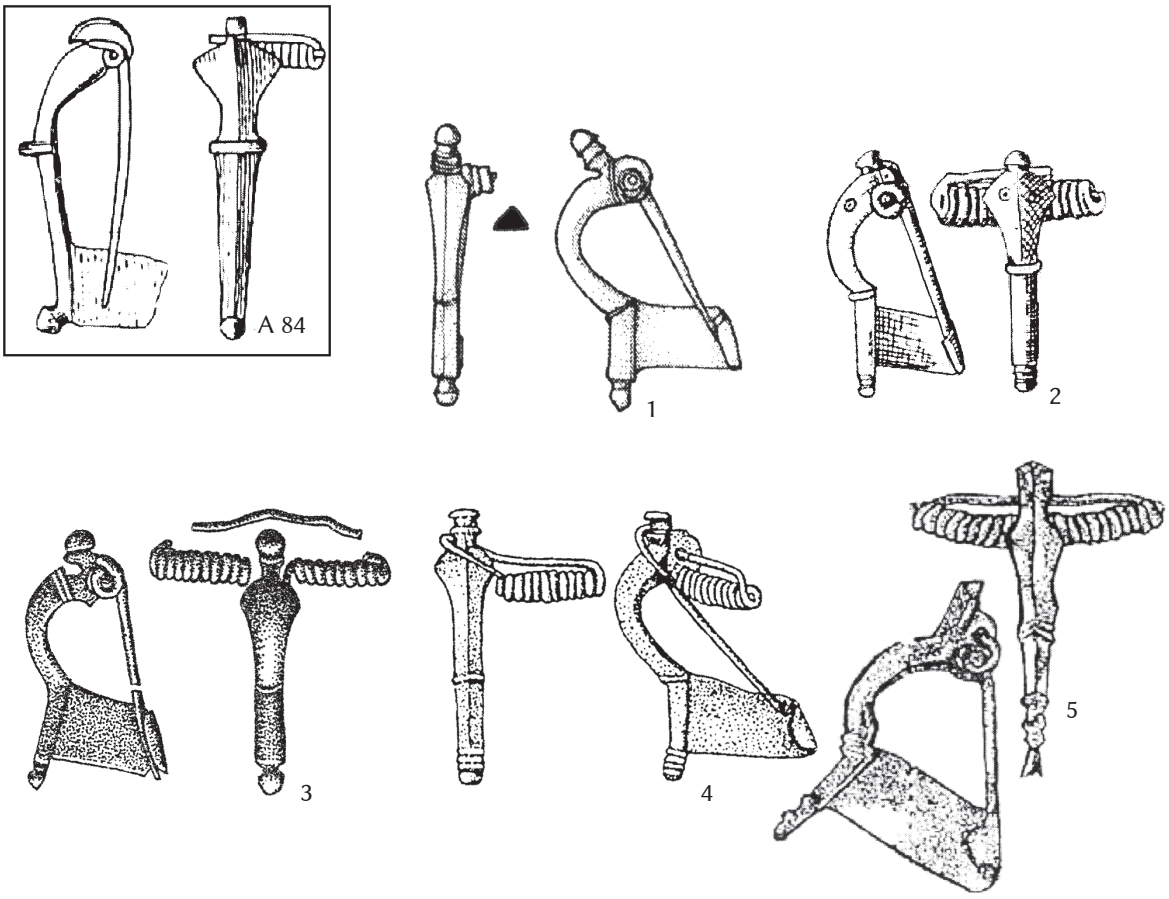



**Fig. 24**. 'Transitional' strongly profiled A 84 variants and high-catchplate brooches resembling 'Sarmatian' fibulae. 1 – Porolissum 'Sub Ferice' (Opreanu *et al.* 2020, Fig. 4.22), 2 – unknown provenance, Museum of History in Bratislava (Kolnik 1965, Obr. 7.3), 3 – Madaras, Grave 393 (Kőhegyi – Vörös 2011, Tab. 90.7), 4 – Cucorani (Teodor 1975, Fig. 46.1), 5 – Viminacium, Grave G-854 (Redžić 2007, Tab. 26.289).

A clear example of this phenomenon is fibulae from Sarmatian sites with broad subtriangular (or trapezoidal), almond-shaped, and oval bows.[296] As noted above, the basic design of these fibulae was determined by the casting mould. This suggests that the design of these fibulae was shaped largely by master jewellers who possessed the necessary expertise, were thoroughly familiar with the traditions of provincial Roman jewellery manufacture, and were well acquainted with the contemporary range of products, including luxury items.

Accordingly, the hypotheses discussed above, which attribute the emergence of high-catchplate fibulae in Roman Dacia and its barbarian periphery, including the area of the Chernyakhiv culture, to the activities of Germanic craftsmen associated with the Przeworsk and Wielbark cultures of

296 Vaday 1989, Abb. 12.10,12,18; Nagy 2023, Abb. 69, 92, 177, 187.

Central Europe, do not seem well-founded. Central European barbarians, like their southern and south-eastern neighbours, were primarily recipients of the levelling fashion of the Danubian 'melting pot of peoples', which drew heavily upon provincial Roman prototypes. Morphologically, the overwhelming majority of Group A VII 'Sarmatian' fibulae from Przeworsk and Wielbark contexts differ fundamentally from the 'Neslukhiv' series and their Lower and Middle Danubian analogies. Northern and Central European specimens are typically characterised by narrower bows of almost uniform width and by several other distinctive features.[297]

Such high-catchplate fibulae with narrow bows are likewise characteristic of Germanic contexts in the Middle Danube region from the late 2nd century to the second third of the 3rd century AD.[298] These were the products of craftsmen operating within the so-called 'Moravian' centre. The number of such finds considerably exceeds that of the Chernyakhiv 'Neslukhiv' analogies discovered in the same region. The latter, in our view, are more plausibly associated with craftsmen working within, or strongly influenced by, the artisanal traditions of Roman Dacia.

A few Przeworsk fibulae with broad bows, whose forms resemble Danubian brooches, are relatively crude and represent coarse imitations of southern prototypes.[299]

Parallels to the 'Neslukhiv' brooches in the Przeworsk culture are known primarily from the San River region in south-eastern Poland, such as the early find of an A 210 brooch from Leżajsk. Excavations at the settlement of Grodzisko Dolne[300] brought to light evidence of the production of such brooches, including a semi-finished specimen found in Feature 120,[301] which closely resembles a finished object found in House 1 at Luka-Vrublevetska, a settlement of the Chernyakhiv culture (Fig. 19.4). The question of similarity between the find material of such sites in south-eastern Poland and the Chernyakhiv sites in the Lviv and Ivano-Frankivsk regions of Ukraine—including the settlements of Cherepyn, Ripniv, Bovshiv, Demyaniv, and Kuropatnyky—extends over the scope of this paper and, thus, remains a topic for further study.[302]

## Individual ('non-series') brooches

Analogies to the two unique 'Sarmatian' brooches from Chernyakhiv contexts, classified as non-series specimens, have so far been found exclusively at sites of the Poieneşti–Vârteşcoiu culture in the Lower Danube region. A practically identical parallel to the symmetrical brooch from Boromlya was published from the settlement of Piatra Neamţ-Dărmăneşti.[303] Another unique brooch, the one with semicircular headplates from Lepesivka, has close analogies at the settlement of Virtişcoiu,[304] while another similar fibula is also from the cemetery of Văleni.[305]

297 Mączyńska 1999, 100–101, 106–107, Tab. 1.5–8, Tab. 2.1–2.4, Tab. 7.1,3,5, Tab. 8.1.

298 Tejral 2006, Abb.10. 2–5,7–8; Tejral 2011, 50, 55, Abb. 24.2–5,7–8.

299 Mączyńska 1999, Tab. 7.9–13, Tab. 8.5.

300 Podgórska-Czopek 2009.

301 Podgórska-Czopek 2009, Tab. 11.5.

302 It is noteworthy that from the late 5th century, both of these regions formed part of the unified Prague culture, which by the mid-6th century encompassed extensive territories on the northern periphery of the Carpathian Basin. In the east, within the Tisza River region, this includes the Zakarpattya region of Ukraine, adjoining areas of northern Romania and northeastern Hungary, as well as eastern Slovakia. In the west, it comprises western Slovakia, Moravia, and Lower Austria. To the south, these sites extend to the so-called Sarmatian Roman-era ramparts in the east and the Roman *limes* along the Danube in the west (Fusek 2015, 155–156).

303 Mătasă *et al.* 1961, 345, Fig. 6.2.

304 Bichir 1973, Pl. 171.5–6.

305 Ioniţă – Ursachi 1988, Fig. 32.43.

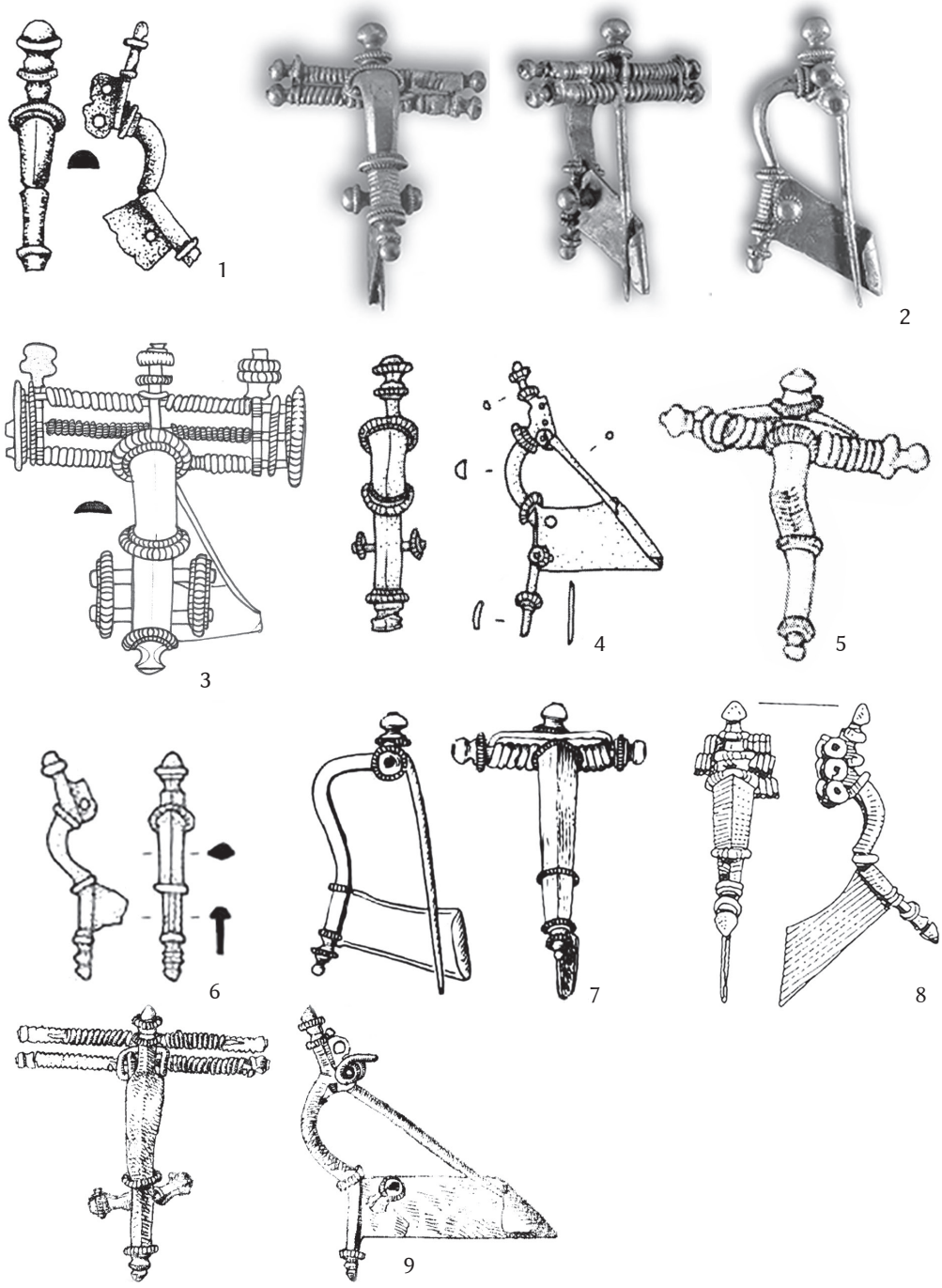



**Fig. 25**. Analogues to'Horodnytsia' fibulae from the Carpathian Basin. 1 – Zalău (Matei – Stanciu 2000, Pl. 337.2), 2 – Nagykőrös-Felsőgógány (Nagy 2023, 7. kép 1), 3 – Culciu Mare-Boghilaz (Gindele 2010, Abb. 65.9, Taf. 61), 4 – Medieşul Aurit (Cociş – Bârcă 2014, Fig. 3.3), 5 – Zemplín, Grave 160 (Budinsky-Krička – Lamiová-Schmiedlová 1990, Pl. 20.27), 6 – Blatnice pod Svatým Antonínkem I (Zeman 2017, Obr. 34.4), 7 – Očkov, Grave 108 (Kolnik 1965, Obr. 7.4), 8 – Enzersfeld, Parcels 2836 and 2837 (Karl – Karl 1997, 843, Abb. 703), 9 – Mătăsaru (Bichir 1984, Pl. 39.1).

## 'Horodnytsia' series

Analogies to the silver and bronze 'Horodnytsia' brooches, each decorated with a set of applied wire rings, and forms resembling the 'Neslukhiv' series, are concentrated primarily at sites attributed to various cultures and cultural groups in the Middle and Lower Danube region.

Some of these sites, such as Zalău in Romania (Fig. 25)[306] and Nagykőrös-Felsőgógány in Hungary (Fig. 25.2),[307] are situated close to the north-western section of the Dacian *limes*. Others, located farther from the Roman frontier, are in north-western and south-eastern Romania, including the cemetery at Medieşu Aurit (Fig. 25.4)[308] and Mătăsaru, a settlement of the Militari–Chilia culture (Fig. 25.9).[309] Parallels are also known from Grave 108 in the Dacian–Przeworsk cemetery of Zemplín (Fig. 25.5)[310] and Grave 108 in Očkov (Fig. 25.7)[311] in south-eastern and western Slovakia, Blatnice pod Svatým Antonínkem I in southern Moravia (Fig. 25.6),[312] and Enzersfeld in Lower Austria (Fig. 25.8).[313]

This series includes one- and two-spring silver and bronze fibulae corresponding to the first (Fig. 20.1–2,4) and second variants (Fig. 20.3,5–6) of the 'Horodnytsia' series.

Particularly noteworthy are the most elaborate examples. A unique gilded silver two-spring brooch with a circular head adorned with radial grooves is known from Nyíregyháza in north-eastern Hungary.[314] An equally impressive three-spring fibula was discovered at the settlement of Culciu Mare-Boghilaz in north-western Romania (Fig. 25.3),[315] situated at the exit of the Carpathians onto the Pannonian Plain. An even more ornate analogue was found in Grave 10 of a Roman period barbarian cemetery at Rákoscsaba-Péceli Road, near the Pannonian *limes* and Aquincum, on the western bank of the Danube, near Budapest.[316]

Given the relatively small number of 'Horodnytsia' brooches from Chernyakhiv sites and those in the Lower Danube region, it cannot be determined if the former derived from the latter or both emerged simultaneously during the mid-to-late 3rd century AD as part of a broader, pan-European *mit Ringgarnitur* style, which drew inspiration from provincial Roman jewellery traditions.

One possible route for the spread of this style from south-west to north-east may be traced through the distribution of findspots along the south-western and north-eastern slopes of the Carpathians. R. Gindele believes that the sites in north-western Romania, north-eastern Hungary, and eastern Slovakia represent a single historical and ethnic unit within the western Carpathian region in the Upper Tisza basin, inhabited during the Roman period by a mixed Dacian–Vandal population.[317]

On the opposite side of the mountains, in the Pre-Carpathian region, similar finds are concentrated at Chernyakhiv sites, including Psary, Horodnytsia, and Nezvysko, as well as at sites of the Carpathian Kurgan culture, such as Myshyn, Nyzhnii Strutyn, and Markivtsi.[318] Hypothetically, the distribution of these groups of sites may reflect migration routes crossing the Carpathians into the area of the emerging Chernyakhiv culture. One such route may have crossed the Yablunytskyi Pass, a channel of communication between Transcarpathia and the Pre-Carpathian region.

The origin of the 'Dnipro' series is most likely connected to the prototypes of the 'Horodnytsia' series. 'Dnipro' fibulae are numerous, highly standardised, and confined to a clearly defined

306 Matei – Stanciu 2000, Pl. 337.2.
307 Nagy 2023, 7. kép 1.
308 Cociş – Bârcă 2014, Fig. 3.3.
309 Bichir 1984, Pl. 39.1.
310 Budinsky-Krička – Lamiová-Schmiedlová 1990, Pl. 20.27.
311 Kolník 1965, Obr. 7.4.
312 Zeman 2017, Obr. 34.4.
313 Karl – Karl 1997, 843, Abb. 703.
314 Nagy 2023, 7. kép 2.
315 Gindele 2010, Abb. 65.9, Taf. 61; Nagy 2023, 7. kép 3.
316 Nagy 2023, 5. kép 2.
317 Gindele 2010, 9–10.
318 Ambroz 1966, 73; Vakulenko 2010, 134, Fig. 74.7,9,10.

Chernyakhiv territory: the middle Dnipro Right Bank, the forest-steppe zone on the left bank of the Dnipro, and the upper basin of the Siverskyi Donets River. It is therefore reasonable to assume that they are local products and younger than their prototypes.

Overall, 'Sarmatian' brooches in the Chernyakhiv culture seem to be associated with the development and dissemination of jewellery-making technologies and products originating in the Danubian Roman provinces, particularly Dacia, during the period following the Marcomannic Wars and under the Severan dynasty (AD 193–235).

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## Appendix

### Catalogue of high-catchplate Group A VII brooches from sites of the Chernyakhiv culture[319]

#### 'Neslukhiv' series

1. Baranove, Mizyaky-1 (Баранове, Мізяки-1), settlement, surface find, copper alloy, L = 38 mm, private collection (Bakumenko *et al.* 2006, 77, Rys. 7.11).

2. Bil'sk (Більськ (урочище Озеро)), settlement, cultural layer, copper alloy, L = 44 mm, Bil'sk Historical and Cultural Reserve, KB 773, A-482/8 (Luhovyi – Kovalenko 2020, 112, 114, Rys. 5.4, Rys. 7.3).

3. Cherepyn (Черепин), settlement, House 4, copper alloy, L = 40 mm, Lviv Historical Museum, Inv. no. A-2690, 29044 (Baran 1961, 69, Tab. 17.9; Baran 1981, 206, 213, Tab. 31.9, Tab. 38.16).

4. Cherneliv-Ruskyi (Чернелів-Руський), cemetery, Grave 104, copper alloy, L = 45 mm, Ternopil Regional Museum of Local Lore (Gereta 2013, 46, 167, Rys. 61.3) (Fig. 16.6).

5. Cherneliv-Ruskyi (Чернелів-Руський), cemetery, Grave 261, copper alloy, L = 41 mm, Ternopil Regional Museum of Local Lore (Gereta 2013, 78, 235, Rys. 128.7) (Fig. 16.1).

6. Demyaniv (Дем'янів), settlement, the excavations of 1968–1970, House 4, copper alloy, L = 44 mm, Ivano-Frankivsk Regional History Museum (Baran 1971, 105, 110, 112, Rys. 5.18; Baran 1981, 204, Tab. 29.18; Baran – Gopkalo 2006, Rys. 14.15, Tab. 17.2).

7. Demyaniv (Дем'янів), settlement, the excavations of 1968–1970, House 4, copper alloy, L = 52 mm, Ivano-Frankivsk Regional History Museum (Baran 1971, 105, 110, 112, Rys. 5.16; Baran 1981, 204, Tab. 29.16; Baran – Gopkalo 2006, Rys. 14.17, Tab. 17.1) (Fig. 16.8).

319 Information in each entry is structured as the following: 1) Catalogue number; 2) findspot: current administrative unit or a name commonly accepted in literature, with clarifications, alternative names, etc. in parentheses; 3) find context: stray find, surface find, cultural layer, site type, feature type and number; 4) material: gold, silver, copper alloy, non-ferrous alloy, iron, with more precise classification where available, such as alloys of Groups 1–6 by E. Chernykh and T. Bartseva (Chernykh – Bartseva 1972), brass, bronze, cast bronze, mixed bronze as per O. Bugay (Lyubychev *et al.* 2020); 5) L = length in millimeters; 6) current repository (museum, research institution, private collection) with inventory number of find number where available; 7) and source of information.

8. Demyaniv (Дем'янів), settlement, the excavations of 1987, cultural layer, copper alloy, L = 47 mm, Ivano-Frankivsk Regional History Museum (Baran – Gopkalo 2006, Tab. 21.1) (Fig. 16.4).

9. Demyaniv (Дем'янів), settlement, the excavations of 1968–1970, cultural layer, copper alloy, deformed fragment, L = 35 mm, Ivano-Frankivsk Regional History Museum (Baran 1971, 110, 112, Rys. 5.24; Baran 1981, 204, Tab. 29.24; Baran – Gopkalo 2006, Rys. 14.16, Tab. 26.5).

10. Demyaniv (Дем'янів), settlement, the excavations of 1987, above Building 4, copper alloy, L = 40 mm, Ivano-Frankivsk Regional History Museum (Baran – Gopkalo 2006, Rys. 14.14, Tab. 22.13) (Fig. 16.5).

11. Holovino (Головіно), settlement, cultural layer, above Building 5, copper alloy, L = 52 mm, Belgorod State Historical and Regional Studies Museum, КП 38704 (Oblomsky 2003, 44, 45, Rys. 51.37, Rys. 68.1; Gorokhovskiy – Gopkalo 2004, 126, Rys. 2.6, no. 35; Lyubichev 2019, Rys. 53.18) (Fig. 16.9).

12. Horodnytsia (Городниця), settlement, cultural layer, copper alloy, L = 45 mm, Lviv Historical Museum (Smishko 1952, 78, Rys. 24.6; Gorokhovskiy – Gopkalo 2004, 126, no. 39, Rys. 3.1).

13. Hradiz'k (Градизьк), a collection of stray finds, copper alloy, L = 44 mm, Scientific Department 'Archaeological Museum' of the Institute of Archaeology of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine (Gorokhovskiy – Gopkalo 2004, 126, no. 41, Rys. 2.4).

14. Khorosnytsia (Хоросниця), settlement, cultural layer near the structure (house), copper alloy, L = 45 mm (Voitseshchuk *et al.* 2015, 131–133, photo 9).

15. Khrushchova Mykytivka (Хрущова Микитівка), settlement, surface finds, copper alloy, L = 35 mm, Archaeological Laboratory of the German-Slavic Archaeological Expedition of the V. N. Karazin Kharkiv National University (Lyubichev *et al.* 2022).

16. Khrushchova Mykytivka (Хрущова Микитівка), settlement, surface find, copper alloy, L = 40 mm, Archaeological Laboratory of the German-Slavic Archaeological Expedition of the V. N. Karazin Kharkiv National University (Lyubichev *et al.* 2022).

17. Khrushchova Mykytivka (Хрущова Микитівка), settlement, surface finds, copper alloy, L = 37 mm, Archaeological Laboratory of the German-Slavic Archaeological Expedition of the V. N. Karazin Kharkiv National University (Lyubichev *et al.* 2022).

18. Khucha (Shapteban'), settlement, surface find, copper alloy, L = 40 mm, Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of Moldova (Rikman 1975, 238, Rys. 29.14).

19. Kovrai (Коврай), stray find from the erosion of the shore, copper alloy, L = 46 mm, private collection (Lyubichev – Didyk 2002, 341, 342, Rys. 4.4; Lyubichev 2019, Rys. 53.4).

20. Kovrai (Коврай), stray find from the erosion of the shore, copper alloy, L = 46 mm, private collection (Lyubichev – Didyk 2002, 341, 342, Rys. 4.5; Lyubichev 2019, Rys. 53.5).

21. Kovrai (Коврай), stray find from the erosion of the shore, copper alloy, L = 45 mm, private collection (Lyubichev – Didyk 2002, 341, 342, Rys. 4.6; Lyubichev 2019, Rys. 53.6).

22. Kovrai (Коврай), stray find from the erosion of the shore, copper alloy, L = 42 mm, private collection (Lyubichev – Didyk 2002, 341, 342, Rys. 4.7; Lyubichev 2019, Rys. 53.7).

23. Komariv (Комарів), settlement, copper alloy, Chernivtsi Regional Museum of Local Lore (Petrauskas – Osaulchuk 2023, Rys. 13).

24. Kostyantivka-1 (Костянтівка), settlement, surface find, copper alloy, fragment, L = 43 mm, Archaeological Laboratory of the German-Slavic Archaeological Expedition of the V. N. Karazin Kharkiv National University (Lyubichev 2019, Rys. 55.5).

25. Kostyantivka-1 (Костянтівка), settlement, surface find, copper alloy, L = 41 mm, Archaeological Laboratory of the German-Slavic Archaeological Expedition of the V. N. Karazin Kharkiv National University (Lyubichev 2019, Rys. 55.6).

26. Lehedzyne (Легедзине), cemetery, the excavations of 2010, cultural layer, copper alloy, L = 50 mm, State Historical and Cultural Reserve 'Trypillia Culture', village Lehedzyne (Magomedov *et al.* 2010, 42, 68, 82, Rys. 24.4) (Fig. 17.1).

27. Luka-Vrublyevetska (Лука-Врублевецька), settlement, House 1, copper alloy, L = 40 mm (Symonovych 1955, 26, 27, Rys. 8.16; Ambroz 1966, 73, Series 2, no. 116; Gorokhovskiy – Gopkalo 2004, 126, no. 67, Rys. 2.7) (Fig. 19.4).

28. Luka-Vrublyevetska (Лука-Врублевецька), settlement, House 2, copper alloy, L = 40 mm (Symonovych 1955, 26, 27, Rys. 8.17; Ambroz 1966, 73, Series 2, no. 117; Gorokhovskiy – Gopkalo 2004, 126, no. 68).

29. Luka-Vrublyevetska (Лука-Врублевецька), settlement, House 2, copper alloy, L = 40 mm (Symonovych 1955, 26, 27, Rys. 8.18; Ambroz 1966, 73, Series 2, no. 118; Gorokhovskiy – Gopkalo 2004, 126, no. 69) (Fig. 19.1).

30. Luka-Vrublyevetska (Лука-Врублевецька), settlement, excavation III/XIV, surface house, copper alloy, L = 37–42 mm[320] (Tikhanova 1977, 70, 74, Rys. 4.2; Gorokhovskiy – Gopkalo 2004, 126, no. 70, Rys. 2.10) (Fig. 17.4).

31. Martova (Мартова), settlement, surface find, copper alloy, L = 48 mm, Chuhuiv Local History Museum (Lyubichev – Didyk 2002, Rys. 4; Bakumenko *et al.* 2006, 72, Rys. 7.4; Lyubichev 2019, Rys. 53.20).

32. Matyashiv Yar-3 (village Mykolaivka) (Матяшів Яр-3 (Миколаївка), Kyiv culture settlement, cultural layer, copper alloy, L = 40 mm (Zharov – Terpylovskyi 2006, 94, 97, Rys. 5.3; Lyubichev 2019, Rys. 53.11).

33. Mykhailivka (Михайлівка), stray find, copper alloy, L = 39 mm, Lviv Historical Museum No. 2693 (Gorokhovskiy – Gopkalo 2004, 127, no. 76).

34. Neslukhiv (Неслухів), settlement, surface find, copper alloy, L = 48 mm, Lviv Historical Museum (until 1941) (Hadaczek 1904, Tab. 1.1) (Fig. 17.6).

35. Ohultsi (Огульці), settlement, surface find, copper alloy, L = 37 mm, Archaeological Laboratory of the German-Slavic Archaeological Expedition of the V. N. Karazin Kharkiv National University or private collection (Lyubichev 2019, Rys. 54.1).

36. Ohultsi (Огульці), settlement, surface find, copper alloy, L = 35 mm, Archaeological Laboratory of the German-Slavic Archaeological Expedition of the V. N. Karazin Kharkiv National University or private collection (Lyubichev 2019, Rys. 54.2).

37. Ohultsi (Огульці), settlement, surface find, copper alloy, L = 36 mm, Archaeological Laboratory of the German-Slavic Archaeological Expedition of the V. N. Karazin Kharkiv National University or private collection (Lyubichev 2019, 256, Rys. 54.9).

38. Ohultsi (Огульці), settlement, surface find, copper alloy, semi-finished product, L = 54 mm, Archaeological Laboratory of the German-Slavic Archaeological Expedition of the V. N. Karazin Kharkiv National University or private collection (Bakumenko *et al.* 2006, 93, Rys. 7.7; Lyubichev 2019, Rys. 54.8) (Fig. 17.9).

39. Ohultsi (Огульці), settlement, surface find, copper alloy, L = 40 mm, Archaeological Laboratory of the German-Slavic Archaeological Expedition of the V. N. Karazin Kharkiv National University or private collection (Bakumenko *et al.* 2006, 71, Rys. 7.7; Lyubichev 2019, Rys. 54.7).

40. Ohultsi (Огульці), settlement, surface finds, copper alloy, foot fragment, L = 19 mm, Archaeological Laboratory of the German-Slavic Archaeological Expedition ofthe V. N. Karazin Kharkiv National University or private collection (Bakumenko *et al.* 2006, 94, Rys. 8.1; Lyubichev 2019, Rys. 54.5).

41. Ohultsi (Огульці), settlement, surface find, copper alloy, foot fragment, L = 19 mm, Archaeological Laboratory of the German-Slavic Archaeological Expedition ofthe V. N. Karazin Kharkiv National University or private collection (Bakumenko *et al.* 2006, 94, Rys. VIII.2; Lyubichev 2019, Rys. 54.6).

42. Pasiky (Пасіки), settlement, surface find, copper alloy, L = 45 mm, Archaeological Laboratory of the German-Slavic Archaeological Expedition of the V. N. Karazin Kharkiv National University or private collection (Lyubichev 2003, Rys. 4; Bakumenko *et al.* 2006, 74, Rys. 7.6; Lyubichev 2019, Rys. 53.29).

43. Peny-1 (Пены), settlement, surface find, copper alloy, L = 48 mm, Kursk State Regional Archaeological Museum (Radyush 2010, 205, Tab. 9.9).

44. Poberezhne-1a (Побережне), cemetery, cultural layer, copper alloy, L = 45 mm, Scientific collections of the Institute of Archaeology of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine (Petrauskas *et al.* 2022, 171, 172, 193, no. 30, Abb. 12.1) (Fig. 16.3).

320 The text of the publication indicates that the fibula is 49 mm long; however, the scales shown in its photo in the report and in the publication's illustration suggest that it is actually smaller.
After this article was completed and submitted to the editorial board of the journal *Dissertationes Archaeologicae*, the authors became aware of two additional publications on fibulae from this series. The first describes a stray find Ivano-Frankivsk region, Ivano-Frankivsk (former Halytskyi) district in Ukraine (near the villages of Zalukva, Krylos, or Knyazhe) (Fihol 1997, 197; the second from the bottom in the photograph of the fibulae). The second publication also describes a stray find, presumably associated with the Chernyakhov culture settlement of Rădoaia XII, located in the localities of Rădoaia, Sîngerei District, Republic of Moldova. It is similar to the fibula from the Bîrlad-Valea Seacă site in Romania (Fig. 22.5) (Vornic – Matveev 2026, 338, 339, Fig. 2.1).

45. Priozerne (Psary) (Приозерне (Псари)), cemetery, copper alloy, L = 44 mm, Lviv Museum of the Dzieduszycki Family (until 1939) (Hadaczek 1912, 29, Tabl. 10; Åberg 1936, 265, Fig. 5).

46. Ridnyi Krai-3 (Рідний Край), settlement, the excavations of 1984, House 1, copper alloy, L = 42.5 mm, Archaeological Museum of the V. N. Karazin Kharkiv National University (Bashkatov *et al.* 1997, 116, Tab. 5.1) (Fig. 18.3).

47. Ripniv (Ріпнів), settlement, cultural layer from Excavation 2 in 1959, Group 2 alloy, fragment (part of the catchplate is missing), L = 47 mm, Archaeological Museum of the Ivan Franko National University of Lviv (Baran 1964, 221, 246, Rys. 6.15; Chernykh – Bartseva 1972, 80, 116, no. 5194, Rys. 14.27; Baran 1981, 210, Tab. 35.15) (Fig. 17.7).

48. Ripniv (Ріпнів), settlement, cultural layer from Excavation 2 in 1959, Square14 Б, Group 4 alloy, fragment, L = 50 mm, Archaeological Museum of the Ivan Franko National University of Lviv (Baran 1964, 221, 246, Rys. 6.10, Chernykh – Bartseva 1972, 80, 116, no. 5199, Rys. 14.25; Baran 1981, 210, Tab. 35.10) (Fig. 19.3).

49. Ripniv (Ріпнів), settlement from Excavation 2 in 1960, House 22, Group 3 alloy, L = 45 mm,[321] Archaeological Museum of the Ivan Franko National University of Lviv (Baran 1964, 221, 234, 246, Rys. 6.11; Chernykh – Bartseva 1972, 80, 116, no. 5201, Rys. 14.26; Baran 1981, 210, Tab. 35.11) (Fig. 16.7).

50. Rohizna-1 (Рогізна), settlement, surface find, copper alloy, L = 40 mm (Tymoshchuk – Vinokur 1964, 194, Rys. 5.4).

51. Ruzhychanka (Ружичанка), cemetery, Grave 13, copper alloy, L = 38 mm, Kamianets-Podilskyi State Historical Museum Reserve (Vinokur 1979, 114–115, 118, 121, Rys. 2.6; Gopkalo 2012, 332, Rys. 2.3) (Fig. 17.5).

52. Ryabukhino-1 (Рябухіно), settlement, surface finds, copper alloy, L = 38 mm, Archaeological Laboratory of the German-Slavic Archaeological Expedition of the V. N. Karazin Kharkiv National University or private collection (Lyubichev – Didyk 2002, 339, Rys. 3.2; Lyubichev 2003, Rys. 4; Bakumenko *et al.* 2006, 75, Rys. 7.8; Lyubichev 2019, Rys. 53.23) (Fig. 17.3).

53. Sokilnyky-1 (Сокільники), settlement, surface finds, copper alloy, L = 35 mm (Kozak 1984, 43, Rys. 45.5; Gorokhovskiy – Gopkalo 2004, 127, no. 110, Rys. 3.2).

54. Staryi Merchik (Старий Мерчік), settlement, surface find, copper alloy, L = 40 mm (Lyubichev – Didyk 2002, 339, Rys. 3.1; Lyubichev 2019, Rys. 53.26).

55–58. (4 specimens). Staryi Yarychiv-3 (Старий Яричів), settlement, surface finds, copper alloy, L = 37–44 mm (Osaulchuk *et al.* 2016, Rys. 1.5–8).

59. Stari Valky (Старі Валки), settlement, surface find, copper alloy, L = 49 mm (Bakumenko *et al.* 2006, 71, Rys. 7.3; Lyubichev 2019, Rys. 53.27).

60. Stari Valky (Старі Валки), settlement, surface find, copper alloy, L = 44 mm (Bakumenko *et al.* 2006, 74, Rys. 7.5; Lyubichev 2019, Rys. 53.28).

61. Unknown provenance, copper alloy, L = 40 mm, Lviv Historical Museum (Gorokhovskiy – Gopkalo 2004, 116, Rys. 3.3) (Fig. 18.5).

62. Vasulivka (Василівка), settlement, surface find, copper alloy, fragment, L = 34 mm, Center for the Protection and Research of Archaeological Monuments of the Department of Culture of the Poltava District State Administration (Poltava) (Shcherban' 2000, 82, Rys. 2; Lyubychev 2019, Rys. 53.10).

63. Velyka Danylivka (Велика Данилівка), settlement, surface find, copper alloy, fragment (lower part), L = 20 mm, Museum of Archaeology of V. N. Karazin Kharkiv National University (Shramko 1962, Rys. 98.2; Zaitsev 1964, 47, 49, Rys. 2.5; Gorokhovskiy – Gopkalo 2004, 125, no. 1).

64. Velyka Danylivka (Велика Данилівка), settlement, surface find, copper alloy, L = 35 mm, Museum of Archaeology of the V. N. Karazin Kharkiv National University (Shramko 1962, Rys. 98.1; Zaitsev 1964, 47, 49, Rys. 2.8; Gorokhovskiy – Gopkalo 2004, 125, no. 2, Rys. 2.13).

65. Verenchanka-Captain Zota Street (Веренчанка), settlement, cultural layer, copper alloy, L = 37 mm, Chernivtsi Regional Museum of Local Lore 53296, A-2747 (Pivovarov – Ilkiv 2012, 476, Rys. 1.12) (Fig. 18.2).

66. Vydrin (Видрін), settlement, surface find, copper alloy, L = 43 mm (Radyush 2015, 29–31, Rys. 8.7; Lyubichev 2019, Rys. 53.1).

67. Viytenky (Війтенки), cemetery, surface find, copper alloy (copper), L = 42 mm, Archaeological Laboratory of the German-Slavic Archaeological Expedition of the V. N. Karazin Kharkiv National University, 368/2013 (Lyubichev *et al.* 2020, Rys. 2.42) (Fig. 18.4).

321 The text of the publication states that the length of the fibula is 50 mm, whereas the scale included in its illustration in the publication indicates that it is smaller.

68. Viytenky-1 (Війтенки), settlement, Trench A, surface find, copper alloy, L = 48 mm, private collection (Bakumenko *et al.* 2006, 70, Rys. 7.1; Lyubichev 2019, 256, Rys. 54.10).

69. Viytenky-1 (Війтенки), settlement, Trench A, surface find, copper alloy, L = 45 mm, Archaeological Laboratory of the German-Slavic Archaeological Expedition of the V. N. Karazin Kharkiv National University (Lyubichev 2019, 257, Rys. 55.1).

70. Viytenky-1 (Війтенки), settlement, Trench A, surface find, copper alloy, L = 45 mm, Archaeological Laboratory of the German-Slavic Archaeological Expedition of the V. N. Karazin Kharkiv National University (Lyubichev 2019, 257, Rys. 55.2).

71. Viytenky-2 (Війтенки), settlement, surface find, copper alloy, L = 36 mm, Archaeological Laboratory of the German-Slavic Archaeological Expedition of the V. N. Karazin Kharkiv National University (Lyubichev 2019, 257, Rys. 55.3).

72. Viytenky (Війтенки), settlement, surface find, copper alloy, L = 36 mm, private collection (Bakumenko *et al.* 2006, 77, Rys. 7.10; Lyubichev 2019, 256, Rys. 54.11).

73. Viytenky (Війтенки), settlement, surface find, copper alloy (cast bronze), fragment, L = 36 mm, Archaeological Laboratory of the German-Slavic Archaeological Expedition of the V. N. Karazin Kharkiv National University (Lyubichev *et al.* 2020, Rys. 2.41).

74. Vodiane-2 (Водяне), settlement, surface find, copper alloy, L = 50 mm, Archaeological Laboratory of the German-Slavic Archaeological Expedition of the V. N. Karazin Kharkiv National University (Lyubichev 2019, Rys. 55.4).

75. Werbyczna, a collection of stray finds, copper alloy, L = 53 mm, State Archaeological Museum in Warsaw (Piętka-Dąbrowska 1961, 220, Tab. 47.14; Gorokhovskiy – Gopkalo 2004, 125, no. 27).

76. Werbyczna (Вербична), a collection of stray finds, copper alloy, L = 48 mm, State Archaeological Museum in Warsaw (Piętka-Dąbrowska 1961, 220, Tab. 47.12; Gorokhovskiy – Gopkalo 2004, 125, no. 17).

77. Werbyczna, a collection of stray finds, copper alloy, L = 48 mm, State Archaeological Museum in Warsaw (Piętka-Dąbrowska 1961, 220, Tab. 47.8; Gorokhovskiy – Gopkalo 2004, 125, no. 15).

78. Zahirtsi (Загірці), Ukraine, settlement, surface find, copper alloy, L=39 mm, part of the catchplate is absent (Lazurko – Tkach 2012, 59, Rys. 8.3).

79. Zavhorodne[322] (Завгороднє), settlement, surface find, copper alloy, L = 44 mm, Kharkiv Historical Museum (Lyubichev – Didyk 2002, 339, Rys. 3.3; Lyubichev 2003, 76, Rys. 4; Gorokhovskiy – Gopkalo 2004, 126, no. 56, Rys. 2.5; Bakumenko *et al.* 2006, 76, Rys. 7.9; Lyubichev 2019, Rys. 53.24) (Fig. 17.2).

80–84. (5 specimens). Zhovtantsi (Жовтанці), stray finds, copper alloy, L = 45–50 mm, Historical and Local History Museum of the City of Vynnyky (Onyshchuk 2018, 100, 353, photos 42.2–6; photos 99.1–2) (Fig. 18.1, Fig. 19.2).

85. Zhuravka (Журавка), cemetery, Grave 33, Group 3 alloy, L = 38 mm, State Historical Museum (Moscow) (Chernykh – Bartseva 1972, 96, no. 2532, Rys. 14.23; Gorokhovskiy – Gopkalo 2004, 126, no. 55, Rys. 2.2) (Fig. 16.1).

## 'Horodnytsia' series

1. Cherneliv-Ruskyi (Чернелів-Руський), cemetery, Grave 130, copper alloy, L = 45 mm, Ternopil Regional Museum of Local History (Gereta 2013, 53, 185, Rys. 79.6) (Fig. 20.6).

2–3. (2 specimens). Horodnytsia (Городниця), grave, silver, L = 50 mm, Archaeological Museum in Kraków (Kopernicki 1878, Tab. 3.C; Almgren 1897, 198–199; Åberg 1936, 265, Fig. 1) (Fig. 20.1).

4. Kostyantivka-1 (Костянтівка), settlement, surface find, silver, L = 38 mm (Lyubichev 2019, Rys. 55.7).

5. Nezvysko (Незвисько), settlement, House 1, silver, fragment, The State Hermitage Museum (St. Petersburg) (Smirnova 1964, 202, 203, Rys. 5.9–10; Ambroz 1966, 73) (Fig. 20.4).

6. Pasiky (Пасіки), settlement, surface finds, copper alloy, fragment, L = 46 mm (Bakumenko *et al.* 2006, 79, Rys. 7.13).

7. Peny-2 (Пены), settlement, surface finds, copper alloy, L = 39 mm, Institute of Archaeology of South-Eastern Rus' at Kursk State University (Radyush 2008, 184–186, Rys. 3.3; Radyush 2010, 205, Tab. 9.10; Lyubichev 2019, Rys. 53.15).

322 The authors of the publication pointed out an error in the image of this brooch in our 2004 work (Bakumenko *et al.* 2006, 76). This remark has been taken into account in the present study.

8. Petrykivtsi (Петриківці), cemetery, cultural layer, silver, fragment, L = 33 mm, Vinnytsia Regional Museum of Local History no. A-5391 (Magomedov – Levada 1997, Rys. 1.9; Gorokhovskiy – Gopkalo 2004, 127, no. 94; Magomedov 2022, Rys. 2.43.5) (Fig. 20.2).

9. Priozerne (Psary) (Приозерне (Псари), cemetery, copper alloy, L = 44 mm, Lviv Museum of the Dzieduszycki Family (until 1939) (Hadaczek 1912, 29, Tab. 10; Åberg 1936, 265, Fig. 4).

10. Ruzhychanka (Ружичанка), cemetery, Grave 24, copper alloy, L = 40 mm, Kamianets-Podilskyi State Historical Museum Reserve (Vinokur 1979, 114–115, 118, 121, Rys. 15.2; Gopkalo 2012, 332, Rys. 2.4, Ill. 21.1) (Fig. 20.3).

11. Toky (Токи), cemetery, Grave 5, copper alloy, L = 38,5 mm, Ternopil Regional Museum of Local History *KB* 17529 A 1879 (Gereta 1989, Rys. 7.5A; Tylishchak 2014, 199–201, Rys. 2.2) (Fig. 20.5).

12. Unknown provenance in Ukraine, Halychyna (Galicia), stray find, copper alloy, Lviv Ossolineum Institute (until 1897) (Almgren 1897, 199).

13. Zhabyntsi (Жабинці), stray find, copper alloy, Archaeological Museum in Kraków (Almgren 1897, 198).

## Unique ('non-series') fibulae

1. Boromlya (Боромля), settlement, House 3, copper alloy, L = 36 mm, Scientific Collection of the Institute of Archaeology of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine (Nekrasova 2006, 96, Rys. 24.9; Gorokhovskiy – Gopkalo 2004, 125, no. 3, Rys. 4.2) (Fig. 21.2).

2. Horodnytsia (Городниця), settlement, cultural layer, copper alloy, L = 35 mm (Smishko 1952, 78, Rys. 24.8; Gorokhovskiy – Gopkalo 2004, 126, no. 39, Rys. 9.2).

3. Lepesivka (Лепесівка), settlement, House VIII, copper alloy, L = 39 mm, The State Hermitage Museum (St. Petersburg) (Tikhanova *et al.* 1999, Fig. 2.12) (Fig. 21.1).

4. Nezvysko (Незвисько), settlement, Pit 16, copper alloy, L = 40 mm, The State Hermitage Museum (St. Petersburg) (Smirnova 1964, 202, 203, Rys. 5.9–10; Gorokhovskiy – Gopkalo 2004, 127, no. 77, Rys. 5.4) (Fig. 21.3).

5. Pekari (Пекарі), stray find, copper alloy, L = 62 mm, National Museum of the History of Ukraine B1572 (16805) (Gorokhovskiy – Gopkalo 2004, 127, no. 92, Rys. 10.1) (Fig. 21.6).

6. Verkhnya Lypytsia (Верхня Липиця), a site of Lipitsa and Chernyakhiv cultures, cultural layer, copper alloy, L = 46 mm, Ivano-Frankivsk Regional History Museum (Gorokhovskiy – Gopkalo 2004, 126, no. 28, Rys. 10.2) (Fig. 21.5).

## List of archaeological sites

Baranove, Mizyaky-1, Ukraine, Kharkiv region, Bohodukhiv district, settlement

Bil'sk, Ukraine, Poltava region, Poltava (former Kotelevskyi) district, settlement

Boromlya, Ukraine, Sumy region, Okhtyrka district, settlement

Cherepyn, Ukraine, Lviv region, Lviv (former Biberskyi) district, settlement

Cherneliv-Ruskyi, Ukraine, Ternopil region, Ternopil district, cemetery

Demyaniv, Ukraine, Ivano-Frankivsk region, Ivano-Frankivsk (former Halytskyi) district, settlement

Holovino, Russian Federation, Belgorod region, Belgorod (former Oktyabrskyi) district, settlement

Horodnytsia, Ukraine, Ivano-Frankivsk region, Kolomyia (former Horodenkivskyi) district, solitary burial

Horodnytsia, Ukraine, Ivano-Frankivsk region, Kolomyia (former Horodenkivskyi) district, settlement

Hradyz'k, Ukraine, Poltava region, Kremenchuk (former Hlobyne) district, collection of stray finds

Khorosnytsia, Ukraine, Lviv region, Yavoriv district, settlement

Khrushchova Mykytivka, Ukraine, Kharkiv region, Bohodukhiv (former Valkivskyi) district, settlement

Khucha (Shapteban'), Republic of Moldova, Rîşcani district, settlement

Komariv, Ukraine, Chernivtsi region, Dnistrovskyi (former Kelmentsi) district, settlement

Kostyantivka-1, Ukraine, Kharkiv region, Chuhuiv (former Zmiivskyi) district, settlement

Kovrai, Ukraine, Cherkasy region, Zolotonosha (former Chornobai) district, eroded cultural layer of a settlement

Lehedzyne, Ukraine, Cherkasy region, Zvenyhorodka (former Talnivskyi) district, cemetery
Lepesivka, Ukraine, Khmelnytskyi region, Shepetivka (formerly Bilohirsk) district, settlement
Luka-Vrublevetska (Luka-Vrublivetska), Ukraine, Khmelnytskyi region, Kamianets-Podilskyi district, settlement
Martova, Ukraine, Kharkiv region, Chuhuiv (former Pechenizkyi) district, settlement
Matyashiv Yar-3 (Mykolaivka), Ukraine, Sumy region, Romny district, Kyiv culture settlement
Mykhailivka, Ukraine, Cherkasy region, Cherkasy (former Kanivskyi) district, stray find
Neslukhiv, Ukraine, Lviv region, Lviv (former Kamianka-Buzkyi) district, settlement
Nezvisko, Ukraine, Ivano-Frankivsk region, Kolomyia (former Horodenkivskyi) district, settlement
Ohultsi, Ukraine, Kharkiv region, Bohodukhiv (former Valkivskyi) district, settlement
Pasiky, Ukraine, Kharkiv region, Chuhuiv (former Zmiivskyi) district, settlement
Pekari, Ukraine, Cherkasy region, Cherkasy (former Kaniv) district, stray find
Peny, Russian Federation, Kursk region, Belovsky (former Kurchatov) district, settlement
Petrykivtsi-1, Ukraine, Vinnytsia region, Khmilnytskyi district, cemetery
Poberezhne-1a, Ukraine, Vinnytsia region, Vinnytsia district, cemetery
Priozerne (Psary), Ukraine, Ivano-Frankivsk region, Ivano-Frankivsk (former Rohatynskyi) district, cemetery
Ridnyi Krai, Ukraine, Kharkiv region, Bohodukhiv (former Zolochivskyi) district, settlement
Ripniv, Ukraine, Lviv region, Lviv (former Kamianka-Buzkyi) district, settlement
Rohizna-1, Ukraine, Chernivtsi region, Chernivtsi district, settlement
Ruzhychanka, Ukraine, Khmelnytskyi region, Khmelnytskyi district, cemetery
Ryabukhino-1, Ukraine, Kharkiv region, Kharkiv (former Novovodolazkyi) district, settlement
Sokil'nyky, Ukraine, Lviv region, Lviv (former Pustomytivskyi) district, settlement
Staryi Merchik, Ukraine, Kharkiv region, Bohodukhiv (former Valkivskyi) district, settlement
Staryi Yarychiv-3, Ukraine, Lviv region, Lviv (former Kamianka-Buzkyi) district, settlement
Stari Valky, Ukraine, Kharkiv region, Bohodukhiv (former Valkivskyi) district, settlement
Toky, Ukraine, Ternopil region, Ternopil district, cemetery
Vasylivka, Ukraine, Poltava region, Poltava (former Dikanskyi) district, settlement
Velyka Danylivka, Ukraine, Kharkiv region, Kharkiv district, settlement
Verenchanka, Ukraine, Chernivtsi region, Chernivtsi district, settlement
Verkhnya Lypytsia, Ukraine, Ivano-Frankivsk region, Ivano-Frankivsk (former Rohatyn) district, settlement
Viytenky-1, Ukraine, Kharkiv region, Bohodukhiv (former Valkivskyi) district, settlement
Vodyane-2, Ukraine, Kharkiv region, Chuhuiv (former Zmiivskyi) district, settlement
Vydrin, Russian Federation, Kursk region, Bol'shesoldatsky district, settlement, cemetery
Werbychka, Werbychna, Ukraine, Khmelnytskyi region, Khmelnytskyi (former Horodotskyi) district, collection of stray finds
Zahirtsi, Ukraine, Lviv region, Zolochivs'kyi (former Brodivs'kyi) district, settlement
Zavhorodne, Ukraine, Kharkiv region, Izium (former Balakliyskyi) district, settlement
Zhabyntsi, Ukraine, Ternopil region, Chortkiv (former Husyatynskyi) district, stray find
Zhovtantsi, Ukraine, Lviv region, Lviv (former Kamianka-Buzkyi) district, settlement
Zhuravka, Ukraine, Cherkasy region, Cherkasy (former Horodyshchenskyi) district, cemetery

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