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The results of the investigation of Upper Tisza monuments during the 1980 - 1995 period

Vjačeslav KOTIGOROŠKO

Upper Tisza is a specific region of the Carpathian area. Its specificity is determined by its geographical position and by the fact that there are three ecological zones (mountainous, submountainous and valleys).

Intensive investigations undertaken by archaeologists of Hungary, Slovakia, Romania and Ukraine made it possible to discover hundreds of monuments of a wide chronological range: from the Palaeolithic up to medieval time.

The vast amount of archaeological finds give qualitatively new information, which considerably changes the former understanding of the historical processes of the Upper Tisza region. It is the basis for a profound study of the ethnocultural and ethnosocial structures of the region.
About 100 residential areas of the Palaeolithic period have been located. Among them the most unique one is the location in Korolevo (Ukraine), where horizons have been found dating back from 1 million to 40 thousand years.

Excavation of monuments of the Neolithic period (P. Kalitsa, J. Makkay, S. Shishka, M. Potushnyak, E. Nyomsha, A. Valaha) served as the basis for the determination of the peculiarities of the three main stages of the epoch. We particularly lay stress that the cultural complexes of Tisza of the later period of Neolithic Age played a definitive role in the formation of the earlier epoch of Chalcolithic.

Particular attention was attached to the study of monuments of La Tène and Roman periods. As a result we have discovered and partially studied tens of earlier unknown locations, which to a great extent add up to the archaeological maps of the region. Among the key monuments of La Tène we mention the necropolis Pišcolt out of 185 burials, the excavation of which was completed by I. Nemeti, burials of Ižkovce (Y. Vízdal) and Valalík-Košťany (D. Gashay) in Slovakia, and also a series of settlements of the vicus type in Transcarpathia.

The investigation of ancient monuments of the beginning of A.D. was intensively carried out in the territory of Transcarpathian region of Ukraine and also the publication of the materials of the burial Zemplín (V. Budinský-Krička, M. Lamiová-Schmiedlová) made it possible to put to doubt the earlier accepted terminology "Celto-Dacian horizon" by A. Točik (1959) as inconsistent because of the ethnopolitical situation in the region and is changed with the notion of "Dacian culture".

This conclusion is based on the material from the excavation of strongholds including the one in Malaja Kopanja, where an area of 1,3 ha has been excavated (stronghold, settlement, burials), a whole series of Dacian settlements, that have been discovered lately, including the data of Roman authors. The period of existence of ancient culture in the Upper Tisza region was determined within the framework of the middle of the 1st century B.C. and the beginning of the 2nd century A.D.

Besides, the existence of "Lipica culture" in the region has been subject of serious doubts.

Considerable success was achieved in the study of the monuments belonging to the 2nd - 4th centuries A.D., now materialized in over 400 locations on the Upper Tisza's map. These locations represent production centres, cemeteries and isolated graves, store houses. We would like to emphasise from this great number of identified monuments the production region Mits, where we discovered 120 earthenware ovens, dwellings, walls.
In the course of the excavations we have accumulated a great amount of archaeological materials, sufficient to enable us to conclude on the economic, social and ethnic characteristics of the period. However, there is no unanimous point of view on the culture of the Upper Tisza population of that time.

We consider that the main population of the region in the 2nd - 4th centuries A.D. were North Thracians with their culture of Carpathian barrows. During the second half of the 2nd century A.D. the bearers of Przeworsk culture (known as Asting-Vandals) penetrated into the region.

A new group of Germans appeared in the Upper Tisza region, approximately by the end of the 3rd century A.D. They are spotted in inhumation burials in the North-Western part of Szabolcs-Szatmar region of Hungary and "chieftain" graves in Eastern Slovakia.

We consider that additional data on the ethnocultural processes which took place in the discussed region can be obtain by excavating the settlements and the mound near the village Lazuri of Satu Mare region, started in 1995 by a joint Romanian-Ukrainian team.

The analysis of the accumulated material gave us the possibility of drawing the chronological scheme of the basic cultures in the Latin-Roman time.

The chief conclusions on the research that lasted over many years can be formulated as follows: the aboriginal population in the Upper Tisza's region were the Northern Thracians. Between the 3rd century B.C. and the 4th century A.D. they received the material influence coming from the Celts, Germans or the Roman Empire. By the end of the 4th and the beginning of the 5th century A.D. the monuments related to the local population disappeared. The formed hiatus took a certain extent also due to the German tribes (Gepids ?). Starting with the beginning of the 6th century A.D. the region is occupied by Slavic tribes, population connected to the medieval history of the Upper Tisza geography.
The origins of Thracian Art

Jan BOUZEK

Thracian art of the 5th century B.C., i.e. before its “Classical” 4th century phase, shows several roots. The local tradition of the “Geometric” art from the so-called Thracian bronzes (pendants consisting of miniature axes with animal protomae) mark the early phase of this stream; the Sevlijevo stag shows already a transition to the later development. Besides this, the Geometric tradition of ornaments in the Eastern Hallstatt style also played some role.

The Persian component connected with the short-lived Persian occupation of some parts of European Thrace is well known, less so the first Greek models of Early Thracian artistic objects, in earlier 6th century mainly Ionian and Corinthian, and later (most notably after the Graeco - Persian wars) Attic. The first “Caucasian” Animal style also influenced Thracian sphere (cf. the Sevlijevo urn and the Michalkovo hoard), being followed by later impacts from the steppe area and through the Scythians also from Iran and northern Eurasia.

On the other hand, Early Thracian art shows also traces of relationship with the earliest La Tène Celtic art. More generally, Early Thracian art belongs to the “Early Orientalistic” koine of artistic provinces, of which the Scythian, Greek, Etruscan and Situla Orientalistic arts are other members.

Paleobalkan populations in the South part of the Central Balkans

Eleonora PETROVA

In the last decades studies on the Paleo-Balkan populations occupy an important place in the works of historians, archeologists and linguists where significant information on the Illyrians, Thracians, Daco-Mysians and Paeonians could be found.

The Balkan Bryges, treated mainly as an Asia Minor population, were, in a way, left aside. However, the Bryges on the Balkans were mentioned even in the oldest works of the classical authors.
At the time when the study of the Bryges was still only an idea, all I knew about them were a dozen basic details mentioned in the works of classical authors and as many local epichoric names, the form and root of which indicated a Brygian/Phrygian origin and relation with Asia Minor. Gradually, after the careful examination of classical sources of information on the Bryges, I was able to put together the pieces of the picture of their geographic frame and of their mythical ancestors on the Balkans, in Asia Minor and on Italic soil, which completely altered my appreciation of the matter. On the Balkans, the Bryges were not merely a small ethnic group living in enclaves on the margins of the historic events of classical times; they were also a significant ethnic community playing a notable role at the time after the Trojan War (the conflict between the Bryges and the Thesprotians, with Odysseus as their leader.)

According to literary tradition, they inhabited the area from Pangaeum, east of the Axios, to central, south-eastern and southern Albania and Epirus; some documents show that they spread further to the north. King Midas and the Midas' gardens at the foot of Mount Bermion, as well as the rose gardens at the foot of Mount Pangaeum, also associated with King Midas, further complete the picture of the boundaries to which the Brygian territory stretched.

According to Apol. Rhod., the Bryges were also to be found on the islands of the Ionian and the Adriatic Seas. This gives a new geographic presentation of their life among the Proto-Mysian, Proto-Illyrian and Helladic populations in pre-historic times, and among the Illyrians, Thracians, Paeonians and Hellenes in the historical times.

There is also ample evidence of the presence of the Phrygians in Asia Minor. In the Hellenic literary tradition, the Phrygians are mentioned in Homer's Iliad, as well as in the works of many later authors that write about the Phrygians as natives of Asia Minor, about their connections with the Mysian population, about their King Midas etc.

Assyrian sources offer a lot of information about the Mushki people and their King Mita, who many authors are inclined to identify as Phrygian, since they historically coincide with the time of the rise of the Kingdom of Phrygia and its fall under the attacks of the Cimmerians from Caucasus early in the 7th century B.C. Documents from Hellenic and Roman times give details about the earlier settlement of the Bryges in southern Italy and on Sicily, so that the Bryges/Phrygians have come to be regarded as a numerous population spread throughout the Balkans and no longer as a little known, unimportant, minor population living on the outskirts of the classical world.

These conclusions are further confirmed by linguistic studies, which have proved that Phrygian is one of the oldest Indo-European languages and the basis of
some Paleo-Balkan languages.\textsuperscript{10} Brygian is also akin to the other Paleo-Balkan languages which it could not have been, if the Bryges had appeared on the Balkans during the Transitional Period, but they had appeared in earlier periods.

The development of the language of the Indo-European population started in their primeval homeground. After their arrival on the Balkans, it depended not only on the number of the Indo-European settlers, but also on the state of the culture of the autochthonous populations, which, together with the geographical conditions, generated the differences between the IE dialects. One of those dialects or languages was the Proto-Phrygian, which linguists believe to have developed and to have been spoken in the south-west part of the central Balkans. It is also believed that most of the tribes that spoke pre-Phrygian migrated to Asia Minor before the end of the second millennium B.C.\textsuperscript{11}

We know more about Phrygian than about any other Balkan or Anatolian languages, due to the many extant inscriptions written in it, dating from the 8th to 4th century, though most of them are from the 7th and 6th centuries. There are also some late Phrygian inscriptions from Roman times - the 1st to the 4th century A.D.\textsuperscript{12}

A further help in the study of the Phrygian language was offered by onomastics - anthroponyms, toponyms, hydronyms and onoronyms. The Phrygian inscriptions are concentrated only on Anatolian territory, whereas Phrygian/Brygian names are found both in Asia Minor and on the Balkans; though, many names in south Italy also have Phrygian origin. Most numerous are the names in Asia Minor\textsuperscript{13} and they serve as basis in the study of the names in various Balkan regions. However, linguistic and onomastic researches in the last two centuries have paid no attention to the similarities between these two areas. Researchers always supported the idea of the Illyrian or Thracian origin of the names in the territory to the north of the Hellenic cities and states and of their influence. It was only in the last few decades that a number of scholars have pointed to the fact that the territory of central and south-western Balkans and the one east of the lower course of the Axios between the Illyrians, the Thracians and the Hellenes had a very complex ethnic composition and that the ethnic communities of that area had many features in common with the territory of Asia Minor, both in historical and archeological aspects and in the linguistic, i.e. onomastic material. But, since these ethnic groups were much smaller than the large Illyrian and Thracian communities, the idea of the Illyrian or Thracian character of some of the smaller groups was prevalent in science.\textsuperscript{14} The latest researches have also shown that the Daco-Mysians were an important ethnic substratum on the Balkans,\textsuperscript{15} that ethnically the Dardanians were not Illyrians, but were later Illyrized, which could also be assumed for the Enchelii and, perhaps, the Dassareti, and that the Paeonians, the
Edones and the Mygdonians were separate ethnic communities. All of them were related to the Bryges/Phrygians, who were one of the oldest ethnic element on the map of Balkan populations.

The onomastics of the Balkan ethnic communities has been the subject of many researches. The names in Dardania, Paeonia, Macedonia and on Brygian territory that have been analyzed are found to have belonged to the inhabitants autochthonous to the area and cannot be unreservedly classified as Illyrian or Thracian, as was frequently done in the past. Furthermore, these names are also quite frequent in Asia Minor and most of them are regarded as local Phrygian names. It is also interesting to point that some of these autochthonous names also appear in Albanian soil, though not further north than Dyrachium, but are unknown to the north of Lisos.¹⁶

The last waves of Indo-European migrations during the Early Bronze Age (2100-1800/1700 B.C.) brought to the Balkans kindred populations having the same custom of tumuli burials.

They brought to these areas transhumant shephards that preferred the mountainous terrains of the central, western and south-western Balkans. The finds from the few settlements dating from this period also indicate that these nomadic people did not stay long in one place. All this leads to the conclusion that at the very beginning of the Early Bronze Age, the territories from the Carpathian Mountains to the Adriatic Sea and Pelagonia had many features in common. This wide geographical area also encompassed the districts of the central Balkans, the Morava and, probably, the Vardar valleys. All these districts belonged to the Balkan-Danubian complex,¹⁷ in which tumuli burials were prevalent in Belotic-Bela Crkva, the middle and southern Adriatic coast to the river Shkumbi (Pazhok), and, occasionally, in Romania-Muntenia. In addition, a wide section of this complex covering the central Balkans, Pelagonia and south-eastern Albania (Bubanj Hum III, Armenochori - the Pelagonian group, Maliq IIIab) is characterized by many finds of two-handled vessels. On the other hand, we have no knowledge of the burial customs of these cultural groups. Their material culture differs from that of the Cetina group, which is akin to that of Belotic-Bela Crkva. Their transhumant way of life brought the various communities in close contact with each other, as can be seen in the grave 181 from tumulus I in Barc.¹⁸

We may, therefore presume that it is within the cultural groups of Armenochori (the Pelagonian group) and Maliq IIIab and in the cultural manifestations on the territory south of the Shkumbi that we ought to look for the Indo-European basis, from which, later, the Proto Bryges emerged.

The middle Bronze Age (1800/1700-1500 B.C.) was a period of settlement and stabilization throughout the Balkans and was marked by a process of ethnic
identification of the groups, which we have confirmed to have had Indo-European origin and identical customs of tumuli burials. The area that we presume to have belonged to the Proto-Bryges during the Early Bronze Age continued to be inhabited by the same ethnic group, having the same material culture in the Middle Bronze Age, too. All researched sites also enter the later stages of the Middle Helladic Period and the initial stages of the Late Helladic Period I and II. The burials of this period were performed mainly in double tumuli. It is important to note that after the Middle Bronze Age the influence of the southern cultures was intensified so that among the finds in the sites mentioned above there are a lot of objects of Minyan pottery or imitations of it. Bronze weapons of Helladic type from the end of the Middle Helladic and the first stages of the Late Helladic Periods were also found in these graves. The fact that these finds date from the Middle Bronze Age and are linked to the Middle Helladic tradition and Mycenaean culture is very important for the solution of the Proto-Brygian problem in this period. The acquisition of features of the southern civilization, which were spread in southern and south eastern Albania by tradesmen, as well as the objects produced locally for the local market prove that this ethnic community very early accepted the characteristics of the economy of the more developed Helladic society. The finds in the graves of the tumuli in central and southern Albania from the Middle and Late Bronze Ages have precisely been determined to coincide with the last stages of the Middle Helladic chronology. 

In the territory south of the river Shkumbi in this period the Middle Helladic influence was very strong and was represented here with Minyan grey pottery-ware and weaponry. In southern Albania, such objects were found on many sites such as: Vajzë, Cepune and Pazhok) whereas in the north only in the site of Bardhok.

All this supports the assumption of the proto-populations in this region having different cultural and ethnic development even during the Middle Bronze Age; the more southern populations came under a much stronger cultural influence from the south through their trade and import of pottery and metal products. Such influence resulted in the specific development of the Proto-Bryges, different from that of the Illyrian population in the north. The lower cultural level of the Proto-Bryges, however, created unsurmountable differences between them and the populations of the Middle Helladic and the Mycenaean cultures.

In the Late Bronze Age and the Transitional Period (1500-1200/1050 B.C.) in the area comprising middle, south-eastern and southern Albania, north-western Greece and Epirus, where the Bryges are assumed to have lived during this time, the most important are the sites of Maliq IIId (IIIa1, IIIa2 and IIIa3), Tren IIIb and some of the graves from tumulus I in Bare. The period at the end of the 12th and the beginning of the 11th century here was characterized by matt-painted
geometric pottery, following, most probably, the example of Middle Helladic and Mycenaean pottery. The Middle Helladic pottery tradition strongly influenced the development of matt-painted geometric pottery in south-eastern Albania.\textsuperscript{22}

The ethnic interpretation of this pottery is most often used by daily politics which makes the conclusions totally unacceptable from a historical and archeological point.

Matt painted geometric pottery was not an isolated instance and could not possibly be linked to one special Illyrian population, namely the Dassaretii an assumption that Albanian scholars have been trying to launch into science for a long time.\textsuperscript{23} The Dassaretii appeared in historical sources and in history in the Hellenistic period so that the attempt to link matt, painted pottery from the Late Bronze Age is an attempt to link a particular material culture with a tribe that appeared a millenium later. Neither historical sources nor archeologic material can prove that the Dassaretii lived on that area continuously from the Early Bronze Age onwards. Archeologic researches have shown that from the Early Bronze Age to the Transitional Period there were no ethnic changes on migrations in the area. Confirmation, however, of the presence of the Brygian population in that region is found even in the oldest written sources. As a matter of fact, the Dassaretii were one of the last "Illyrian" tribes to appear in sources. The only element that connects the Dassaretii with the matt-painted geometric pottery is the territory of south eastern Albania which they inhabited during the Hellenistic Period. The question is whether the Dassaretii from Devol and from the area around Lake Lychnidus could have had any connections with the matt-painted geometric pottery from south Albania and from the territory of north western Greece, Epirus and Pelagonia.

The attempt to attribute the matt-painted geometric pottery to Macedonian and Molossi tribes is equally void of any historical, archeological or geographical ground.\textsuperscript{24} The Macedonians appeared in history around 700 B.C., when matt painted pottery had already disappeared or when the last samples were being produced. It is just as difficult to connect this pottery from south eastern Albania with the Macedonians because they occupied this area only during the reign of Philip II. It is also strange that some scholars identify the Macedonian with the Molossi tribes their only ground probably being in the appearance of the matt-painted pottery in north-western Greece and in Epirus.

The Brygian population in this area, however, was mentioned in many documents by classical authors, the earliest data coming from the time of the Trojan War. Archeology has ascertained that in this area there was only one culture and one burial custom with no intrusion from outside during the Early Bronze Age to the Iron Age. Nor did the changes occurring during the Early Iron Age affected the ethnic structure of the population. The end of the Late Bronze Age was marked
by matt-painted geometric pottery, which beside being a characteristic of certain ethnic community, can be considered as a new fashion in the wider area and as an introduction of a new higher technology in the pottery production.

Most matt-painted geometric vessels found in the sites inhabited by Bryges date from the Iron Age IB. Besides the sites of Maliq IIId3 and Tren IIb - Tren III in south-eastern Albania, most of the tombs in tumulus I in Barc, tumulus IV in Pazhok, the tumuli in Vodhinë, Vajzë, Bodrishtë and Kakavi, the pottery-ware from Boubousti in north-western Greece and the sites in Epirus have also been ascribed to this period.25 The central European weapons, frequently found in some of the tumuli from this period, belong to the end of Iron Age IA and the beginning of Iron Age IB. In addition to the multitude of matt-painted geometric pottery, almost all these sites contain metal jewellery, especially long bronze pins with conical or hemispherical head decorated, usually, with zigzag ornaments, same as those on the pottery. These pins, found in almost the same areas where the matt-painted pottery is mainly concentrated, have been dated between the sub-Mycenaean and the late geometric periods, i.e. from 1100 to 700 B.C., which is the time when of most of the finds of matt-painted geometric pottery appeared.26 However, this pins date from an earlier period. Identical ornaments on matt-painted geometric pottery and on long bronze pins with conical or hemispherical head is a characteristic feature of the Brygian territory. In fact, seldom do these objects appear together in other areas.

Tumuli burials were quite common in both northern and southern Albania in the previous and this chronological period. This does not necessarily indicate that the same ethnic group inhabited this whole area, as tumuli burials was a frequent custom from the west Balkans to central Greece and Peloponnesus. In the Mati valley there are occasional finds of swords of the Aegean type and already in the 11th century there were types of swords and javelins, probably as a result of the penetration of civilizations characterized by burials in flat graves with urns. All these objects, as well as fluted ware have been found further south, too, though in a much smaller number than in the north. In the Late Bronze Age and in the Transitional Period they had certain features that distinguished them from similar objects in central, south-eastern and southern Albania. During this period, the Mati valley came under the strong influence of the Southern Adriatic coast cultural group and the Glasinac complex and one of the most characteristic finds of that time in these territories are the axes of Dalmato-Albanian type, discovered in depots of ten to a hundred. The depot in Torovice near Lēsh, which had 124 axes of this type was a very important discovery.27 In Albania, these finds are most characteristic for the districts north of Durrësh, especially for Lēsh and Skodra, whereas on the territory of the Southern Adriatic coast cultural group they are
rather common in Montenegro and Herzegovina. No such finds have been discovered south of Dyrrachium. During the Iron Age IB, north Albania once again came under the strong influence of the cultures in the north-west. Later, in the developed Iron Age the pottery and the jewellery from the Mati valley very much resemble the similar finds from the Glasinac complex. They bear a striking similarity to Glasinac stage IVc. As can be seen, the archeological finds in north Albania show that this territory kept close contacts with a large area to the north of central Albania, which is the reason why it has been named Glasinac-Mati culture.28

The careful analysis of the development of the territories in the north and in the south of Albania, the latter being characterized by matt-painted geometric pottery and jewellery during the Late Bronze, the Transitional and the Early Iron Ages, indicates that these were ethnically different regions, i.e. territories inhabited by different populations. Central, south-eastern and southern Albania definitely belonged to the Bryges, which can be confirmed by facts from many historical sources, uncontested by contemporary historians. Northern Albania, including the Glasinac complex, belonged to the Illyrians.

During the Early Iron Age IA and IB, the Brygian population inhabited a large territory, spreading over south-eastern and southern Albania, north-western Greece, Epirus and Pelagonia, the enclaves in the surrounding regions and those between the Axius and the Strymon in the east.

At this period, the ethnic community of the Bryges developed a significant material culture with a characteristic production of matt-painted geometric pottery, jewellery, especially pins with zigzag decorations and weapons.

At the end of the Iron Age I only the last of the large Brygian centres existed: region of Korca in south eastern Albania, Vitsa in Epirus and Pateli in north-western Greece, though they were also showing signs of decline of their pottery production and of the Brygian culture as a whole.

Literary tradition and onomastic remains indicate that at the time of the Iron Age II and the Early Classical Period the last strongholds of Brygian population were concentrated east of the river Axius, in south-eastern Albania, north-west Greece, Epirus and Pelagonia. Historical sources refer to Pelagonia as a territory inhabited by Bryges, although in the earlier times it must have been populated by other populations, too, as the pottery and metal finds and the different modes of burial show. At the end of Iron Age I and during the Iron Age II, the Bryges on the Balkans generally lived in enclaves surrounded by Illyrians, Macedonians, Epirots and Paeonians. Dense concentration of Bryges existed only in south-eastern Albania. It was at this time, perhaps, that the Bryges buried their dead in the tumulus in Kuc i Zi I, which contained the last examples of matt-painted geometric
The graves in Kuc i Zi also had some other important and interesting finds, such as weapons and jewellery.

The differences in the material culture and in the burial customs between southern and south-eastern Albania, on the one hand, and the territory north of the Shkumbi to Glasinac, on the other, point to the fact that these districts were inhabited by different populations: Illyrians in the north and Bryges in the south. However, after the 8th and, particularly, in the 7th and 6th centuries, these differences dwindled, primarily, due to the Illyrization of the whole territory, but also to the increasing Hellenization of the larger cities - first in the coastal belt, but then also deeper inland.

Very powerful and significant population in the south part of the Central Balkans were also Paeonians. The data referring to them begin from the period of the Trojan War (12th century B.C.). Homer locates them along the broad Axios river "Axios euriroconatos" mentioning the city of Amydon.

Their leader Pyraichme came from Amydon and led Paeonians with curved bows who fought in carts, whereas Asteropaeus, who came later outside Troy led the Paeonians with long spears from the hill lands of fertile Paeonia.

In the later centuries the reference to the Paeonians is more frequent, especially in the Histories of Herodotus and Thucydides. According to these historians and some other authors, the Paeonians inhabited a large territory in the 6th century B.C. The territory expanded from Pelagonia in the west, from the upper course of the rivers Axius and Strymon in the north, along the course of the Strymon in the east and southward to the sea.

The upper course of the Strymon was inhabited by the Laeaei and the Agrianes, who most probably also extended to the west of these regions, while the other tribes - the Derrones, the Doberes, the Ioroi, the Astraeoi, the Siropaeones, the Pacoples, occupied the area between the lower and the middle course of the Axios and the Strymon, i.e. the region northwest from Pangaeum. The Derrones are probably the most significant Paeonian tribe in the area from Chalcidice to Dorian, expanding onto the territory of Shtip and Kratovo and northward. The Siropaeones and the Pacoples populated the territories in the vicinity of Pangaeum, the Strymon and Lake Prasias.

The first Paeonian ruler known from ancient sources is Agis. He ruled in the first half of the 4th century B.C., and was succeeded to the throne by his son, Lykkeius. The Paeonian status in the 4th century B.C. was quite specific. The independence of Paeonia during this period seems impossible, when we have in mind the Macedonian power and the aim of Philip II to conquer more territories. However, it is evident that Paeonia was independent in the 4th century B.C.
although it is clear that this was not a complete independence, but a certain autonomy, which Philip allowed to the northern neighbours with the aim to protect his own north border. This autonomy obliged Paeonia and its kings to pay taxes and to give an army for the requirements of the Macedonian state. Paeonia did not accept its subordinate position and in 356 B.C. entered a coalition against Macedonia with Athens on the one side, and Cetriporis the Thracian, and Grabus the Illyrian king on the other. Lykpeius is mentioned in the second place of this agreement, which shows that at the beginning of the reign of Philip II, in the diplomatic and military sense Paeonia was superior to the Illyrians. Lykkeius ruled Paeonia from 359 to 340 B.C. and was succeeded to the throne by his son Patraos. In Alexander's campaign against the Tribaloi in 335 B.C., the Paeonians are once again mentioned in the sources. However, the name of the Paeonian king Patraos is not mentioned this time. His name is found on numerous tetradrachmas, which he minted, and on an inscription from 289 B.C., which informs us that Patraos was the father of Audoleontos.

Describing the campaigns of Alexander in Asia before the Gaugamela battle, Arrian and Curtius Rufus mentioned Ariston, the commander of the Paeonian cavalry. Some authors of today assume that he was the younger brother of Patraos. The reign of Patraos most probably lasted till the year 315 B.C., when he was succeeded to the throne by his son Audoleontos. Towards the end of the 4th and at the beginning of the 3rd century B.C. Macedonia was weakened and not as powerful as in the previous decades. The fratricidal wars and the divided Macedonian kingdom allowed Audoleontos to overthrow the Macedonian domination and in 306 B.C. to proclaim himself, together with the other diadochis, a king. The commencement of the process of Hellenization of the royal Paeonian house in the 4th century B.C. and at the beginning of the 3rd century B.C. engrossed all segments of the Paeonian state. Paeonia in fact became a part of the Hellenistic world. The contacts with the Hellenistic kings and cities and the traditional friendship with Athens are evident. The ancient sources and the inscriptions discovered allow a reconstruction of one of the most important periods of Paeonian history.

The participation of Audoleontos in the events related to Macedonia and Athens is confirmed in the first decade of the 3rd century B.C. During these years Antigonus Gonatas captured the Pyran port and several smaller fortresses in Attica, and Athens was threatened with starvation. Audoleontos sent wheat as aid to the Athenians through the smaller ports of eastern Attica. As a result of this aid, the Athenians granted civil rights to Audoleontos and his successors, and also honoured him with a golden wreath and a bronze statue of the Agora in 289 B.C.
Audoleontos died in 286/5 B.C. and left the state in great danger. During his life time (286 B.C.) Lysimachus captured a part of Macedonia which was under Pyrrhus, and later aspired towards Paeonia, as well. Taking advantage of Audoleontos’s death, he promised Ariston, Audoleontos’s son, that he would place him on the Paeonian throne. However, during the crowning ceremony on the river Astibo, he was attacked by an army, and Ariston was forced to flee to Dardania. At this time the Dardanians probably seized Paeonian territory in the Skopje-Kumanovo region and as a result of this extension their territory bordered on that of Lysimachus (Macedonia).\(^{38}\)

After the death of Lysimachus in 281 B.C. Macedonia was ruled by Ptolemy Keraunos, who probably also represented a potential danger to Paeonia. The great invasion of the Celts/the Gauls from the Danube towards the south in 279 B.C. contributed to the collapse of Paeonia.\(^{39}\) The entire territory of Paeonia was overrun and could barely survive. After the Galic invasion the state was governed by Leon, probably the second son of Audoleontos, who succeeded in consolidating Paeonia and saving it from falling under Macedonian rule. He is mentioned in the inscriptions in Delphi and Olympia as the father of Dropion, and also on the bronze coins which he minted.\(^{40}\) The period of Leon’s reign cannot be determined with accuracy. We assume that he ruled the kingdom until the middle of the 3rd century B.C., when he was succeeded to the throne by his son Dropion. Dropion is mentioned as founder of the koion on an inscription from Olympia, and on the basis of the statue in Delphi dedicated to his grandfather Audoleontos.\(^{41}\)

The archaeological data referring to the Paeonian tribes begin from the Early Bronze Period in the space of the lower course of the Axios. According to Heurtley’s research of the sites of Vardino, Vardarovca, Kilindir and others, he recognized a general change in the period from 2500 to 2000 B.C. Heurtley connected the pottery discovered to the one from northwest Anatolia and Troy. Mellaart, who intensively researched the territory of western Anatolia, has also pointed to the arrival of the proponents of the new culture of Asia Minor on the Balkan Peninsula at the end of III milenium. On the basis of their conclusions, Hammond writes about the settlers from Asia Minor in the territory of lower Axios in the Early Heladic Period.\(^{42}\) After these settlements during the developed Bronze Age, the region of lower Macedonia shows a certain connection (according to the finds from Kastanas) with the appearance of the Balkan and Lower Danubian complex.\(^{43}\) The same effects are noticed in the Late Bronze period in the regions of north and east Macedonia. The period of transition from the Bronze to the Iron Age, 13th-12th century B.C. in the researched sites in the lower course of the Axios shows an influence that originated from the north and an infiltration of
elements of a new culture (burials in urns). However, they did not change the composition of the population.\textsuperscript{44}

In the Iron Age the regions of the upper course of the Axios and the lower course of the Bregalnitsa were under a direct influence of the material culture from the north regions, while the regions to the south of Demir Kapia were influenced by the Hellenic south. The manner of burials under tumuli in the Iron Age is a characteristic feature of a wider Balkan territory. The ritual was also common on the Paconian territory and is found in lower Macedonia, Pelagonia and in the valley of the Bregalnitsa. In the later period, the 7th century B.C., the territories to the south of Demir Kapia were under a direct influence from the south, and are characterized by cist burials. Verification for these conclusions is found in the researched material culture in these territories. The pottery, which is one of the most frequent finds, bears the features of certain territories. However, the bronze finds i.e. the so called "Macedonian bronze" are a feature specific of the whole Paconian territory, to a greater or a smaller degree, they follow the other finds on almost all the researched sites. Thus, the discovery of these finds in the upper, the middle and the lower course of the Axios and in the Bregalnitsa valley makes this space a unique Paconian territory during the Iron Age.\textsuperscript{45}

In the period from the 6th century B.C. onwards the most important discovery is the necropolis in Syndos, because, according to the sources, in the 6th century B.C. these territories were still Paconian. The finds from the period from 540 to 510 B.C. show the features and differences from the finds from the 5th century B.C. which are connected with the Classical Greek influence. There is no doubt that these graves belonged to the Paconian population, and the ones that follow after the year 500 B.C. and later to the Macedonians. The wealth of the graves speaks of the power of the Paconians.\textsuperscript{46} In the 6th century B.C. the influence from the Hellenic south is very intense on the Paconian territory up to Demir Kapia. A century later the territories of the upper course of the Strymon, which were inhabited by the Paconian tribes of Laiaioi and Agrianes, become quite interesting. The manner of building and fortifying the structures in this region is similar to some structures in the vicinity of Skopje, which shows a certain uniformity of this region during the 5th and the 4th centuries B.C.\textsuperscript{47} In the period of the 5th-4th century the high level of Hellenization of the higher classes of Paeonia is reflected in the Attic pottery and the jewellery from the Chalcidice workshops imported in the regions north of Demir Kapia.

Finds imported from the Hellenic south were also discovered in the vicinity of Skopje (Zdanecc). They show that the influence from the south was definitely Hellenic and they cannot be separated from the finds of the southern Paconian territories.\textsuperscript{48} The recent archaeological research raised the problem of the
expansion of the Paeonians northward, i.e. the determination of the northern Paeonian borderline. The results from the research in the territory of the upper Strymon and the upper Axios have shown that the Hellenic import and the Hellenic influence on the local products among the finds from these regions are present. These facts were not known until last few decades. The similarity of the buildings in the region of the upper Strymon and the upper Axios should once again be stressed, and should not be treated as coincidental.

The supposition that Paeonia extended further north to the Taor gorge, can be considered a fact. For one thing, the high level of Hellenization in the 4th century B.C. has been confirmed with finds from many sites in the vicinity of Skopje, i.e. pottery with characteristic forms, which according to the manner of production was probably an Attic import or a local product made after models from the south. The metal finds and the jewellery also point to the production in the workshops of Chalcidice.

This way of life suddenly stopped at the beginning of the 3rd century B.C. and there were many reasons for it, one of them being the expansion of the Dardanians on the territory of Kosovo and Metohia and the valley of the East Morava, which belonged to them in the 4th century B.C. It is evident that towards the end of the 4th century B.C. a certain kind of life with that Hellenization came to an end, even as far as north as the site of Krshevica near Vranje. Due to the lack of finds from the beginning of the 3rd century B.C. in the Skopje-Kumanovo region, it can be concluded that these territories were taken by the Dardanians after the death of Audoleontos. This life style was never restored, not even in the following centuries, and practically there are no finds of material culture on this space until the arrival of the Romans.

We completed the review of the material culture from the 5th to the 4th century B.C. on Paeonian territory. The end of the 4th and the beginning of the 3rd century B.C. is a period of intense Hellenization of Paeonia. On the wider Paeonian territory, including Pelagonia, there is presence of imports from the Hellenic south. The sculptures, reliefs and plastics discovered on these territories speak sufficiently of the Hellenization of these areas. The objects were produced by Attic artists or by artists from some centres in lower Macedonia. The pottery, one of the most frequent finds, is rather unified. Besides the imported pottery, the grey local one is the most common type, the shapes of which follow the Hellenistic models. A large number of finds from these regions (sculpture, reliefs and jewelry) belong to the later Hellenistic period, and therefore are a part of the Macedonian Hellenistic culture, and not of the Paeonian one. However, we can conclude that the period at the end of the 4th and the beginning of the 3rd century...
B.C. was the period of a total Hellenization of the Paeonian territory, which was completed in the 3rd century B.C.

The mintage of coins represents a very important feature of the Paeonian tribes, and all information concerning the Paeonians is most often connected to the numerous finds of their coins. The quality of the coins left no ground for the assumption that Paeonian coins could be ranked among barbarian minting. According to their style and standard, they are close to the mintage of the Hellenistic cities and dynasties. The mintage of coins has a long tradition among the Paeonian tribes. Starting from the 6th century B.C. with the mintage of the Paeonian tribe Derones and the very small, but important minting of the other Paeonian tribes, we come to the mintage of the Paeonian kingdom, i.e. to the mintage of Lykkeius, Patraos, Audolcontos and Dropion. But the most interesting topic seems to be the problem of Paeonian ethnogenesis. Today many studies have been written about the language, onomastics and the ethnogenesis of paleo Balkan tribes including the Paeonians.

The classical authors refer to the Paeonians as different from the Illyrians and the Pelasges. Homer connected them with the Pelagonians, while Strabo considered them to be akin to the Phrygians and the Pelagonians.

The classical authors connect the Paeonians with many tribes from this territory. They have often been placed in the context of the Hellenic tribes, due to the closeness of their territories and due to their intensive early Hellenization. On the other hand, there are genealogies which link the Paeonians with the Illyrian tribes.

The historians and linguists of the 19th and the 20th centuries have been faced with the problem of the ancestry of the Paeonians. The ethnic origin and the language of the Paeonian tribes have once again divided scholars in their opinions. The largest group of authors accept the Illyrian descent of the Paeonians. The other group, especially the Bulgarian linguists and historians of the second half of the 20th century, support the Thracian origin of the Paeonian tribes. There is a certain number of historians who consider that the Paeonians belonged to the Greek speaking group, namely to the wider Hellenic sphere. After the most recent researches, some authors have supported the Phrygian part in the origin of the Paeonians.

The most known population in the south part of the Central Balkans were ancient Macedonians. We known almost everything about Macedonian history from 5th c. B.C. on, about Macedonian royal house organization of army and state and Macedonian way of life. But we do not know much about ancient Macedonians in the earlier period of their history i.e. in the Transitional Period and in the developed Iron Age. They were most probably formed during the Early Iron
Age from the populations that had already inhabited the territory on the south part of the Central Balkans and from those arriving there during the Transitional Period.

The material culture of ancient Macedonians differs from the Brygian and the Illyrian cultures in the small number of finds of matt-painted geometric pottery, as well as in the different types of weaponry. All these differences could be seen in the necropolis of Vergina.

It can be supposed that the Vergina tumuli could be connected with the ancient Macedonians for the period of the Iron Age. The arrangement of the graves in the tumuli point to the relationship with the Bryges in the burial customs. But the finds of fibuli are more frequent than pins, matt-painted geometric pottery is very rare and the armament as spears and swords is not found in the same graves. It points to complex military organizations different from the Bryges and the Illyrians.

The territory of Macedonia was inhabited not only by ancient Macedonians but also by the Paeonian and Brygian tribal communities, and by some other kindred ethnic communities, already mentioned in the Iliad. There was also the tribal organization of the Pelagonians, connected to the Paeonians through the hero-eponym Pelagon. We read about them also in the historical sources from the period of the 4th century B.C. Thus, we learn from a document that in 365/364 B.C. a Pelagonian basileus received an Athenian proxenia whereas the inscription from 363/362 refers to Menelaus Pelagon, the euergetes of Athens. In all likelihood, in the following twenty or thirty years Pelagonia became part of the Paeonian Kingdom and it is no longer mentioned in historical sources. It was during Roman times that Pelagonia appears again in written documents. From an archeologic point of view, the region embracing Pelagonia and Lyncus was a place where different ethnic communities mingled, but they were Hellenized rather early.

The southernmost parts of the F.J. Republic of Macedonia, those to the south of the Pelagonians were inhabited by the Lyncestae. In the 5th century B.C. Lyncus was independent, although the powerful Macedonian Kingdom was spreading in its neighbourhood. Arrhabaeus, the ruler of Lyncus, fought in 423 B.C. against the Athenian military leader, Brasidas and against the Macedonian King Perdiccas II and the Illyrians. Lyncus had another ruler also called Arrhabaeus who lived during the reign of Macedonian king Archelaius, which is the time when Lyncus together with its allies - the Illyrians and King Sirra, again fought against Macedonia. Early in the 4th century, Lyncus waged a war against another Macedonian king, Amintas III. After these events, Lyncus and the Lyncestae no longer appeared in the historical sources.
Besides the Bryges, the Enheleii and the Dassaretii are also mentioned by classical authors as inhabitants of the southwestern part of the F.J. Republic of Macedonia.

The Enheleii and the Bryges were the earliest instance of two communities living in the southwest part of the F.J. Republic of Macedonia. According to Hecateus, in the 6th century the Enheleii occupied the southernmost Illyrian space, neighbouring on the Chaones. However, later authors point to the area around Lake Lychnidus as their habitat. Sources indicate that being banished from Thebes, Cadmus the Phoenician, founder of this city, and his wife Harmonia fled to the Enheleii and founded a dynasty there.

The ethnic origin of the Enheleii is still unclear, since despite the fact that a large number of authors consider them as Illyrian, classical written tradition treats them as different from the Illyrians. Nor has their material culture been clearly defined, the main reason being that neither the geographical area nor the culture of the larger Brygian and Paeonian communities have yet been defined.

The situation of the tribal organization of Dassaretii is almost the same. They appear in sources as late as the Hellenistic Period, i.e. at the end of the 3rd and the beginning of the 2nd century B.C. This is the time when the districts of Dassaretia and Lychnis and the city of Lychnidus were mentioned for the first time. The late mention of the Dassaretii in sources led some authors to associate them with certain tribal organizations that had appeared in the neighbourhood earlier, such as the Sessaretti and the Dexarii, though these were rather far away from the Dassaretia, which lay around the rivers of Osim and Devol. In Roman times the territory of Dassaretia spread from Epirus to the Partinii and the Penestii in the north and to Macedonia in the east. The capital of Dassaretia and the Dassaretii was Lychnidus. Their origin is uncertain. Many consider them to be an Illyrian tribe, but in all likelihood they were Illyrianized later, during the great Illyrian expansion, same as the Enheleii and the Dardanians. With the exception of a few inscriptions that contain their name, the archeologic material from the area they inhabited stays within the frame of the Roman provincial culture of that time.

The Penestii who have been located to the north of the Dassaretii, were most probably an Illyrian tribe that occupied the areas around and between Debar and Kichevo in western part of present day F.J. Republic of Macedonia. They are mentioned during the third war between Rome and Macedonia in 169 B.C, in the descriptions of the battles fought by Macedonian king Perseus around the Penestian city of Uscana. However, their locality has never been precisely defined. We do not have any further details about their history and their life, nor do we know when they appeared and how long they existed in this area. From archeologic point, the territory they occupied has not yet been sufficiently
researched, either. Both, when they were inhabited by the above tribal organizations and when they entered the Macedonian Kingdom, the west parts of the F.J. Republic of Macedonia were in constant contact with the Illyrian Kingdom, either as allies or as enemies.

In the period between the 4th and the 2nd century B.C., the space of northeastern Macedonia to the east of the Dardanians belonged to the Paeonian tribe of Agrianes. They appeared on the scene during the reign of Alexander III and are mainly associated with Alexander's campaign against the Tribaloi in 335 B.C. We learn from written sources that the Agrian King Langar was an ally to Alexander III. At Alexander's request, he defeated the Autariatai.68

After Langar's death the Agrian archers - acontisti - took part in Alexander's eastern campaign as mercenaries and fought in many battles during the whole Hellenistic Period. The Agrianes are likely to have remained independent until Audoleontos's rule; thereafter they entered the Paeonian Kingdom.69

The other Paeonian tribal community in the upper part of the river Strymon, the Laeaei, probably stayed outside the geographic frame of the present F.J. Republic of Macedonia. In written sources they appear only in Thucydides's History in connection with Sitalk's campaign against Macedonia in 424 B.C.70 However, we know nothing about their kings or about any important events of their history. All we have are coins produced by them,71 which indicates that they had an advanced economy during the 5th century B.C. and that they had acquired the achievements of the developed south.

The most important result of the study of the Paleo-Balkan populations is the evidence that the Bryges were a component element of the later ethnic communities of Paeonians, ancient Macedonians, Dassaretii and of Edones and Mygdonians in the south east part of Macedonia. Even the early Bronze Age Paeonian population was closely connected with the Bryges. Paeonian linguistics and onomastics are characterized with many glosses and names of Brygian origin, which indicates that the Bryges were the substratum of the Paeonian ethnic development.

The ancient Macedonians, whose history can be followed only after 700 B.C., were most probably formed during the Early Iron Age from populations that had already inhabited the territory and from those arriving there during the Transitional Period. Their onomastic and linguistic remains point to their contacts with the Brygian substratum; in addition, the fact that they later inhabited the territory that used to belong to the Bryges also shows that the ethnogenesis of the ancient Macedonians is interwoven with Brygian features.

The Dassaretii are rather enigmatic. For a long time scholars considered them to be of Illyrian descent. Having directly inherited the Brygian space, the
Dassaretii also inherited some Brygian ethnic elements. The later Illyrian expansion into their space brought the Illyrianization of the Dassaretii and as such they were presented by classical authors.

This study has confirmed the Bryges as a part of the Balkan ethnic map, a link between the populations inhabiting the south end of the central Balkan area. In the following centuries the populations of Paeonians, ancient Macedonians and Dassaretii developed in their own specific ways, which resulted in the establishment of separate ethnic communities in this area.

Until now archeology has paid little attention to the problem of the ethnicity of the Bronze Age cultural groups on Balkan soil or to the relation of the material culture of a given area to a population that inhabited that same space at a later period. A study in this field was usually based on the available archeologic material, which never offered sufficient proof to determine the ethnic character of the population occupying that particular area. A multidisciplinary research, which makes use of all relevant facts offered by linguistics (mainly onomastics) and history, places archeologic evidence in a more precise chronologic and geographic frame, thus enabling us to associate the populations inhabiting this area during the Bronze Age with the tribal communities from historical times.

In this way, the result of archeological, historical and linguistic studies on the Bryges have helped the completion of the picture of this population that had long played a marginal role in scientific literature.

The Bryges sprung from a population that had arrived in the area during the Early Bronze Age, which made it possible for them to enter the ethnogenesis of a number of other populations in the same area. The Bryges, who, unfortunately for modern researches, emigrated to Asia Minor very early and are only incidently mentioned in historical literature from classical times as inhabitants of this space, have once again been brought back to the Balkans with the help of this analysis. The large Brygian population disappeared from the Balkans at the beginning of Iron Age II, but their language and onomastics, as well as elements of their material culture underlay the cultures of the ancient Macedonians, Paeonians and Dassaretii, who, thus, have a common Brygian ethnic element in their ethnogenesis.

NOTES

1. Eugamon Telegonia (Proclus Chrest. lib II);
2. Herod. VI, 45; VII, 73, 185; Strab. VII, 7, 8; App. B.C. II, 29; Pseud. Scymnos 434;
3. Herod. VII, 73;
4. J. N. Svoronos, 1919 (reprint 1979), 178-181;
5. Arg. IV, 330;
6. II, 862; III, 184-189; III, 404; X, 432; XVI, 701, XVIII, 288-292; XXIV, 545;
12. C. Brixle, M. Lejeune, 1984;
13. L. Zgusta, 1964;
15. M. Garašanin, 1988, 9-22;
16. F. Papazoglu, 1964, 49-75; 1974; 59-73; 1979, 153-169;
17. M. Garašanin, 1983, 463-470;
18. About the Early Bronze Age in south part of the Centre Balkan including Albania see M. Garašanin, 1988, 9-76; E. Petrova, 1996, Bryges on the central Balkan in II-I Millen B.C.;
20. M. Garašanin, 1988, 30, Map 3;
22. A. Hochtetter, 1982, 201-219;
25. See foot note 19 and 21;
27. F. Prendi, 1984, 19-34;
28. II. II, 848-850, X, 428-9, XIV, 287-291, XVII, 348-351, XXI, 139-187; 209-293;
31. Thuk. II, 96, 97, 99; 4 Arr. Anab. I, 5, 1-5; I 6, 6, I 8, 2-3; ; Ptol. III, 13, 27, 28;
Herod. V, 15, 16. VII, 113; Strab., VII, frg. 38, VII. frg. 11, 14, 41, VIII, 5, 7;
32. Herod. V, 15, 16;
33. Diod. XVI, 2, 1-6; 3, 1-6, 4; XVI, 22, 3; M.N.Tod, 1968, No 143, 132-133; No. 157;
34. IG, II2 127; Sylloge I², 169; Curt. Ruf. IV, 9, 24-25; Plut. Alex. 39; H. Gaebler, 1935;
35. 1. Merker 1965, 45;
36. Diod, III, 30,3; XX, 19,1; Sylloge I², 371; F. Papazoglu, 1969, 87-89;
37. Sylloge I³, 371, M. Cary 1969, 46-49; Plut. Pyrrhos, 9;
38. Polyaen. IV, 12, 31;
39. Liv. XXX VIII, 16, 1;
40. Sylloge I³, 394; I. Pouilloux, 1950, 22-33; J. Bousquet, 1952, 136-140; H. Gaebler, 1935, 206;
41. Paus. X, 13, 1; also see foot note 12 and M. Cary, 1969, 145-146;
42. A. Heurtley, 1939, 118-121, 127-128; I. Mellaart, 1958, 9-33; N.G.L. Hammond, 1972, 234-5, 296-8;
43. M. Garašanin, 1988, 26;
45. M. Garašanin, 1988, 47-49, M. Garašanin, 1983, 797, 787; 791;
46. Katalog, Sindos, 1985;
49. See footnote 19; also A. Radunčeva, 1980, 11-51;
50. I. Mikulić, 1980, 17-34;
51. V. Bitrakova-Grozdanova, 1987, 56-57, 68-75; V. Sokolovska, 1986;
52. About the Paeonian mintage see B.V. Head, 1911; J.N. Svoronos, 1919 (reprint 1979); H. Gaebler, 1935; H.G.L. Hammond, 1979;
55. II. XXI, 140-142;
56. IG. II τ 1, 190;
57. M.N. Tod, 1968, No 143 (132-133);
58. Liv. XXVI, 25,3; XLV, 30,6;
60. Arist. Polit. V, 8, 1151b;
61. Thuk. II, 99, 4; Her. VI, 44, VII, 185, Diod. XVI, 2, 1-6, 3, 1-6, 4;
62. Hecat. F. Jacoby I, 156, Her. IX, 43, Pans IX, 5, 3; From the modern authors R. Katić, 1977, 5-82;
63. About this legend wrote several authors: P. Lisičar, 1953, 245-261; R. Katičić, 1977, 5-82; M. Šašelj-Kos, 1993, 113-136;

64. Her. IX, 43, Paus. IX, 5, 3;

65. Strab. VII, 5, 2; Liv. XXVIII, 32, 9; XXXI, 33, 1-3; XLV, 26; Palyb. V, 108, 1-2; App. Ill.2;

66. About Lychnidus and Dassaretia F. Pappazoglu 1957, 75; F. Papazoglu 1985, 99-120;

67. Liv. XVIII, 21, 1;

68. Arr. Anab. I 5;

69. Arr. Anab I, 11, 1; II 7, 5, Diod XVII, 17,4; Curt. Ruf. IV, 13; M. Launey, 1949, 402-407;

70. Thuk II, 96, 97;


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Sergej SAPRYKIN

1. Thrace under king Rhoemetalces I (11 B.C. - 13 A.D.) was turned into an allied and vassal state of Rome. Roman positions became stronger in the time of King Cotys III (13-19 A.D.). During his reign Rome tried to connect more firmly the three friendly states - Pontus, Bosporus and Thrace. The Roman government put there on the throne related rulers, from one dynasty (Pontus - Pythodoris; Thrace - Cotys III and Antonia Tryphaena; Bosporus - Aspourgus and Hypaipyris, probably (?) a daughter of Cotys and Tryphaena). Rome's idea consisted in making a network of vassal kingdoms in the Black Sea Region against Parthia and the nomads, using the reinforcement of its positions there. Enthronement of relative rulers allowed Rome to strengthen the influence of Greek-Roman culture in these states, particularly in Pontus and Thrace, to create the preconditions for turning the kingdoms into Empire's provinces.

2. Consolidation of Roman power in Thrace and Bosporus was going on in parallel ways and by the same methods: after the death of Polemo I Aspourgos, Dynamis' and Asandros' son, put claims on the throne of Bosporus. But he didn't get Rome's permission to call himself a king. Having no desire to conflict with Bosporus and its inhabitants who did not want to live in the united Bosporo-Pontic kingdom, Rome had appointed to young Aspourgus (who was probably an archon) its tutors whose names are concealed in monograms on gold coins, struck in 8 B.C. - 13 A.D. Little later the same policy was conducted by the Romans in Thrace: after the murder of king Cotys III in 19 A.D. at the head of one of the country's part were put Cotys' children from Tryphaena - Rhoemetalces and Pythodoris the Younger who were ruling till 26 A.D. under the superintendence of Roman praetores Julius Procles and Tschellicinus Rufus together with L. Antonius Zeno.

3. Caligula continued with further gain in the policy of approaching of Thrace and Bosporus under Roman domination through its protégés on the throne: in 37 A.D. Rhoemetalces III was made king of Thrace, his brother Polemo II of Pontus was declared king of Bosporus. It was aimed at preparing a soil for final turning of both kingdoms into provinces. But these plans in Bosporus were ruined by Mithridates III, son of Aspourgus, who without Rome's approval ascended to the throne, having replaced his mother Hypaiperis, sister of king Rhoemetalces III of Thrace. Mithridates' independent policy and his military conflict with Rome postponed for some time the plans of turning Bosporus into a province of the Empire while in Thrace they were achieved in 46 A.D. But Cotys I of Bosporus
coming to power in 46 A.D. had predetermined a closer relationship of Bosporus and Rome. Under Nero it led to a practically full loss of independence. So the subduing of Thrace and Lower Danube Region by Rome in course of the 1st century B.C. - 1st century A.D. was accompanied by its more durable domination in the Kingdom of Bosporus.

Quelques concordances phraséologiques roumaino-albanaises

Grigore BRÂNCUȘ

Le roumain et l'albanais ont en commun, en dehors du fond lexical appartenant au substrat thraco-dace, nombre de mots et constructions phraséologiques qui expriment certains aspects mythologiques, croyances, coutumes populaires etc. Quelquefois les ressemblances concernent aussi les autres langues balkaniques, surtout le grec et le bulgare; cela veut dire que les formes sociales et culturelles, presque identiques, des peuples de la région des Balkans, ont pu créer, au cours de leur histoire, une forma mentis commune, réfléchie fidèlement dans la langue.

Dans quelques cas on peut supposer des réalités de la psychologie spécifique au monde thraco-dace et illyrien. On a cherché dans cette étude les suivantes unités lexicales: Babele (= les premiers jours de mars), Albele, Bunele (= les fées bienfaisantes), Ursitoarcele (= moira, parcae), oară (dans une expression comme: a-și veni în ori), Bubă (= monstre épouvantable), Statu-palmă-harbă-cot, Jumătate-de-om, Ochilă, Frumoasa pământului (= personnages des contes), firiat, surată, cale primară (= le premier chemin, après la noce, chez les parents), suflet (= âme), a lega (= lier), etc.
The Thracians in the context of the Palaeo-Balkan-Western Anatolian Community from the Mid-2nd to the Mid-1st millennium B.C.

Kalin POROŽANOV

1. According to the ancient written sources, in the 2nd-1st millenium B.C. the Thracian ethnic and cultural space comprised the eastern half of the Balkan Peninsula, many Aegean islands and Western Asia Minor, as follows:
   - in the eastern half of the Balkan Peninsula the Thracians were the most numerous ethnic and cultural massif that inhabited the territory between the rivers Dniestr and Dniepr in the northeast, the Carpathians in the north and the Aegean coast with its adjacent islands in the south;
   - in Hellas and the Aegean islands, including Crete, the Thracians lived together with the Achaeans/ Greeks and with other Palaeo-Balkan ethnonymic and ethnic communities, which became gradually Hellenized after the beginning of the 1st millenium B.C.;
   - in Northwestern Asia Minor, including along the Pontic, Propontic and Aegean coasts, the Thracians were an impressive ethnic and cultural massif, the Trojans being an essential part of it;
   - in Southwestern Asia Minor the Thracians coexisted mainly with the Phrygians and Karians, but also with other ethnonymic and ethnic communities.

2. The available onomastic data define as an Indo-European group the Palaeo-Balkan languages Phrygian, Karian, Pelasgian/ Thracian and Macedonian (?). These languages are geographically situated as follows: in Western Asia Minor - Karian, Phrygian, Pelasgian/ Thracian; in many of the Aegean islands, including Crete, and in Southeastern Europe - Pelasgian/ Thracian and Macedonian (?).

3. The archaeological monuments from settlements, sanctuaries and necropolises in Southeastern Europe and Western Asia Minor - on both sides of the Black Sea, the Sea of Marmara and the Aegean Sea - suggest closeness and similarities, but not identity (!), between the historical-geographical being, the economic and cultural behavioural stereotype and the religions of these people.
In fact, the written, onomastic and archaeological sources give the following indications:

First, the existence of a cultural and linguistic community between Karians, Phrygians, Pelasgian/Thracians and Macedonians (?). This community is localized in Western Asia Minor, in the Aegean Islands and in Southeastern Europe in the second half of the 2nd and the first half of the 1st millenium B.C. Therefore, it can be referred to as Palaeo-Balkan-Western-Anatolian, being naturally different from and not included in the group of Anatolian Indo-European languages.

Second, in this community only the massif of the Thracians is discovered in Southeastern Europe, as well as in the Aegean islands and in Western Asia Minor, i.e. the Thracians were the principal component of that community.

The Thracian king’s tomb (an attempt at a new interpretation)

Konstantin RABADŽIEV

In the proposed paper an attempt is made at a new interpretation of the Thracian tombs with possibilities for an access to the burial chamber under the burial mound: the approach to it (the dromos), discussed as an entrance leading to the dead, why not as an exit to the World of living in which the deified Ruler has had to return? The reasons for the "dromos" (for multiple and successive burials, as well as for memorial rituals performed in the sepulchre itself, as stated in modern literature) are discussed here on the basis of our knowledge about the Thracian burial practice and religious ideas. Thus the vault is interpreted as a heroon of the deified Ruler (a personal tomb): its architecture (plan and function) and decoration being subjected to the idea of divinization. In front of it (or on the mound above) the King had been honoured not as a political Leader (the Hellenistic fashion), but as a divinity to ensure Life and Prosperity in the Universe. The rituals inside the burial chamber I would rather connect with the new King’s initiation - as the only
one to pass the dromos in two directions: the road to the Death and back to the World of mortals.

Thus, all this is an attempt to generalise the religious ideas about immortality as part of King’s ideology and cult, while its unity in Thrace was due mainly to foreign political centres.

Lexicometry and interpretation.
Two synonymic pairs in Herodotus

Valeri RUSSINOV

Even the most serious etymological and lexicographic work can only give us a most general idea about the origin and the change of meaning of terms through time and genres. While interpreting certain texts (especially when it comes to excerpts) we are often inclined to use words and notions limited by our own present understandings. Therefore, while being aware of the differences of such notions as ‘folk’, ‘tribe’, ‘people’, ‘population’ and ‘nation’, we do often come upon their use at random in interpretation of ancient texts in modern languages, failing to apprehend their real contextual meaning and axiological charge in the time when they have been communicated. Such kind of confusions may raise problems in dealing with sources and give room to concerns in such a delicate matter as, say, “a national historical background” in the world we live in.

The aim of this paper is to present some results of a thorough contextual examination of two couples of words which seem to be ‘synonymic pairs’ - the nouns γένος vs. ἔθνος, and the verbs ὀλκέω vs. νέμωμαι, the last pair being often contextually linked to the first.

A full-scale analysis of contextual references is made for the “Histories” of Herodotus, with an account of frequencies of morphological forms, joined words and phrases and grouping of differences in meaning.

Some of the principal outcomes are that, at least in the time of Herodotus, an individual would never be identified through his (or her) ἔθνος,
but always through the γένος; that the first term is “subdivisive”, while the second one is “integrative” and classifying, and that the notion of an ἔθνος is far from the modern concepts of a ‘people’ or a ‘nation’. It is worthwhile to point out that such vast territorial, social and cultural identities as Scythians, Thracians, Persians and even Hellenes were not perceived with any notion close to the modern idea of a ‘people’, while being themselves subdivided in ἔθνος-es, with the differences of the meaning taken in account. The social-psychological binomial of “we - they” seems to be clearly expressed through the semantic opposition of γένος vs. ἔθνος.

As for the verbal pair of words, οἶκεω vs. νέμωμαι, the basic result of consideration is that the first one has a more spatial context, whenever applied to a kin, family, polis or any social group, while the second one is basically used in a context of obtaining a bigger part of territory and reigning in, thus evoking the idea of power and having a more political context. Thus it comes out that such patterns of misleading interpretations like “This tribe inhabits ...” applied to phrases containing the verb νέμωμαι have in most cases to be seriously reconsidered.

Relationship between Northwest Thracia and the Middle Danube Region during the Late Bronze Age

Tatiana ŠALGANOV

The relations between Northwest Thracia and the Middle Danube Region during the Late Bronze Age are described on the basis of one kind of objects - Brotleibidole, discovered on the territory of the encrusted ceramics culture on the Lower Danube.

The excavations of the Balei settlement in Bulgaria increased the number of the thirteen Brotleibidole which were known by that time on the territory of the culture with another six species. Except in Balei, Brotleibidole were also discovered in Ostrovul Mare, Romania (9 species), in Orshova, Yugoslavia (one), in Krbovo, Yugoslavia (one), in Banatska Palanka, Yugoslavia (one) and in At, close to Vrsac, Yugoslavia (one).
On the territory of culture *Brotlebidole* got spread during its classical phase (Br. B2 - Br. C) and now represent a chronologically younger group comparative to those from the Madyarovitze Culture (Br. A2 - Br. B1).

The newly discovered finds from Balei provide additional arguments to support the hypothesis of their Italian-Danubian origin. Those objects are one of the evidences for the existence of strong relations between culture and the cultures of the Middle Danube and Central Europe.

The "Scythian kings" and the Greek cities of Thracia Pontica

Margarita TAČEVA

The proposed paper is an attempt to find the useful correspondence between the historical, epigraphic and numismatic evidence of the existence of a Scythian kingdom in present-day Dobрудja in the last centuries of the 1st mill. B.C. The existence was based on the coins struck by Kanites, Sariakes, Akrosas, Ailios, Tanusas and Haraspes. The investigations of the sources by the author led her to the next point of view:

- The lack of state integration of the Scythians in the 2nd cent. B.C. inside the boundaries of today's Dobroudja. As it has already been proved for other colonies, during the Hellenistic period Histria, Tomis and Callatis bought also off their calm through coinage for the "barbarian" i.e. for the Scythian rulers in the hinterland.

- Ailios was a presumable Celtic ruler in the lands to the north of the Danube Delta at the end of the 3rd cent. B.C.; he was probably a successor of the Rhemaxos' power and drown by Kanites to Tomis, where he had to share power with Haraspes.

- Kanites was a Scythian king after the beginning of the 2nd cent. B.C. to the north of the Danube river; to the south his power extended as far as to the boundary Callatis/ Dionysopolis, where he coined; his subordinates (sons ?) Haraspes and Tanusas coined in Histria and in Tomis for a while.

- Sariakes was in the hinterland of Callatis, where the majority of his issues were minted, after 179 and before the middle of the 2nd cent. B.C. His...
issues struck in Histria must be the earliest and produced synchronously with those of Kanites and Akrosas.

- The distribution of the "Scythian" coins in the small coastal land between Callatis and Dionysopolis is probably due to the long presence of Sariakes in the area of Callatis.

Deux sanctuaires thraces du deuxième âge du Fer
de la Bulgarie de Sud

Milena TONKOVA

L'étude proposée a pour but de présenter les principaux résultats des fouilles de l'auteur sur deux sanctuaires thraces - l'un se trouvant haut dans la montagne et l'autre dans la plaine.


Le deuxième sanctuaire a un caractère tout a fait différent. C'est un énorme champ de fosses rituelles de la fin du Ve - la moitié du IVe siècle av. J.-C. qui se trouve près du village Glédacevo et dans la proximité de la ville de Radnevo, dans la Bulgarie du Sud. Les fosses ont des formes et dimensions différentes (de 0,50 à 3,00 m et une profondeur jusqu'au 2 m), certaines sont riches, d'autres presque sans trouvailles. Il y a des fosses avec un contenu homogène et d'autres qui ont une stratigraphie plus compliquée. Les offrandes sont les suivantes: des tessons de vases, des restes d'animaux, des cendres, différentes sortes d'argile, des pierres meulières, une fibule. Certaines fosses
ont une stratigraphie similaire, qui relève la suite des rites. Une des fosses a livré une découverte sensationelle - un sacrifice humain - le squelette d'une jeune femme tuée d'une grande pierre et entourée d'offrandes.

Tumular burials in Thrace and Moesia Inferior and the tumuli in other European provinces

Darina VĂLČEVA

In the first centuries A.D. the custom of burying the dead under tumular embankments revived. The Roman provinces map, especially the area along the Northern border of the Empire, is dotted with burial mounds. Moesia Inferior and particularly Thrace are among the regions of markedly high concentration of tumuli. Unfortunately, many of the results from Roman Age tumuli excavations have not been yet published, while most of the existing publications are in Bulgarian language and these are the most probable reasons why in the general surveys by a number of European scholars Thrace and Moesia Inferior are just cursorily mentioned as regions where the rite of tumular burials was practised but they invariably bring to the fore the lack of adequate information. For this reason a general review of the essential problems related to the Roman Age tumular burials in my opinion is an immediate and topical task.

The paper proposed deals with various aspects of the funeral practices represented in the tumuli of nowadays Bulgaria dating from the 1st - 4th centuries A.D. like the territorial distribution of tumuli and their place in the settlement structures of the provinces of Moesia Inferior and Thrace; typological diversity of the grave constructions and stratigraphic situation of the latter in the tumular embankments, the various modes of disposal of the dead, the repertoire, combination and disposition of the offerings in the graves, the presence of non sepulchral constructions and remains of different ritual performances either accompanying or following the burials, in or under the tumuli fillings. An attempt is made each of the above mentioned elements
of the burial rites to be, up to the possible extend, juxtaposed to the respective one in other Roman provinces.

On the basis of the analysis the old, wide spread consideration is confirmed that the burial mounds in the provinces of Thrace and Moesia Inferior reflects centuries long Thracian traditions which thanks to the economic stabilisation and prosperity in the late 1st and 2nd centuries A.D. experienced a new growth and unlike the situation in most of the other European provinces of the Empire were preserved in the course of the 3rd century and in individual more conservative regions were still practised even in the 4th century. Certainly, the inference should not be absolutised as it is beyond doubt that the external impulses conveyed within the context of the common economic, social and cultural processes in the Roman Empire were realised in some uniform sepulchral rites components manifested in the tumular burials in the European provinces.

Interactions in the Thracian-Phrygian cultural zone

Maya VASSILEVA

Recent progress in Phrygian studies changed the traditional view on the Thracian-Phrygian kinship and the Phrygian migration from Europe to Asia Minor. The archaeological investigations of the Propontis area, the linguistic studies of the so-called Western Phrygian inscriptions, as well as the careful analysis of the Greek literary sources, support the consideration of a Thracian-Phrygian cultural zone.

The earliest Greek written texts refer to Phrygia as a coastal land, and the Hellespontine zone is outlined as an important contact zone. Phrygian presence is attested in the Northwestern Asia Minor still in the time of the Persian rule, while the Phrygian funerary rite resembles more and more the Thracian burials. The closest parallels can be found in the 6th century B.C. Phrygian tumuli. Interactions can be followed later as well. The Hellenistic domed tombs which appeared in Mysia, Bithynia and Phrygia cannot be simply assigned to the Celtic invasion.
Cultural interactions can be defined on the linguistic level as well, considering onomastic and epigraphic data. The analysis of the Greek literary texts about king Midas suggests that this legendary figure arose from the Thracian-Phrygian zone. The parallels already drawn between the Thracian and Phrygian cult practices also reveal important traits in the cultural interactions.

The most active part of the Thracian-Phrygian cultural zone would comprise, besides the Propontis area, the Troad and later Bithynia (the Byzantion chôra). The zone of interactions was however, much larger.
The Balkan Campaign of Alexander the Great in 335 B.C.

Edmund F. BLOEDOW

An eminent modern critic has declared that "in this his first campaign Alexander exhibits the forethought with which he always prepared his military operations", and that "in other respects too we find in this Danube campaign, as in the following operations of 335 in Illyria and Greece, all the excellences of his strategy and tactics, which have made him one of the foremost commanders of all time" (Wilcken). This is not an exceptional view, but represents the *communis opinio* on this aspect of Alexander’s career.

A detailed examination, however, of the motive(s) for the campaign, the route selected, the crossing of the Haemus Range, Alexander’s encounter with the Triballians, his crossing of the Danube and the aftermath thereof will produce a very different picture from that articulated by Wilcken and virtually all other modern scholars.

For instance, hitherto there has been essentially uncritical speculations about the motive(s) behind this campaign, and very little research on the logistics of the famous crossing of the Haemus pass and also the crossing of the Danube. There are also significant problems associated with events following the crossing of the Danube that bear a fresh analysis.

From such a study it will be demonstrated that this first campaign of Alexander the Great has been considerably overrated.
Balkanic languages could be considered as part of a more extensive group of languages known as Circumpontic. Persian reveals itself as one of these Circumpontic idioms, sharing some basic features with the Balkanic linguistic group such as: subjunctive instead of infinitive, analytic future tense constructed with the verb khāstan ‘to wish’. One of the main obstacles in determining a substrate genetic link between Persian and the Balkanic languages is the almost total absence of a definite article. It is curious that linguists have not remarked that vestiges of a definite postposed article are identifiable in restricted relative clauses. Indeed only in these clauses an ī ending is attached to the antecedent, e.g.:

kitāb-ī ke kharīdīd be man bedehīd  
give me the book that you bought me.

It is true that we may also find an indefinite particle "i" which comes from the numeral yek ‘one’, as in dustī ‘a certain friend’. In my opinion the ī ending of the restrictive relative clauses cannot be identified with the indefinite particle ī since they have opposite semantic values.

If my observations are right, then the last obstacle in considering Persian as substrate-linked with Paleo-Balkanic languages is put aside and the very existence of the Circumpontic linguistic group is thus proved. Another important consequence is that the suggested fossilised definite article coincides with the Albanian definite article and the nominative case marker of Georgian, thus bringing forth new arguments in favour of Ivănescu’s idea that the substrate Circumpontic language was Caucasian, such as Georgian. One last consequence is that, by including Persian in the Circumpontic group, we may infer that its related conservative idiom spoken in a mountainous region, Kurdish, might be Circumpontic too, as it preserves many features characteristic to the Circumpontic group, including the postposed definite article. It is also striking that this language witnesses the case function inversion according to the verb aspect, which is a specifically Caucasian feature. This proves once again that Gheorghe Ivănescu was right.
Quoique la céramique d’importation soit répandue sur l’entier territoire de la forteresse, il faut attirer l’attention sur deux zones, celle sacrale et à la palissade, où ladite céramique est très fréquente. D’une importance particulière est la zone du sanctuaire, où se retrouve une entière agglomération céramique. Ici, on a trouvé 5 manches estampillées et des fragments des pots en argile pour les parfums.

La grande quantité céramique découverte dans la zone sacrale peut être expliquée, hypothétiquement, par les offrandes des sacrifices faites dans cette zone, ou bien par la présence des marchands grecs, fréquentant l’habitat. Il faut aussi mettre en évidence la zone de la palissade, où on a trouvé autres 8 manches estampillées et un grand nombre de colletettes et des pieds d’amphores. En prenant en considération le relief de l’habitat, il est fortement possible que dans cet endroit, sur la rivière Răut, stationnaient les marchands grecs.

Cultural relations between the Late Bronze and Early Hallstattian societies in the Carpathian-Danubian-North Pontic region according to the data on metal artifacts

Valentin DERGACEV

The metal artifacts and wares, connected with their manufacture are of a particular interest among the various categories of the archaeological sources for the study of cultural interactions between the societies in the Carpathian-Danubian-North Pontic region during the Late Bronze - Early Iron periods. The special analysis, made on about 3000 articles, known at present, allows it to elicit the following main horizontal and vertical relations which existed between the Noua-Sabatinovka-Belozerka-Chișinău-Corlăteni cultures, as well as the cultures from other regions.

In the Late Bronze period the main cultural relations reduce to the Noua-Sabatinovka-Coslogeni triangle. These relations are of a inadequate but mutual character and they extend to a lesser or greater extent to all the aspects, connected with the casting technique, reproduction and circulation of the
functional and typological series of articles. This process includes two main qualitatively different chronological stages.

The short period (it can be dated into Late BC - Early BD), that is mostly unilateral, is related to the influences of the Golovourovo-Labojkovo metal working centres of the Middle and Lower Dniepr zones. Besides a whole number of industrial and technological innovations this influence is confirmed by a series of typically Eastern articles, which are known on one part in the Noua culture area within the Middle Interfluve of the Nistru, Prut and Siret and on the other part within the Lower Danube zone in the Coslogeni culture area and outside it.

The Noua-Sabatinovka relations are dominant during the second stage (BD - NA, periods). They are of a mutual character, but on the basis of various parameters. The priority belongs to the influence of the Noua-East Carpathian metal working centres: those of Bârlad, Suceava, Neamț, which are rich in raw materials. The original shape of their articles, as well as the shapes, borrowed from their Eastern neighbours circulated freely in the Noua culture area as well as in that of the Sabatinovka culture. The role of the Eastern Krasnij Majak and Novokiev centres is most vividly expressed in the imitations and production of certain specific weapon forms, borrowed by Noua handicraftsmen and population. The Lower Danube factor, represented mainly by Dichovo metal working centre was the second important one for the period in question. Its unilateral influence on the Sabatinovka culture was completely documented with the articles from the Dancu, Chișinău, Orekhovo sites and with other finds. Certain mutual contacts are fixed between the Lower Danube's population and the Noua culture carriers.

The relations of the Sabatinovka population with Transylvania where the Eastern types are represented by single finds and the so called Transylvanian articles, known in the north-western Black Sea littoral, that originate according to our data most probably from the Neamț centre in the East Carpathian zone, are very weakly expressed during the Late Bronze period. The relations between the Noua culture carriers from the East Carpathian zone and the Central Transylvanian population are treated in a special way, but this problem calls for special clarifications. At last certain unilateral influences, which are very weakly expressed on the whole are marked on the part of the Upper Tisza metal working centres. Very rare articles of this centre are represented in the sites of BD period and somewhat oftener in those of the NA I period. In addition to it they clearly spread through the Upper Prut and Nistru further to South and South-East.
The intensive cultural interrelations between the Late Bronze societies of the North-Western Black Sea littoral and the Carpathian-Danubian ones interrupt abruptly with the transition to the Early Iron Age, when the Sabatinovka culture develops into the Belozerka culture and the Noua culture is replaced by the cultures of the Early Thracian Hallstatt with the Chişinău-Corlăteni and Gáva-Holihrady monuments.

The metal working centres, including the complexes of the Novo Alexandrovka type and somewhat later those of Zavadovka type continue to develop in the North-Western Black Sea littoral despite of the cultures change and they display their genetic relationship with the traditions of the preceeding Sabatinovka period. The volume of the articles to be casted in these centres reduces considerably due obviously to the lack of raw material. However it is principal and important that the articles, which are typical for them, are not met, except for rare cases, to the West from the borders of Belozerka culture area that is to say in the Carpathian Danubian zone. This circumstance, chemical composition of its articles and a considerable volume of the Caucasian origin articles within the Belozerka culture area clearly testify to the fact that their relations are not oriented to the West, but mostly to the East or South-East.

These observations are completely confirmed by the materials of the East Carpathian zone and Transylvania, where, however, the after-effects of the cultures show a number of specific features.

The earlier existing Noua metal working centres in the Seret river Valley stop to function completely in the East Carpathian area as the Noua culture is outsted and the Chişinău-Corlăteni culture spreads, although certain articles continue to be casted in the settlements. The earlier existed original types of articles disappear together with it.

A metal working centre continue to be formed (?) or is formed in the Upper Prut and Nistru zone. But here the local original types of the BD Bronze period, which are completely replaced by the articles of the Upper Tisza shapes or more wide spread Middle Danube samples, are observed to be gradually ousted as well as in the Central Transylvania as the Gáva-Holihrady culture spreads beginning already from the NA period after a short crisis. These types of articles turn out very quickly to be the leading ones and spread over the whole territory of Transylvania and East Carpathian zone, including the area of Chişinău-Corlăteni culture. It should be noted that like the articles of the North Black Sea centres, the Transylvanian bronze articles do not spread beside the Eastern borders of the cultures of the Early Thracian Hallstatt and are very rarely found in the area of the North-Western Black Sea littoral.
The studies of the metal working and the circulation of the metal articles of the Late Bronze - Early Iron periods as well as those of the Eneolithic convince that despite of a certain autonomous character their spreading follow the general cultural laws, where the ethno- or cultural-genetical relations are the determining factor.

A propos de certaines interprétations données au calendrier géto-dace

Alexandru FURTUNĂ

Les avis sont partagés en ce qui concerne les divisions saisonnières du calendrier géto-dace. On a pensé soit qu'il comportait quatre saisons astronomiques et deux climatiques, inégales, celles-ci rattachées probablement aux travaux agricoles (Popa, 1966); soit qu'il se divisait en deux parties égales (Daicoviciu, 1972; Antonescu, 1984); soit qu'il se composait de trois saisons: hiver, printemps, automne (Bobancu, Samoilă, Poenaru, 1980). Donc, pas d'unanimité à cet égard, ni même un point de vue dominant, bien que plusieurs peuples européens et orientaux aient été adeptes de la division bipartite. Les équinoxes, celui du printemps et celui de l'automne, représentaient une sorte de "seuil", marquant le passage d'une activité à une autre, une fin et un commencement du "monde" nouveau (surtout l'équinoxe du printemps), aussi s'accompagnaient-ils de cérémonies et rituels de caractère magique-religieux (Rodean, 1984).

Ni la romanisation des Géto-Daces, ni la christianisation de cette population romanisée ne devaient amener des changements essentiels dans leur façon de concevoir le temps, puisque le calendrier du peuple roumain, tout comme celui des Géto-Daces, demeure divisé en deux saisons climatiques (avril-octobre et octobre-avril) et quatre saisons astronomiques. Dans le calendrier populaire roumain, la fonction de borne délimitant les deux saisons climatiques est assumé par les fêtes de Saint-Georges (23 avril) et de Saint-Démètre (26 octobre). Les deux saints respectifs figurent ensemble dans certaines icônes (s'agirait-il d'une superposition chrétienne du culte des
sporadiques et les mouvements de groupes, avec pour résultat la naissance de faciès locaux de caractère composite.

Long before Rig Veda

Igor MANZURA

Hymns of Rig Veda were one of the main sources for the Dumezil's reconstruction of the tripartite social structure of the Proto-Indo-European society. According to Dumezil, they as well as other evidences in various forms reflect the distribution of social roles or functions, the dynamics of their interrelationships. The latters varied significantly incarnating in numerous oppositions between different social strata. Traces of such oppositions may be seen in the mythological narratives devoted to the combats between Indra and Namuci, Indra and Vritra, Trita Aptya (Indra) and Visvarupa, etc. which communicate collision between the first and second functions, between priests and warriors or, in a broader sense, between sacral and secular authorities. Similar motives are later evidenced in the Roman history (episodes with Horatii and Curiatii, Tullus Hostilius and Mettius Fufettius) stretching to the Medieval period and even as far as the modern Russian history (Dumezil, Littleton, Erlikh). Recent archaeological discoveries in south-eastern Europe allow to trace back origins of this mythological subject supporting the primary Dumezil's interpretation and validity of his tripartite system as a whole. Now, there is a possibility to imagine how long before Rig Veda the myth was born.

Basic data for such an archaeological reconstruction come from the Aeneolithic cemetery excavated in 1991 near the village of Giurgiułęști (the Lower Danube, Republic of Moldova) (Haheu, Kurchatov 1993). After the absolute chronology the cemetery may be placed in the 3rd quarter of the 5th millennium B.C. Precise cultural attribution of the site is still vague but generally it can be related to the circle of Danubian-Carpathian agricultural communities.

The cemetery consisted of five graves and two cult structures. All burials had very rich grave goods consisting predominantly of the symbols of authority. The major position of the site was occupied by the burial of a young man (20-25 years old). The grave contained among other inventory an expressive weaponry set including copper, flint, horn and composite arms. Additionally, it was accompanied with sacrificial animals (bulls and horses) which are traditionally considered to be the offerings of the Asvins.
Another three graves connected with small children also show marked distinctions. First of them had flint knives arranged in the interment quite similarly to the disposition of the weaponry set in the warrior's grave. Moreover the longest knife was held in the right hand of the deceased like a real dagger. The second grave contained real tools such as copper needle, stone adze and flint core. The third grave was completely destroyed in ancient times. A clay vessel, the only object of such a kind in the cemetery, was found in the grave. One can suppose that the children's graves due to their peculiarities may well symbolise three basic social functions of the Proto-Indo-European society, the first being related to the warriors, the second - to the cultivators, the third - to the priests since the cup is regarded to be the attribute of the first function. The last (fifth) grave didn't have any traits of a definite social group.

When comparing some elements of the narratives mentioned above and those of the mortuary ritual at Giurgiulești fairly interesting parallels may be observed. Two details are especially important. Firstly, there are very close links between the gods of the second and third functions. For example, the Asvins help to Indra in slaying Namuci and often accompany him in other battles. Secondly, dismemberment or decapitation of killed enemy is almost indispensable condition of any combat. In other words, victory cannot be final without complete destruction of the victim. Despite some variations the two details are rather stable and pass from one story to another.

In this context, mythological content of the mortuary ritual at Giurgiulești looks relatively clear. It is quite probable that we are dealing with on the very archaic versions of mythological cycle related, after Dumezil, to the collision of the first and the second functions and communicated my means of the funerary treatment. The undoubted warrior character of the central burial, on the one hand, and its apparent connection with the Asvins, on the other hand, permit to see in the interred person a symbolic image of Indra, winner of Namuci and the three-headed son of Tvastar. The Indra's enemy seems to be represented by the third child interment or a symbolic priest whose body was completely disarticulated in accordance with the demands of the mythological fable.

Thus the interpretation of the mortuary ceremony at Giurgiulești displays: (1) the reliability of the Dumezil's reconstruction of the Proto-Indo-European ideology and social structure; (2) very deep historical roots of some Indo-European mythological subjects later evidenced in Rig Veda and other written sources; (3) complexity and high level of elaboration of the Indo-European ideology already in the Aeneolithic period; (4) new possible directions in the search of the Proto-Indo-European homeland.
the Şefăneşti cemetery is, for the time being, the largest of the Corlăteni-Chişinău culture in the space between the Carpathians and the Prut river.

Ritual and magic in old farmer's weather predictions

Sultana AVRAM

Some people say that weather forecasting is no more than a guessing science.

The accuracy of predicting weather has improved, but old farmers still use their signs to predict weather changes. Certain signs concerning weather have been noticed by old farmers since times out of mind. Signs showing wind, rain, frost or snow come, for instance, from animal behaviour, but the colour of the sky or clouds can tell the weather, too.

Old farmers were in great need to know which month would be rainy or dry, for the best time to plant and plough.

New Year's Eve or The Night of Saint Basil in the Romanian Orthodox Church, is the best time to do magic and predict weather for the coming year. Using onion leaves or 12 cups with water, for instance, farmers try to find out the best month of the new year.

In certain circumstances, the villagers perform rituals to bring rain to their crops, and the whole village takes part in the ceremony.

Witchcraft is used to protect the crops from hailstones or prolonged thunderstorms.

A real folk calendar of rains is made by farmers every year and people do believe that this is much better than the weather forecasting predicted by specialists using sophisticated instruments, including satellites.

All these customs, traditions, superstitions and old-time sayings form a collection of weather lore that represents some of the old Romanian believes, that will be analized in the paper.
Das Wiederauftauchen der Einäscherung nach 5-6 Jahrhunderten in einigen frühmittelalterlichen Nekropolen kann nicht als Wiederkehr des vorgängigen Ritus durch die Beharrlichkeit des einheimischen dakischen Elements gerechnet werden, sondern eher durch erlittene Einflüsse in der Völkerwanderzeit und durch das Bilden einiger abgesonderten kulturellen Inseln.

Late (post Ariuşd) discoveries in the South Eastern part of Transylvania

Botond BARTÓK

The Aeneolithic epoch or else called that of copper represents a relatively upset und complex historical period, due on the one hand mostly to the economic and social phaenomena which were new for these times and which were generated by the turning up and development of the brass metal processing, and on the other hand to the ethno-cultural influence of the South and mostly that of the East.

Instead of the large communities specific to the medium Neolithic and Late Neolithic, a new cultural wave appeared, thus stressing the complexity of the phenomena taking place in this period.

On the basis of the research-work that has been accomplished in the last three decades in the South-Eastern part of Transylvania, one could come to a better understanding of the spreading area of the Tisza culture in its following phases - Tiszapolgár Bodrogkeresztúr, as well as the settlements, the material culture, the rites and burials fo the dead representing this culture. One also has to consider links with its bonds neighbouring cultures as well as the aspects of internal chronology.

From the first signalling of the present culture of Tisza with its phase Bodrogkeresztur in Transylvania by I. Nestor, there was a big gap until the end of the fifth decade of our century, when the first researches regarding this culture were done in the South-Eastern part of Transylvania, too. These

\[1\] I. Nestor, Der Stand der Vorgeschichtsforschung in Rumänien, in Ber. R.G.K., p. 75-76, n. 295-297.
researches made by Székely Zoltán at Reci\textsuperscript{2} between 1957-1959 come to fulfill the information regarding this culture, if we also have in view the objects in the collection of the Sfântu Gheorghe Museum, which had been discovered beforehand at Magheruș\textsuperscript{3} (district of Covasna), by the same author in the Râul Negru's Valley, a by-stream of the Olt. The research-work was continued in the first years of the sixth decade, when new settlements of the Tisza culture were discovered, this time in the Valley of the Târnava Mare on the territory of the village of Mugeni\textsuperscript{4} (district of Harghita). This discovery was made by Geza and Stéfan Ferencz between 1960-1961 and also at Cristuru Secuiesc\textsuperscript{5} by Székely Zoltán.

Among the discoveries of this class we also have to mention the adorned shiver with a horseshoe in relief on it which was found at Feldioara\textsuperscript{6} (district of Brașov) and which at the same time stresses the existence of a contact between the Bodrogkeresztur and the Cojofeni communities. The same situation appears also in the settlement of Reci and the village of Mugeni - like the vase in black polished shape attributed to the Tisza culture at Hărman\textsuperscript{7} (district of Brașov).

The bearers of the Tisza culture in its Tiszapolgár but especially Bodrogkeresztur interfere in the South-East of Transylvania on two directions as the discoveries prove it: a) on the Olt Valley on the south and central parts of the zone; b) on the Mureș Valley where they had made their settlements, on the Valley of the Târnava Mare\textsuperscript{8}, in the northern parts of the space had in view.

\textsuperscript{2}Zoltan Székely, Descoperiri din neoliticul tîrziu în așezarea de la Reci, în SCIV, XV, Ed. Academiei, 1964, p. 121-126.


\textsuperscript{5}Zoltán Székely, Cultura Tisa în Valea Târnavei Mari, Aluta, XIV-XV, 1983, p. 31-35.

\textsuperscript{6}Eugen Comșa, Unele date referitoare la cultura Cojofeni în sud-estul Transilvaniei, Cumidava, IV, Brașov, 1970, p. 9.


\textsuperscript{8}Zoltán Székely, \textit{op.cit.}, p.33.
In the south-eastern part of Transylvania there have been discovered up to the present a number of six archaeological points, out of which four are settlements - where memories of the Tisza culture phase in its late phases were showed up. Among these, three - Reci, Cristuru Secuiesc and Mugeni - were searched by systematical diggings - and thus we can state that they formed independent settlements of the cultures Tisza and Bodrogkereszture. The other isolated cultures attributed to the Bodrogkereszture culture at Hărman, Magheruș and Feldioara have turned up on the occasions of the material culture researches.

A first statement that can be drawn out, is that the disposition of the settlements is determined first of all by the geographical conditions like the relief, weather that favours different occupations. All the type settlements are open ones, without any fortifying ditch, as they are to be found in a concentrated way on the Big Târnava and its by-streams (Beta, Pârâul Cetății, Pârâul Fântânei Sărate) in case of those in Harghita, the Râul Negru in case of those of Covasna, in the parts or the sides of these streams. Concerning the settling of these places, there was shown that they were generally placed on naturally defended parts - on top of the hill (at Cristuru Secuiesc), on the promontory (Mugeni), on terracc (Reci). All these by their quite high quote, dominate the surrounding zones, as they are situated at the same time at the immediate neighbourhood of rivers.

Due to specific geographical conditions and of other factors, especially those concerning their trade and occupation, the duration of the settlements is not too long, fact that was confirmed also by the researches made at Reci, Mugeni and Cristuru Secuiesc.

Synthetising the stratigraphical data relevant to the mentioned settlements in the south-eastern part of Transylvania one can draw the following conclusions:

- having in view that all the settlements of the Tiszapolgár and Bodrogkereszture type are part of the open categories, the culture stratum has a reduced thickness, between 30-40 cm;

- in the case of a single settlement - that of Mugeni, one can notice a single culture stratum, while in the case of those at Cristuru Secuiesc and Reci we have a settlement overlapping, that of the La Tène Dacian, the pre-feudal

9Stefan Ferenczi, Géza Ferenczi, op.cit., p. 417.
we have a settlement overlapping, that of the La Tène Dacian, the pre-feudal epoch of the 7th - 8th centuries\textsuperscript{10}, over the Aeneolithic one, in case of the first and in the second one the Hallstatt culture\textsuperscript{11}.

Remarks on the autochthonous pottery production of the Northern Dobrudja during the 1st - 4th centuries A.D.

Victor H. BAUMANN

On the Romanian territory, the Roman autochthonous pottery consists of the entire range of Geto-Dacian traditional products, either hand-made or wheel-made, as well as the common serial products. According to the quality of the clay, degreasing material and colour, these pieces reveal the existence of the centers of manufacture or can be related to archaeologically discovered and researched pottery centers.

Throughout in the diggings the Roman pottery was found together with autochthonous out, which points out, on the one hand, that the two types of ceramics wares were contemporary. On the other hand, it reveals the maintenance of the traditional pottery during the whole Roman Epoch, simultaneously with the selective assimilation of some Roman manufacturing technique and patterns, accordingly to the practical needs derived from the abundance of the provincial Roman pottery.

So far, the archaeological objectives of the Roman Epoch in the Northern Dobrudja made evident this phenomenon through its symptoms. This study is based upon the pottery discovered in the Roman contors at Noviodunum, Troesmis, Halmyris, Dinogetia, Beroe and Aegyssus, in the autochthonous villages at Frecăței, Telița, Revărsarea, Sarichioi and in the early \textit{villae rusticae} at Nicuțel, Capaclia, Horia, as well as in the late ones situated along the Telița valley. These discoveries (we must emphasize the

\textsuperscript{10}Zoltán Székely, \textit{op.cit.}, p. 31.

\textsuperscript{11}\textit{Idem}, Descoperiri din neoliticul tîrziu în așezarea de la Reci, SCIV, XV, 1964, p. 121.
special importance of the pottery center at Valea Morilor) are placed around the whole territory at the Danube’s embouchures and, therefore, enable us to make interesting remarks on the local production of the 1st - 4th centuries A.D.

About the Thracian Coin Discoveries in the Dacian State

Dana BĂLĂNESCU

At the beginning, the author briefly presents the Thracian monetary system (four main groups: the 5th century B.C. - approx. 40 B.C.). Then, there are reviewed some Thracian vestiges discovered in Romania: Alexandria, Pârjoaia, Medgidia, Peretu, Agighiol, Coțofenești and Poroina, insisting upon the discoveries from Banat (Gornea and Cuptoare - the middle of the 4th century A.D.). The author mentions also the extremely rare Thracian coins from the territory of our country's Dacia: Călina (Vâlcea county), Zimnicea (Teleorman county), Rasa (Ialomița county) and the two discoveries from the actual territory of Ukraine (the antique Tyras and Anadol).

Regarding the mint of Greek-Macedonian type, the northern Balkan area as well as the Getae zone of the Danube constituted the main centers of the beginning of the imitations of Philip the Second. The Thraco-Gets, who ruled the Balkan-Danube region from the economical and political point of view, were the authors of the first imitations.

If in Banat there are not known for the time being the coins issued by the Thracian kings, in exchange this space ranges among the two relatively new discoveries - in the repertory of the first imitations after the tetradrahms of the Macedonian king: Gătaia (Timiș county) and Gornea (Caraș-Severin county).

The penetration of the Thracian coins on the Dacian territory took place either by commercial way - indirectly through other towns than those ones which issued - or these pieces were stimulated with those ones of the Alexander the Great. Their presence at the North of the Danube also reflects people circulation (the military way).
between the Srubnaja and Noua cultures (the contracted position, the pottery shapes, the "ash-pans" (zolniki) etc.

On the other hand, undoubtedly, it comes out that there is a prevailing role of the Costișa-Komarow-Belij-Potočk and Monteoru cultures on the genesis of the north and central Noua culture as we can see, especially on the pottery similarities.

This situation is ascertained also in Transylvania, considering the final stage of the Wietenberg culture (or coexistent with the first Noua stage) at the genesis of the Noua culture.

On account of this evidences we have to focus on the nature of the changes, which took place at the end of the second millennium B.C.

Even if a higher mobility can be noticed, we cannot bind up all the changes with an migration movement or an ethno-cultural change. Most of this changes could be consequences of the longer distance contacts (see the role of the long distance shepherd’s economy), or the result of the "new fashions" spreading.

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Few taxonomical and historical considerations on the Early Bronze Age tumular graves in the Carpathians-Prut area

Florentin BURTĂNESCU

Although the tumular burial practice occurs in the Carpathians-Prut area both before and after Early Bronze Age (EBA), the data about the tumular graves dated to EBA period are the most numerous. Taking into account the characteristic features of the EBA tumular necropolises, it can be observed that these can be classified into two main types: 1. tumular necropolises generally of oriental extraction with larger earthen tumuli often raised in several stages and containing from 1 to 10-15 graves dated to EBA (34 archaeological points, 44 tumuli with something more than 100 graves); 2. necropolises belonging to Monteorù IC4, 3 (dated to the very end of the EBA) with small earthen-, stone- or shreds-mantled mounds, carefully built and raised in one stage for a single burial (one archaeological point - Coroteni - with 6-7 little barrows). The great part of the EBA tumular necropolises are to be located in the Siret-Prut interfluve and only three (Bolotești, Coroteni and Broșteni) are situated westwards from the Siret river.

The only mode of burial rite is inhumation. Burials are generally individual, but there are also double and collective graves (at Holboca, Glăvăneștii Vechi, Cotărgaci, Crasnaleuca, Coroteni and so on). As far as character of the graves concerned four types of tumular graves have been distinguished: 1. primary tumular graves; 2. secondary tumular graves; 3. graves into tumuli; 4. flat graves under tumuli. It seems that at Grivița-Galați in the tumulus 315 a cenotaph was discovered - grave (M 3), the only one probably dated to EBA (Pit-Grave culture ?) for the time being. Regarding the position of skeletons, their classification was done according to Jarovoj's typology, completed where it was necessary. In the Carpathians-Prut area, for the EBA tumular graves the following general positions of the skeletons are specific: 1. supine position (group I) (which is almost exclusively characteristic for the Pit-Grave culture); 2. semisupine position (group II) (practised by the Pit-Grave, Catacomb-Grave and west-Pontic cultural circle communities); 3. contracted position on the side (group III) (Pit-Grave, Catacomb-Grave, west-Pontic cultural circle, Monteorù IC4,4 cultures); extended position (group IV) (presented only at Holboca and practised by the members of Catacomb-Grave culture); 5. with torsion on the chest (group V) (the only grave of this type is attributed to the Pit-Grave culture); 6. reverse
position (a single burial discovered at Stoicani and attributed to the Pit-Grave or Catacomb-Grave cultures). Within these groups of positions various variants have been identified. There are no data about burials with deliberate dismemberment of the skeletons. As far as the crouching degree of the skeletons concerned was taken into account both thighbone - shank angle and thighbone - spinal column angle. At first parameter was observed a gradual increase of crouching from group I to group III of positions. The same is the situation at the second parameter. In the 1st and 2nd groups of positions western orientation predominates, while in the other ones there is no prevalence of any orientation. At Coroteni, western orientation predominates. The grave-pits are predominant rectangular with rounded or straight corners. So far, within the Carpathians - Prut area there are no data about catacomb-like grave pits. In the case of the EBA tumular graves, there is no link between a certain type of grave-pit and a certain mode of deposition of the dead. Sometimes, the bottom of the grave-pit was paved with stone slabs (Broșteni and Vânători). In the Monteuros IC4;3 necropolis at Coroteni the grave-pits were plated with river stones. Excepting this latter necropolis, the employment of stones for covering the grave it is not attested among the EBA tumular burials in the area under discussion. Specific for the time being, is the absence of the wooden wheels of chariots or of the anthropomorphic stone stelae in the graves of the Pit-Grave culture. The ochre (mainly red or yellow) occurs in the burials in the following forms: 1. staining with different intensity of the skeleton (or certain parts of the skeleton) with ochre; 2. scattering over the bottom of grave-pit or over the skeleton; 3. lumps of ochre placed in the grave. In a case, the ochre was placed inside of a miniatural dish (Grivița Galați). In Moldova, ochre is characteristic, above all, for the tumular burials of the Pit-Grave culture. In the necropolis at Coroteni the ochre is missing. In the majority of group I burials (with skeleton in supine position), the traces of a vegetal spread can be found on the bottom of the pit or over the skeleton. In the case of the graves containing two or more persons, it can be observed that the general positions of the dead are similar with those from single burials. However, near-variants established for the single burials, new ones have been revealed, attested only in the collective graves for the time being.

The great part of the EBA tumular graves in the Carpathians-Prut territory are connected with the bearers of the Pit-Grave and Catacomb-Grave cultures. Nevertheless, there are EBA tumular burials that have belonged to the indigenous population, localised especially westwards of Siret River (Bolotești, Coroteni).
The majority of the tumular burials in the area under discussion belong to the Pit-Grave culture. Westwards of Prut River this culture followed the classic Cernavoda II culture, as demonstrates the stratigraphical evidence from the tumulus at Vânători (Southeastern Moldova). In the Northeastern Moldavia it seems that the Pit-Grave culture followed here after a short cultural-chronological horizon dated to the end of the Transition Period and represented by tumular graves with extended skeletons. Generally, the western border of the Pit-Grave culture is the Siret River. Cultural-chronologically, the Pit-Grave finds in the Siret - Prut Rivers region belong to the variants known as the Nistani variant and the Bugeac variant of the Pit-Grave culture from the Prut - Nistru area. The former is represented in the area under discussion by primary tumular graves of the group I. Graves without funeral inventory predominate. It seems that the zone of dispersion of the tumular graves belonging to the late Pit-Grave horizon (Bugeac variant) is smaller than the early one. Most burials are secondary and as a rule, the dead were placed in positions characteristically to the IIInd and IIIRD groups. The funeral inventory is richer and includes pottery, ornaments (a copper bracelet was discovered in a tumular grave at Vlădești). A specific element of the Pit-Grave funeral inventory is represented by metal head-rings, 7-8 such ornaments being discovered in the area under discussion. The cultural interaction between the bearers of the Pit-Grave culture and the local cultural complexes is reflected by the burials and the grave goods (pottery) discovered at Târpești, Valea Lupului, Măcișeni.

The Catacomb-Grave culture, of oriental origin also, is dated, to the west of Prut, to the second part of EBA (or even to the end of this period) and it probably lived side by side with the late Pit-Grave tribes. So far, in Moldavia have been discovered 16 tumular graves belonging to the Catacomb-Grave culture. Finds of the culture under discussion represent a quite narrow strip along the right bank of the Prut River. The burials are secondary, but there are two graves on which new mounds were raised (T19 Iacobeni and T2 - "Dunărea"-Galați). The skeletons are lying in extended, supine (including the "running man's" position), semisupine and on the side positions. Due to the migrations of the Catacomb-Grave culture, the Pit-Grave or west-Pontic cultural circle tribes have moved westwards, which resulted in the westward movement of the Glina III communities.
Considerations on the tumular necropolis at Telești-Drăgoești

Gheorghe CALOTOIU

The necropolis at Telești-Drăgoești is situated in northern Oltenia, Gorj county, in the depression Târgu-Jiu. The necropolis was found in the points "Curături" and "Coasta Frumoasă". A number of 69 mounds have been discovered and researched in the period 1979-1989.

The only funerary ritual used in the necropolis at Telești-Drăgoești is incineration. The cinerary remains were brought from the place of the funerary pyre (place that we have not discovered yet) and disposed into the tumuli.

The burial ritual used in the most of the cases in this necropolis consisted in the disposition of the cremation rests directly on the ancient ground. Another type of tombs consists in the disposition of the bones on a bed of stones. The metallic inventory (spears, daggers, riveted swords) was discovered near the burnt bones in the tombs of the tumuli 7, 10, 12, 15, 16, 33, 50, 52, 54, 56. These tombs belonged to warriors or military chieftains. In the tumulus n. 3 the cremated bones were discovered together with harness pieces. About the ceremony of the incineration, we found a large quantity of coal and ashes (the bed has the thickness of 0,15 - 0,25 m) in the tumuli n. 7, 50, 53. The coals were mixed with burnt bones brought here from the place of the funerary pyre. In other cases, such as the tumuli n. 45 and 46, the cremated bones were discovered on a bed of heavy stones or, in the case of the tumuli n. 29, 52 and 55, the burnt bones were disposed within a ring of stones. Sometimes the burnt bones were disposed as little clusters put into a pit with the depth of 15 - 20 cm, with big alluvial stones (tumuli n. 42, 43, 53). Sometimes we found funerary urns with bones, having tips of arrows disposed on the top. It is the case of the tumulus n. 15, where two spears were disposed on a dish with bones; the tips of spears were directed eastwards. In the tumuli n. 28 and 36 both the cremated bones and the offerings were disposed among the big alluvial stone. The tumuli n. 44 and 48 had the vases for offerings disposed on several flat-shaped stones. In the most of the cases the ceramic inventory was separately disposed of the metallic one.

The ceramics discovered in the necropolis at Telești-Drăgoești is appreciably rich and diverse as shape. All the vases are handmade, the paste is the same in almost all pieces, containing sand and pebbles as a degreasing substance. The most frequent type of vase is the handmade dish with an
inside-bent rim and a ring-shaped or base-shaped bottom. Some samples have grooves on the rim.

Little pitchers with super elevated ear and cups with two super elevated ears were found in the necropolis.

The metallic inventory consists of several riveted swords, iron tips of spears with square or hexagonal-shaped section of the nervations.

A bronze bracelet with nodosities has been discovered in the tumulus n. 26 of the Telești-Drăgoești necropolis. It is decorated with three groups of three spherical prominences equally outdistanced to each other. This bronze bracelet finds its analogies in the necropolis at Ațel, Ocna Sibiului, Poiana-Tecuci, Huși-Corni, Murighiol.

Chronologically, the necropolis at Telești-Drăgoești belongs to the end of the 6th century - 5th century B.C. Due to the rite of the incineration, ritual, ceramics type and metallic inventory this necropolis has analogies with the necropolis at Ferigele (3rd phase), Gogoșu, Bârsești. This necropolis belonged to some Thracian-Getic tribes in the northern area of Oltenia.

Battle Chariots, "Mycenacan" Ornaments.
Spread of Tin Bronze and the Rise of Sabatinovka-Coslogeni-Noua Cultural Unit

Valeriu CAVRUC

The beginning of the Late Bronze Age was marked by the large-scale spreading of tin bronze articles. The rise of this process has begun in the Middle Bronze Age. One of the most important ways of tin bronzes' spreading, from the Altai mountains to the Don river was created by the peoples of Şeima-Turbino phenomenon and Andronovo Cultural Unit in the 17th century B.C.¹ Approximately at the middle of this way in the Southern Urals Steppe, in the confluence zone of Andronovo and Abashevo Cultural Units, in the proximity of the tin deposits of Kazakhstan, the Sintasha culture had arisen². People of this culture, Aryans³, owing to their key position in the tin way and
thanks to the monopoly on copper and silver deposits of Southern Urals region, achieved an advanced level of social and military development. Eminent warriors, thanks to their contacts with periphery of Oriental Civilisations, they were the first in Northern Eurasia who introduced the most efficient means of warfare - the battle chariots, and dominated a large part of the South of Eastern Europe. They unleashed it's spreading to Northern India, China, North-Pontic region, towards Carpathian basin and Central Europe and, maybe, to continental Greece.

One of the archaeological evidences of this process are the bridle cheek-pieces with thorns - from the transuralian steeps to the South of continental Greece, and up to the Middle Danube, covering the North-Pontic area and the Carpathian basin. The majority of them are concentrated in the South Urals zone.

At the same time, on the same territory the numerous bone and, rarely, gold pieces with "Mycenaean" ornaments circulated a single difference is to be mentioned: unlike the cheek-pieces, their density increased as it approaches towards the Middle Danube.

It is clear that chariots penetrated the South-East and Central Europe from the East, but the mode of "Mycenaean" ornaments was assumed by Eastern warriors from the Central Europe. It is possible that eastern chariot warriors penetrated the Carpathian basin not only for copper, gold, salt, but for tin bronze too because of the lack of tin in the East and South-East Europe. It should be noted that tin bronze, or tin, came to Transylvania from Central Europe through agency of Otomani culture steadily, while in the North-Pontic area tin bronze articles were absent in those times.

As long as the Monteoru, Wietenberg, Suciu de Sus and Otomani cultures were strong, eastern warriors failed to ensure the regular access to the sources of tin bronzes. It is worth mentioning that only after the decline of the Otomani culture and during the spreading of Noua culture in Transylvania, the spreading of tin in the South of Eastern Europe became regular and was practised on large-scale.

The relations between the Indo-Aryans of the South of Eastern Europe and Thracians of the Carpathian basin in the Middle Bronze Age were one of the most important premises of the formation of the Sabatinovka-Coslogeni-Noua Cultural Unit. It partly explains why Cimmerians are considered by some scholars as "Thraco-Iranians".
Dating and originality of some preparative and conditioning techniques used by the church and secular painters of the Pontic-Carpathian Area

Radu MAIER, Mihail MIHALCU

The chemical processes by which the early Romanian painters and those who followed them obtained some of the materials in their own workshops, as well as the techniques they used to condition some of the raw materials and items necessary for their activity, had also been used from ancient times in other areas of Europe. The careful, competent and complete research carried out by the Romanian painting workshops offers an original and specific subject which has been insufficiently studied.

Some of these activities and processes were also known in Athos, but the suggestion that all of our knowledge came from there cannot be substantiated as will become apparent from all the information that we will provide regarding its age and exquisite original features, as well as numerous adaptations to the specific conditions of Romanian localities. All of these could not have any relevance to another region with a different kind of climate, other type of flora, minerals and generally with other possibilities and technical requirements.

The main features of these operations and processes are: an unexpected knowledge of the potential for obtaining same raw materials from the environment or from contemporary commerce; an astonishing knowledge of the technical characteristics of material processed from varied sources as well as technological conditions; the implementation of technological processes (such as the control of those conditions and the control of the quality of raw materials).

A special acknowledgement of the intelligence and competence can be made when the details of methods of forgery and the falsification of raw materials are studied (in order to perpetrate frauds, expensive materials had been replaced with cheaper materials) as well as the ways in which those frauds were prevented and avoided.

The amazing technical knowledge of the time, the remarkable skills involved in this handicraft and the originality contained in an unwritten page of Romanian science and technique appears clearly when the researcher of today and of the future will try to solve and will solve, carefully and
competently all these problems. Although only groups of specialists in different fields can carry out research in a comprehensive manner into the amazing durability of the exquisite mural paintings over the years, either from the buildings founded by princes, by rich families or by rural communities, or of the Romanian icons of many centuries. These researchers should correlate the results of sophisticated laboratory analysis carried out directly on the paintings, with the careful, complete and competent research notes in the few Romanian technical manuscripts which still survive.

This paper will draw its conclusions from the presentation of a number of techniques used for the preparation of pigments, dyestuffs and additives, as well as through the presentation of several preparatory processes for pigments, solvents or binders. The range of all these is very wide, from the chemical synthesis to the physical operations. The examples mentioned highlight, at the same time, the originality of Romanian mural paintings.

Funde der Bronze- und Hallstattzeit aus Poienesti und Scânțeia

Cornelia-Magda MANTU, Nikolaus BOROFFKA

Die Funde der Bronze- und Hallstattzeit von Poienesti und Scânțeia, die hier vorgestellt werden, werfen neues Licht auf verschiedene chronologische und kulturelle Probleme.


Das spätbronzezeitliche Fundgut aus Poienesti, das bei dieser Gelegenheit ebenfalls vorgestellt werden soll, läßt sich der Noua-Kultur zuordnen. Besonders wichtige Funde sind zwei Bronzesicheln östlichen Typs, die möglicherweise einen zerstörten Depotfund der Noua-Kultur repräsentieren. Jedenfalls unterstreichen sie die östliche Komponente dieser Kultur. Ein verzelter Geweihknebel vom Typ Spiš gehört ebenfalls zur Noua-
Kultur und dient als Anlaß, die chronologische und kulturelle Zuordnung derartiger Trenseknebel neu zu diskutieren.

Schließlich werden aus Scânteia einige Funde der Hallstattzeit vorgelegt. Es handelt sich dabei um Fragmente kannelierter Keramik, die den bekannten Gruppen der Moldau zugeordnet werden kann und um eine Vasenkopfnadel aus Knochen, die als Kopie von westlichen Metallvorbildern gelten kann und eine Datierung in die Ältere Hallstattzeit erlaubt.

Archaeological Researches regarding the Period of Transition from Copper Age to Bronze Age in the Prut – Nistru Area

Ruxandra MAXIM ALAIBA

The transitory period from Copper Age to Bronze Age in the geographic area outlined by the middle and superior course of the Prut and Nistru rivers, a forest steppe zone, makes the focus of our recent archaeological research.

On the right bank of the middle course of the Prut river the Cârnicieni - Pe coastă station has been investigated in 1994-1995. We have been mainly concerned with the Horodiștea-Erbiceni culture's layer, richly represented by the complexes and by the archaeological materials we have found there.

On the left bank of the Prut river, a big number of stations with similar materials have been studied. We took part to the archaeological expedition in the Trinca village, Edineț district in 1994-1995. The Trinca village is situated about 20 km east of the station from the right bank of the Prut river, Horodiștea - Mălăiște. The Horodiștea-Gordinești habitation certified by painted and unpainted pottery. We may note, as a special discovery, a two pottery-kiln with two superposed rooms.

The acknowledge of the archaeological material specific to Gordion from the zones of the eastern Prut-Nistru interfluve has been eased by the participation at the diggings from the right bank of the Nistru river, within the framework of the Rudi expedition. A new living level specific to the Gordinești aspect has been discovered at the Tătărușa Nouă - Piscul gol, where we took part at the expeditions in 1993 and 1995.
The cultural horizon of the Transition Period from the Aeneolithic to the Bronze Age in the Carpatho-Nistrian space has constituted the subject of ample synthesis, realised by the researchers from the both geographic spaces or outside them. Lots of problems, like the end of the great cultural complex Cucuteni-Tripolje, the migrations begun in Aeneolithic, the indo-europeanization or the formation of the Bronze Age cultures, are tied by these discoveries. The resumption of these generalisations within the East-European researches needs, in the current moment of the investigations, the accumulation of new site data. In fact the realisation of new diggings in purpose to know all the aspects of living in this period. The archaeological researches from Cârniceni - Pe costă and the ones in collaboration with our colleagues of Bessarabia from Trinca and Tătărăuca Nouă - Piscul gol are pursuing the unveiling, in measure of the possibilities of a bigger surface.

Preuves archéologiques du culte solaire dans l'aire thrace carpato-égéenne-anatolienne

Liviu MĂRGHITAN

Au fur et à mesure de l'intensification des fouilles archéologiques qui visaient la connaissance de la culture matérielle des peuples thraces qui ont vécu dans le Sud-Est de l'Europe, au cours de l'âge du Bronze et du Hallstatt, on a constaté que ce grand conglomérat humain était un adorateur du Soleil. Le disque du principal astre de notre microcosme est représenté sous diverses formes, que nous retrouvons appliquées sur une série très diverse d'objets confectionnés de différents matériaux.

Les preuves archéologiques concrètes mises au jour dans les habitats et les cimetières thraces témoignent d'une prédilection, que nous pourrions dénommer pan-thrace, pour l'utilisation de l'or dans la confection de certains objets de culte et de parure vestimentaire. Nous avons de beaux exemples édifiants dans les trésors archiconnus aussi bien dans la partie nord-danubienne que dans l'aire territoriale dont la colonne vertébrale est formée par les Balkans et qui ont pour point terminus les zones égéennes et anatoliennes.
Eastern Geto-Dacian World and the Macedonian Coins

Virgil MIHĂILESCU-BĂRLIBA

In the Mediterranean world as well as in the western or central Europe the golden and silver coins of the Macedonian kings knew a wide spreading. This statement needs certain explanations.

Thus, in central and western Europe the Macedonian staters are spread only after the Celtic invasion in the Balkan Peninsula (280 B.C.) but they continue to come after the Roman successes from Kinoskephalai (197 B.C.) and Pydna (168 B.C.). However, there have not been found any hoards of Macedonian coins in the whole Gaul, while in the Balkans or north-Danubian regions such discoveries are numerous.

The numismatic evidence do not confirm the present opinion according to which the coins of Philip II or Alexander the Great had penetrated in Dacia during their lives, as a result of some commercial relationships with the Mediterranean world. Actually, the coins of Philip continued circulate for a long time in the south but it is met in a small quantity in Dacia. That is why, the structure of the hoards and the monetary material from settlements point out particularly the non-economic ways of penetrating of the precious metal Macedonian coin in the north of the Danube: tribute, the payment of the mercenaries or robberies. The archaeological researches confirmed that the Macedonian staters could not have pecuniary functions in the local economy, probably only that of amassing. The precious metal coins have often been the raw material for jewels or other objects and, probably, many times the föros was paid in the same way. In our opinion this fact would explain why a continuous flow of great quantities of precious metal takes place from the Hellenistic world towards the Balkan - Danubian regions, especially towards Dacia.
Some Researches upon the anthropological structure of the Bronze Age populations, discovered on the territory of Romania

Georgeta MIU, Maria CRISTESCU, Dan BOTEZATU

This paper is part of our complex palaeoanthropological researches, which aimed to follow the evolution of some specific anthropological features characteristic to the numerous cultures, whose inhabitants lived on the territory of Romania during the Bronze Age.

Our data refer mainly to the populations which were well represented in number and allowed a statistic processing, both biometrical and morphological. So, there were taken into account the osteologic materials belonging to the cultures of Zimnicea (necropolis C. 18), Cernavoda (the site at "Dealul Sofia"), dated back in the early bronze age; to the cultures of Monteorou (the great necropolis of Cândeşti, the one of Sărata Monteorou, the skeleton series from Poiana) and to the Otomani culture (the small series of Pir) - cultures specific to the Middle Bronze Age; to the Noua culture (the osteological series from Truş eşti, Doina, Cioinagi-Balinteşti, Progota, Brâeşti, the series from Cluj) and to the Zimnicea-Plovdiv culture (necropolis of Zimnicea - C. 10) from the Late Bronze Age. To the up mentioned series we should add the few single skeletons from: Leleşcani, Ciritei, Progota, Smeeni, Alba Iulia.

As a synthesis of all those studies with regard to the anthropological structure of those populations, we could conclude upon a strong mediterranoid stock, that persisted all along the Bronze Age, in mixtures, more or less represented, by regions, on one hand with gracile protoeuropoid or nordoid elements, on the other hand with reminiscences of the neo-eneolithic communities.

Yet, we must emphasize that the proportion among the main typological elements encountered at the up mentioned series had a rather great variability. So, income communities the mediterranoid element was prevalent (e.g. Zimnicea - C. 18 and C. 10, Cioinagi-Balinteşti, Doina, Progota) in other being observed the prevalence of the protoeuropoid and nordoid type (the series from Truş eşti), not to mention the series where the alpine element (the brachicephalic) seemed to have had a rather great importance (the series from Pir, Cluj, Alba Iulia).
The share of the brachicephalics in other populations of the extra-Carpathian regions (Monteouru, Noua) seemed to be of minor relevance. Out of these data it results that the brachicephalisation process on the extra-Carpathian territories seemed to have begun later in comparison with the one in Transylvania, this being possibly determined by the influence of some populations enriched in brachicephalic elements, like the bearers of the Globular Amphorae culture or the tribes of the Catacomb culture.

We must emphasize that the strong mediterranoid stock from the Romanian Neolithic was confirmed to have been rather important to all the Bronze Age, which accounts for the unitary character of the populations of that age, even if some regional influences appeared in typology.

Sur le début de la culture Coslogeni

Mircea MUNTEANU

C'est difficile à dater le début de la culture en discussion parce que les données archéologiques du Bronze Moyen manquent dans le sud-est de la Roumanie. Nous avons jusqu'au moment actuel des pièces isolées, des dépôts et des tombes placés dans tumuli. Les habitations manquent et les tombes de l'époque sont généralement secondaires, sans inventaire. Le tableau n'est pas unique, la moitié Est de la Bulgarie et de la plaine de Macédoine connaissent la même situation.

Dans ces conditions, c'est très difficile de dater avec sûreté le début de la culture Coslogeni.

Grâce aux nouveaux découvertes de Grădiștea Coslogeni, nous pouvons essayer à discuter ce moment.

Dans le cendrier ("zolniki") de Grădiștea Coslogeni, on a découvert une épée-poignard de type Krasnomayarsk (M. Neagu, 1986). Nous n'avons pas la certitude de la position, mais nous pouvons apprécier qu'elle se trouve dans le niveau plus récent.

Cette épée est daté (Černyh, 1978, Kločko, 1993) dès les XVIe-XVe siècles av.n.è. Généralement est acceptée la moitié de XIVe siècle av.n.è. comme terminus ante quem. Donc, dans ces circonstances, le premier niveau
de Grădiștea Coslogeni (qui possède, avec certitude, 2 niveaux d’habitation chacun avec plusieurs horizons) peut être daté au début du XVe siècle av.n.è., ou dans la deuxième moitié du XVe siècle.

Nous croyons que cette découverte a fixé avec certitude la limite inférieure de la culture Coslogeni, qui est présente et active dans toute la période des XVe et XIIIe siècles av.n.è.

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Introduction in the study of Provincial Pottery of native tradition from South-Carpathian Roman Dacia

Mircea NEGRU

The archaeological research which has been carried out by professor Gheorghe Ștefan in the Roman fort from Drajna de Sus before the Second World War led among other things to the discovery of two Dacian cups in the shape of truncated cone.

The archaeological excavations which were made during the recent decades in the Roman forts and their civil areas (Drobeta, Bumbești, Slăveni, Acidava, Stolniceni, Buridava, Rucăr) in the rural settlements of native population and in the cemeteries from Locusteni, Dâneț and Leu, made evident the presence of the local pottery in association with the Roman pottery.

The Dacian pottery was also hand-made ceramic and wheel-made ceramic. The hand-made ceramic was made out of a paste sometimes very breakable which contained sand and small broken stones. The burning has been a oxidating one but there are also some vessels which were burned without oxidation.
The most frequent form of the hand-made ceramic is the cup in troncated cone shape and the jar-pot which have numerous variants depending on the dimensions and destinations.

There have also been frequently found large and tall jars, almost cylindrical while the hand-made lids and trays are rarely found. The ornaments are made by application (buttons, in relief stripes), by incision (sinnuous, oblique or horizontal lines) and by pressure (alveolated cavities). The ornament is made in the middle or in the superior half of the vessels.

The wheel-made ceramic made out of a fine grey and very seldom red paste is represented by bitroncated cone vessels, discovered in large numbers in the cemetery of Locusteni, same earthen jars, cups in the shape of an troncated cone or globular, and two fragments of strainers, fragments of fruit dishes, plates and few intact lids.

The native ceramic from South-Carpathian Roman Dacia represents a normal continuation of the Dacian period ceramic. The explanation of such a continuity, meant sometimes just as some relics or as conservation of tradition, could be also an economic one.

It could have been possible that the big pottery workshops from the province weren't able to cover all the needs of the population from the villages, and so the native pottery had to survive. On the other hand, the Roman wheel-made pottery in the big pottery workshops was cheaper and of higher quality than the ceramic produced by the small workshops from the villages, but it could be not cheaper than the hand-made ceramic of native tradition.

The archaeological researches carried out in the South-Carpathian Roman Dacia can not lead, at least for the moment to some final observations concerning the evolution of the forms of local ceramic in the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D. But we may infer that the Dacian ceramic has been made from the first decades of the Roman rule (Rucăr) and it stil continued to be produced also after the abandon of the province (Coloneşti-Mărunţei, Locusteni).
The origin and the evolution of the Verbicioara and Gârla Mare Cultures and their cultural and chronological relations with the Bronze Age civilisations of the Central and South-Eastern European Area

Marin NICA

On the basis of the new researches concerning the Bronze Age in Oltenia, three main chronological stages can be defined: the genesis, the individualisation and the unification of the Verbicioara and Gârla Mare cultures in context to the cultural phenomena in Central and South-Eastern Europe.

The first phase is characterised by an explosive ethnic and cultural diffusion on a vast area, from the centre of Europe to the Olt river, a diffusion similar to the ones from the beginnings of Neolithic, Aeneolithic or Hallstatt periods. In the archaeological literature this phenomenon is called the cultural horizon with scratched decorated pottery (Besenstrich, Baumrinde) type Jejišovice B-Hriadky-Rozhanovce-Nyirseg-Zatin-Gornea-Orlești.

This horizon, named by us as Protoverbicioara, has been lately identified on some sites in Oltenia (Locusteni - "Predești", Cârcea - "Viaduct", Reșca - "Romula") and it represents the cultural background the first cultural elements of the Verbicioara culture were formed on.

The beginnings of the Verbicioara culture are synchronous to the Hatvani, Otomani, Late-Nagynév, Periam-Mokrin and Pecica civilisations.

In the above mentioned sites the dwelling level with Gornea-Orlești pottery, with deep Vuêedol and Glina traditions, is superposed by two other Preverbicioara levels, which are synchronous to the Vinkovei-Somgyvár horizon. We appreciate these two levels as being transitional phases to the first classical phase of the Verbicioara culture. So the first phase - the classic phase - of the Verbicioara culture (the phase II according to D. Berciu) is characterised by the ware having spherical bodies, cups with handles rising over the rim, the clepsydra-type ware decorated with fine incised lines - all of them belonging to the first level of the Verbicioara site-, together with the other decorated ware from Orodel, Cârcea - "Hamuri", Mărăcine - "Săliște" and Padea - "Dealul VII" sites.

For the phase II (III D. Berciu) the cornered-bowl, of a Vatina origin, the spherical cup with short or long neck, with handles rising in angles over
the rim and ended mostly with "*ansa lunetae*" and decorated with the same linear light pressed patterns are characteristic. The register of the hatched rhombs and triangles of a Vatina and Toszeg origin, the disposing of the patterns in metopes represent the prototype of the metopes on the ware of Verbicioara III phase (IV D. Berciu). In the same period of time, in the southern Oltenia, in the Danubian region between Ostrovul Corbului and Ghidici the bearers of the transdanubian incised and imprinted pottery decorated with linear patterns usually associated with the first Gărla Mare settlements. So far, Gărla Mare settlements have been discovered only in Ghidici and Ostrovul Corbului.

The three phases evolution of the Gărla Mare culture can be emphasised by the surface dwellings belonging to the Ghidici settlement. This culture has a great influence on the unification of the Bronze Age cultural elements in the South Carpathian region and on their diffusion too, so that the culture bears a great importance to the genesis of the first Hallstattian elements, as proved by the Kastanas discoveries.

The great number of Verbicioara decorative elements on the pottery from the lower levels in Kastanas testifies to this assumption.

In the Verbicioara III and IV phases the massive affluence of the Gărla Mare cultural elements is generalised: the spiral hook-like pattern, the meander, the "solar" circle realised in the successive pricks techniques, the square-shaped ware of Bistre-İşalniţa type, the bowls with inwards curved rims, all of them being associated with Early Hallstatt elements.

**Die Knochenplastik des Sălciuţa-Bubanj-Krivodol - Komplexes**

Adriana OPRINESCU

Die Knochenplastik, die vorwiegend in den Gumelniţa-Karanovo VI- und Sălciuţa-Bubanj-Krivodol-Komplexen zu begegnen ist, kann nach ihrer Machart in drei Typen gegliedert werden: der prismenförmige Typ, der sehr schematische Typ und die anthropomorphen Figurinen. Wenn die zweite Gattung der Plastik des erwähnten Komplexes nicht in die Cernavoda I - Kultur einzureihen ist, sind die erste und dritte Gattungen für beide kulturelle
The Pre-Indo-European ("Urbian") Heritage in Romanian

Sorin PALIGA

The Pre-Indo-European (hereafter Pre-IE) heritage in Europe is seemingly an interesting subject for debates. The basic problem of the linguists who have - quite rarely - approached this topic refers mainly to a clear definition of the term Pre-IE as opposed to Indo-European (hereafter IE). The dichotomy Pre-IE v. IE is relevant not only in linguistics, but also in archaeology and anthropology. Indeed, the usual terms Pre-IE and IE are...
vague. Generally the linguists and archaeologists have been lately divided into two main groups: Gimbutasian and non- (or anti-) Gimbutasian, i.e. accepting or not accepting the Kurgan-Old European (i.e. IE v. Pre-IE) dichotomy as explained by Marija Gimbutas on various occasions. It is not the purpose of this paper to make an analysis of her theory as opposed to other older or newer theories, for which see Paliga 1989. On that occasion I suggested the new term Urbian, as opposed to Kurgan, in order to better define and analyze the Pre-IE complex.

Basically we do know that major changes occurred in European prehistory beginning with c. 4500 B.C. (C14 calibrated dates), or c. 2400 B.C. according to the old "traditional" chronology gradually abandoned in the 1970's. The Urbian (Pre-IE) groups surely had an important role in European ethnogenesis. Their role may be analyzed by both archaeologists and linguists. The latter would surely bring more and more solid arguments that many terms preserved in antiquity down to the Modern Age cannot be explained (or "labelled") as IE. Where should we look for these words? The history of the Pre-IE debates is interesting in itself. Briefly, we could say that the Pre-IE or Urbian terms may be identified in various spheres of vocabulary, from place-names to words of everyday life.

Referring to Romanian, there are two main intermediate sources of the Pre-IE (Urbian) elements: Latin and Thracian. As the Latin words of probable or possible Urbian origin (like Etruscan) may be easily included in the category of Romance elements, we shall focus here on the Urbian elements transmitted in Romanian via Thracian. There are two basic categories: (1) place-names and (2) elements of vocabulary.

Starting initially from place-names, the linguists have identified several roots of Pre-IE (Urbian) origin. That is why our (or any) survey cannot ignore the place-names. Unfortunately the investigation is confronted with major problems regarding the absence of studies concerning specifically this particular aspect of the Thracian heritage in Romanian. Given the brief character of this abstract, detailed discussions are impossible. They are sometimes imperious, as many archaic words are often considered of Slavic or Hungarian origin. The list suggested below is based on the Pre-IE glossary worked out by Rostaing (1950), with subsequent additions).

Root *AR- in arfar 'Acer platanoides, a local variety of maple-tree', argea 'a subterrean cavity' and probably NFI Argeș (possibly also IE); *PaR-, *BaR- in NM Parâng, possibly also in NM Bârgău (related to Germ. Berg ?). *SaM-, *SoM- in NFI Someș via Thracian form attested Samus, real pronunciation *Someș, related to French NFl Somme, Greek Samos (several
forms); *OR-, *UR- 'huge, big' in Gr. oros 'mountain', rarely 'a desert', Thr. -ora, -oros, -oron in place-names, Rom. Orșova (with a Slavic suffix, root orș-), NSt Urlea (Făgăraș), surely related to oras, dial. also uras (the word cannot be of Hungarian origin as usually quoted, for which see extensively in Paliga 1992), related to uriaș, oriaș 'a giant; huge'. As several Thracian place-names indicate a form such close to the Romanian words, any other explanation should bring forth solid arguments favouring a non-archaic (Urbian, via Thracian) origin. *G-G-, *GaG-, *GoG- in several Thr. forms and Rom. Goga (gogă 'a ghost', Alb. gogë), NM Gugu, related to (but not necessarily the same as) Thr. NM Kogaïon; also seemingly related: gugui 'a prominence' (NP Gugui), cucui, gogoasă 'a dough', cocoasă 'a hump'. *R-B-, also *R-M- 'round, circular; to bend, to curve', Rom. roabă 'wheelbarrow', archaic word (with intervowel -b-, usual in Thracian elements, cf. abur etc.), presumably related (Urverwandt) with Gr. ῥαβδόν 'a branch, a twig'. *M-K-, *M-G-: *MuK-, *MuG- 'a prominence', Rom. mugur(e). *M-S- also *N-S- in mos 'old man', whose feminine equivalent moasă 'midwife' has a different meaning in modern Romanian; NFI Nisîtru closely related to nisîtru, a fish specific in the area.

The list may continue with many other elements in both place-names and vocabulary.

Selected References

Archaeological evidence of the political-military relationship between the Roman Empire and Dacia in the first century A.D.

Liviu PETCULESCU

The presence of Roman military equipment in Dacia in the first Century A.D. is just one particular aspect of the influence of the Roman civilisation on the Dacians.

Unlike the limits of the Roman province of Dacia, the boundaries of \textit{Dacia libera} are not as easy to be specified. Anyway, in the period of time under discussion, Dacia extended in the mountainous land north of the Lower Danube, that is in today's Romanian regions of Banat and Transylvania. Besides these regions, the other territories included in Dacia are variable in time and difficult to specify. Thus trying to avoid false specifications, I shall deal with the Roman military imports in the northern Danubian part of present Romania.

Letting aside the temporary Roman camps, the Roman equipment is discovered in the barbarian countries surrounding the Roman Empire in autochtonous contexts, such as graves, water deposits and in native sites. From all these sources of evidence, only the last one is present so far in \textit{Dacia libera}. The Roman military equipment is concentrated in the hill-forts, the most consistent assemblages of such kind of artefacts being in Ocniţa and Poiana. Both are centres of small Dacian kingdoms where all kind of Roman imports are present in a fairly great number.
Characteristically there are represented all the categories of military equipment, including pieces of a high profile: swords, decorated dagger-sheathes, shield bosses and decorated harness fittings.

The items which can be dated more precisely concentrate in two different periods of time: the beginning of the first century A.D. and the third quarter of the century. These periods of time correspond to the end of Augustus' reign and to Nero-Vespasian's reigns. In both periods the Romans had strong political relations with the Dacians, but these relations were variable, from friendly to warlike. So it seems that the intrusion of the Roman military equipment in Dacia could be related with the Roman political activity on the Lower Danube.

If the legal and contraband trade could be the origin of some harness fittings, I am inclined to think that the most of the Roman weapons came into Dacia through uncommercial ways like presents or supplies for the client kingdoms and especially booty. If this was the case, the most likely opportunity for the Dacians to take Roman booty in the third quarter of the first century A.D. were the plundering expeditions made during the civil wars of 68-69 A.D.

The Roman military items are relatively few but anyway much more numerous than the autochtonous ones. This seems to indicate that from the middle of the first century A.D. the Dacians living south of the Carpathian mountains, had largely adopted the Roman military equipment.

Thraces et Daces dans les troupes auxiliaires de la Dacie romaine

Constantin C. PETOLESCU

conquête), II Flavia Bessorum (en Dacia Inferior), I Thracum sagittariorum (en Dacia Superior) et VI Thracum equitata (en Dacia Porolissensis). Il faut de même souligner que, jusqu'à présent, aucun des militaires (ou des vétérans) de ces troupes ne fait son apparition dans les sources épigraphiques de la Dacie.

On dispose, en échange, de plusieurs données sur la présence des Thraces dans les troupes auxiliaires portant autres indications ethniques, stationnées en Dacie (ailes: I Asturum, I Gallorum et Bosporanorum, I Claudia Gallorum Capitoniana, II Pannoniorum, I Tungrorum Frontoniana; cohortes: I Brittonum milliaria, II Gallorum Pannonica, I Vindelicorum milliaria; numerus Palmyrenorum Tibiscensium); ils sont identifiés soit par le critère onomastique, soit grâce à l'indication Bessus (ou natione Bessus). Il faut de même retenir l'indication natione Dacus ou Dacia dans les inscriptions de Rome; il s'agit d'anciens militaires enrôlés dans les troupes auxiliaires de la Dacie (ailes: Gallorum, Campagonum, I Illyricorum) et ultérieurement transférés dans les cohortes prêtoriennes ou parmi les equites singulares Augusti. La présence des Thraco-Daces dans les troupes auxiliaires de la Dacie s'explique par l'application, à partir du Ile siècle, du recrutement zonal, voir même local.

The Dacian and Prehistoric fortresses and dwelling from the knoll of Șimleu (Șimleu-Silvaniei, Șălaj county)

Horea POP, Ioan BEJINARU

Lying on the western half of Șălaj county, on the north of the Depression of Șimleu, the Knoll of Șimleu can be observed in the shape of a hill crossed by deep valleys, among which there are ridges arranged as the fan like tributaries. Being more steep on the southern part towards the Valley of Crasna and soother on the northern part, the knoll has on its top wide tablelands which are inclined from about 600 metres on the south up the 500 metres, as we come closer to the north of the hill.

Overlooking the surrounding regions owing to its altitude (the maximal altitude being of 597 metres) and to its surface (about 100 km²) the Knoll of
Șimleu has been representing not only a strategic region through the centuries, but also a microclimate extremely favourable for human dwelling.

Nowadays being surrounded by five localities, the Knoll of Șimleu has come to be known in this field historical literature because of some accidental discoveries made at the end of the 18th century and during the following ones.

The archaeological diggings made in several places of the knoll (Șimleu-Silvaniei: "Centrul orașului", "Cetate", "Observator", "Uliul cel mic"; Cehei: "Misig"; Giurtelec: "Coasta lui Damian"), during the last of our century, but which were superficially turned into account, led to the beginning, in 1992, of a complex project of investigation over the entire ensemble of discoveries made on and at the base of the knoll, either by archaeological researches of the surface of the region or by systematically diggings at "Cetate" and "Observator".

In the early period of the bronze age, around the Knoll of Șimleu, there had been developed the Coțofeni culture, that was certified by discoveries made in 3-4 zones, which brought into light material that proved to be specific for the second and the third phases of the Coțofeni culture.

The discoveries specific to Wietenberg culture from within the middle period of the Bronze Age are much more in this area (on the whole, 12 zones). On the "Cetate" hill it seemed to have existed a small fortress belonging to Wietenberg culture, as the archaeological digging pointed out. There were also discovered in this area, by chance or on the occasion of some archaeological investigations, a series of complexes considered to be crematory tombs specific for this culture (Șimleu-Silvaniei: "Varkert"; Giurtelec: "Târbăcii"). The discoveries are specific to the 2nd and 3rd phases within the evolution of this culture. Influences of Otomani culture are visible in the repertory of the ornaments of the pottery, this phenomenon being possible to be observed also in other Wietenberg sites from the superior flow of Crasna. The end of Wietenberg culture in the zone we are referring at is connected with the advancement of Cehlăuț communities from north-west. The Cehlăuț group advanced in the zone mostly during the Late Bronze Age and it is testified by characteristic discoveries from five certain places. The end of RBzD period period and HaA one is illustrated especially by pieces made of bronze and gold accidentally discovered. Recent discoveries (Cehei: "Misig") seem to date from this less known period.

Gâva culture from the first period of the Iron Age started to become better known in the mentioned zone because of the diggings that went on systematically in 1994. Here there has been discovered a wide fortified hallstattian position (of about 20-25 ha), being researched a series of
complexes (dwellings, hollows). Around this fortress there seem to gravitate some other hallstattian positions, recently discovered. The ending Hallstatt period (HaD) is not testified by archaeological discoveries, for the time being.

The discoveries of Dacian epoch (1st century B.C. - 2nd century A.D.) are concentrated on the southern half of the Knoll of Șimleu. This state of facts is owed, certainly, to a lack of researches of the northern half. These discoveries contained treasures of coins and jewellery, at least five being known (Șimleu-Silvaniei: "Uliul cel mic" - two treasures; "Observator" - two treasures; Cehei - one treasure); opened settlements (Șimleu-Silvaniei - "Centrul orașului"; "Ferma nr. 9"; Bădăcin - "Cornet"); fortified settlements (Șimleu-Silvaniei: "Cetate", "Observator", "Uliul cel mic"); fortresses (Șimleu-Silvaniei: "Cetate", "Observator"); places for ritual offerings (Șimleu-Silvaniei: "Centrul orașului" and "Uliul cel mic"). The accidentally made discoveries or the ones revealed after on-ground archaeological researches or systematic ones come to show, for the classical Dacian epoch, the existence on the Knoll of Șimleu and at the base of it of a complex of dwellings and fortresses closely linked with the ancient way of salt. All this complex of Dacian dwellings and fortresses above mentioned might be identified with the nucleus of a tribal Dacian union which has dominated over the Depression of Șimleu and which, furthermore, seems to be named, in ancient times, Dacidava.

Das Hinterland der getischen Festungen aus der Walachei

Traian POPA

Im Gegensatz zu Siebenbürgen, ja sogar der Moldau, ist die Walachei mit weniger getischen Festungen (dava) ausgestattet (z.B. Popești, Căscioarele, Zimnicea, Piscu Crâșani, Albești, Orbeasca de Sus, Roșiorii de Vede). Einige der Siedlungen wurde auch mit Wehranlagen versehen: Radovanu, Radu Vodă. Weitere sind offen und sind meistens in günstigen Zonen, mit natürlichen Schutzbedingungen (Schluchten, Wasserarme, Insel, Sumpfgegend) anzutreffen.
sont beaucoup surfaces non vérifiées (par exemple, celles occupées par des forêts et des villages contemporaines).

Dans sept sites ont été découvertes des agglomérations superposées Glina et Tei et seulement dans un cas Tei et Coslogeni. Dans la culture Tei on rencontre quelques situations de déplacement de l’agglomération dans une zone peu éloignée, probablement quand les ressources naturelles n’étaient plus pas suffisantes.

La surface, la forme des agglomérations et le plan d’emplacement des habitations est déterminé par la forme de microrelief.

Pendant l’âge du Bronze les populations des cultures Glina et Tei ont également employé l’habitation et la cabane avec ou sans fours ou autres de feu. Parmi les agglomérations se trouvent des fosses ménagères et d’autres avec des parois brulées qui ont servi pour garder les provisions.

Les matériaux découverts: récipients de différentes formes en terre cuite décorés d’ornements caractéristiques, des outils en silex, os et corne, des fusains, des poids, des massues en pierre, des pointes de flèches en silex et un poignard en bronze, d’épingles de parure et aussi des pièces à représentations plastiques (statuettes anthropomorphes, modèles de roues de chariots) trahissent aussi les occupations principales des habitants comme la chasse, la pêche, l’élevage du bétail, l’agriculture primitive et l’industrie domestique que leurs croyances religieuses.

Inscriptions and images on portable objects in Geto-Dacian area,

Silviu SANIE, Sheiva SANIE

Concerning the level of knowledge and the use of writing in the Thracian area in general, or only in the Geto-Dacian area, we have as evidence some notes of ancient authors as well as some Greek and Latin letters inscribed on materials which have been discovered both accidentally and from archaeological excavations.
Until now, there have been known a modest number of notations on stone, ceramics and metal, as well as stamped inscriptions and graffiti. Material which have been extensively studied and divided into groups are letters incised on stone boulders and stamps with Decebalus and Per Scorilo, both of which were discovered at Grădiștea Muncelului and Ocnita (Buridava). The discovery of the treasure throve from Rogozen reactivated discussions about inscriptions on Thracian-Getic silver vases. While these known notations could argue against the theory of Geto-Dacians' illiteracy, one cannot contest the fact that written documents are nevertheless extremely rare.

Discoveries, selectively presented here, and the application of research results on materials from other citadels and settlements will continue to change substantially previous views about the place and role of images and writing in Geto-Dacian life and among allogenous peoples in the Getic area.

The starting point here, and later the basis for research on these issues, are observations made on small vases from an archaeological complex at Dumbrava (Ciurea commune, Iași county). Among known representations, human protomes frequently appear with faces of considerably diversity of men mostly, but also of women of various ages. There are also protomes of domestic and wild animals.

The density of notations on the objects' surface is great. The analysis of the inscriptions on vases and different ceramic, stone and metal objects shows the extensive use of the Greek alphabet. Proper names predominate. Among them Thraco-Dacian names: Dapis, Dizas (Dizias, Dizis, Dizos), Zais, Zia, Iza, Taro, Tia, Tilis etc.; Greek names: Agias, Aigo, Aria, Aroas, Gigas, Dionysos, Zosea, Zotais, Helios, Rodis; Iranian names (Scythian-Sarmatian ones): Agarios, Dairiasi, Darezias, Namos, Fidas etc. or other names like: Atias, Atidis, Atis common for many people.

We'll illustrate by a small pot from Dumbrava and a loom-weight of stone from Barboși-Galați.
The settlement belonging to the middle stage of the First Iron Age from Bernadea, commune Bahnea, Mureș district ("Dâmbău" point)

Adrian URSUȚIU

The researches at the limit of Bernadea village, spot called by the native population "Dâmbău", were resumed in autumn 1995. Before that, the systematic research of the site had taken place between 1966-1972, but the materials put into circulation do only belong to the Neolithic Age, to different Bronze stages and to Dacian La Tène without explicit mentions on the Iron Age. To all these we add some vestiges belonging to the Roman Epoch, but without any cultural level afferent to this horizon.

The spot is situated at about 200 m west of the village, nearby the railway Blaj-Praid, and consists in a "popina" which appears from the first terrace of the Târnava Mică (river) meadow. Its relative height in comparison with the actual level of the river’s meadow is about 8 m. As the "popina"’s slopes are easy to acces from the actual meadow, it clearly appears that for the Bronze Age, respectively Latène horizons, Târnava bathed the lower edge of the settlement. From this viewpoint, building a ditch-wall system to protect the settlement, exclusively from the terrace, in its area of connection, would have been useless. For the moment, we haven’t enough data concerning the fortification’s functioning system in the Hallstatt epoch. The actual surface of the site is approximately 2250 m² and was partially destroyed on the occasion of the above mentioned railway’s construction (approximately 25 % in our estimation).

The importance of the site resides in the precious data concerning the Middle Hallstatt horizon in Transylvania. We mention that the level belonging to this stage goes beyond 0,70 - 0,80 m thickness on the whole explored surface, a peculiar situation that has no analogies in the Transylvanian plateau, where layers don’t go beyond 0,20 - 0,30 m. The level can be described as having a black-grey colour, being soft, with ashes and rich in archaeological vestiges. We believe that this situation is due to the limited habitable surface and to the characteristic habitat system. We mention that the two explored dwellings were full with ashes as a result of roof burning (but ashes we can find in the entire cultural layer).
In our opinion, the most likely explanation consists in the use of reed as building material, easy to obtain but at the same time easy inflammable.

The ceramics, showing limited form series (everted or inverted bowls, cups with one or two handles, bitronconic vessels with the outward rim, bag-shaped vessels), is characteristic for the whole HaC horizon, without notable exceptions. We believe that the ornamentation techniques to be relevant, belonging to a Gáva tradition (utilisation of grooved ornament in different variants, seldom correlated with motives achieved through incision or printing). We mention three fragments decorated with specific "S" motives.

The attempt to grasp an evolution of the ceramic ornament or of the forms in the 0.80 m of stratigraphy, had no results, the material at the basis of the layer being identical with that found in the upper ones. Consequently, we believe that the habitation superposed in a short period of time, covers an early stage of the Basarabi elements in Transylvania, belonging to the period when this culture penetrated the intra-Carpathian area, when the elements Gáva were prevailing in ceramics (such situations are known in the Mureș Valley in many places: Teleac, Târtăria, Iernut etc.).

From this point of view we suggest that the settlement from Bernadea has to be placed in the period of time between the middle and the end of the 7th century B.C.

Investigations of the middle period of the first Iron Age's phenomena in Transylvania can lead to relevant data for this chronological segment, for the moment scarcely studied by the way of systematic researches. The relation with the preceding horizon can be detected in the settlements of Transylvanian Middle Hallstatt. That fact can offer a clear image not only on Basarabi culture but also on Gáva elements that survived till the end of this epoch.
The shore of the Marmara Sea in antiquity was a region where ethnic and political processes were marked with a considerable intensity. A number of important features in the interaction between Greek-Roman and Thracian-Anatolian worlds can be explained through the analysis of epigraphic evidences concerning the penetration of indigenous anthroponyms in the onomasticon of the Propontis poleis.

So, at Chalcedon, situated in immediate proximity with native Bithynian lands but never submitted by Bithynian kings, the names of Thracian-Bithynian origin were not numerous and have appeared only in the Roman epoch. This fact has to be explained by hostile nature of the Chalcedonian-Bithynian relations in the Hellenistic time. The inscriptions from Myrleia/Apameia and Chios/Prusias-ad-Mare reveal the same situation. The share of indigenous element in these cities even after the integration in the Bithynian monarchy was quite small in comparison with the Greek and, later, the Roman ones.

There is the largest proportion of Thraco-Bithynian anthroponyms in the Bithynian capital, Nicomedia, on the one hand, and in Cyzicus and Byzantion - on the other hand. Nicomedia has been founded not by the Greeks but by the Bithynian themselves, and therefore it was actively settled by the latters. The clear parallels with such example are provided by the foundation of Prusa-ad-Olympum and Bithynion and, to some extent, the colonisation of Nikaia and Cieros/Prusias-ad-Hypium. The last two poleis were originally Greek settlements, but they were moved away from the sea. As a result, the native influence there was stronger.

Cyzicus and Byzantion represent another case. These important economical and political Greek centres for a long time held a large land possessions in Asia Minor on the territories settled by the Bithynian tribes.
Thracian, Baltic and Indo-Aryan hydronyms of North Pontic area

Valeri JAJLENKO

Recently I have regarded some archaic (before 5th cent. B.C.) North Pontic hydronyms as Thracian by origin (Thracia Pontica, IV, 1991): Borusthenēs, Pantikapēs, Gerros, Hupanis, Hupakuris, Turas. But excluding the first name all the others have close parallels in the Baltic hydronyms and apellatives. To the Pantikapēs besides Thracian hydronym Pontos and toponym Capidava cf. Lithuanian hydronym Pentâ, Old Prussian Pent-lawken (to Old Pr. pintis, pentes "a way, a path") and the river-names in Lithuania Kap-upē, Kāp-upis etc. (to Lith. kāpas, kāpai "a hill"). North Pontic river- and region name Gerros as well as Hupanis have both Thracian and Baltic correspondences (N. Jokl, I. Duridanov, V. Toporov). The name Turas I.I. Russu has conferred with the Thracian correspondences, but there is possible a comparison with the Lithuanian river-names Tūr-upis, Tver-upis (to Lith. tverti "to make dam or dike", "to dam, to dike": a middle stream of the Turas is full of rapids). The river-name Hupakuris perhaps includes the same root upa "a river" as well as the hydronym Hupanis and the Thracian names *Mōsupa, *Skenupa; the second root is possible Thracian stem *kor-, *kur-, "red", which is represented in a plant-name k(o)urionnékoum; but cf. the Baltic apellatives and hydronyms ūpē, Ūpē "a river", Kurēs (to Lith. kūrē, "quickly run, go").

The name Hupanis is very interesting from the point of view of its geographic spread: it’s not only in North Pontic area (the South Bug and Kuban), but also in India where it’s a parallel name of the rivers Akesinēs and Zaradros -the tributaries of the river Indus; and even itself Indus has a parallel name Hupanis. The recent supposition that the Indo-Aryans were an ancient population of the North Pontic area (O. Trubačev) might well explain such a presence of the name Hupanis here and there: it was carried from North Pontus to India. If it is so, one may explain the name Hupanis through an Old Indian upani "to bring to, to lead to": it goes very well with the fact that the South Bug is bringing to the Dnieper estuary and Akesinēs and Zaradros are bringing to the Indus and its tributaries. The Hupakuris (later form Hupakaris, Upakaris) was in ancient times a river system including the river Konka (Pantikapēs), the Dnieper channels and river Kalančak (B. Bybakov). Such a character of this river permits to compare the name Hupakaris with the Old Ind. upakar "to pour, to throw off", "to split, to rive,
to cleave", that is the river splitting or riving from the Dnieper. Another name of Hupakaris is Karkinitês (Kerkinitês), the lower part of the former (Th. Brun; cf. Chrest. Strab. II: the river Karkinitês falls into angle of the bay of the same name). Compare to such nature of the Karkinitês an Old Ind. Krka- "a throat", that is a mouth of a river.

If the name Hupanis is replaced from North Pontic area to India by the Indo-Aryans, this hydronym is much older as 2nd millennium B.C., when the Indo-Aryans have migrated to India. If it’s right, one may assume that the aspiration Ḥ of the Greek transcription of this name, as well as Hupakaris, reflects an initial laryngeal. Consequently, if these names are Thracian by origin, the base *upa- of their initial part cf. with the Indo-European stem *Hap-, *Hup- "a river" (Hittite hapa, Old Ind. ṣap-, Old Persian afs, Lithuanian upė, perhaps Old Indian anupa "a bank of a river", "a basin" etc.).

To sum up it’s possible to suppose 3 linguistic groups in North Pontic area before 8th - 5th cent. B.C.: Indo-Aryan (Hupanis, Hupakaris, Karkinitês etc.), Thracian (Borusthenês etc.) or Thracian-Baltic (Pantikapês, Gerros, Turas etc.) and Baltic (Bukês). All these groups can be supposed with the evidence of the toponymic material after the 5th cent. B.C.

Thracian - Illyrian language parallels: Thrac.
MEZENAI - Illyr. Menzanas

Irina A. KALUŽKAJA

The Messapian nickname of Jupiter - Menzanas attested by Festus in the passage about the South Calabrian tribe of Sallentines (Sallentini, aput quos Menzanae Iovi dicatus (sc. Equos) vivos conicitur in ignem "Sallentines that while making a sacrifice alive (sc. Horses) throw into fire" - Festus p. 190, ed. M. Lindsay) was reliably interpreted by W. Stier (KZ 1863, XI: 148) who successfully identified it with Alb. mėz (Gheg. māz) 'Foal', Rum. mînz herewith. G. Meyer (1891: 276) accepted that identification having connected mėz inside Albanian with the verb mënd 'to suck', cf. Gk. μαστός < μασ-τός < *mnd-to, OHD.
The Thracian equivalent to Illyr. Menzanas was proposed by V. Georgiev, who discovered it in the final fragment of the well-known Thracian inscription on the ring from Arabaji tumulus (V-th c. B.C.) near Duvanly: HTE TH ΔΕΛΕ MEZENAI. As far as the ring contains the picture of a horseman V. Georgiev considered that the inscription includes the name of a rider (god) related to Alb. mēz. The fall of the first v in the Thracian word Georgiev explained either by dissimilatory impact from the second v, or by before ζ position similar to Alb. mēz. But those phonetic assumptions cannot be proved by available language facts. Besides that the new and more convincing interpretation of that particular inscription has been proposed recently by S. Kaloyanov (1988). He has read it as HTE IT ΔΑΑΑΑΕΜΕ ZHNAI which is not unfounded and thus has eliminated the existence of the Thracian component in general.

As for the correlation between Alb. mēz resp. Rom. mînz and Illyr. Menzanas it is worth mentioning that the phonetic appearance of the former permits to reconstruct protoforms with both o- and e- voicing, i.e. *mend-i-o-, that gives the possibility of their full identification. The other step of ablaut is represented in Lat. mannus, Bask. mando < from Celtic etc. The indirect proof of more close proninquity between Balkan forms lies in their semantic aspect - they designate a young one of horse not of hourned cattle as in Celtic and Romanic languages.

Thracia stories in Sophokles's works

Natalia Vladimirovna LOMTADZE

Evidences about Thracia in the works of Sophokles can be divided into parts. First part includes mythology connected to Mysia and the west of Asia Minor as well as Troy's mythology. In "Ajax" (210) Sophokles mentions that Tekmessa was the daughter of Teleutant of the Phrygian king. "Phrygian" means a region of Troad, the so-called Little Phrygia. Teleutant is mentioned.
only here, other sources informing that Tekmessa was the daughter of Teutant of the Mysian king. We can suppose that Sophokles used unknown sources for his tragedy. In "Ajax" (720 and others): Teucer was Ajax's brother and the son of Telamon and Gesiona was the daughter of the Trojan king. His name is the eponym of the Thracian ethnos (Apollod., III 12, 1; Diod., IV 75). In "Antigona" (824-826) is met the mention about Niobe, but in "Antenorids" Sophokles told about the sons of Antenor (frag. in Strabo, XIII, 608). Both are connected with Thracia (in the myth about Niobe - the mountain Sipil; in "Antenorids" - the sons of Antenoros run away to Thracia after the destruction of Troy).

The second part includes Thracian mythology and religion. Lycurg (Antig. 955-957) was the Thracian king of the Edons. He was put by Dionysos into a stony tomb. Sophokles took the different version of this myth, then Herodot (Iliad, VI, 130-134). In "Antigona" presents the hidden dispute with Aishilos devoted the tetralogy to Dionysos and Lycurg, so Sophokles used the different version in his tragedy. The legend about the horrible fate of the Phiney's sons in "Antigona" (966 fol.): the Thracian origin of the legend reveals at fr. 970. Ares was an eyewitness of the blindness of Phiney's sons. In fact, it is the Thracian Ares, local deity of war indicated by Homer in Odyssey (VIII, 361). Consequently, as Sophokles used Homer's works he probably knew a region of Thracia still worshipping Ares, not far from the mount of Bosphorus. This region is mentioned in "King Oedipus" once again as maritime (fr. 190 fol.), Itiy was (Electra, 145) the son of the Thracian king Terey. Thamirid was the Thracian singer (Polluc. IV, 141) and Sophokles took the version of the myth from Iliad (II, 594). In "Terey" (fr. 523) is mentioned Helios and Sophokles said he was the most worshipped deity as the light.

Third part includes knowledge of nature and landscape for different regions of Thracia, as well knowledge about Thracian way of life and customs. In Sophokles' works we meet the mentions: heights in Mysia (Ajax, 720-721); Thracian wind (Antig., 587-88); the rivers Istros and Thasis (King Oedipus 1227-1228); the Sarpedon's shore (Captives, fr. 43) named for the Thracian coast, where the temple of Poseidon has been settled down - Sarpedon was also the name of the mythological king in Thracia, son of Poseidon and it also existed a Sarpedon mountain (Timpaniste fr. 580); Thracian mountain of Aphonian Zeus (Thamirid, fr. 216) means the Athon mountain as the Scholiast explained the statue of Zeus was at Athon; trigon was the type of harp used in Mysia (Thamirid, fr. 218; the Misias, fr. 378); the wiping of enemyhaires had Diomed, the king of Thracia and the son of Ares, and it was Scythian custom (Enomay, fr. 432); thracian cloak and
barbarians like the silver (Terey fr. 527, 528); Artak was the harbour, the mount and the suburb of Cyzic (unknown, fr. 831).

Athenian Sophokles, as we can confine, possessed religious-mythological and geographical evidences about the south Thracia and the north-west region of the Asia Minor - the little Phrygia and Troy. These regions were early colonised by the Greeks and the Athenians knew them, but evidences about the central and northern Thracia are absent. Sophokles told unknown versions of some myths that point out the fact of using uncommon sources. Besides, it pays attention the significant resemblance of the Greek and Thracian cultures, especially in the religious field.

La "Scythie archaïque" en Dobroudja septentrionale et la situation ethno-politique des steppes nord-pontiques aux VIIe - VIe siècles av. J.-C.

K.K. MARČENKO, M.Ju. VAHTINA

Les vestiges archéologiques récupérés dernièrement à la suite de l'exploration de la zone nord-pontique rapportés à ceux déjà étudiés auparavant laissent à présumer la manifestation relativement précoce et puis la présence continue en ces lieux d'une puissante horde des Scythes nomades. Il se peut même que l'arrivée de ces nomades dans l'espace bas-danubienne jette un jour nouveau sur le tableau de ce qu'on appelle le "désert archéologique" de la-dite région à l'étape initiale de l'âge du fer.

Une longue suite d'éléments de culture matérielle nous permet de parler d'un lien étroit des "nouveaux-venus" avec le monde tribal nord-pontique. Evidemment, les nomades étaient venus de l'est à travers le couloir de la steppe et, prenant pied en Dobroudja, ils contrôlèrent les steppes limitrophes du nord.

Quelques témoignages des sources écrites antiques rendent compte, sans doute, de la situation historique concrète propre à la région danubienne à l'époque archaïque. Tout d'abord, notons le nom-même donné au secteur
nord de la Dobroudja, dite la Scythie archaïque ou antique (Hérodote, IV, 99, 2). La variante grecque de la tradition généalogique scythique (Hérodote, IV, 9-10) comporte une tentative de fixer les tout premiers moments de l’installation des "peuplades" nomade dans l’espace istro-pontique. On a déjà attiré l’attention aussi sur le fait que l’activité des "rois" scythes Ariapeithes, Scyles et Octomasades (Hérodote, IV, 78-80) se limitait à la région du nord-ouest de la mer Noire, même si, comme il est généralement connu, les "rois"scythes étaient localisés à l’ordinaire dans l’est de la steppe voisine de la mer Noire.

L’hypothèse de la présence au Bas-Danube d’une puissante horde nomade s’accorde parfaitement avec les représentations contemporaines de la façon dont les nomades de l’époque archaïque se sont emparés de la région qui longe la mer Noire. Les terres habitées par des tribus sédentaires ou à demi-sédentaires appartenant à une variété de cultures représentaient pour ces nomades des zones d’"attraction". Or, parmi les terres respectives, entre celles du Don inférieur et de la Caucase antérieure, comptait aussi la Dobroudja septentrionale. Une union barbare s’y est constituée aux VIIe - VIe siècles av. J.-C., sous le gouvernail de l’aristocratie scythique.

A noter que la présence dans cette région d’une pareille union, suffisamment puissante sans doute, coïncide avec les débuts de la colonie d’Histria, fondée en 638 av. J.-C. De le deuxième quart du VIe siècle av. J.-C. la chôra d’Histria commence à se développer au point d’englober à un rythme rapide de vastes territoires environnants. Le processus permet, de toute évidence, d’évoquer des rapports en général pacifiques entre les colons et le monde barbare des alentours. Sans doute, ces rapports dans leurs grandes lignes ont-ils dû suivre un parcours analogue à ceux développés par les Ioniens dans les autres régions pontiques.

La situation devait changer brutalement dans les steppes nord-pontiques vers la fin du premier ou deuxième quart du Ve siècle av. J.-C. Avec le commencement de la seconde moitié de ce siècle, au plus tard, l’aristocratie scythique du Bas-Danube perd son ascendant sous la pression de l’Etat odryse, engloutie lentement par un milieu étranger.
Ceramics of Bronze Age Noble Burials in the Volga Region

Oleg D. MOTCHALOV

In the Bronze Age the main role in culture-genetic processes in Don-Volga-Ural region played the Potapovka tribes of the Middle Volga. On the base of the archaeological finds close to Sintashta materials of Transural (the richness of metal, the complication of the ceremony etc.) the Potapovka burial grounds (Utevka VI, Potapovka etc.) are interpreted as burials of noblemen (Vasilyev, Kuznetsov, Semenova, 1992) having elite character. In the formation of these monuments which influenced the creation of felling culture of the Late Bronze Age took part the Poltavka and Abashevo population.

It is interesting to note how in ceramics, keenly reacting on the influence we can see the elite character of these monuments? What are the main signs of the ceramics complex?

Potapovka vessels have middle, seldom stocky proportions. There are also tiny vessels and large forms. All the ceramics is flat-bottomed, the shoulder and neck usually occupy the upper third of the vessel, the neck is short, the nimbus is unbent. And of 6 chosen forms - one is distinguished, dominated and standardised, - pot with rib in upper third of profile and unbent nimbus. This is in 60% of ceramics. This form prevails both in single monuments and in region on the whole. The rest vessels have no rib, but the proportions (excepting jars) are close enough to the dominating form. In the dimensions of vessel parameters certain coincidences are fixed. The body and the bottom side parts are the most stable in proportions, this fact being connected to the making of some vessels on the pattern. According to the forms this ceramics is comparable to the ceramics of Poltavka culture in the Bronze Age. However, in Poltavka not a single form dominates and doesn't make such a representing group as in Potapovka and we can't observe mass production and strict standards. 81% of Potapovka ceramics is ornamented, mainly jars were not decorated. The ornament was made by "toothed" cliché, drawing, seldom pressing, cording. Different methods can be combined. The majority of the motives-different variants of geometric figures (triangle, rhombus) and broken lines, raws of pressing in. The decoration covers the main part of the vessels. The composition usually is built horizontally in ornamented zones. Mostly decorated are the body and the part
over it. The most stable decoration is herring bone plus geometric figure (50% of the vessels) which decorated the dominating form. The geometric figures are over the body, which is decorated by raws of herring bone. Sometimes the vessel is completely decorated with herring bone (10% of ceramics), usually it is with oval body. The neck was sometimes decorated by raws of straight lines and pressings in. It was decorated only a small part of the vessel, usually by geometric figures. We can trace the combination of figures to which potters showed preference. Besides, 17 standard repeating compositions were fixed, which made 35% of ceramics. Some peculiarities in decoration of the vessels were singled out.

Standardisation in ornament is seen as in single burials, so in definitive monuments, in other words the criteria of ornamentation were common. So it was established that the level of standardisation of Potapovka ceramics could hardly be compared with the previous cultures of the region. However, high standardisation is noticed in the ceramics of Sintashta monuments in Transural and in the vessels of Vyatlaynskij IV burial ground in Preural.

Facts of the analysis of Potapovka ceramics were compared with the following on the ethnoarchaeology. As the result it was found out that Potapovka pottery was apparently connected with high standardisation and higher level of production in comparison with Poltavka and Bashevo cultures. This level is evidently bent for household industry (according to Leeuw, 1977), which follows the household production. Its signs are the increasing of the production, though the technology may remain the same, the standardisation is in form. The potters absorb the influence of different sources, the evidence of this is the presence of single ornaments and forms spread in other cultures later remade. Mass character of the production is evidently connected with the development of skill and creation of vessels on the pattern. The preservation of household production is not cut of question, in other words, different levels can coexist (Santley, 1989).

Ceramics standardisation is often considered as the increasing specialisation, which in its turn may be the reflection of heightened control of the centralisation of institutes over the production (Kramek, 1985). Besides, there exists a point of view that any specialisation in pottery is possible only in elite productions (Pollock, 1983) and highly structured decor (the structural analysis of Potapovka ornament showed) also can testify to increasing social (horizontal) differentiation (Hoddek, 1982). Harmonious combination and the processing of heterogeneous elements and the existing of strict canons in spite of variety of motives testify for this.
The analysis of Potapovka ceramics doesn't contradict the point of view about participation of Poltavka and Abashevo cultures in composing of these monuments. However, Potapovka ceramics testify to higher standardisation, higher level of production which is connected with peculiar social, leader status of these tribes.

The Idea of Sound Adornments through Ages

Vera RADIA

Curt Sachs considered sound adornments to be the first sound innovations of mankind. Thus, the bracelets of beads put on the man’s hands in Upper Palaeolithic Sungir grave played the role of sound adornment.

Necklaces made of animals’ teeth found in Mesolithic Zveinieque grave and numberless pendants made of elk teeth from Oleneostrovskij grave excavation are also well known.

Throughout the ages metal sound-making developing sound adornments became more various.

In the medieval Mordvian graves - Armievsk, the Second Zhuravinsk, Panovsk, Elizabeth-Mikhailovsk - head, neck and chest, and waist sound adornments have been discovered.

But in spite of being attached to a certain epoch, these objects belong to the same field of problematics. Unlike the other idiophones, sound adornments are not autonomous. They start to sound even under man’s usual movements.

One of the main problems is the equivalence between sound and mute functions. So we can suppose this equivalence to have been a possible variable one.

What meaning did the adornment’s sound get when it was heard by a man? It was considered that the sound adornments’ noise as the sound of other rattling instruments protected people against the Evil. Maybe we are to agree on that.

Perhaps rattling had some more functions. For example we may think of sound adornments’ voice being a way of sound communication with the outer
Features of the protohellenism in Magna Grecia (Sicily) and Thracia

Michail Filippovič VYSOKIJ

1.1. The basic elements to the future theory of protohellenism were put forward in the first half of the 20th century by E. Minns and M.I. Rostovzef. By the middle of the century, V.D. Blavatsky formulated the theory. Nowadays, researchers as S.Ju. Saprykin and E.A. Kruglov agree with this theory but F.V. Shelov-Kovedjaev and Ju.G. Vinogradov disagree.

1.2. Sicily and Thracia were zones of the Great Greek Colonisation and this foredoomed the main direction of their development. However these development features included in the phenomena of protohellenism, developed in Thracia slowly since the Greeks conquered a barbarian territory. In Sicily they created the large territorial state with interaction and existence of the Greeks and the local tribes. But in Thracia Greek poleis settled in the middle of hostile and strong tribes and this situation troubled their interaction. Finally the Greek polices appeared under the power of Odris' monarchy and their gradual development stopped the formation of the protohellenism features.

Let's scan the peculiar features of these regions, that is to say protohellenism.

2.1. While the phenomena of the protohellenism were close connected with tyranny in Sicily, in Thracia it was created starting only with the rising of the Odris' monarchy.

2.2. One of the main features of the Hellenistic state was the granting of the lands by a king, as the supreme owner of all lands, including the ones of the Greek poleis. In Sicily the tyrants settled down mercenaries on the territory of the poleis, granting the rights of citizenship (Diod., XI, 48, 49, 72, 76; Arist., Pol., II, 11) or lands for the founding of the polis (Polyaen., I, XXVII, 3; Diod., XI, 49; Thuc., VI, 5, 3), and removing by force citizens from one polis to another and granting them the right of citizenship (Her., VII, 156; Diod., XI, 49 etc.). The population of the polis payed to the tyrant the tax (Polyaen., I, XXVII, 1; Plut., Dect. reg. et duc., 18, 3), because they were not in fact the owners of the land. In Thracia, the king possessed the land. Sources mention various villae, villages, fortresses (Xenoph., Anab., VII, II, 25, 36 and III, 19 etc.), including the lands of the Greek poleis for example, Seuthus (II) wanted to present to Xenophont the Samosian colony Bisanta and the
Greek fortress Neon - in *Anab.*, VII, II, 38; V, 8). The population of the Greek *poleis* paid taxes to the Thracian kings (Thuc., II, 97, 3) because they were not the owners of their land.

2.3. In Thracia, as in Sicily, an early wide expansion of mercenaries and, connected with it, military adventures for the seizing of power (Polyaen., V, VI; I, V, 1; VI, LI; Her., V, 46, 39; Thuc., II, 96, 2 etc.) is observed.

2.4. As in the Hellenistic states, in Thracia and Sicily regional vice-regents of the king (tyrant) functioned: in Sicily, the system of "inferior" tyrants (Diod., XI, 48; Her., VII, 164 etc.), in Thracia - *παραδύναμοστευόντες* (Xenoph., *Anab.*, VII, II, 32; IV, 24; V, 1 etc.).

2.5. Dynastic cult of the ruler existed in prehellenistic Thracia (coinage of Sparadocus, Seuthus I, etc.; Her., V, 7); in Sicily a sacred character of the tyrannical power (Her., VI, 153; Pind., *Ol.*, 3, 3a; Diod., IX, 18, 19 etc.).

2.6. Regarding the cultural phenomena in Thracia and Sicily, as well as in the Hellenistic states, cultural and linguistic synthesis of Greeks and barbarians are to be noticed.

2.7. In both regions a wide penetration of the barbarian population to the Greek *poleis* took place, where they played an essential role in the economical and political life (Her., VII, 155; Thuc., VI, 73; IV, 109, 3-4; Pind., *Pean*, II, 5; Xenoph., *Anab.*, VII, I, 24; Hell., V, 2, 17 etc.).
U.S.A.

The speckled and the bright: Thracian influence at the Holy Wells of Ireland

Walter L. BRENNEMAN, Jr.

This study begins by seeking to establish the Thracian origins of the cult of the Celtic goddess Brigid and of her later Christian reflex, St. Bridget or St. Brigid. The Thracian/Irish connection is made by means of the tracing of tribal movements from Thrace eastward, passing ultimately through Gaul and on into Britain and Ireland. The tribe we are most interested in here is the Briges, identified by Strabo as originating in Thrace. From this study two primary symbols emerge which later become extremely important in early Irish myth and religion. The first symbol is that of the image of the speckled (or *breac*) while the second is that of the image of the bright. These two symbols are found at various levels within the Brigentine tribal culture, and later in Irish Celtic culture. For example, they are represented in the relationship of the sun god Aedh to Brigid and in the correlating idea of the fire in the water, expressed through the healing and wisdom giving powers of the sacred spring.

Explorations are then made into the symbolism of these two poles of power with special reference to their appearance at sacred springs in the form of the fish (the speckled) in the well (the bright). Following an examination of this complex in Irish myth surrounding the sacred spring, the study moves to some comparative instances in Vedic and Iranian material as reported in the work of Jaan Puhvel, Georges Dumézil and Patrick Ford. In his essay "Fire and Water"¹, Puhvel builds on Dumézil’s earlier work, identifying the nature of Indo-Iranian/ Vedic god Apām Napāt. The meaning of the god’s name is "residing or immersed in water" or "among the waters". Just what is residing in the water is the nature of the god, which is a fiery one². Thus the

coincidence of these opposites, fire and water, symbolises a mystical or divine union, namely a *hieros gamos*.

Puhvel goes on to identify a dynamic structure within the myth as it appears in both Indic and Iranian context. Our study then brings this structure back to the Irish material, applying it to a brief examination of the mythic Well of Segais and the Well of Nechtan. Mention is also made of the tale of the Drunkard at the Well in relation to this structure.

Having identified the presence of this symbolic complex, fire in water (speckled in the bright) within the Irish Celtic myth cycle, the study moves to contemporary practices at holly wells in Ireland, as well as their connection to this symbolic complex, having its origins in Thrace. Even in the present day, devotees at the Christian holy wells often speak of the presence of a magical fish in the well\(^3\). This fish is always either a trout or a salmon which identifies it with the speckled pole of the symbolic structure. In the course of our fieldwork over the past fifteen years, we have interviewed several well devotees who have seen this magical fish. The sighting of the fish brings certain healing, especially to the eyes, or the granting of some special favour. We conjecture that the healing of the eyes by the sighting of the fish in the wells is an infantilization of the earlier symbol of wisdom emanating from this conjunction of fire and water, the speckled and the bright. Further, many of the wells in which magical fish are said to dwell are dedicated to St. Brigid, which establishes the Thracian influence at such wells, and, we feel, the general symbolic meaning of the well complex.

The study focuses finally on a particular well, St. Brigid’s well in Killaire, Country Meath, as an illustration of the conjunction of the speckled and the bright. This well is also associated with St. Aedh mac Breac, thus connecting the speckled, St. Aedh, with the bright, St. Bridget, as well as giving evidence of the Thracian influence at the holy wells of Ireland even today.

\(^3\) see Walter and Mary Brenneman, *Crossing the Circle at the Holly Wells of Ireland*, Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1995, p. 28 for a discussion and examples of this theme.
NOTES


2 *Naturalis Historia* V, 95: "A latere eius super Pamphyliam veniunt Thracum suboles Milyae, quorum Arycanda oppidum". Which Hall (p. 150) suspects may be defective as to call Milyae "Thracum suboles" makes no sense and suggests as the simplest emendation "veniunt Thracum suboles <et> Milyae".
About the character of the Scythian-Thracian contacts in the Lower Danube in the 4th c. B.C.

Svetlana ANDRUH

Scythian - Thracian relations play the magnificent part in the reconstruction of peoples in the Lower Danube's ancient history. The major attention was paid to the analysis of cultural and military - political contacts to the prejudice of the economical contacts.

The history or relations between Scythians and Thracians has a long duration - from the turn of 6th - 5th cc. B.C. up to the end of existence of Scythia Minor at the beginning of the 1st c. B.C. Their character varied depending on political situation and economical development. The confrontation of Scythes and Thracians which appeared as the result of the Scythian territorial claims was typical in 6th - 5th cc. B.C. Its fading was connected with regulation of diplomatic contacts and contracting of the dynastic marriages (Her., IV, 80), which brought to the stabilisation of borders on the banks of the Danube (Thuc., II, 97). The priority of military-political relations made the contacts more specific and it is obvious from the penetration of prestige adornments and armour into Thracian environment which was stimulated by barbarian aristocracy.

At the end of the 5th - 4th cc. B.C. the character of contacts had abruptly changed even after involving not only military-political but also economical factors. The transition of Scythes from nomadic to semi-settled economy by the end of the 5th c. B.C. played the outstanding role in the stabilisation and extending of Scythian - Thracian relations.

The strengthening of economical relations on the left bank of the Danube, in Boudgeak steppe was proved by finds of adornments and horse bridles of Thracian type in the graves of ordinary Scythes (Plavni, Čauš, Mresnota Mogila, etc.). The presence of Getic moulded tableware with the elements of Thracian decoration in Scythian tombs (Crihana-Veche, Talmaza, Semenovka, etc.) accounts for the penetration of some Gets into Scythian environment and probably on the beginning of assimilation of two ethnoi.

The Dânceni tomb where Scythian graves were found among the Getic ones testifies to the possibility of such ethnic mixture. The finds of Scythian
ceramic on Getic settlements from forest steppe Moldavia’s (Hansca, Pârjolteni) testify to the presence of real ethnic contacts. The appearance of Getic settlements (Pjvdennoe, Orlovca, Izmail, Novoselskoe, etc.) on the Scythian territory in the first half of the 4th c. B.C. marks the transition from confrontation to peaceful coexistence in the frame of setting economical contacts which in due course led to the assimilation of the part of ethnus.

The similar situation is typical for Thracia as well. The Scythian invasion in 4th c. B.C. on the territory of Thracia didn’t led to the delimitation of ethnic groups. For example, the typical Scythian sites are known on Brâila’s plain (Chișcăni, Scorțaru-Vechi, Murgeanca, Lișcoteanca, Unirea), in Dobroudja (Toprași, Constanța, Braničevo, Kelnovo, etc.). Some of them testify to the beginning of assimilation: Celic-Dere tomb, where Scythian and Getic graves were found; Getic settlements (Albești, Enisala, etc.), where Scythian ceramic was found.

The stabilisation of economical contacts and ethnic assimilation lasted a long time by military actions, especially in the period of Ateas aggression. Later the appearance of a mutual enemy - Macedonia - led to the beginning of alliance relationship between Scythians and Thracians and to the intensification of ethnic and economical contacts. Later this kind of relationship formed the basis for the poly-ethnical composition of Scythia Minor with the domination of Getic ethnus and its cultural elements.

The Thracian cults in the north-western Black Sea littoral
(6th century B.C. - 3rd century A.D.)

Gennadi V. BATIZAT

There is already known that the Thracian cults have occupied a great role among the other Greek and Roman cults in the north-western Black Sea littoral. These cults, which spread in the cities of Tyras, Nikonium and Olbia, referred to the Thracian Horseman, the Orphic-Dionysiac and the Thraco-Phrygian Sabazius (or Dionysos-Sabazius) divinities and had a basic influence
among the Thracian elements, especially the Roman legions and non-Thracian population of these cities from the 6th century B.C. up to the 3rd century A.D.

The Orphic-Dionysiac cult, which was very popular here perhaps as early as the 6th century B.C., had been represented in the bone tables from Olbia, tables containing the sacral writing by the mysterious rites (Rusjaeva, 1978; Burkert, 1989) and the widely spreading of Dionysiac symbols and attributes such as thyrsi, ivy with the vine, pine-cones, lead bucrania and double axes.

One may especially note the small pots and potsherds with Greek inscriptions realised in white paint on the surface of the vessel, found in Tyras and Olbia (Karśkovskij, Klejman 1985; Son, 1993). The pots had inscriptions in Greek (πεντεν, ευφραίνον μ "drink, enjoy" and ειλεούς μοι ο θεος "will God mercy to me") and decorations in form of ivy with vines and celery (?) or pine leaves on their surface. Strictly speaking, likewise features may be assumed as being connected with the Orphico-Dionysiac funeral cult, probably with Dionysos and Sabazius as chthonic gods, as well as the burial tombs or stelae ornamented by the ivy-vine strands and grapes on their edges.

The Thracian Horseman is represented in the north-western Black Sea littoral as the cultic icon-reliefs are showing equestrian figures dressed in a cloak, tunic and trousers, holding the spear in his right hand and striking the wild boar or the snake twisting around a tree (Karśkovskij, Klejman 1985; Rusjaeva, 1992; Ščeglov, 1967; Son, 1993). This iconography is perhaps connected with a healing cult (like the Oriental one of mounted Solomon striking a naked woman which denoted a fever or a womb-ill; another example is the one of the Egyptian god Horus, also mounted, striking the crocodile-Seth, the god of wilderness and in this case the image of evil. As it is known, some reliefs representing the Thracian Horseman also contained the inscribed dedications to the god Asklepios (Roman Aesculapius, the god of health), sometimes with his figure represented aside. We might think that the Thracian Horseman was a divine personage, having the functions of averting and ill-omened charms and the healing properties.

The snakes, the pine-cones and a gesture of benedictio latina on these stelae are also a bridging the latter with the mysteries and sacramental rites by the syncretic god Dionysos-Sabazius.
Thracian bridle from the Scythian barrows of the Lower Dnieper

Juri BOLTRJK, Elena FJALKO

A small series of the bridle sets of so-called Thracian or Scytho-Thracian types are known in the Scythian barrows of the 4th cent. B.C. This type of bridle adornment can be rarely met in the Scythian burial monuments of Northern Pontus. Similar details have been found in Oguz (6), Krasnokutskij barrow (3), Kozel, Homjna Mogila (2), barrow 11 near vill. Djunovka, barrow 2 near vil. Znamenka, Čmjreva Mogila, Soboleva Mogila. The greatest series of 6 sets is in Oguz. All sets are original and have no absolute analogy.

There are well-known bridle adornments of this type from the monuments of the ancient Thracia: Agighiol, Craiova, Băiceni, Peretu (Romania), Letnitsa, Lukovit, Vrats, Svesčarj, Brezovo, Orizovo, Mezek, Bednjakovo (Bulgaria).

This type of adornments has such peculiarities as: unusual subjects; realistic image of the animals; original stationary pictures; specific pattern of the hatched strips in relief; all of them are silvermade and quite original. The distinctive features of the Scythian animal style are syncretism and special dynamics of the picture. And just these features we can't find on the bridle adornments under review. Furthermore typical Scythian bridle adornments are made of bronze or gold and they form series of the same type. In the literature there exist several points of view on the origin and limited localisation of the above mentioned finds. We consider that they should be referred to the production of the Thracian craftsmen.

Finds of similar bridle sets on the Northern Pontus’ territory come from the graves of representatives of superior Scythian aristocracy. It is quite possible that they were made by Thracian craftsmen at order, respecting the beneficiary’s taste, or they were offered as presents. It is interesting to note that the similar sets on the Thracia’s territory come mainly from the rich graves belonging to the local aristocracy.

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Connections of the steppe’s southern Bug river region of the northern coasts of the Black Sea with the eastern Hallstatt region in the 11th - 9th c. B.C.

Juri S. GREBENNIKOV

There is a weak working out of the questions on Thracian - “Cimmerian” relations both in Bulgaria and Romania, in the zone of direct contacts of two big ethnic communities. In the first place it is explained by the fact that there are many archaeological monuments of Late Bronze Age and the beginning of Early Iron Age on the northern coast of the Black Sea which are not known well enough in both countries. This creates big difficulties in comparing archaeological materials from different territories in order to raise and to decide a question about the connections (Meljukova, 1979).

Comparing the archaeological and historical sources of this period, we have a possibility to speak about two Cimmerian “kingdoms” (Černjakov, 1990), as confirmed by the archaeological finds. The Western group has its peculiarities and received the name “Belozersko - Tudorovskaja” and approaches the monuments of the Thracian Hallstatt. Correspondences between Belozerska - eastern and Thracian - western elements of culture are of main importance when studying the relations of the eastern and the western ethno-cultural massifs. The steppe’s southern Bug region is a link between the western and the eastern groups of monuments of Belozerska culture. It has not been studied until the present time. The research of the settlement “Dikij sad” has already given rather important materials for solutioning the problem in two aspects: material and ideological. Such settlement is an unique one in the southern Bug region. This research began in 1991.

The settlement has two construction chronological levels. The first level may be dated in the 11th - 9th c. B.C., within the limits of Belozerska culture. The second level may be dated later, including 8th c. B.C. Some forms of ceramics confirm it.

Lower level contains ceramic forms specific to both eastern and western monuments of Belozerska culture. The upper level has usual forms for this culture and a great number of ceramics which specific to the eastern Hallstatt region. These are black and grey polished ceramics with internal engobe, with various grooves and project ornaments, an import censer from the Lower Danube and other kinds of dishes, typical for the mentioned territory.
These two chronological levels correspond to the worship complex, researched in the eastern part of the settlement. To the early period belongs a large construction (8 x 4 m) with clay walls. On the river side there was a deep slope-rise 1 - 1.5 m wide with steep slopes (to 45°) on both sides upwards. After performed worship activities all ash laid out on these slopes, not littering a road. It proves a lack of usual everyday sweepings. After the crashing of the walls of this construction, this “zolniki” (ash) was preserved and the other deepened dwelling was built to the west of the first one. This construction has also some of the worship buildings’ signs (Grebennikov, 1994). There were 12 holes of various construction situated in definite order, not overlapping one another and a lot of hearths in the floor. Most probably ashes from these bonfires was gathered in definite holes.

Human bones, a skull, a jaw from different individuals and others were placed round in the central hole. These finds, situation of the hearths and the holes on the points of the sun’s movement give us an opportunity to speak about a combination of the chthonic and the solar cults. This feature is noted on the territory of Thrace by some researchers (Fol, 1979, Goceva, 1975).

In that way, this monuments give the necessary scientific, historical - archaeological material for studying not only material culture but also source of ancient cults of the northern and western Coast of the Black Sea. Likeness of main ethnic cultural indices - ceramic complexes testifies about connections between these cultures.

Hligeni II - source historique pour l’étude de la culture hallstattienne de haute-époque Saharna

Maja T. KAŠUBA

Parmi les monuments de haute-époque du Hallstatt à céramique incisée et imprimée, la culture carpato-danubienne de type Saharna s’impose non seulement grâce aux stations (9) explorées par les fouilles ou ses ensembles funéraires (43 enterrements), mais aussi par la masse de ses vestiges formant dépôts ou isolés. Ces vestiges servent également à la précision de ses limites.
Ethnic identity of Upper Tisza population
of the 6th century B.C. - 4th century A.D.
based on the excavation of burial monuments

Viačeslav KOTIGOROŠKO

In the course of the historical development until the middle of the 1st century B.C. the Thracians in Carpathian region had reached a certain unity of the material culture. But in the respect of burial ritual one can trace local differences, most probably determined by the tribal peculiarities of one or another region.

The ritual of burial in Upper Tisza in the 6th century B.C. became the determining one for the times to come. The fact that burial form came into being, can be motivated by the local Kuštanovica culture (mid. 6th - 4th cent. B.C.) bearers of which, according to the commonly accepted assessment of M. Dushek, G.I. Smirnova etc. who refer it to Northern Thracian culture.

The main feature of this burial ritual was cremation (either on the burial spot or apart), which was followed by putting the cremated remnants in urns, holes or on the level of the habitation. The burials were covered by ground layer. As a rule one barrow contained from 3 to 17 burials. Next to the burial were placed pots with grave goods.

During the phase of LT B 2 a in the región, parallel with the appearance of Celts there came to be practised biritual ground graves. The links of the substrate and the population that migrated in are registered in burials that were
performed as the local ritual (Královský Chlmeck, barrow N 19; Kuštanovica, barrow N 11).

A testimony to the preserved burial ritual of Kuštanovica culture by the end of the 3rd-2nd centuries B.C. may be the barrow in Beregi (Transcarpathia).

Among the monuments of the 1st century B.C. and the 1st century A.D. the Zemplin burial stands out (Slovakia). Out of the 74 North Thracian burials of necropolises, 33 are under barrows and 41 are ground burials. They were all performed in the ritual of cremation. The appearance of ground burials was connected with the setting of Dacian tribes in the epoch of Burebista in the region.

A group of burials of Carpathian barrow culture belongs to the last stage of Thracian culture of the region and includes the ground burials of German tribes that have moved into the region.

Among the first group of monuments the necropolis in the village of Iza of Hust region of Transcarpathia has been fully excavated, giving the most complete data about the ritual of the local population in the Roman time. For the earlier period of the cremation characteristic was the putting of remnants in urns, ground holes, piles and on the cremation spot.

During the 3rd-4th centuries A.D. the unification of the burial type took place, a process reflected in urn burials. As urns they used clay vessels of local traditional forms. Nearby they ritually placed pots with goods, belonging to the cremated person.

The Zemplin, Bratovo and Lesne barrows make up a special group where one can trace the local ritual and the existence of things of Przeworsk origin.

The analysis of burial monuments makes it possible to conclude that during the 6th cent. B.C. and the 4th cent. A.D. the main population of the Upper Tisza were the local North Thracian tribes.

The intrusion of alien ethnic elements (Celts, Germans) caused the emergence of the biritual ground burials.
About the Cult of *Tauroctonous Mithras* at Olbia

Valentina V. KRAPIVINA

Some years ago a fragment of a small marble votive slab was found in the south-eastern part of the Roman citadel of Olbia. It represents a central upper part of a relief with *Tauroctonous Mithras*. In accordance to style and composition the marble relief impersonating Mithras from Intercisa (Vishi, 1977) and marble statue of Mithras from Aquincum (Poczy, 1969) are its closest analogies. They are dated between the second half of the 2nd - 3rd century A.D.. It’s the first reliable find of such slabs in the archaeological layers of Olbia. Three earlier published fragments of small slabs with *Tauroctonous Mithras* from Olbia belonged to the collection of P.O. Burachkov (Rostovtsev, 1911).

It’s considered that penetration of cult of Mithras into the environment of Roman legionaries took part together with the cult of Thracian horseman through Thracian freelances (Tačeva - Hitova, 1982). All that promoted the romanization of the population of Roman provinces.

The votive slabs with Mithras appeared in Olbia after the accommodation of the Roman garrison there. They were probably brought here by Roman legionaries from *Moesia Inferior*. The cult of Mithras was not popular among the inhabitants of Olbia. Any other replicas of it weren’t found among all kinds of Olbian art. Maybe only the terracotta of Roman warriors were connected with it (Rusjaeva, 1992).

A *mithraeum* in Olbia may had not existed, since all found slabs are small ones. Evidently, they were placed in the dwellings of warriors or on their posts. It can’t be excluded that these slabs were placed in the sanctuary of Thracian gods. M.I. Rostovtsev convieniently considered that there was such a sanctuary in Olbia or in its environment.
Thracian elements in ceramic complexes from Olbia
(end of the 8th - early 5th centuries B.C.)

Nina A. LEIPUNSKAJA

The problem of defining the character of the relations between different territories is one of the most important problems of the antique centres history of the North Black Sea region. The peculiarities of the ceramic complexes from Olbia can be the base for its partial solution.

Among Olbian ceramic materials a small number of vessels differ from both local and Greek wares. They came from the excavations in the Upper Town of Olbia, which is covered by the lately Hellenistic quarters. There are complexes which include this group of black polished vessels. They contained deep basins with rectangular rims, four-petaled oenochoai, biconical looking like dinning bowls. Their ratio differs from analogous olbian ceramics. Their surfaces show a very thick, practically black polishing. Especially the bowls are to be distinguished. This form is not peculiar either to olbian ware and metropolitan ceramics and may be connected with thracian traditions.

The complexes contained also hand-made pots looking like jars, decorated with knobs and bolsters. K.K. Marčenko defined these forms as thracian.

The above mentioned facts enable us to question the presence at least of some thracian traditions in ceramic complexes of Olbia in late archaic period. At this point, we don’t know if they are connected to some group of population or to some other character, more or less connected to Western and Northern Black Sea regions.
Single-edged swords of "Thracian type"
in the North Pontic Area

Vladimir V. NAZAROV

A small group of swords may be regarded as swords of "Thracian type" among all findings of side-arms from the antique North Pontic area.

The typical features of this weapon are: curved blade and handle without crossguard and pommel, which was formed by two wooden or bone plates fixed by iron nails. These swords were found in Dniestr and Lower Bug regions (Nikonij, Nikolaevka, Olbia). They are the typical weaponry of Illyrian and Thracian tribes from the 4th century B.C.

Two swords of a similar type were found in the early Sarmatian complexes (barrow 25 of Sladkowski cemetery; Starje Kijški). Approximately at that time single-edged swords appeared among Scythian relics. They are characterised by one-sided crossguard and straight or curved (like above mentioned) blades.

Analogous swords of Greek type - the so called "μάχαιρα" appear earlier, in the 6th century B.C., in the North Pontic area. Their fragments were found in archaic complexes of Berezan, Olbia and in Bosporian complexes of the 4th century B.C.

"Μάχαιρα" is regarded as being the prototype of the single-edged "barbarian" swords. If this thesis would be passed, it must be assumed that certain regress existed in their evolution, because the Greek cutting swords were functionally better than the barbarian ones.

In my opinion, the appearance of the single-edged swords reflected one of the trends of side-arms evolution. This shape of cutting weapons existed in different historical ages and among different peoples. They can't be considered as a sign of certain ethnos. This direction was an "impasse branch of evolution tree". It was represented by relatively non numerous types.

So the concrete finds of single-edged swords in the North Pontic area can be divided into two groups. The specimens from Scythian complexes were represented by the local variant of this kind of swords. Greek machairas and their Thracian equivalents were objects of import or subject of their local copies.
proéminent, des écuelles, vases à fruits etc. La terre cuite modelée représente approximativement 60% à Tyras et approximativement 64% à Pivdenoe.

Les habitats situés au côté gauche du liman du Dniestr, datés dès IVe - IIIe siècles av. n. è. présentent 18 - 20% céramique de facture géto-thrace dans le complexe de la céramique modelée. La variété des formes est de beaucoup plus grande par rapport à la rive droite du fleuve.

De la sorte, on peut constater la présence permanente des représentants de l'ethnie géto-thrace dans les habitats antiques de la zone du Bas-Dniestr, ce qui différencie cette région de la zone du cours inférieur du Bug. À Olbia et dans les habitats de sa chora, dans les couches du Ve siècle jusqu'au dernier quart du IVe siècle av. n. è. la céramique gète manque et apparaît seulement après la campagne de Zopyrion.

**Ship image in spiritual life**

**of the ancient North Black Sea coastal population**

Georg ŚAPOVALOV

Navigation occupied a significant place in the spiritual life of the ancient world's people. The images of the Solar Boat and the Funerary Ship as symbols of death and rebirth are to be found as far back as the ancient East cultures. In antique times, in myths and beliefs of many peoples living on the coastal areas of the Mediterranean and Black Sea, the ship was a mean of moving dead souls to another world. This is the explanation of the very important role of the ship in the spiritual life of those people.

The worship significance of the ship is confirmed by numerous findings of ship models in burials and temples of the Mediterranean and Black Sea basins. From the 7th century B.C. these ship models began circulating in the North Black Sea coastal area. Such models, dated back in the 6th - 2nd centuries B.C., have been found in the lake Berezan; in Olbia, Panthikapea, Nikonia, Ilurat. The influence of that tradition on local "worships" is traced. The findings of the Scythian funeral ship model on the wheels in Panthikapea
and of the Solar Boat models ("little horses") in the Sarmatian ancient towns of the Lower Dnieper prove these assumptions.

The image of the ships on the funeral vessels and on the walls of the burials are among most widespread subjects in the antique world. Until recently not many North Black Sea coastal findings of that kind have been discovered. The funeral vase from the burial of the 3rd century B.C. from Olbia with the Charon boat is such a finding. The pictures of the ships on the walls of the tombs-vaults (burial chambers) in Panthikapea and Kitea are dated to 3rd - 4th centuries B.C. The solar sign is depicted there near to the one of the ships, which permits us to consider that image as the Solar Boat.

Funeral stelae also are the monuments testifying the worship significance of the ship. The earliest stela with the depiction of the ship from Panthikapea is dated in the 2nd century B.C. The latest similar finding from the North Black Sea coastal area is dated in the 2nd century A.D. The inscriptions on the grave stelae are testifying that already in the antique times the ship image and navigation on stormy sea were identified with the human life and unpredictability of its end. Epitaphs on the 1st - 3nd centuries A.D. from Panthikapea and Khersones are convincing examples.

The stable tradition of minting in relation to the Solar Boat worship did exist in the antique world. From the 3rd century until the 1st century B.C. the coins with images of ships are stamped also in the antique cities of Panthikapea, Agripia, Gorgipia, Khersones. In addition to the bow-part of the ship the deities Poseidon, Athena, Apollo are also depicted on those coins.

In the ancient Greek beliefs the Charon Boat takes the place of the Egyptian Funeral boat. Special respect was paid for the Charon river crossing in that boat for another world. One or several coins were placed in a grave as such a payment. These ceremonial norms of the Greek metropolis were also observed at the North Black Sea coastal population. In the 6th - 5th centuries B.C. the "dolphin" coins were used as the "obol of Charon". This tradition also penetrates to the Scythian-Sarmatian and Tcherneakhov tribal background. Findings point to its existence in the Ukraine territory during a long period of time.

Various antique temples which were dedicated to the navigation protecting Gods were ornamented with ship parts, ship models or their images. The temples of that kind also existed in the North Black Sea coastal area. In Nimpea on the Kerch Strait shore a temple complex dating in the 3rd century B.C. has been discovered. It is ornamented with multicoloured frescoes with the worship images of more than thirty ships. Texts of addresses
to Gods, reports about ship departures at sea, reports about sacrifices to Gods, wishes and poems have also been found in this sacred place.

The problem's study enables us to point out the conclusion on the stable tradition of the ship cult in the spiritual life of the Greek metropolises, which, during the process of the antique colonisation, acquires considerable circulation in the North Black Sea coastal area. Its influence on the spiritual life of the local settled and nomadic population leads to the appearance of new unusual worship images and ceremonies.

Greek burial customs in Olbian Chora
(6th - 5th centuries B.C.)

Ivan SNITKO

Burial rites should prove themselves as a valuable source for speculations about different aspects of social history of the early Greek colonies in Olbia-Berezan region in the 6th - 5th centuries B.C.

While the lavish archaeological evidence available from the necropolises of Berezan and Olbia has been adequately discussed in relevant literature, burials discovered in rural sites (chôra) outside urban boundaries are largely ignored by the scholars in their studies, as details of their digging are almost entirely lacking in available published materials.

The finds of the burial grounds pertaining to the 6th - 5th centuries B.C. nearby Viktorovka and Rybakovka (Otreško, 1976; Kryžitski, Burakov, Buišikh, Otreško, Ruban, 1980), excavations of the mounds nearby Agighiol (Ebert, 1913) as well as the exploration of the Southern and Northern tumulary cemeteries nearby Pribugskoje (Snitko, Smirnov, Lipavski, 1988) afford archaeological evidence to this sort of cemeteries and to the burial practices in Olbian chôra.

Olbian chôra necropolises of the 6th - 5th centuries B.C. have to be distinguished by the two types: those with mound (tumulus type) and those without mound. They were located nearby the settlement at a distance of 100 to 200 m. Earth mounds were 0,7 to 1,5 m in height and had a diameter of 15 to 20 m. An enclosure consisting in a ring of stones has been reported in
one case (Northern necropolis nearby Pribugskoje, Mound 2). As regards chóra graves of the moundless type attested to the 6th - 5th centuries B.C., only one kind of tomb is known, - a small pit cut into the ground and orientated East-West, having the dimensions of 1,5 by 2,5 m and a depth of 1,5 to 1,7 m, sometimes covered by a laying of limestone slabs. Tombs beneath the tumuli are large rectangular pits: 2 - 2,1 m by 3 - 3,1 m with a depth of up to 2 m, having massive upper cover of timber beams. In some tombs there were also found laying beams way down near the pit bottom, thus, presumably imitating sarcophagi. The upper and the lower beams, as well as the pit bed were covered with a reed mat.

The burial rite is basically Greek in its origin, as testified by the stretched position of the corpse on the back and the direction, predominantly facing east in the explored tombs. Offerings include earthenware, adornments, tools, weapons, also bones of small and large animals.

The immediate analogies to Olbian chóra burials are the graves in Olbia and Berezan necropolises. Large pits covered with timber beams have been reported in Olbia (Skudnova, 1988). It should be noted, however, that the burials in large pits as those explored in Olbia and Olbian chóra were likely distinctive in the richness of offerings, for which reason most of them have been plundered.

In Archaic period mounds were widely practised in tombs in mainland Greece, e.g. Attica, Northern Greece, cities of the Thracian coast (Kurtz, Boardman, 1971; Alexandrescu, 1966). In Archaic and Classical periods circles of stones, similar to the one discovered in Mound 2 (Northern necropolis nearby Pribugskoje) were known to be practised in Epirus, Macedonia and Thracia (Kurtz, Boardman, 1971; Alexandrescu, 1966).

The introduction of mounds in the 5th century B.C. in the Bug estuary area should be attributed to the wealth differentiation among the Greek settlers in this region.
The exploration of the Bronze Age sites in the Crimea Peninsula have been carried out since the 19th century. Less than 40% of the unearthed material has been published. The material available for study gives the possibility of presenting the development of archaeological cultures in this period:

The Early Bronze Age is presented by sites of Jamnaja and Kemi-Obinskaja cultures. The first of them is characterised only by tombs, two stages are marked out in its development, each of them having its own peculiarities. Kemi-Obinskaja culture is a enigmatic phenomenon, differently interpreted by researchers. It existed simultaneously with Jamnaja and was put into evidence mainly by tombs and a few ephemeral settlements.

In the later stage of Jamnaja culture, this Peninsula met the development of Early Catacombna culture, both cultures coexisting for a certain period. Settlements of this time are unknown. The materials of the later stage of Catacombna culture - North Black Sea horizon (catacombs with round wells and oval chambers, skeletons in stretched position) are similar to those in the earlier layers of Planerskoe, Kamenskoe, etc. settlements.

The next period is characterised by the development of Kamenskaja group in the foothills of the Crimea. It is represented by the upper layers of settlements in Planerskoe, Gleiki, etc., tombs with skeletons in stretched position, with bone buckles and probably ground graves of Šturmovoe type. The bearers of Classic Mnogovalikovaja culture lived in the steppe zone of the Peninsula, situation proved by the tomb material (different constructions, crouched skeletons with buckles, vessels, etc.).

Generally speaking, the Middle period of the Bronze Age in the Crimea has its own originality when comparing with the Black Sea Littoral tribes development.

The latest Bronze Age stage in Crimea is covered by Srubnaja (settlements, numerous tombs), Sabatinovskaja and Belozerskaja cultures (settlements), the materials being similar to the ones in the sites of the Black Sea Littoral and Danube. The transition period from Late Bronze Age to Early Iron Age is characterised by the Cimmerian and Early-Kizil-Kobinskaja sites.
The development of Bronze Age cultures in Crimea has its own peculiarities determined by physical and geographical conditions of the Peninsula yet in a broader sense it corresponds to the cultural-historical processes in the South of Black Sea.

The Cimmerian graves in the North-western Black Sea Region

Vladimir P. VANČUGOV

In the North-western Black Sea region (the Southern Bug-Dniester-Danube interriver) more than 60 sites belonging to the 9th - 7th centuries B.C. are known. There are about 50 graves of the Cimmerian culture among them, as well as isolated finds, settlements.

The Cimmerian graves are traditionally divided in 2 chronological groups: Černogorovka and Novočerkassk (Terenoţkin, 1976). But chronological sequence of the Černogorovka group (9th - middle of the 8th centuries B.C.) and following it, the Novočerkassk one (middle of the 8th - middle of the 7th centuries B.C.), established by A.I. Terenoţhkin is now the object of discussion. The researchers assumed them to be synchronous (Kločko, Murzin, 1987). Some of them even distinguish the separate Černogorovka culture (Dubovskaja, 1994).

Under the complex account (analysis) of all details of a funeral rite (ritual) and finds 3 groups of the 9th - 7th centuries B.C. among the Cimmerian graves of the North-western Black Sea Region are to be distinguished.

1. Graves of the Černogorovka group of culture (the earliest is Suworovo barrow tomb on Danube’s left bank). The skeletons appear in contracted position, 7 of them in pit-graves with catacombs (recesses). Among the burial goods there were ceramics, bronze and very seldom iron items. The burial goods display traditional elements of the previous Belozerká culture, to which new other elements of an obviously oriental origin are to be added. There are 22 such graves. To this group belong graves with incised and impressed
ceramics, similar to the Saharna-Solonceni ceramics from the forest-steppe districts of Moldova and to Babadag II (in Dobrudja) ware.

2. A small group of graves with ceramics of a typically Thracian origin, similar to the ceramics of the Basarabi-Șoldănești cultures (Sărata, Parcani, Roșcani, Kotiuji, Divizia) can be traced. As for the funeral rite they do not differ at all from the Cimmerian graves and are dated on basis of the pottery in 9th - 8th centuries B.C.

3. The latest group of the Cimmerian sites is characterised by the outstretched position of the skeletons. There are 20 such graves. They are basically associated with incised pottery, seldom iron-made objects belonging to the 8th - 7th centuries B.C. The pottery emphasizes the tradition of the Ciornij Les culture of the Ukrainian forest-steppe. Of a special place in this group are a few main graves in barrows complex associated with weapons (Slobodzyeva, Petrodolina, Berezki). They reflect the high social status (rank) of the buried warriors.

Funeral rite and burial goods of the Cimmerian sites in the North-Western Black Sea region illustrate the complex interaction process between local and alien population. The following groups of elements can be defined: local ones, connected with the tradition of the previous Belozerka culture, as well as with the traditions of the neighbouring early Thracian cultures in the Danube basin; oriental elements from non-located centres of Central Asia and Caucasus.
YUGOSLAVIA

Pre-Thracian Horizon and the Central Balkans
in the Aeneolithic

Bogdan BRUKNER

In this contribution our aim is to point to certain touching points, both in methodological and chronological since, between palaeolinguistics, or archaeolinguistics, as more precisely defined by A. Poruciuc (Poruciuc 1995, 97) on one, and prehistoric archaeology on the other side, assuming that linguistic terms sometimes can help the identification of the archaeological periods.

In archaeological literature on ethnogenesis of the Balkans and Europe, terms that identify archaeological periods with assumed palaeoethnological and firmly defined historical population groups, are often found. A. Benac's thesis that pre-Illyrians belong to the period of Neolithic cultural groups disappearance and the Aeneolithic period, that is, the indoeuropeization process, proto-Illyrians mark the Bronze Age, Old-Illyrians belong to the Early Iron Age and Illyrians to the developed Iron Age (Benac 1987, 756-757), is one of the attempts to align the communities that do not know of letter in the conventional since, as genetic ancestors of the archaeological and historical milieu.

This way, the difference is made between the communities belonging to pre-Illyrians and those appearing later, that is, in the middle of the 2nd century B.C. on the central Balkans. We accept the term 'pre', rather as a "terminus technicus" and include in it Aeneolithic groups on the central and East Balkans, as well as those in Romania.

Following and interpretation of the ways of development of the prehistoric cultures in Southeast Europe is one of the hardest challenges for getting more adequate and more precise view on the chronology and cultural development of the prehistoric communities belonging to Aeneolithic, or those marking so-called Late Neolithic.

This problem partly encircles also the identification of chronological and cultural relations of pre-Thracian horizon and synchronous horizons of some Aeneolithic cultures on the central Balkans. We are trying to find elements of contact and interaction.
There are few open issues that are very important in our opinion and we would like to emphasise their significance.

It is still hard to propose and accept a single chronological scheme and thus, the cultural synchronisation of the connections between Pannonia Valley and the Balkans in the Aeneolithic and Neolithic H. Todorova, for example, inside the Early Bronze Age mentions the synchronisation of the following cultures: Troy I - Cernavoda III - F.H.I. - Early Coțofeni - Boleraz (Baden) etc, which is dated after 3200 B.P. on the basis of cal. C.t (Todorova 1993, Taf. 1). Late Aeneolithic, according to Todorova, lasts between 4400 and 3200 B.P. (Todorova 1993, Taf. 1). Yugoslav authors draw the connections between the Aeneolithic and Pre-Trojan and Troy I-II, Anatolian Chalkolithic (Tasić, Dimitrijević, Jovanović 1979, 431). According to those opinions Aeneolithic lasts between 3300 - 2000 B.C. (non-calibrated by C.t). N. Tasić’s opinion is that Boleraz - Cernavoda phase III is older than Baden I, that is, much older than Kostolac I - Coțofeni (Tasić 1995, 18). It is hard to accept Todorova’s opinion that “cultural period Troia - Baden encircles the region from Prague to Anatolia in Bronze Age milieu” (Todorova 1993, 316) with situation in Southeast Pannonia and the central Balkans, where Baden - Kostolac horizon till the end of Vucedol group is considered to be the manifestation of Aeneolithic (Tasić 1995, 18).

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L’habitat énéolithique de Likodra

Draga GARAŠANIN


L’habitat est situé sur une colline dominant la vallée de la Likodra, confluent du Jadar. Il n’est accessible que du côté Sud.

Un vallum en terre a été construit sur ce côté à l’époque des champs d’urnes (groupe de Belegiš II) dont l’habitat se trouve sur la partie la plus haute du plateau. Dans la partie Sud du plateau et sur le versant se trouve un habitat énéolithique dont la stratigraphie est unique; elle comprend une couche Cernavoda III, recouverte de deux autres couches successives dont l’une contient des restes d’une civilisation comportant des éléments Coțofeni et Kostolac et la couche suivante des éléments de ces civilisations et de Vučedol.

Le site n’a pas été habité à l’Age du Bronze (groupe Belotić-Bela Crkva et groupe Vatina de Serbie occidentale) bien que des tumuli de cette époque se trouvent aux environs immédiats.

Graves type Mala Kopašnica-Sase from Necropolis
of Viminacium - from the view of Ethnic Origins

Snežana GOLUBOVIĆ

Since the sixties a special stress is put on the research and interpretation of the graves type Mala Kopašnica-Sase. Subjects are the necropolises with the rectangular burnt grave pits which might have round corners. Those grave pits could be simple or with inner pit. The sides and the bottom of the pits were burnt to a red and brown with thickness of 0,5-5 cm. This basic type has numerous variants - with a covering of stone plates or bricks, with the bricks
construction of inner pit or whole grave, with outside circle of stones or with the use of urns instead of inner pit.

The cremation of the dead was done at the *ustrinum*. The cremated bones and the remains of the funeral pyre (*rogus*) were simply tipped into the bottom of the graves. The corpses were cremated at a special place (*ustrinum publicum*) which has been found in the explored area of necropolis of Viminacium.

This type grave, with the variants are widely spread out from the 1st century A.D. to the middle of the 3rd century A.D. The oldest necropolises are from the developed romanized military and urban centers.

The number of researched necropolises of the grave type Mala Kopašnica-Sase is constantly enlarging and in so wide geographic space with different ethnical populations. The origin of this grave type is still problematic. Illyrian, Dacian, Dardanic and Celtic tribes cremated their deceased long before Romans' coming. The eponymous locality is situated at the site Mala Kopašnica near Leskovac (southern part of former *Moesia Superior*). Previous attempts to connect this grave type on the Illyrian territory to the Illyrian groups as bearers of this funeral rite became doubtful. The grave type Mala Kopašnica-Sase in it's basic form and it's variants is known from the necropolises of the urban and military centers as it was Emona, Poetovio, Domavia, Doclea, Ulpiana, Singidunum, Viminacium, Sirmium, Naissus, Stobi, Intercisa, Acumincum, Aquincum, Apulum, Brigetio, centers in Rhine region and in Gallia.

The most important fact is that this cremation graves type is well-known from all developed romanized centers with evident presence of Italics and from all territories that were under great influence of Roman culture.

The subject of this paper is the grave type Mala Kopašnica-Sase, especially from the necropolises of Viminacium (*Moesia Superior*). The systematic archaeological research during the last two decades revealed more than 10 000 graves. Among them there were great number of Mala Kopašnica-Sase grave type in all of its variants.
Stages of development of the Triballi

Milorad STOJIĆ

The Iron Age (Phases I-III according to M. Garasanin, 13th-14th century B.C.) has the same characteristics in the Morava Valley, the Serbian Danube region, the Kolubara basin, East Serbia, Northwest Bulgaria and a part of Oltenia and represents the development of one nation - the Triballi. There are three stages in their development - Prototriballian (phases a-d) dated from 1300 to 800 B.C., early Triballian (phases a-b), from 800 to 550 B.C. and Triballian (phases a-c), from 550 to 300 B.C.

Three waves of so-called Aegean Migration from the Danube region towards South of the Balkan Peninsula played a crucial role during the first two phases (a-b, 13th-11th century B.C.) and partly during the third phase (c, 11th century) of prototriballian stage. The consequences are to be seen in the topography and the disposition of the settlements as well as in the integration of Paracin, Brnjica, Belegis and Žuto Brdo communities which resulted from the pressure of the Gáva pottery bearers, and they took place at the beginning of the Prototriballian phase a. The ethnic structure of this region changed due to intermingling with the newcomers and at the same time the ethnic structure of communities moving South was changed by the inclusion of local groups. In the last Prototriballian phase (d, 9th century) the Serbian Danube region, deserted by the mass inclusion of its inhabitants in the second migrational wave, was resettled from the south where the population density was higher.

Particular care taken in the fortification of the settlements and social differentiation, visible in the characteristics of some settlements (Lanište) and graves (Žirovnica), the introduction of iron, new spiritual approach documented in religious symbols, and other factors are the main features of the early Triballian stage. There are two phases, an earlier one - a, characterised by a regional defense system based on numerous fortifications and specific pottery decoration (S motifs); and later - b, characterised by a large central fortress (Ostrikovac), rich graves (BasaBarabi, Sofronievo) and specific pottery decoration (tremolo lines). Thanks to the latest results a finer chronological division of phase b into b-1, b-2 and b-3 is possible.

Foreign factors played a decisive role in the development of the Triballian stage, divided into phases a-c. Unlike the first two, this stage does not show the same development over the entire territory. During phase a (end of the 6th - beginning of the 5th century) the far-west (princely graves in
Novi Pazar, Atenica and Kruševica) and the central region (aristocratic graves in Batinac, Majur, Mramorac, Umčari, Miloševac, Vinča) were developed to a high degree, due to confrontation with the Illyrians and contacts with the Greek world. During phase b (5th century) a cultural decline is visible. In the last phase - c (4th century) a sudden rise of regions close to the Greek world is noted - the area between the rivers Timok and Isker (Rogozen) and the upper part of the South Morava Valley (fortresses built in Greek style around Vranje).