

“Slavic” Bow Fibulae: Twenty Years of Research

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Schlagwörter: Mitteleuropa / Osteuropa / Frühmittelalter / Slawen / Prager Kultur / Forschungsgeschichte / Typologie / Bügelfibeln / Wachsausschmelzverfahren / handgemachte Keramik / Clusteranalysen / Fernbeziehungen / sozialer Status / Frauentrachtbestandteile / Tausch

Keywords: Central Europe / Eastern Europe / Early Middle Ages / Slavs / Prague culture / research history / typology / bow fibulae / lost-wax casting / handmade pottery / cluster analyses / long-distance relations / social status / female dress accessories / exchange

Mots-clés: Europe centrale / Europe de l'Est / Haut Moyen Âge / Slaves / culture de Prague / historique de recherche / typologie / fibules à arc / moulage à cire perdue / céramique non tournée / analyses de cluster / relations à longue distance / statut social / accessoires féminins / échange

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Introduction

The early 1990s, when I began working on “Slavic” bow brooches, were times of change for studies on the Slavic ethnogenesis. In 1991, the Warsaw-based linguist Hanna Popowska-Taborska published the first refutation of earlier attempts to locate the Slavic “Urheimat”, but that same year saw the publication of Oleg Trubachev’s book on the ethnogenesis and culture of the early Slavs, in which he famously put forward the idea that the Urheimat of the Slavs was along the river Danube¹. Historians were also growing skeptical. In an article published at the end of Soviet history in a journal then still entitled “Sovetskoe slavianovedenie”, the Russian Byzantinist Sergei Ivanov was wondering about the true beginnings of

¹ POPOWSKA-TABORSKA 1991; TRUBACHEV 1991. — One year later, the Chicago-based Slavist Zbigniew Gołab published his last book, in which

he argued that the “Urheimat” of the Slavs must have been in Poland (GOŁAB 1992).

Slavic history². Trubachev's claim to the Danube region for Slavic pre-history, which was in part based on his own interpretation of the account of Slavic origin in the “Russian Primary Chronicle”, received in 1992 a stern rebuttal from another Byzantinist, Alexander Avenarius³. Meanwhile, in Russia some were advocating an integration of the main disciplines studying the history of the early Slavs – linguistics, history, and archaeology⁴. However, archaeologists had their own agenda: while linguists were concerned with the location of the *Urheimat*, and historians with establishing a point of departure for the history of the Slavs, archaeologists were looking for the material culture correlates of migration⁵. Shortly before his country declared its independence from Yugoslavia following the Ten-Day War, the Slovenian archaeologist Andrej Pleterski published a book on the ethnogenesis of the Slavs, in which he endorsed the conclusions of Soviet archaeology regarding the migration of the Slavs from present-day Ukraine to the Balkans⁶. In doing so, he was reacting against attempts to push the history of the Slavs in the northwestern Balkans far into prehistory by means of linking them to the Veneti known from ancient sources⁷. A similar reaction against indigenist claims that Slavs had lived in Poland since times immemorial may explain Michał Parczewski's concern with proving an early Slavic migration from the territory of present-day Ukraine⁸. Despite their focus on the movement of the early Slavs out of their *Urheimat* in present-day Ukraine, neither Pleterski nor Parczewski had much to say about the “Slavic” bow fibulae, which forty years earlier Joachim Werner had regarded as the index-fossil of the Slavic migration⁹. It may have been because to this day no such fibulae have been found in Slovenia, while in Poland finds cluster in the region of the Mazurian Lakes, far away from the presumed area of the earliest Slavic settlement. The conspicuous absence of “Slavic” bow fibulae from settlement sites associated with the early Slavs in Poland has even prompted some to suggest that the “true” Slavs deliberately rejected such dress accessories as foreign¹⁰.

Nonetheless, the early 1990s were also a crucial period for the research on “Slavic” bow fibulae. Manfred Menke and Uwe Fiedler made the first attempts to move away from Werner's blanket dating of such fibulae to the seventh century, while suggesting that some at least may be of an earlier, sixth-century date¹¹. Igor Gavritukhin first used such dress

² IVANOV 1991. – Sergei Ivanov was reacting against the tendency in the Polish historiography of the time to expand the history of the early Slavs into the Roman period (e. g. TYSZKIEWICZ 1990). On the other hand, Ivanov's opinions on the matter have changed over the last twenty years or so. He no longer wonders about the origins of the Slavs, and his confidence in the accomplishments of Soviet ethnogenetic science is simply a mirror of the recent developments of post-Soviet history (IVANOV 2008).

³ AVENARIUS 1992, published in Russian as AVENARIUS 1993.

⁴ LEBEDEV 1989; GINDIN 1990.

⁵ Certainly the question seems to have troubled some linguists as well: see, for example, BIRNBAUM 1989.

⁶ PLETESKI 1990.

⁷ For the question of the Veneti in Slovenian historiography, see WEITHMANN 1990; ŠTIH 1997;

BERNARD 1998; MATIČETOV 2002; BRATOŽ 2005. In the early 1990s, indigenist theories about Slavs were also put forward in Serbia (JANKOVIĆ/JANKOVIĆ 1990; JANKOVIĆ 1995–1996).

⁸ PARCZEWSKI 1991. – The article is a summary of the conclusions reached in a book published three years earlier (PARCZEWSKI 1988). Much like in Slovenia, the debate surrounding indigenist claims in Poland has taken on sharp polemical features often opposing archaeologists to linguists. For the evolution of the debate in the early 21st century, see MĄCZYŃSKA 2001; WRÓBLEWSKI 2001; MAŃCZAK 2002; NOWAKOWSKI 2002; BARFORD 2003; PARCZEWSKI 2003 and 2005; KACZANOWSKI 2005; MAKIEWICZ 2008.

⁹ WERNER 1950, 172.

¹⁰ BARFORD 2004.

¹¹ MENKE 1990; FIEDLER 1992, 98–105.

accessories to date assemblages with handmade pottery of the Prague type attributed to the early Slavs¹². Ion Vynokur published the first mould for the production of “Slavic” fibulae, which was found in Bernashivka together with pottery believed to be of the Prague type¹³. In an article dealing with all finds from the territory of Romania, Dan Gh. Teodor categorically rejected the idea that the “Slavic” bow fibulae were Slavic at all¹⁴. Two years later, the Bulgarian archaeologist Liudmil Vagalinski reached a similar conclusion on the basis of the first comprehensive study of “Slavic” bow fibulae since Werner. According to him, although worn exclusively by barbarians, the “Slavic” bow fibulae were not exclusively Slavic¹⁵.

My first study of the “Slavic” bow fibulae came out at that same time¹⁶, and several other articles were published over the following twenty years in which I dealt with almost every group in Werner’s initial classification¹⁷. Within a relatively short period of time, the task had become daunting. Back in the late 1940s, Werner knew of 100 fibulae, but forty years later Vagalinski’s list of finds had 245 specimens. Another five years later that number had reached 289¹⁸. With 531 fibulae in my own list of finds, I had to deal separately with each individual group¹⁹. Moreover, the large number of finds and the apparently endless variability of forms and decorative patterns required an approach to classification that was substantially different from that of previous scholars. Before describing my own principles of classification, it is therefore important to take a look at the methods employed by others in the study of the “Slavic” bow fibulae.

Classification

Despite claims to the contrary²⁰, Werner’s classification of the bow fibulae he first called “Slavic” was not original. Werner relied heavily on the work of the Russian scholar A. Kalitinskii, who besides employing the number of knobs on the head-plate as criterion for his typology, used the shape of the foot-plate and its decoration to create variants²¹. To Werner, the shape of the foot-plate, as well as such ornamental features as the foot-plate terminal lobe (in the shape of either a human mask or an animal head) and the use of bird-heads for decoration, were the main criteria for the creation of his 15 classes (IA-L and IIA-D)²². In other words, Werner’s classification principles were purely stylistic, and be-

¹² GAVRITUKHIN 1991.

¹³ VYNOKUR / MEGEL 1992.

¹⁴ TEODOR 1992.

¹⁵ VAGALINSKI 1994.

¹⁶ CURTA 1994.

¹⁷ CURTA / DUPOI 1994–1995; CURTA 2004; CURTA 2005a; CURTA 2006a and 2006b; CURTA 2008a and 2008b; CURTA 2009a and 2009b; CURTA 2010a; CURTA 2011b and 2011c; CURTA 2012.

¹⁸ KATSOUGIANNOPOULOU 1999, 78.

¹⁹ After the list of finds was finalized, I learned of four more discoveries: the fragment of a II C fibula from Krivec (Lipeck district, Russia) published by OBLONSKII 2011, 56 and fig. 3.7; two II D fibulae (a whole specimen and a fragment) from Shedieve (Poltava district, Ukraine) pub-

lished by VOLODARETS’-URBANOVYCH / KULATOVA / SUPRUNENKO 2011, 365 and 366 fig. 11.1,2; and the fragment of a I C fibula with two pairs of bird heads from Tordinaca (near Vinkovci, Croatia) published by RAPAN PAPEŠA 2012, 8 and 9 fig. 1.4. Meanwhile, a pair of I G fibulae has been published in AILINCAI / CONSTANTINESCU / CURTA / SOFICARU 2014.

²⁰ FIEDLER 2010, 225.

²¹ KALITINSKII 1928, 289–292. – Werner re-published many of the fibulae first published by Kalitinskii, whose name he mentioned as that of a pioneer of the research on “Slavic” bow fibulae (WERNER 1950, 158). Unlike Werner, Kalitinskii derived one variant from another in a “genealogical table” of types (KALITINSKII 1928, 300–301).

²² WERNER 1950, 150 and 160.

cause of that highly intuitive²³. Later scholars who relied on his work never truly challenged those principles (except to note that not all fibulae in Werner’s group I had terminal lobes in the shape of a human mask), but instead adapted them to their own needs. For example, Dan Gh. Teodor adopted Werner’s classification, but stressed more than him the decoration of the head-plate²⁴. Similarly, Liudmil Vagalinski employed the shape of the foot-plate as leading criterion for his types, but variants attached to each one of them were created on the basis of such stylistic elements as the presence of one or two pairs of bird-heads, or the number of knobs²⁵. In her dissertation entirely dedicated to the “Slavic” bow fibulae, Christine Katsougiannopoulou refined Werner’s criteria for classification. For example, her Vetel type (Werner’s type I B) is defined both by the shape of the constitutive elements (head- and foot-plate) and by ornamental patterns (the scrollwork decoration). Stylistic elements are further used to distinguish between two variants of the type²⁶. The quality of the scrollwork decoration is a criterion for the definition of the “Verem’e type” (Werner’s class II A), and the same is true about the quality of the circle-and-dot decoration regarded as a defining element for the “Danceney type”²⁷. Fibulae with one pair of bird-heads on the foot-plate make up the “Pergamon type”, with three variants distinguished on the basis of the decoration of the head-plate (scrollwork and double spiral, respectively) or the diamond-shaped foot-plate. Two other variants are established on the basis of the oversimplification of the head-plate decoration or its complete absence²⁸. The absence of decoration is in fact one of the criteria employed for the definition of the “Suceava type,” which is however divided into variants on the basis of the shape of the head-plate (triangular with three knobs, or circular with five knobs)²⁹. Stylistic criteria such as the number of bird-heads in the head-plate crown decoration, in addition to the realism of their rendition, are also employed by Vlasta Rodinkova for her typology of fibulae otherwise classified as of Werner’s type II D³⁰.

By contrast, while noting that most scholars employ preconceived, abstract models into which they then “force” actual fibulae, Gavritukhin chose to abandon decoration in favor of the morphological proportions of each individual specimen³¹. He nonetheless believed the shape of the footplate and its decoration to be fundamental for establishing three lines of evolution of the fibulae of Werner’s second group. The decoration and stylistic elements

²³ The same is true for Boris Rybakov who, independently from Werner, employed pairs of bird-heads and ornamental patterns (especially the scrollwork or the circle-and-dot) to distinguish between ill-defined “types” (RYBAKOV 1953).

²⁴ TEODOR 1992, 122; TEODOR 1997, 77; for a critique of Teodor’s classification, see FIEDLER 2010, 226.

²⁵ VAGALINSKI 1994, 267; 269; 273; 276; 279; 285. – There is not much overlap between Werner and Vagalinski’s types. Moreover, his type Q was created apparently only on the basis of size (VAGALINSKI 1994, 283).

²⁶ KATSOUGIANNOPOULOU 1999, 14. – Katsougiannopoulou also employs the number of head-plate knobs as a classification criterion. For example, one of the defining elements for her “Nea An-

chialos type” is the head-plate crown with 7 knobs, although the fibula of Nea Anchialos is the only specimen with that feature within the type. Moreover, the Nea Anchialos type is said to be an imitation of the Vetel type (KATSOUGIANNOPOULOU op. cit., 25–26).

²⁷ *IBID.* 1999, 60; 69–70.

²⁸ *IBID.*, 36.

²⁹ *IBID.*, 43.

³⁰ RODINKOVA 2004, 234.

³¹ GAVRITUKHIN / PRIMAK 2001–2002, 92; see also GAVRITUKHIN 1991, 128–129. – Size, rather than proportions, was used by Oleg Prykhodniuk to distinguish his Danubian (4–7 cm long) from his Dneprobian (10–17.5 cm long) fibulae (PRYKHODNIUK 2000, 50).

of those fibulae (e. g. the presence of pairs of bird-heads) were then used to create types and variants³².

No author seems to have been able to reconcile the extraordinary variability of the decorative patterns within established classes (types or variants) with the idea of pigeonholing individual fibulae into preconceived, straightjacket-like types. This may explain the occasional inclusion of specimens from different classes, the existence of classes with only one member³³, or of specimens that do not match any class³⁴. I started by applying purely stylistic criteria for the definition of a “Vețel-Coșoveni” type, in an attempt to show simultaneously that Werner’s class I A had no consistent definition, and that, by contrast, its members (Nea Anchialos and a fibula from an unknown location from Serbia) belonged in fact to the group Werner called I B³⁵. A critique of Werner’s formal approach also led to the next step in the direction of an internally consistent classification. For the definition of the so-called “Pietroasele” type (which besides members of Werner’s class IF also included members of his class IIA), I have employed morphological elements (such as the shape of the footplate), ornamental patterns, and morphological proportions to distinguish links and degrees of similarity within the type³⁶. But ten years later, I decided to abandon stylistic criteria altogether. Instead, I proposed to “adopt the mode of thinking of the early medieval producers of brooches” and shift the emphasis from the class itself, which in any case is an archaeological construct, to the design elements of each individual brooch, “the only firm ground that we have in order to draw comparisons between similar, but not identical fibulae”³⁷. Once the variants of head- and foot-plate, bow, knobs, and terminal lobes have been established and coded, each whole brooch was assigned a minimal list of defining variables in the form of an alphanumeric code. The matrix of the alphanumeric codes for each one of Werner’s classes shows the incidences of all variables used in the description of fibulae belonging to that class. The statistical method employed for the analysis of this matrix is the shared near-neighbor clustering analysis based on the Jaccard coefficient of similarity³⁸. With this method of analysis, category membership is derived from common design parts. In order to join a cluster (category), any brooch has a specified level of similarity with any brooch of another cluster. The shared near-neighbor cluster analysis is in fact most appropriate for data with no physical measurements, about which not much can

³² Similarly, the variants Gavritukhin established within Werner’s class I C were defined on the basis of the number of pairs of bird-heads, and then on the basis of the number of knobs and ornamental patterns (GAVRITUKHIN 1991, 131–132).

³³ The fibula from Coșovenii de Jos makes up by itself a separate type in Katsougiannopoulou’s classification, apparently because of the large number of head-plate knobs, the large size of the fibula, and the decoration in animal style II (KATSOUGIANNPOULOU 1999, 28).

³⁴ Werner’s group II E consists only of “Sonderformen” (WERNER 1950, 162).

³⁵ CURTA 1994.

³⁶ CURTA / DUPOI 1994–1995, 225. – In order to identify degrees of similarity, I relied on statistical methods, namely the cluster analysis by the Ward minimum variance method (CURTA /

DUPOI 1994–1995, 227 figs. 8–9; 229 fig. 13; 230 fig. 14; 231 fig. 18; 232 fig. 19).

³⁷ CURTA 2004, 64–65; CURTA 2006b, 430. – This principle applies only to sets of data within which there is significant variability. Because Werner’s class I J is remarkably homogeneous, my study of that class is different from those of other classes in that it does not employ any analysis of the design parts of individual brooches (CURTA 2009a). Integrating class I J into another (e. g. I F) would not have changed anything, given that I J specimens would have formed a separate group, since they are in fact very different from all other “Slavic” bow fibulae.

³⁸ In addition – and to test the reliability of the method – I have also employed the correspondence analysis of the matrix consisting of variables used for the description of fibulae of Werner’s class I C (CURTA 2011b, 65 and 96 pl. 9,1).

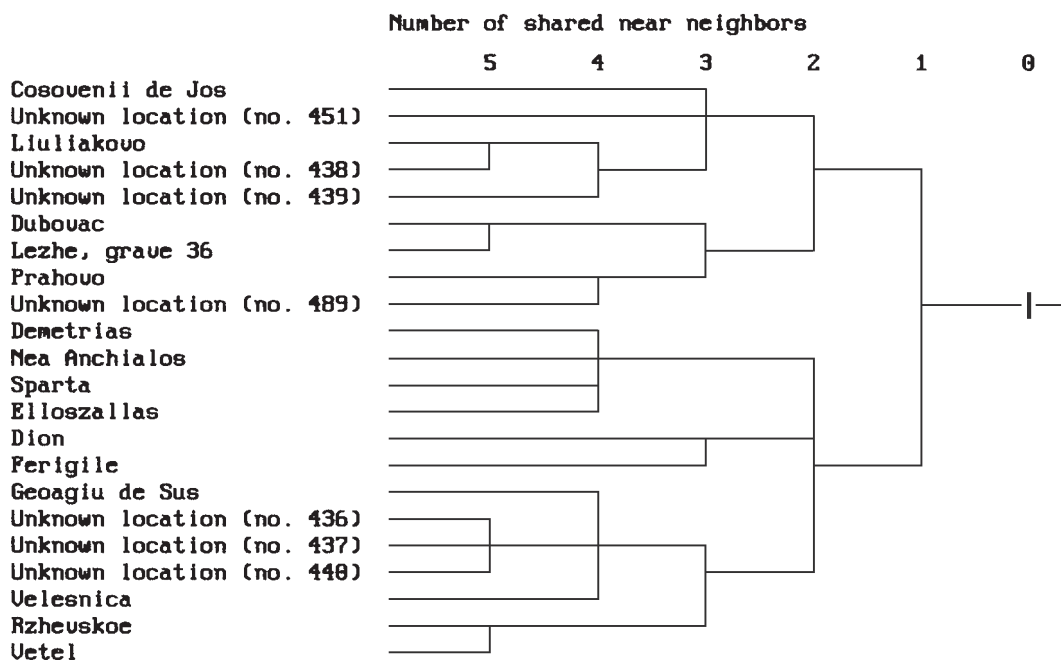
Near Neighbor Clustering of Werner IB**Similarity Coefficient: Jaccard****Number of Neighbors considered: 5**

Fig. 1. Near-neighbor cluster analysis of 22 fibulae of Werner's class I B.

be assumed in terms of probability functions, because it takes into consideration the influence which outer points may have in a set of data on the relative similarity of each pair of points. Moreover, the Jaccard coefficient does not take into account mismatches: if two fibulae are similar because they both lack a certain variable, then their similarity is not counted either as a match or in the total number of variables. The purpose, therefore, was not to create coherent classes, but to identify degrees of similarity between individual brooches loosely classified according to Werner's stylistic criteria³⁹. Ranked similarity links were then plotted on maps of Eastern Europe in an attempt to reveal possible communication channels between distant regions and patterns of imitation.

Linkage patterns

The addition of only two new specimens to the list of I B fibulae (Geoagiu de Sus and an unknown location, probably Istanbul) has changed the clustering of the class (*fig. 1*). In-

³⁹ Preserving Werner's classification allowed for a separate treatment of relatively small groups of fibulae. It was definitely not an endorsement of stylistic criteria for classification. In other words, "one may keep Werner's general classes... without losing sight of the fact that artifacts discovered rarely exhibit the total expected constellation of attributes" (CURTA 2011b, 73). However,

four of Werner's original classes were discarded: I A (because its members, primarily the fibulae from Nea Anchialos and from northern Serbia, were included into class I B); I E (all its members were included into class I D); I K (the members of which were treated as smaller specimens of class I D); and I L (which to this day has only one member, the fibula from Lači).



Fig. 2. Plotting of the nearest-neighbor similarity of 22 fibulae of Werner's class I B. Thick lines show five neighbors, thinner lines represent four and three neighbors, respectively.

instead of a single cluster⁴⁰, the new analysis shows the existence of two clusters, each subdivided into two smaller clusters. While the specimens from Dubovac, Lezhë and Prahovo were separated from each other in the previous analysis, they now form their own sub-cluster. Similarly, while there were no links between the four fibulae found in Greece (Sparta, Nea Anchialos, Dion, and Demetrias), three of them are now grouped within the

⁴⁰ CURTA 2004, 106 fig. 3.

Near Neighbor Clustering of Werner IC

Similarity Coefficient: Jaccard

Number of Neighbors considered: 7

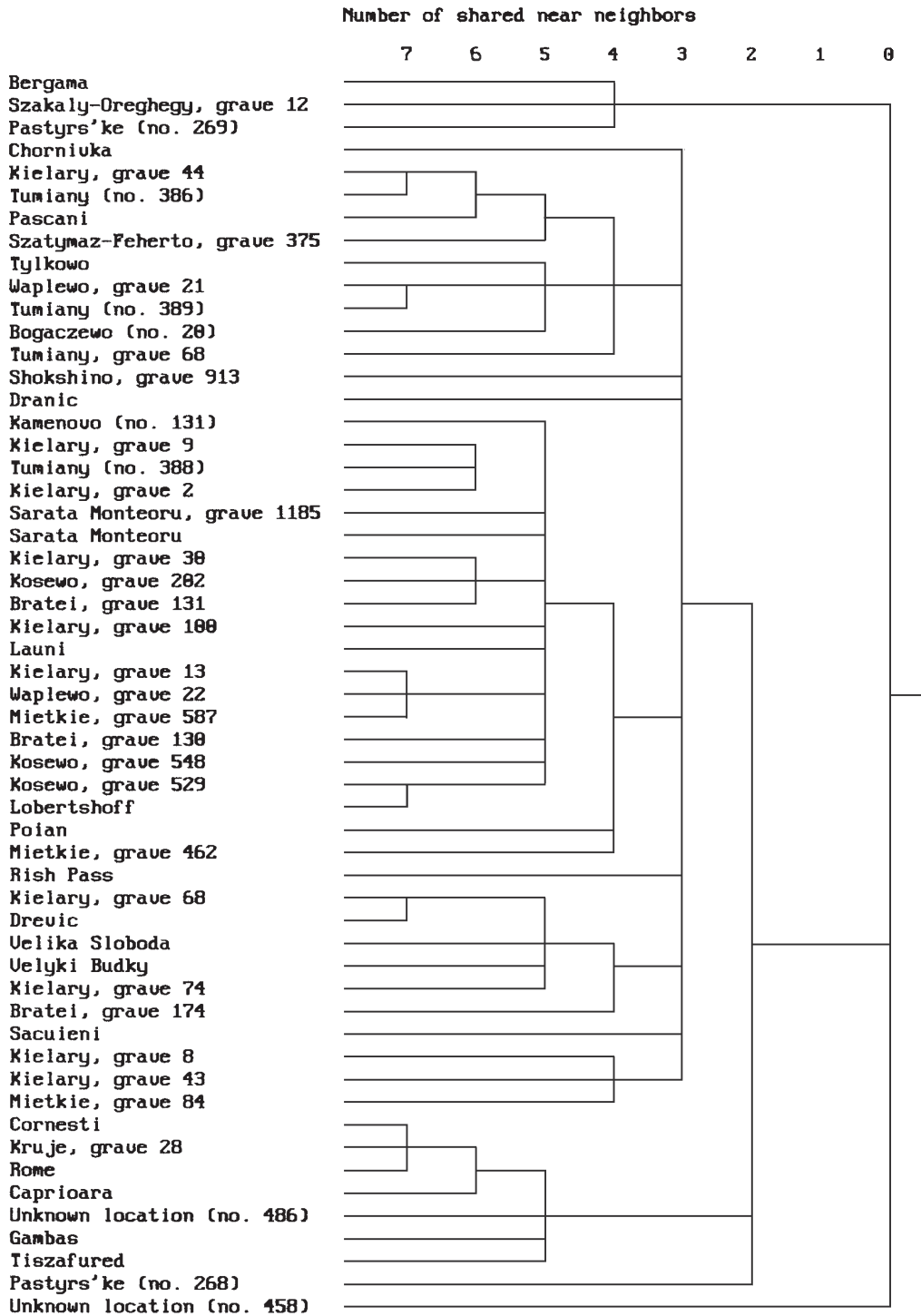


Fig. 3. Near-neighbor cluster analysis of 55 fibulae of Werner's class I C.

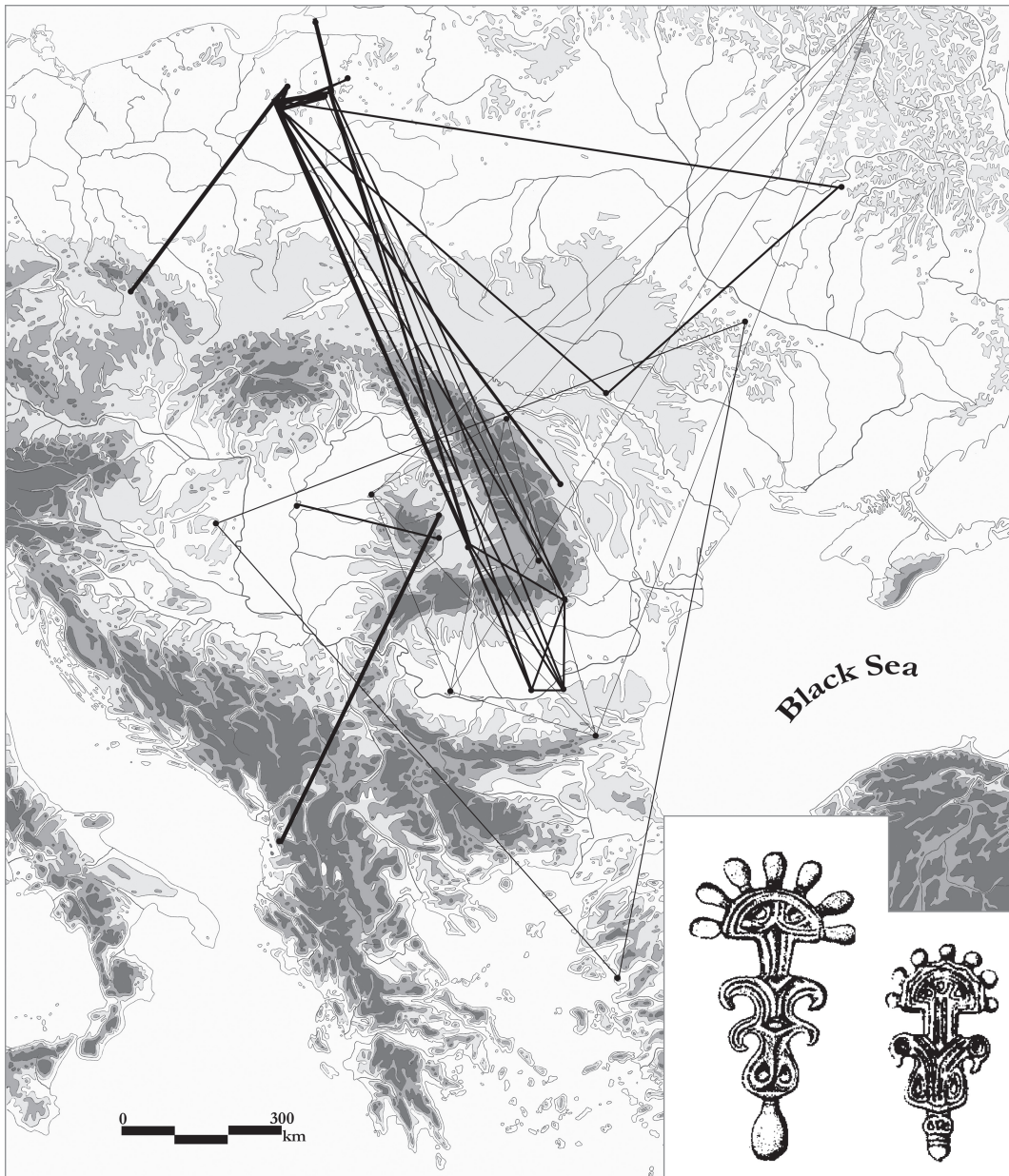


Fig. 4. Plotting of the nearest-neighbor similarity of 55 fibulae of Werner's class I C. Thick lines show seven neighbors, thinner lines represent six, five, four and three neighbors, respectively.

same sub-cluster. Most remarkable are the close links between the two specimens from an unknown location from the Diergardt collection of the Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum in Mainz and the equally unprovenanced piece from the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford. The pair from the Diergardt collection may have been discovered in a grave, but the existence of a third replica raises the question of a common origin, perhaps produced in one and the same mould. The plotting of the nearest-neighbor similarity of 22 fibulae of Werner's class I B reinforces some of the conclusions reached in 2004 (*fig. 2*). With the

Near Neighbor Clustering of WernerID
Similarity Coefficient: Jaccard
Number of Neighbors considered: 7

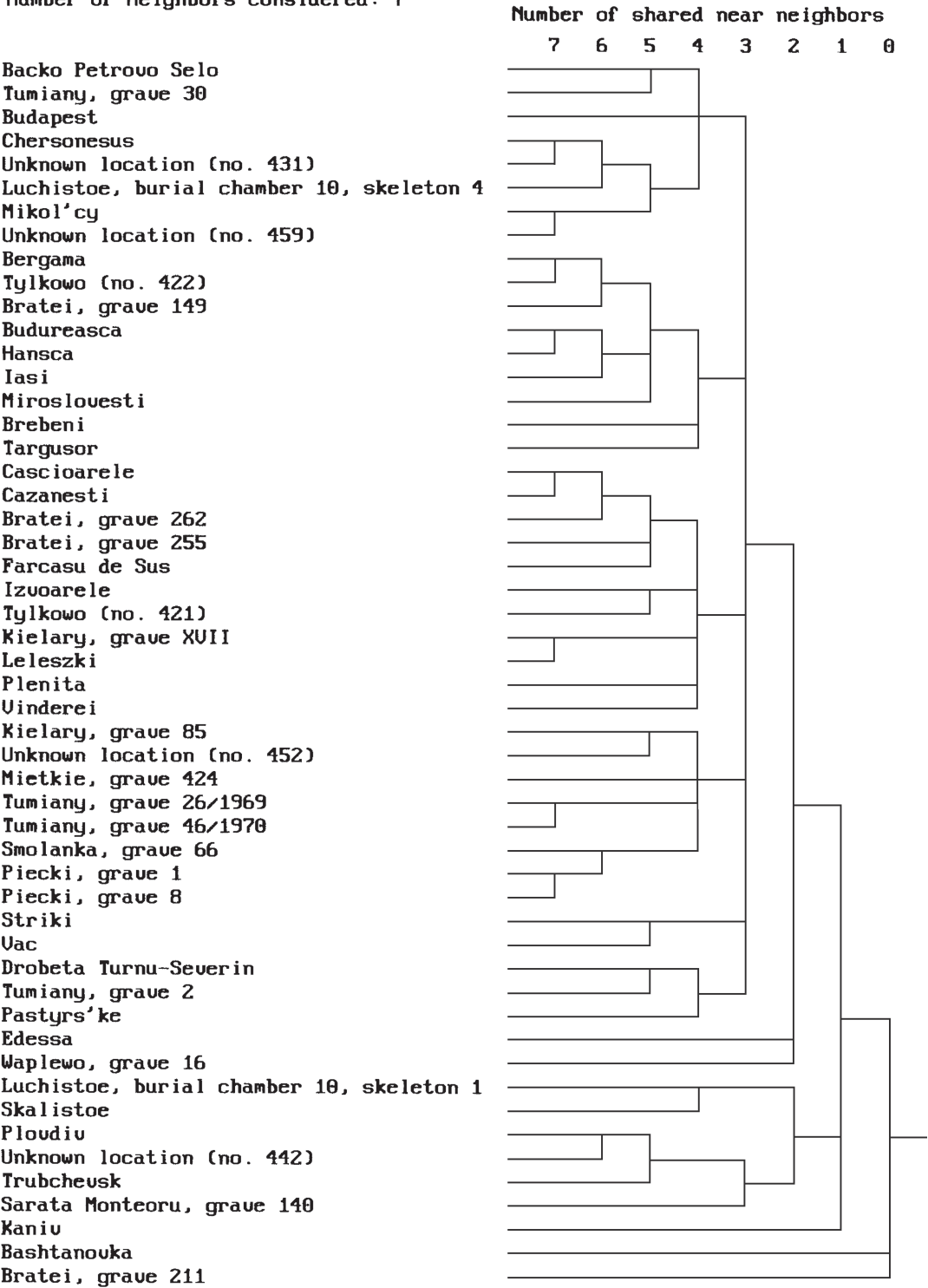


Fig. 5. Near-neighbor cluster analysis of 52 fibulae of Werner’s class I D.

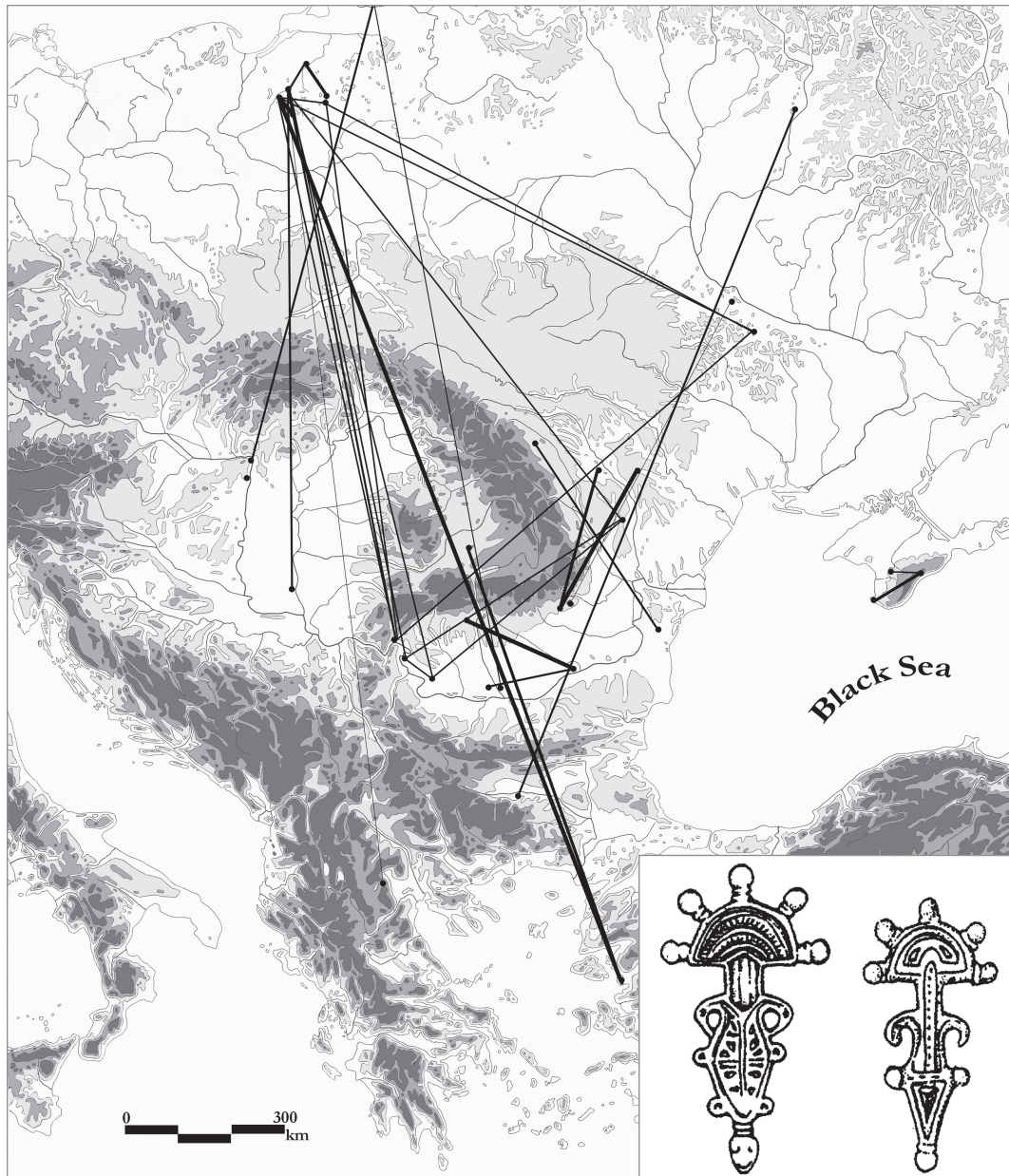


Fig. 6. Plotting of the nearest-neighbor similarity of 52 fibulae of Werner's class I D. Thick lines show seven neighbors, thinner lines represent six, five, four and two neighbors, respectively.

exception of the Dion and Nea Anchialos fibulae, there is no linkage between specimens found on neighboring sites. There is indeed no linkage between Prahovo and Dubovac, or between Geoagiu de Sus and Veľet. Most nearest neighbors have been found at a considerable distance from each other, such as that between Veľet and Rzhevskoe. While most links appear in a north-south direction, the most remarkable is that between two Greek fibulae (Dion and Nea Anchialos) and the specimen from an early Avar burial assemblage in Hungary (Ellőszállás). This immediately brings to mind the parallels recently established be-

Near Neighbor Clustering of Werner IF

Similarity Coefficient: Jaccard

Number of Neighbors considered: 5

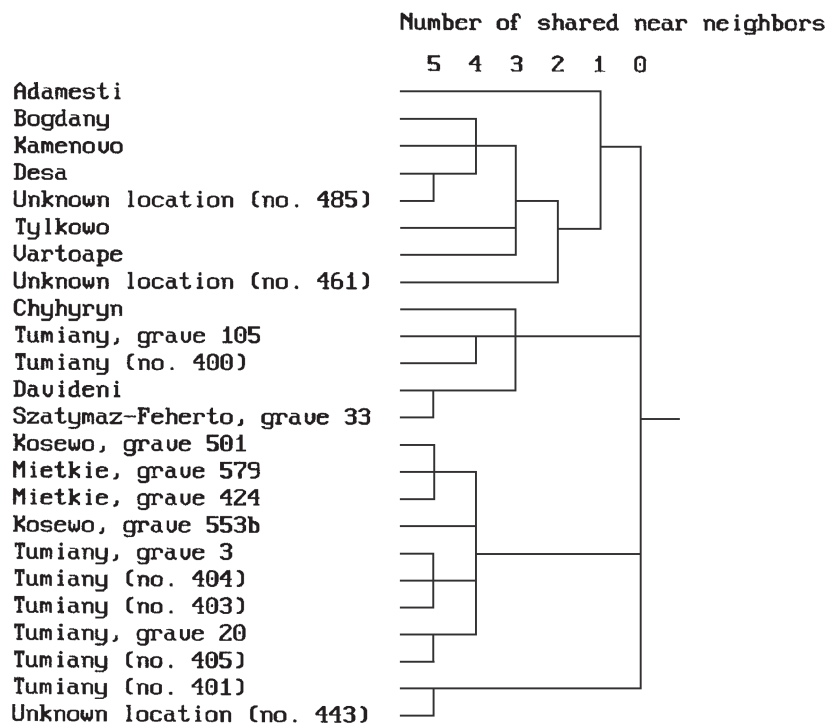


Fig. 7. Near-neighbor cluster analysis of 24 fibulae of Werner's class I F.

tween the early Avar material and several burial assemblages in Greece, such as the “wandering soldier” in Corinth or the cremations in Olympia⁴¹.

By contrast, there are many more nearest-neighbor links between adjacent sites in the cluster analysis of 55 specimens of Werner's class I C (*figs. 3–4*). This is particularly true for sites in Mazuria (Kielary, Kosewo, Miętkie, and Tumiany), all of which also have nearest-neighbor links with sites in Romania (Bratei, Lăuni, Pașcani, Sărata Monteoru) and Bulgaria (Kamenovo). Thinner lines indicating a smaller number of neighbors run in a northeast-southwest direction from sites in Right-Bank Ukraine or central Russia to sites in the Carpathian Basin, western Anatolia or the northern Balkans. The nearest neighbor of a pair of I C fibulae with two pairs of bird-heads from Kruje is the fibula found in an early Avar burial assemblage in northwestern Transylvania (Cornești). The strong north-south axis of nearest-neighbor similarity is also apparent on the plotting of the cluster analysis of 52 fibulae of Werner's class I D (*figs. 5–6*). The addition of six new fibulae (three from Bratei, two from Pieski and another from Târgușor) brought dramatic changes: instead of four major clusters⁴², the dendrogram now shows a very large cluster with six sub-clusters (*fig. 5*). Even though the nearest neighbors remained the same (Căscioarele and Căzănești, Budureasca and Hansca, Bergama and Tylkovo), there are many more links between specimens found on adjacent sites, especially in Mazuria and the Crimea. The nearest neighbors are at a considerable distance from each other, as in the case of the fibulae from Bergama

⁴¹ CURTA 2010b, 433–434; 443–445.

⁴² CURTA 2006b, 427 fig. 3.

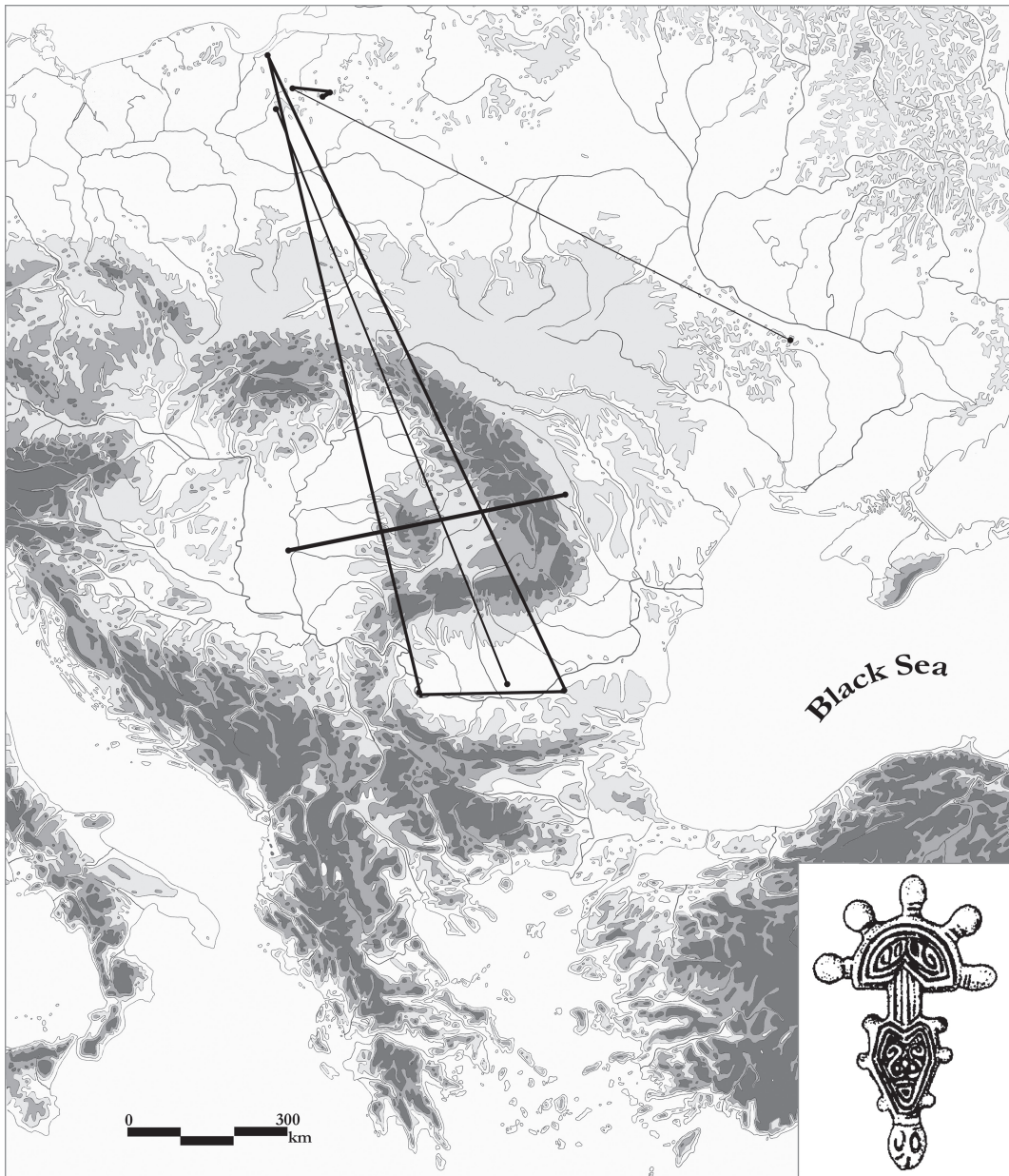


Fig. 8. Plotting of the nearest-neighbor similarity of 24 fibulae of Werner's class I F. Thick lines show five neighbors, thinner lines represent four and three neighbors, respectively.

and Tylkowo. Unlike the previous plotting⁴³, there are no nearest-neighbor links between fibulae from the Crimea and those in Ukraine or in any other part of Eastern or East Central Europe. Moreover, as in the case of fibulae of Werner's class I C, there are no links between the sites located on the fringes of the distribution map in the Balkans and in Ukraine.

⁴³ *IBID.*, 428 fig. 4.

Near Neighbor Clustering of Werner IG

Similarity Coefficient: Jaccard

Number of Neighbors considered: 5

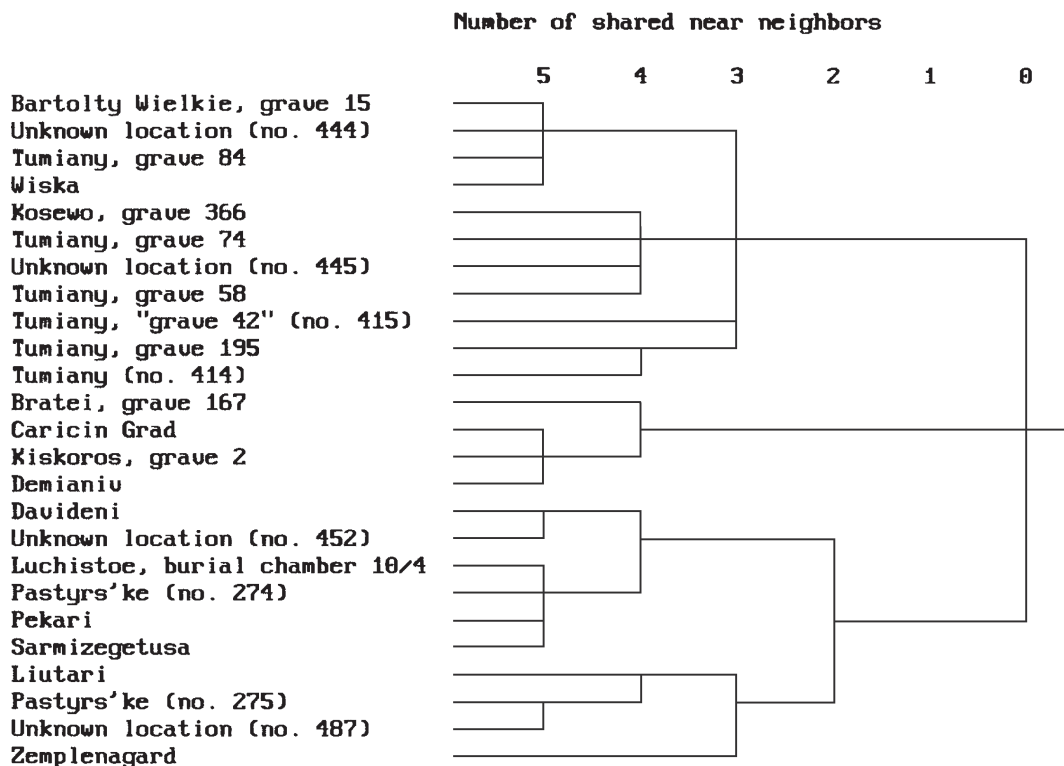


Fig. 9. Near-neighbor cluster analysis of 25 fibulae of Werner's class I G.

The results of the cluster analysis of the fibulae of Werner's class I F have changed somewhat with the removal of three fibulae (two from Tumiany with wrong attribution in Herbert Kühn's catalogue of finds, and another from an unknown location in Macedonia, the picture of which is too small and badly reproduced to allow for the recognition of the ornamental details) and the addition of a new one (Bogdany) (*fig. 7*)⁴⁴. Instead of two, there are now three main clusters, one of which has only fibulae from Mazurian sites, many of which have nearest-neighbor links to each other. In fact, much like in the previous dendrogram, Mazurian fibulae are more similar to each other than they are to other fibulae from any other site. There are no first-rank links between fibulae from sites in Mazuria and specimens of Werner's class I F found outside that region. In fact, with the exception of the fibulae from Davideni and grave 33 in Szatymáz-Fehértó, there are no first-rank links outside Mazuria. The largest number of first-rank links are between five fibulae from Tumiany. Nonetheless, the axis linking sites in Mazuria and the Lower Danube region is also visible through the plotting of second- and third-rank links on the map (*fig. 8*).

A more careful examination of the fibulae of Werner's class I G and a redefinition of their alphanumeric codes may explain the different results of the cluster analysis (*fig. 9*)⁴⁵.

⁴⁴ CURTA 2008a, 477 fig. 9.⁴⁵ CURTA 2006a, 15 fig. 5.

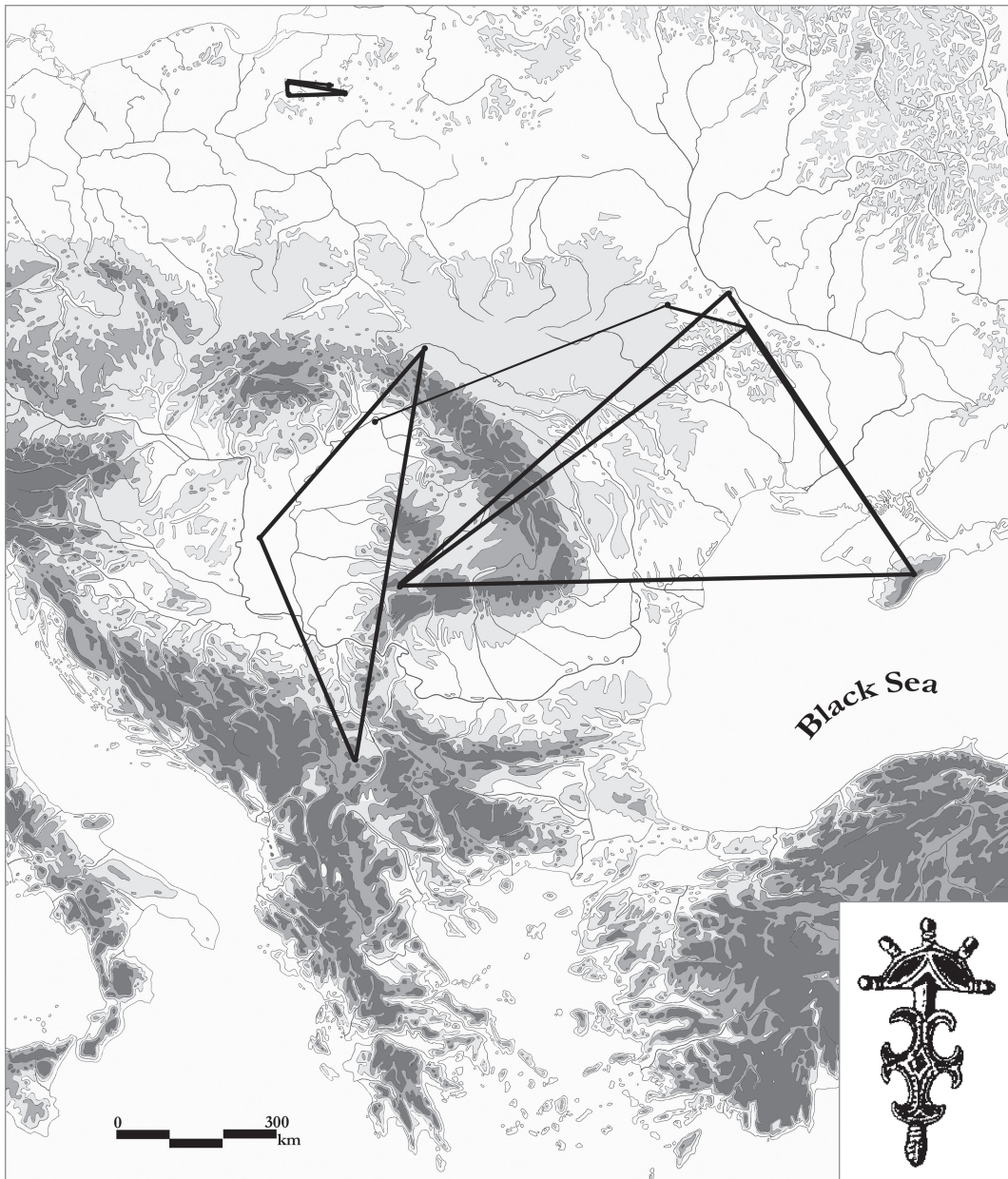


Fig. 10. Plotting of the nearest-neighbor similarity of 25 fibulae of Werner's class I G. Thick lines show five neighbors, thinner lines represent four and three neighbors, respectively.

Instead of two, there are now three main clusters, but with a much more homogeneous composition, and without any unique specimens. Much like in the case of the I F fibulae, one cluster is entirely made up of fibulae from Mazuria, which are not linked to any fibula found outside that region. When plotting on the map the near-neighbor similarities between fibulae of Werner's class I G, it becomes apparent that out of the three clusters, only one consists of design elements with a specific, localized distribution, while the other two are made up of fibulae found on sites at a great distance from each other (*fig. 10*). Fibulae

Near Neighbor Clustering of Werner IH

Similarity Coefficient: Jaccard

Number of Neighbors considered: 6

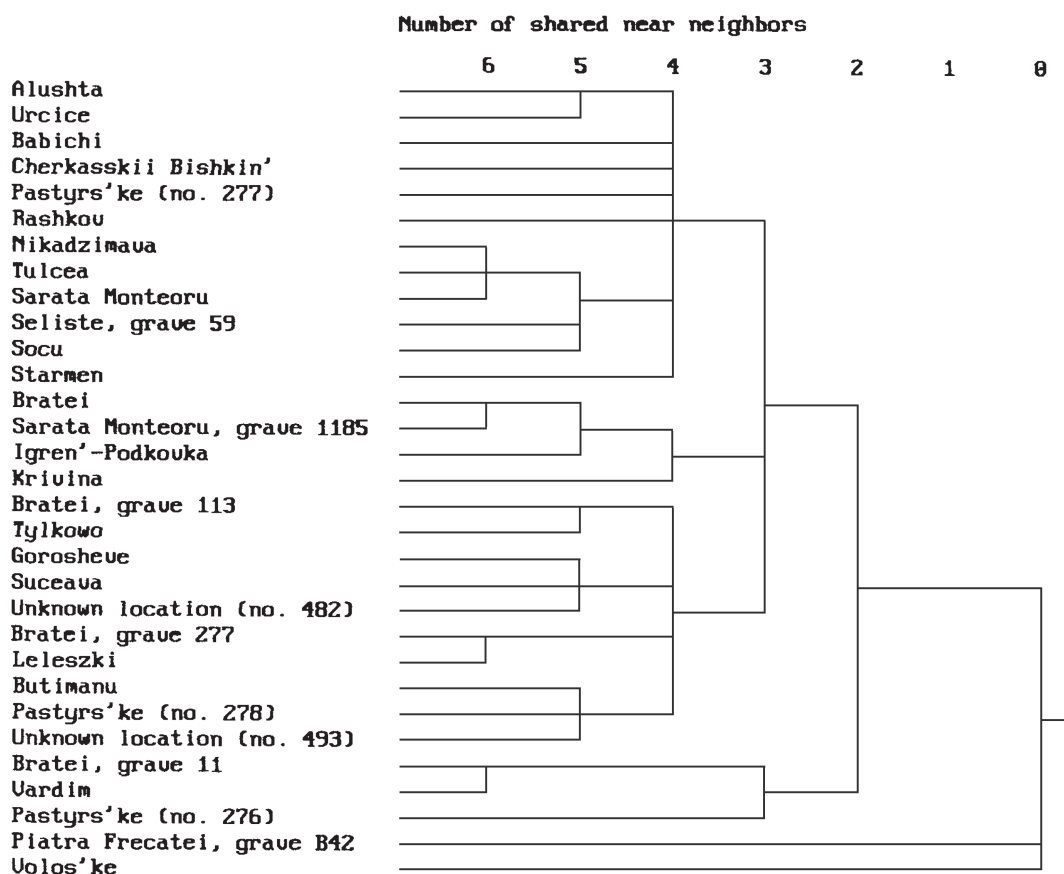


Fig. 11. Near-neighbor cluster analysis of 31 fibulae of Werner's class I H.

found in Mazurian cemeteries (Bartolty Wielkie, Kosewo, Tumiany, and Wiska) share compositional elements with each other, but not with fibulae from outside Mazuria. Unlike all other classes of Werner's first group, there is therefore no north-south axis of near-neighbor similarity links for fibulae of class I G. The longest lines on the map are those connecting sites in the Crimea, Transylvania, and the Middle Dnieper region, in an east-west or northeast-southwest direction.

No less than 6 new fibulae of Werner's class I H have been added to the list since 2004 (Tulcea, four specimens from Bratei, and another from an unknown location in the district of Vinnytsia), and they triggered considerable alterations to the initial analysis⁴⁶. Instead of a large and a smaller cluster, there are now two clusters of almost the same size (*fig. 11*). The unique fibulae are not those from Starmen and an unknown location in Poland, but those from Piatra Frecăței and Volos'ke. When plotting the nearest-neighbor similarity links on the map, it appears that the fibulae found in Belarus, Mazuria, Transylvania, and the Lower Danube region share many more compositional elements with each other than

⁴⁶ CURTA 2004, 65 fig. 6.

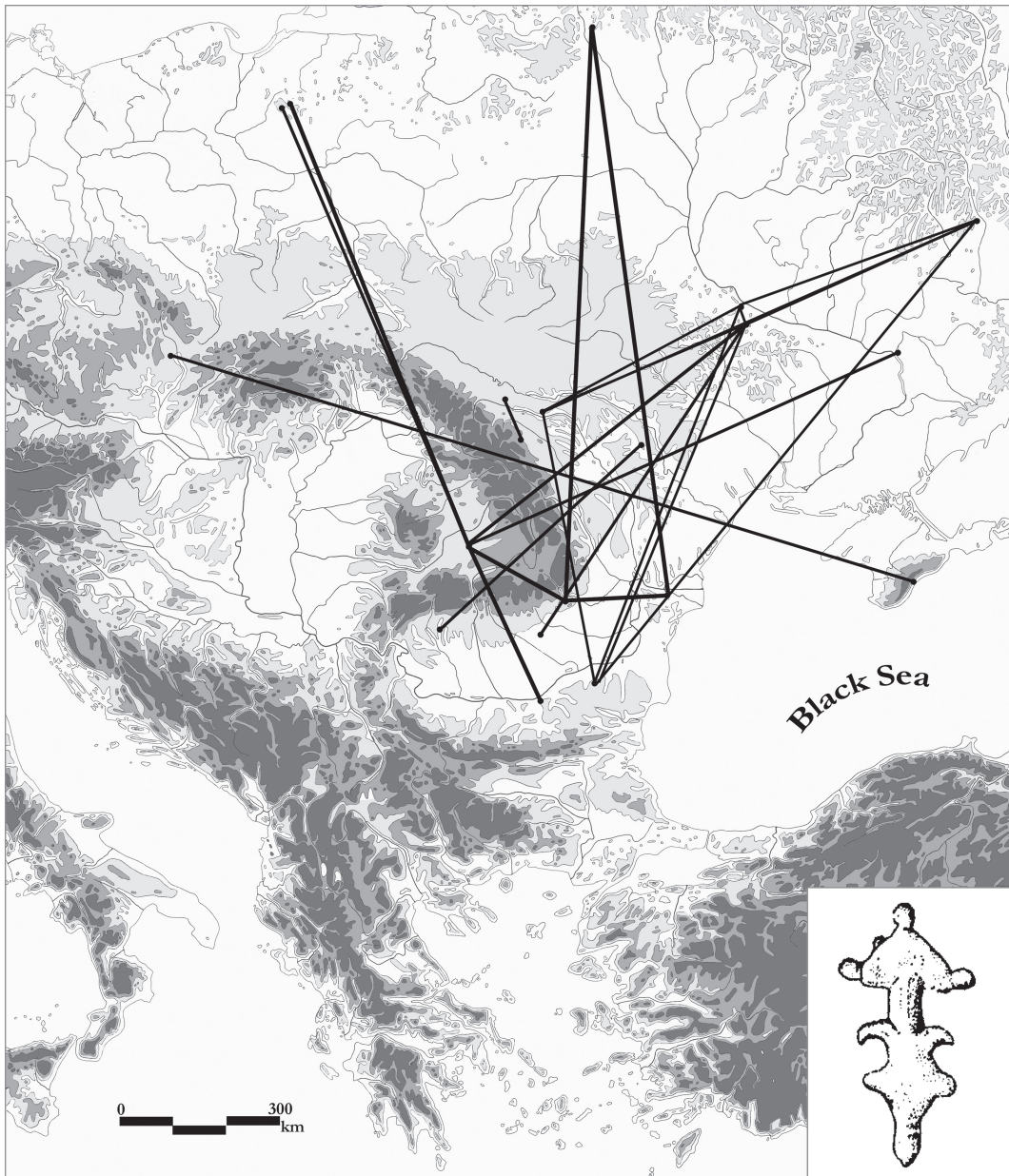


Fig. 12. Plotting of the nearest-neighbor similarity of 31 fibulae of Werner's class I H. Thick lines show six neighbors, thinner lines represent five, four and three neighbors, respectively.

with fibulae from Ukraine or the Crimea (*fig. 12*). There are no links between the latter two regions, while the longest line on the map is that between Alushta (Crimea) and Určice (Moravia). There are also no links between neighboring sites in Mazuria (Tylkowo and Leleszki), but the shortest lines on the map are those between sites in Bukovina (Suceava and Gorosheve) and in the Middle Dnieper region (Babichi and Pastys'ke).

A re-assessment of the alphanumeric assignments for the fibulae of Werner's class II A reduced the number of specimens for cluster analysis from 12 to 9 (primarily by regarding

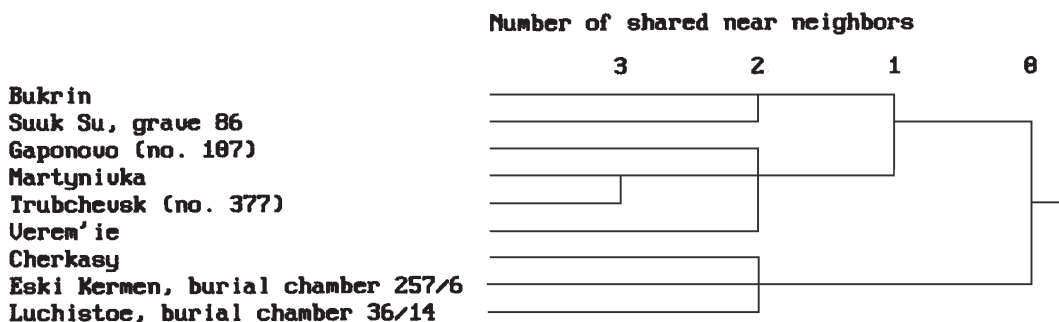
Near Neighbor Clustering of Werner II A**Similarity Coefficient: Jaccard****Number of Neighbors considered: 3**

Fig. 13. Near-neighbor cluster analysis of nine fibulae of Werner's class II A.

all four fibulae from Gaponovo as almost identical to each other). Instead of a single cluster with three sub-clusters, the new dendrogram now shows two separate clusters (*fig. 13*). The only first-rank links are between the fibulae from Trubchevsk and Martynivka, and the specimens from the Crimea appear now linked to those in Right-, but not Left-Bank Ukraine (*fig. 14*). Slight changes appear also in the dendrogram resulting from the cluster analysis of 28 fibulae of Werner's class II B after the re-evaluation of their alphanumeric codes. Instead of five clusters of unequal size⁴⁷, the new dendrogram shows only four clusters and a number of unique specimens (*fig. 15*). The closest neighborhood of specimens is in the largest cluster, which includes only fibulae from the Middle Dnieper (Nyzhniaia Syrovatka, Petrushky, Zhurzheritsi, and an unknown location in the region of Kiev) and Oka regions (Podbolot'e and an unknown location), at a considerable distance from each other. In addition, a sub-cluster of another group contains mostly specimens from the Middle Dnieper region (Pogrebi, Rossava, Trubchevsk, and an unknown location in the Cherkasy district), but also a fibula from the Crimea (Luchistoe). When plotting on a map of Eastern Europe the nearest-neighbor similarity between the fibulae of Werner's class II B, it becomes readily apparent that most sites on the fringes of the distribution map have first-rank links to those in the Middle Dnieper region (*fig. 16*). While Crimean sites are linked to both those in the Middle Dnieper region and to those in the Carpathian Basin, there are no direct links between specimens in the Crimea and those in the Oka region, or between the latter and those in the Carpathian Basin. The largest number of contiguous nearest neighbors is in the Middle Dnieper region. While a high-level of similarity exists also between the two specimens known from the Oka region, there are no links between specimens found within a relatively short distance from each other in the Carpathian Basin (Gatér and TÁC).

The main consequence of adding only two fibulae from Kurilovka to the cluster analysis of II C fibulae is the decrease in the number of clusters in the dendrogram, from five to three (*fig. 17*)⁴⁸. Three nearest neighbors may be found in the largest cluster and they all are from sites at a great distance from each other – the Dnipropetrovsk region, northern Moldavia, and the Crimea. The only other pair of nearest neighbors may be found in the Nova Odessa hoard in Left-Bank Ukraine and, as we shall see, they are in fact a forming model and a fibula produced with it. The plotting on the map of the nearest-neighbor

⁴⁷ CURTA 2009b, 48 fig. 2.⁴⁸ CURTA 2011c, 157 fig. 4.



Fig. 14. Plotting of the nearest-neighbor similarity of nine fibulae of Werner's class II A. The thick line shows three, the thinner lines only one neighbors, respectively.

similarities between fibulae of Werner's class II C shows a very complicated network (*fig. 18*). Sites in the Middle Dnieper region and in the Crimea are connected with almost all sites on the distribution map, and to each other, although there appear to be more third-degree links among sites in the Middle Dnieper region than among those in the Crimea. It is important to note that no links exist between sites on the periphery of the distribution map, either in the Carpathian Basin or in the northern Balkans. The same is true for the three fibulae found in the region between the Carpathian Mountains and the

Near Neighbor Clustering of Werner IIB

Similarity Coefficient: Jaccard

Number of Neighbors considered: 5

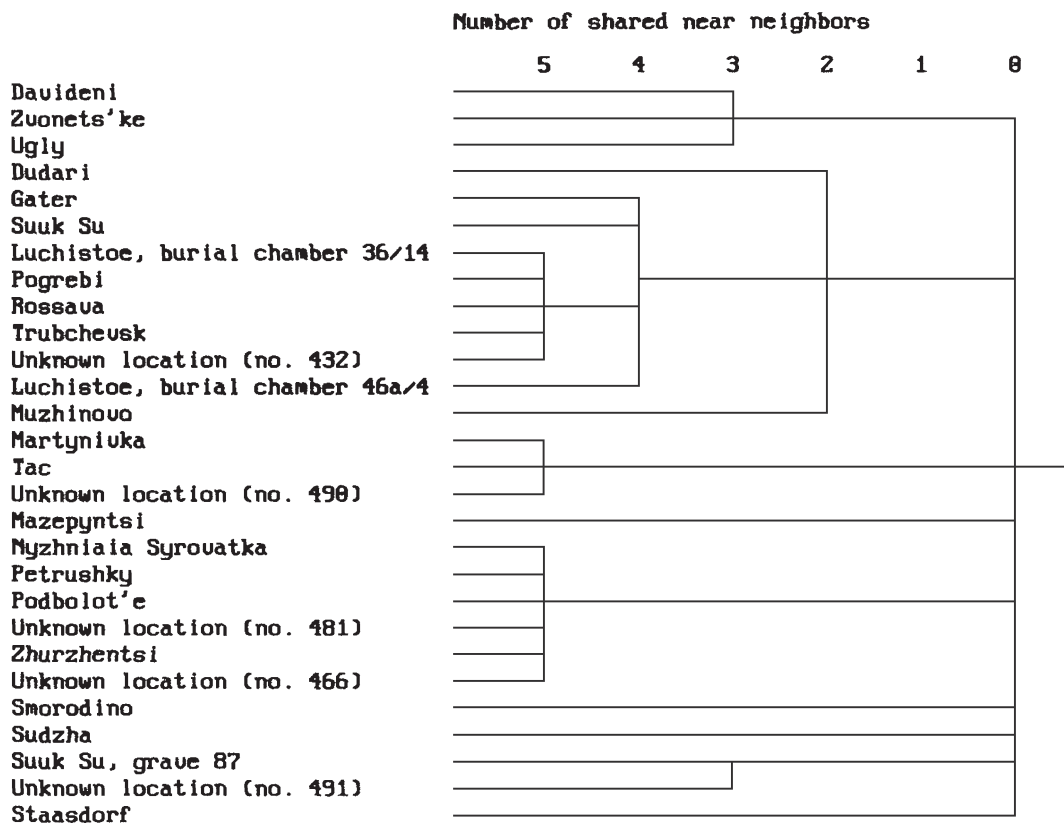


Fig. 15. Near-neighbor cluster analysis of 28 fibulae of Werner's class II B.

river Dniester (Bălteni, Dănceni, and Draxini). No changes have been brought to the analysis of 32 fibulae of Werner's class II D (*fig. 19*). Much like class II B, the nearest neighbors among II D fibulae may be found in the Middle Dnieper region and in the Crimea. Except fibulae from the same assemblage (Koziivka) or site (Pastyrs'ke), most close neighborhood relations may be found between sites at a considerable distance from each other (*fig. 20*). By contrast, sites in the Lower Dnieper region or in northeastern Europe are not connected to each other.

The mapping of all “Slavic” fibulae known so far reveals four main clusters of finds – the Crimea, the Lower Danube region, Mazuria, and the Middle Dnieper region (*figs. 21–22*). In which one of those regions did such fibulae first come into fashion, and to which areas did that fashion spread first? Plotting all known fibulae by types cannot answer this question, because an expected cluster of finds of a particular class is only an indication of the particular popularity of that class in a certain region at a certain time⁴⁹. Plotting the distributions of several types on the same map reveals some interesting contrasts, as some types are well represented in Mazuria and Crimea, while others do not

⁴⁹ See VAGALINSKI 1994, 262 fig. 1.

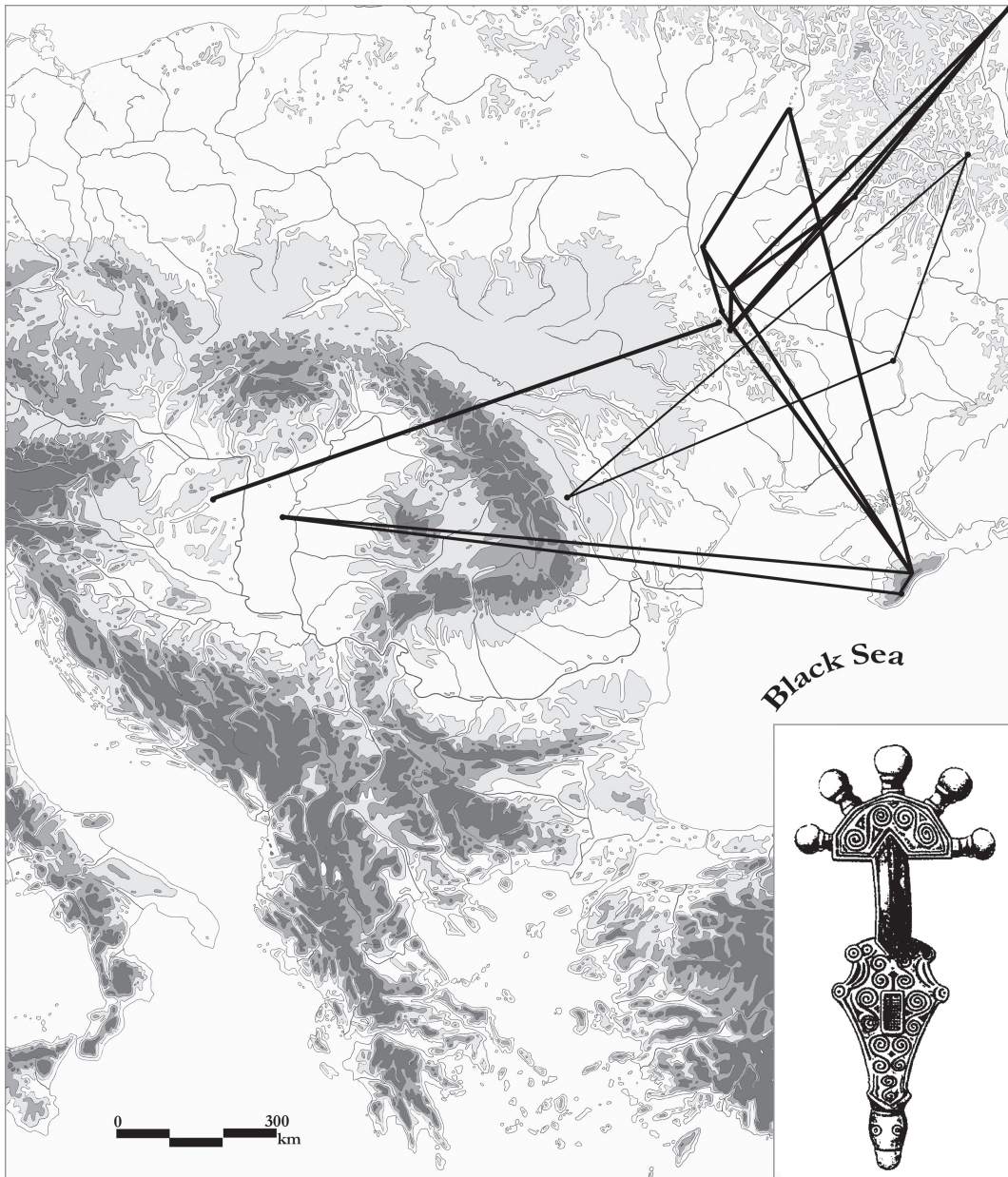


Fig. 16. Plotting of the nearest-neighbor similarity of 28 fibulae of Werner's class II B. Thick lines show five neighbors, the thinner lines represent four, three and two neighbors, respectively.

appear in those regions⁵⁰. However, such maps do not show the relations between members of the same class, especially those based on imitation. Volker Hilberg has recently demonstrated the importance of such relations for distinguishing between fibulae produced elsewhere and brought from afar into a given region, and their imitations of local production. He also drew attention to the importance of the several "stages" of imitation in un-

⁵⁰ KATSOUGIANNOPOULOU 1999, maps I–IV.

Near Neighbor Clustering of Werner II C

Similarity Coefficient: Jaccard
Number of Neighbors considered: 7

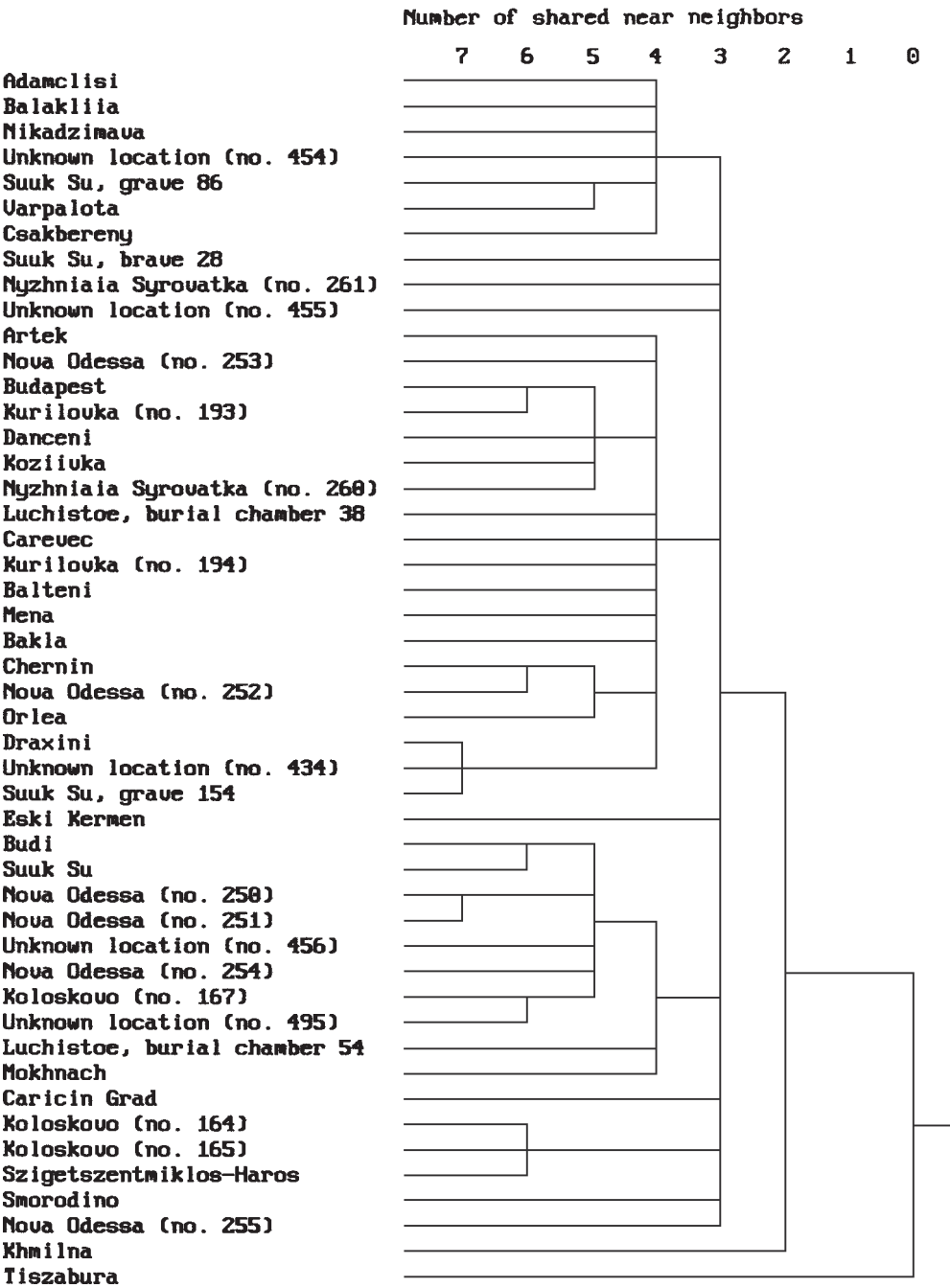


Fig. 17. Near-neighbor cluster analysis of 48 fibulae of Werner’s class II C.

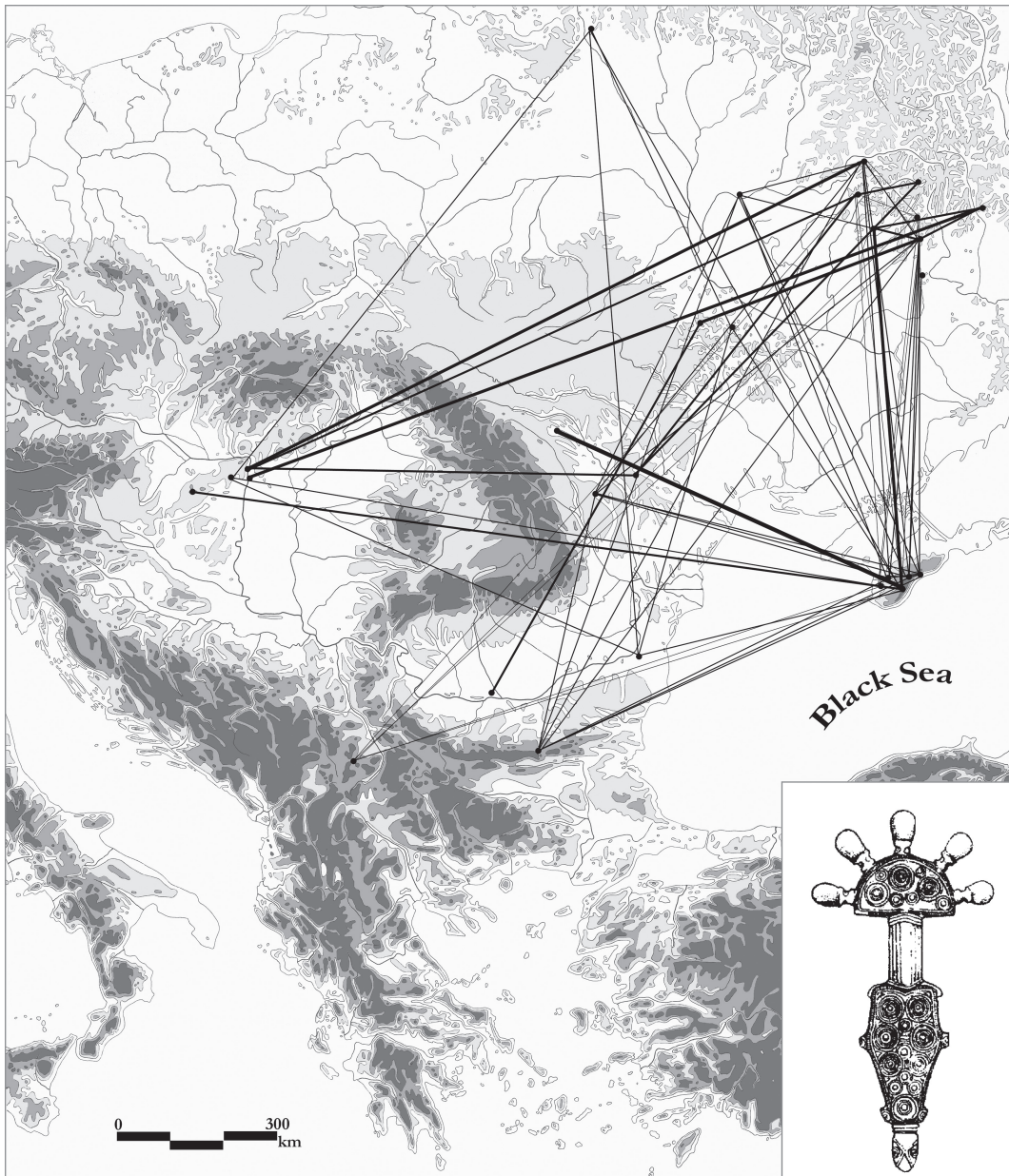


Fig. 18. Plotting of the nearest-neighbor similarity of 48 fibulae of Werner's class II C. Thick lines show seven neighbors, the thinner lines represent six, five, four and three neighbors, respectively.

derstanding the transformation of the design and ornamental patterns that turned exotic prototypes into familiar types⁵¹. In this respect, the plotting of the nearest-neighbor similar-

⁵¹ HILBERG 2003, 270–271; HILBERG 2009, 98; 263–264; 99 fig. 5,11; 265 fig. 7,36. – According to Katsougiannopoulou, the fibulae of Werner's class I D (her Edessa type) found in Miętkie and Smolanka must be regarded as local imita-

tions of the fibulae from grave 30 in Tumiany, which themselves must have been "imports" from the Black Sea area (KATSOUGIANNPOULOU 1999, 52).

Near Neighbor Clustering of Werner IID

Similarity Coefficient: Jaccard

Number of Neighbors considered: 6

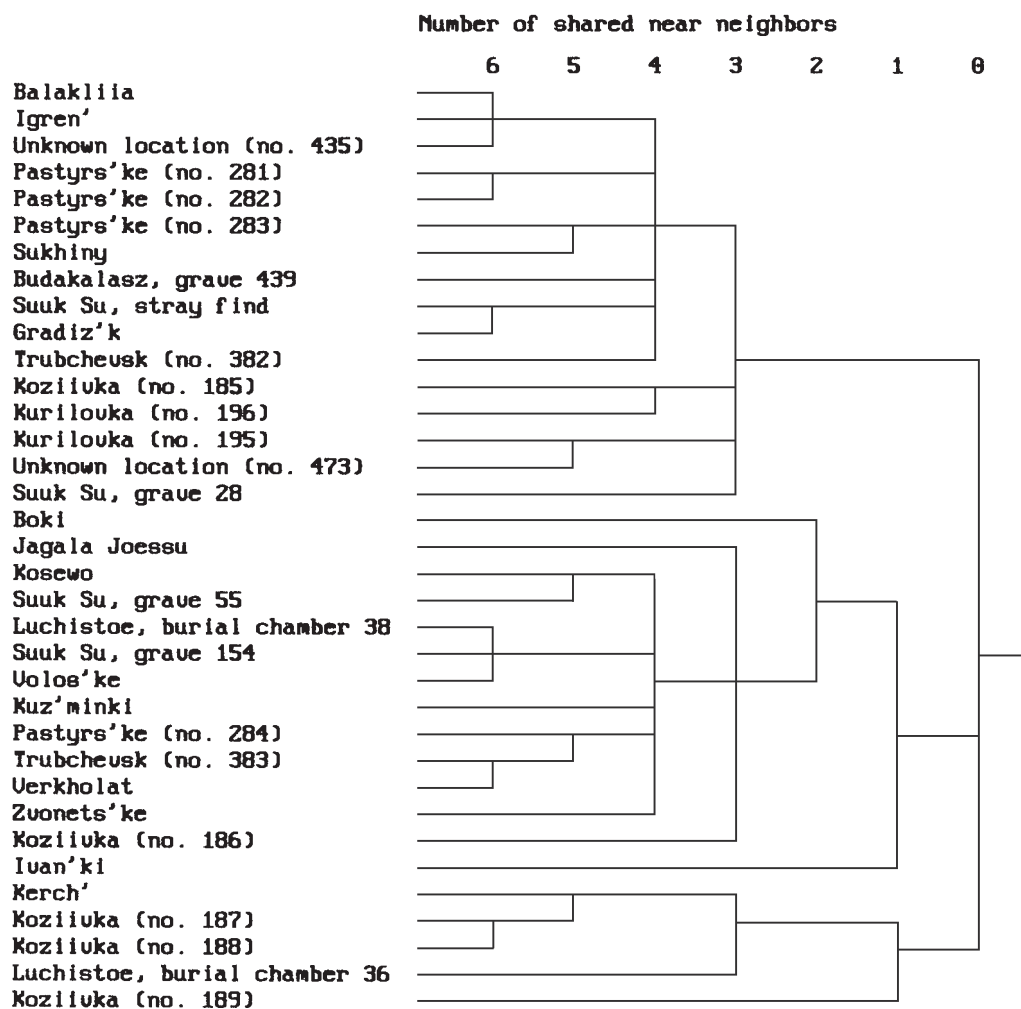


Fig. 19. Near-neighbor cluster analysis of 35 fibulae of Werner's class II D.

ity between members of various classes may provide some helpful hints. Firstly, it appears that most links for fibulae in Werner's first group (I A, I B, I C, I D, I F, and I H) are along the north-south axis linking the Lower Danube region and Transylvania (the territory of present-day Romania) to Mazuria and the neighboring Russian oblast of Kaliningrad (the territory once known as Eastern Prussia). For all six classes, the links between those regions are of the first rank. In other words, fibulae from Mazuria and the Lower Danube region (or Transylvania) are very similar to each other, sometimes in minute details. No such north-south axis exists on maps showing the nearest-neighbor similarity between fibulae of Werner's second group. Most first-rank links in this case are between specimens from the Crimea and the Middle Dnieper region, in a northwest-southeast direction, although there are also important links between both regions and the Carpathian

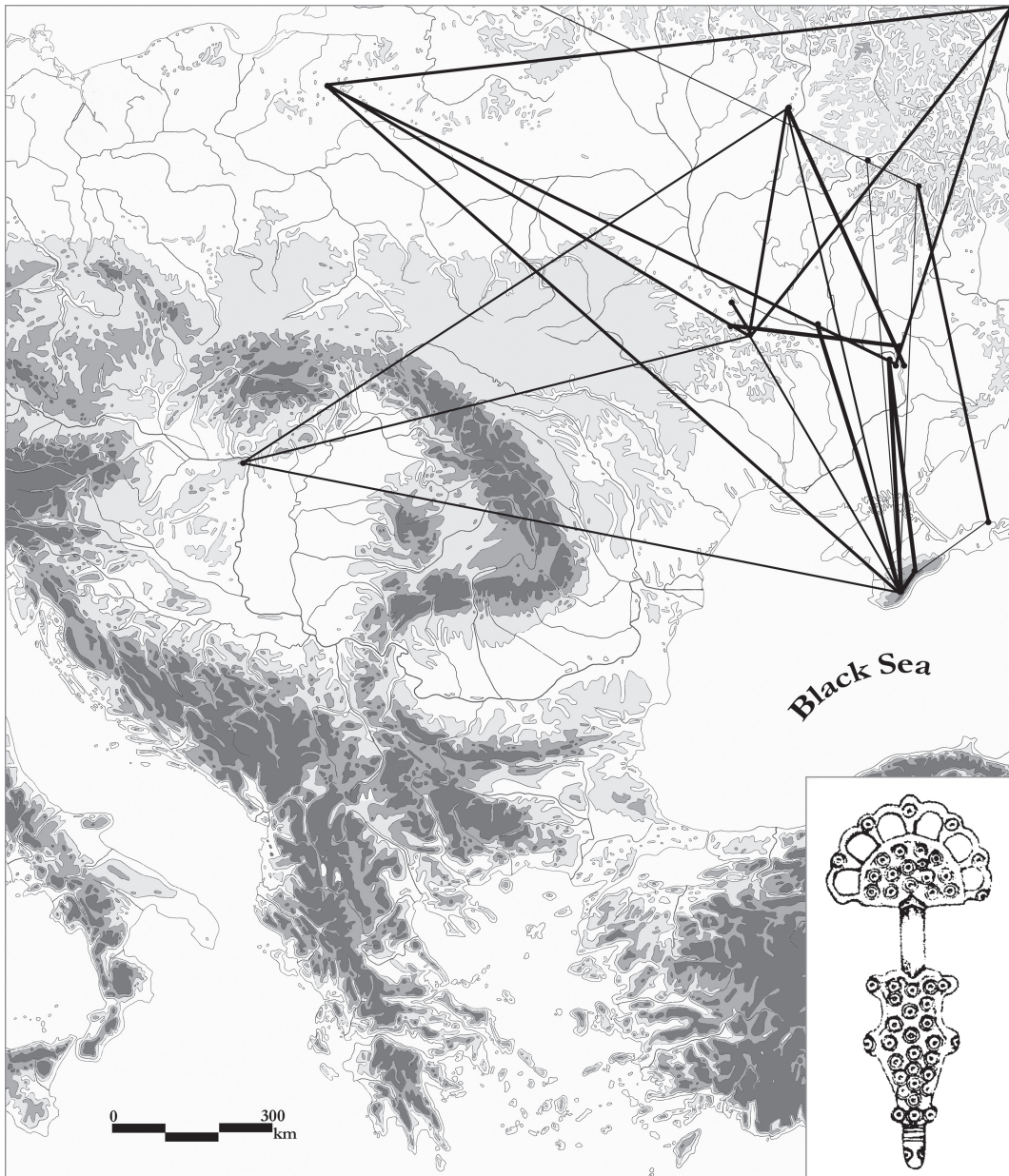


Fig. 20. Plotting of the nearest-neighbor similarity of 35 fibulae of Werner's class II D. Thick lines show six neighbors, the thinner lines represent five, four and three neighbors, respectively.

Basin, on an east-west axis. Secondly, both cluster analysis dendrograms and plotting maps show first-rank links within some regions, but not within others. Particularly important in this respect is the nearest-neighbor similarity between fibulae of Werner's classes I C, I D, I F, and I G found in Mazuria, but the same is true also for specimens of Werner's classes II A, II B, II C, and II D found in the Middle Dnieper region and in the Crimea. A relatively large number of intra-regional, first-rank links strongly suggests that the process of imitation was more intense in some regions than in others. Coupled with the notion of

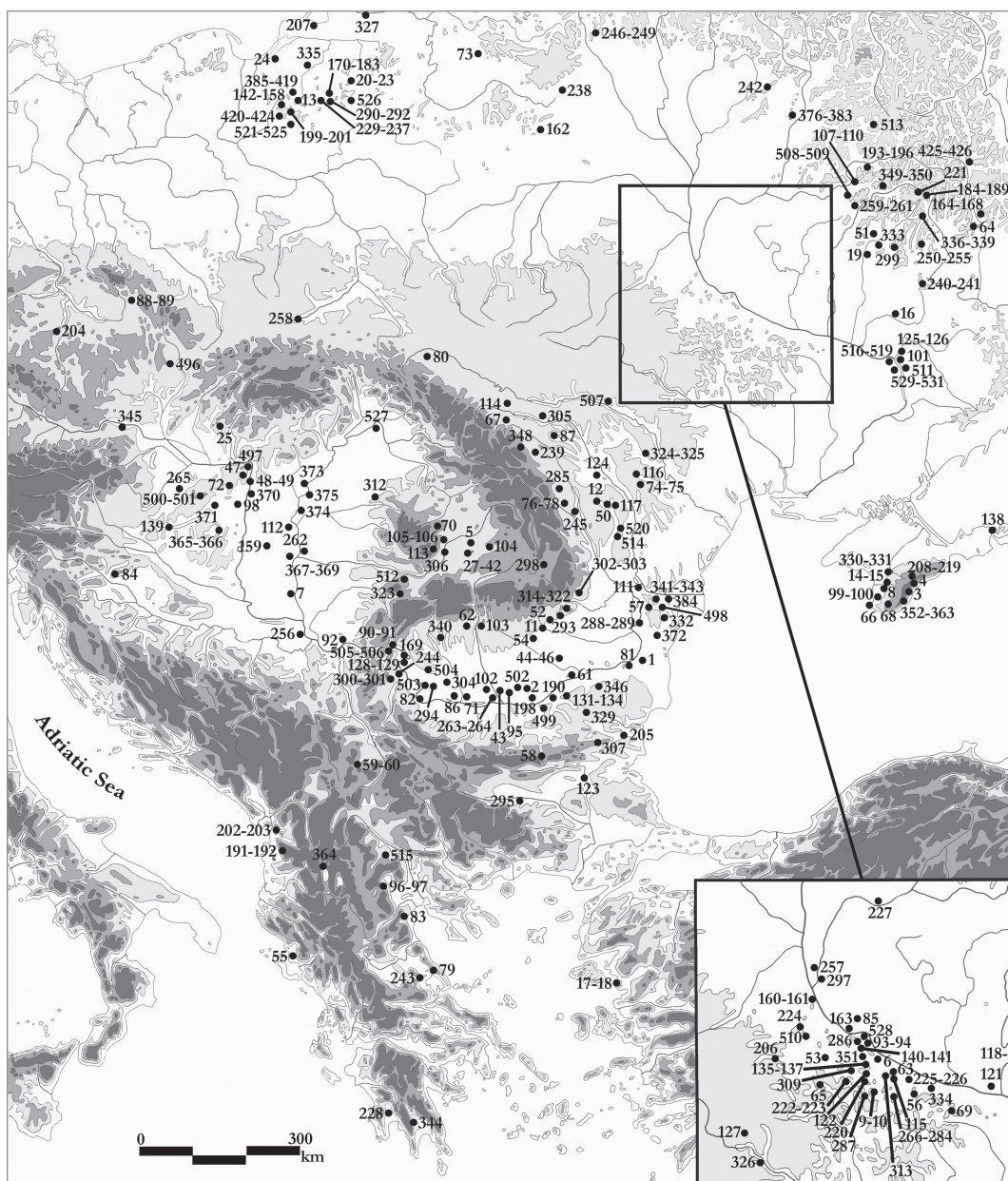


Fig. 21. The distribution of “Slavic” bow fibulae in East-Central, Southeastern and Eastern Europe. Numbers refer to the list of finds.

Fig. 22. The distribution of “Slavic” bow fibulae in Eastern Europe. Numbers refer to the list of finds. The rectangle bottom left marks the upper right corner of *fig. 21*.



long-distance contacts responsible for the transmission of design and ornamental patterns involved in imitation, this conclusion delineates some possible solutions for the questions regarding the origin of the “Slavic” bow fibulae and the direction in which their fashion has spread. A high number of first-rank links within one and the same region certainly indicates a local production of fibulae, but this fact alone is no indication of whether the region in question first produced that type of fibulae, or was only involved in the imitation of fibulae produced elsewhere. The question therefore is, what was the direction of imitation on those north-south or east-west axes revealed by the plotting of nearest-neighbor similarity? Were certain classes first “invented” in Mazuria and then imitated in the Lower Danube region, or vice-versa? Are the fibulae found in the Middle Dnieper region the inspiration for the fibulae found in the Crimea, or their imitations? Where were the workshops in which such fibulae – either the original models or their imitations – were produced?

Production

Some have pointed to the Lower Danube region as the area where fibulae originated which were later imitated in the Middle Dnieper region, together with other artifacts⁵². Others have argued that fibulae of Werner’s class I C with one pair of bird-heads may have been first produced in Mazuria, and then imitated in the Lower Danube region⁵³. Because of its decoration, sometimes incorporating a cross-like pattern on the foot-plate, fibulae of Werner’s class I D (Katsougiannopoulou’s Edessa type) are believed to have originated in Byzantine workshops in the Crimea⁵⁴. Parallels with the decoration of certain types of so-called Byzantine buckles have prompted some to suggest that Werner’s class I G was first produced in the Byzantine Empire or in Avar workshops under Byzantine influence⁵⁵.

All those ideas are ultimately based on the assumption that once created in a given region, a particular type of fibula was then rendered popular in other regions by means of a direct contact between manufacturers and customers (or wearers). In other words, the underlying idea is that responsible for the dissemination of brooch forms and ornamental details were itinerant specialists working on commission⁵⁶. Such craftsmen supposedly carried with them durable bronze or lead models of fibulae. They would let their customers choose among the various models, and then produce replicas of the chosen model(s), as needed. This theory is primarily based on the existence among “Slavic” bow fibulae of specimens without catch-pins, which have been hastily interpreted as (forming) models⁵⁷. The specimens from Bucharest-Tei, Felnac, and an unknown location in the Iron Gates region may have been such models⁵⁸. Two forming models for fibulae of Werner’s class II C are

⁵² GALKINA 2011, 15. – I have in turn suggested that the decoration with S-spirals of fibulae of Werner’s class II A was directly inspired by the scrollwork decoration of head-plates of late fifth-century fibulae in the Lower Danube region (CURTA 2010a, 153).

⁵³ KATSOUGIANNOPOULOU 1999, 38. – By contrast, fibulae of Werner’s class I C with two pairs of bird-heads may have been produced in the Carpathian Basin as an imitation of specimens with one pair of bird-heads (CURTA 2011b, 70).

⁵⁴ KATSOUGIANNOPOULOU 1999, 52. – Katsougiannopoulou also suggested that fibulae of Werner’s class I H (her Suceava type) were manufactured in early Byzantine forts along the Danube (KATSOUGIANNOPOULOU *op. cit.*, 45).

⁵⁵ *IBID.*, 42, building on an earlier idea of IBLER 1992, 144–145.

⁵⁶ WERNER 1970.

⁵⁷ KATSOUGIANNOPOULOU 1997, 321 with n. 22.

⁵⁸ SHABLAVIDA / SZMONIEWSKI 2006, 521; CURTA 2008b, 67. – On the basis of the forming model from Bucharest-Tei, Katsougiannopoulou has

known from the Koziivka and Nova Odessa hoards, and another from an unknown location in the Middle Dnieper region⁵⁹. The model from Nova Odessa was associated with an actual fibula made from that same model⁶⁰. It has been noted that the forming models from the Koziivka and Nova Odessa hoards were made of alloys different from those employed for the manufacture of most other items in those two collections⁶¹. Fibulae of Werner's class II C linked to the examples from Koziivka and Nova Odessa, for example those from Budi and Koloskovo, may thus have been manufactured in the Middle Dnieper region⁶². Because of the forming models, which were found only in the Middle Dnieper region, it is likely that the production and fashion of II C fibulae originated from that area. Unfortunately, the small number of forming models (if indeed that is what they are) and of matching fibulae of other classes makes it impossible to establish areas in which such fibulae may have first been produced and worn.

But how were "Slavic" bow fibulae actually produced from forming models? Trasological studies of some of the fibulae from the Middle Dnieper region have indicated the existence of radial ridges on the back of the foot-plate and smaller ridges on the head-plate knobs⁶³. Such details suggest that the fibulae in question have been cast in clay moulds, the purpose of the ridges being to increase the resistivity and rigidity of the fibula. Ekaterina Shablavina has in fact conducted an archaeological experiment to illustrate the technological procedure. Using a wooden template, she obtained a ceroplastic work which she then used to produce a bar of clay tempered with 40 to 60 percent crushed shards and sand. The bar was first dried and then fired at a temperature between 800° and 900° centigrade, as a result of which the wax melted and a "negative" brooch was thus obtained. Next, molten metal was poured into the hollow clay bar and when the metal became cold the bar was broken and the decoration of the brooch could be further refined or gilded⁶⁴. The emission spectrum analysis of the fibulae from the Trubchevsk hoard showed that most were made of a copper-alloy with a concentration of between 20 and 32 percent zinc⁶⁵. In Late Antiquity, metallurgists made alloys by mixing scrap bronze with brass that had been newly produced by the cementation process. The new brass had a typically high concentration of zinc⁶⁶. It is therefore likely that the craftsmen responsible for the production of the Trubchevsk fibulae were capable of obtaining brass by heating a mixture of copper and calamine (zinc ore) to a high temperature for several hours, in order to allow the zinc vapors to permeate the copper. That such craftsmen relied on collections of scrap metal is well illu-

advanced the idea of a production workshop within the territory of the present-day capital city of Romania. She pointed out that the specimen of Werner's class I F from Băneasa (on the northern outskirts of the city) is a miscast, which reinforces the idea of a local production (KATSOU-GIANNOPOULOU 1999, 54 and 58).

⁵⁹ KORZUKHINA 1996, 634 fig. 44,1.4; SHABLAVINA 2004, 244–245 and 251 fig. 8. – A fourth forming model from the Middle Dnieper region is of a different type of bow fibula (SHABLAVINA / SZMONIEWSKI 2006).

⁶⁰ KORZUKHINA 1996, 634 fig. 44,2.

⁶¹ EGOR'KOV / SHCHEGLOVA 2006. – The difference consists in the absence of any traces of arsenic, bismuth, and cobalt (EGOR'KOV / SHCHEGLOVA op. cit., 24).

⁶² They may be regarded as local imitations of fibulae of the Aquileia type, with which they have many morphological and ornamental elements in common (CURTA 2009b, 65).

⁶³ GAVRITUKHIN / OBLOMSKII 1996, 310; CURTA 2009b, 65.

⁶⁴ SHABLAVINA 2001, 312–314; SHABLAVINA 2004, 245–246; HEINRICH-TAMÁSKA 2008, 242–243.

⁶⁵ EGOR'KOV / SHCHEGLOVA 2001, 287; 304; 306.

⁶⁶ COOPER 2000, 44. – The maximum zinc content of brass produced by the cementation process at a temperature of 1,000 centigrades is 28 percent. Even when brass containing 40 percent zinc is used instead of copper during the cementation process, the result is still a brass with no more than 28 percent zinc (COOPER op. cit., 57).

strated by the Velyki Budky assemblage, in which a pair of fibulae of Werner’s class I C was associated with a fragment of another fibula with scrollwork decoration, fragments of bracelets, torcs, earrings, and various bits of scrap silver and lead⁶⁷. However, the two fibulae in the Velyki Budky hoard were not made of brass, but of bronze with a high concentration of tin (70 and 71 percent, respectively)⁶⁸.

Several “Slavic” bow fibulae were made of silver, and some of them were also gilded: Artek, Bucharest-Băneasa, Chyhyryn, Coșovenii de Jos, grave 30 and 74 in Kielary, Kruje, Martynivka, Medvedevka, Pastyr’s’ke, Pietroasele, Prahovo, Rome, Sărata Monteoru, graves 33 and 375 in Szatymáz-Fehértó, grave 30 in Tumiany, and grave 16 in Waplewo⁶⁹. Even the specimen from Bucharest-Tei believed to be a forming model is made of silver⁷⁰. The diversity of materials suggests that various technologies were employed for different fibulae depending, most likely, on the availability of the raw material. On one hand, the use of models presupposes the use of the “lost-wax” technique, in which negatives for the wax model were obtained simply by pressing the forming model into a lump of clay⁷¹. On the other hand, bow fibulae may have also been produced by means of the two-piece casting technique, without the use of any models. A soapstone mould for bow fibulae has in fact been found together with other moulds and smelting implements in a sunken-floored building in Bernashivka, near Mohyliv-Podil’s’kyi, in Ukraine⁷². The mould has a funnel-shaped casting tube and airing vents, which clearly indicate that it was used for the two-piece casting procedure. A second mould with only the deep marks for the spring base has a casting tube in a position exactly corresponding to that of the other piece⁷³. No fibula that could have been produced with the two-piece mould was found in Bernashivka, and there is so far no matching specimen. However, it is important to note that the mould was found in a sunken-floored building, together with hand- and wheel-made pottery, including fragments of Late Roman amphorae. This strongly suggests a household production of copper-alloy artifacts, with no separate workshops or special facilities, such as furnaces. The individual working with the mould(s) found in Bernashivka was not an itinerant specialist.

⁶⁷ GORIUNOVA 1992; SZMONIEWSKI 2008, 278–280.

⁶⁸ GORIUNOVA / RODINKOVA 1999, 217. – There is as much as 29 percent lead in the alloy from which the two “Slavic” bow fibulae from Velyki Budky were made. By comparison, none of the nine fibulae from the Trubchevsk hoard has more than 5.5 percent lead. Most appropriate for casting are alloys with a higher concentration of lead, because the addition of at least 14 percent lead to the alloy brings down the melting point and allows for better casting (HEINRICH-TAMÁSKA 2008, 247–248).

⁶⁹ Gilding was achieved in the early Middle Ages by one of two methods: either applying a paste-like mixture of gold-amalgam with liquid quicksilver, or applying first clear quicksilver and then a gold sheet on top (HEINRICH-TAMÁSKA 2008, 251–252). Fire-gilding thus involved the use of quicksilver, which must have been relatively difficult to obtain outside the Empire. Nonetheless, gilded specimens of “Slavic” bow fibulae have

been found not just next to the Danube frontier of the Empire (Coșovenii de Jos and Sărata Monteoru), but also in the Middle Dnieper region (Martynivka) and in Mazuria (Tumiany). No detailed study of any of those fibulae has so far been carried out to determine which procedure for gilding was applied in each case.

⁷⁰ ROSETTI 1934, 207–207; 207 fig. 1,4.

⁷¹ HEINRICH-TAMÁSKA 2008, 243.

⁷² VYNOKUR / MEGEI 1992; VYNOKUR 1994; VYNOKUR 1997. – The bow fibula mould was one of 68 moulds found in the building which appear to have been used for the casting of a large variety of artifacts. That actual casting did take place in the building is indicated by a ladle used to pour the molten metal. Some have even argued that the stone mould could not be used for the casting of artifacts of silver or bronze, but only of a tin-lead alloy such as that used for the artifacts in the Velyki Budky hoard (FIEDLER 2010, 239).

⁷³ VYNOKUR 1997, 57 fig. 18.

Despite claims to the contrary, nothing indicates that the supposedly burial assemblage in Felnac was the grave of an itinerant craftsman⁷⁴.

Moreover, the analysis of near-neighbor similarity has revealed that more often than not linked specimens have been found on sites at a great distance from each other, either in a north-south or an east-west direction. Wherever particular classes of “Slavic” bow fibulae may have been “invented”, the fashion spread very quickly from multiple points and in multiple directions. This could hardly be explained by means of itinerant specialists or the transmission of models by some other means (e. g. trade). It is in fact hardly possible for itinerant craftsmen to have moved on a regular basis between Mazuria and the Lower Danube, or between the Middle Dnieper region and the Crimea. The general lack of links between neighboring sites, especially on the periphery of the distribution maps, is an even stronger argument against the idea of perambulatory specialists. Furthermore, there is no chain of communication between the four major clusters of finds (Lower Danube, Mazuria, Middle Dnieper, Crimea). No areas seem to have mediated the transfer of design or ornamental patterns between those regions. In fact, vast areas of East Central and Eastern Europe, especially to the north and to the northeast of the Carpathian Mountains produced no finds at all. Those were most definitely areas of relatively dense population, as indicated by several settlement sites excavated in western Ukraine, southern and central Poland, as well as Belarus⁷⁵. If itinerant craftsmen could not have possibly been responsible for the spread of design and ornamental patterns, it is equally improbable therefore that such patterns passed from one community to the next in a chain of dissemination, given that outside Mazuria and the Middle Dnieper region fibulae found on neighboring sites are rarely, if ever, linked. On the other hand, the dissemination of the design and ornamental patterns of various classes of “Slavic” bow fibulae most likely indicates long-distance contacts between south and north and between east and west. Did those contacts coincide in time? In which direction did ornamental patterns begin to move first, and where did the fashion with “Slavic” bow fibulae survive longer?

Chronology

A significant number of fibulae are now known from well-dated assemblages, particularly in the Crimea and the Carpathian Basin. While no scholar is currently taking seriously Werner’s initial idea of a blanket dating to the seventh century of all his classes, there is still much discussion about whether the chronology of at least some of those classes may be extended into the sixth century, and if so, how early. Moreover, I have argued on various occasions that a blanket dating cannot be accepted for any individual class⁷⁶. The real game-changer in recent years have been the almost concomitant publication of two key

⁷⁴ The idea was first put forward by József Hampel, but still lurks in the recent literature (HAMPÉL 1905, 747; TEODOR 1996, 31 and 33). The reason for Hampel’s interpretation may have been the presence of the horse bones (skeleton?) suggesting the burial of a horseman. For a re-evaluation of the assemblage found in Felnac, see now TÁNÁSE 2004–2005.

⁷⁵ PARCZEWSKI 2000; SHMIDT 2000; GAVRITUKHIN et al. 2004; KOBYLŃSKI 2005; VIARGEI 2005; KOTIGOROSHO 2008.

⁷⁶ For I B, see CURTA 2005a, 108–117. For I C, see CURTA 2011b, 66–68. For I D, see CURTA 2006b, 437–446. For I F, see CURTA 2008a, 474–475, 477, 480–481, and 484. For I G, see CURTA 2006a, 96–98. For I H, see CURTA 2004, 67–70. For I J, see CURTA 2009a, 127–129. For II A, see CURTA 2010a, 150–152. For II B, see CURTA 2009b, 58–61. For II C, see CURTA 2011c, 159–164. For II D, see CURTA 2012, 37–39, 41–48.

cemeteries excavated in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century in Eastern Prussia (Daumen / Tumiany and Kellaren / Kielary), on one hand, and of the sixth- to seventh-century cemetery excavated in Bratei, without any doubt the most important site of its kind in the archaeology of the Middle Ages in Transylvania⁷⁷. It is therefore worth examining the new evidence for the chronology of individual classes.

The crossbow brooch with which the I C fibula in grave 8 in Kielary was associated is a specimen of Rudnicki's class IIA⁷⁸, dated to the period E2a (c. 525–c. 570)⁷⁹. Grave 8 also produced a spectacle-shaped pendant very similar to that in grave 80a of the same cemetery⁸⁰, in which it was associated to a crossbow brooch of Rudnicki's class IVA, which is also dated to the period E2a. The crossbow brooches of class IIA typically appear in Kielary together with envelope-shaped mounts (grave 27), spearhead-shaped strap ends (graves 27 and 51), and belt buckles with cross-shaped tongue (graves 27, 51, 56, and 80a), all of which may be dated to the second half of the sixth century⁸¹. Grave 8 is therefore to be dated to the second half of the sixth century, possibly to its third quarter. A similar date may be advanced for the assemblages in graves 13, 30, and 44, which have also produced fibulae of Werner's class I C. The jingling ornament with horseshoe-pendant with which the fibula in grave 13 was associated has a good analogy in the assemblage of grave 33 in Tumiany⁸², in which it was found together with a crossbow brooch of Rudnicki's class II A⁸³. The best analogy for the kidney-shaped pendant in grave 13 in Kielary is that from grave 14 in Leleszki, which was found together with an imitation of a Mühlhofen-type fibula that cannot be dated before the second half of the sixth century⁸⁴. In grave 30 of the Kielary cemetery, the I C fibula was associated with a belt buckle with rectangular plate and embossed decoration⁸⁵, the best analogies for which are those found in graves 7 and 79 in Tumiany in the company of crossbow brooches of Rudnicki's classes IVA and IIA, respectively⁸⁶. On the other hand, a spearhead-shaped strap end similar to that in grave 30 of the Kielary cemetery was found in grave 34 together with a crossbow brooch of Rudnicki's class IIA and a buckle with rectangular plate and open-work ornament, which may be dated to the late sixth and early seventh century⁸⁷. The finger-ring with middle rib with which the I C fibula in grave 33 was associated has a good analogy in grave 79 in Tumiany⁸⁸, which was found together with a crossbow brooch of Rudnicki's class IIB dated

⁷⁷ JAKOBSON 2009; BÄRZU 2010; see also CURTA 2011b, 64.

⁷⁸ JAKOBSON 2009, 214 pl. 113a.

⁷⁹ RUDNICKI 2008, 296 fig. 12; 297 fig. 13.

⁸⁰ JAKOBSON 2009, 214 pl. 113h.

⁸¹ CURTA 2011b, 68. – Such a date seems to be confirmed by the examination of the 15 glass beads found in grave 8. One of them (JAKOBSON 2009, 215 pl. 114 / n. 14) was a segmented bead of blue-gray color, very similar to that from grave 102a in Tumiany (JAKOBSON 2009, 163 pl. 62 / g.1–5), which was associated with a spectacle-shaped pendant like that found in grave 8 in Kielary. Together with the beads and the spectacle-shaped pendant, grave 102a in Tumiany produced a crossbow brooch with rings on both bow and foot, a good analogy for which has been found in grave 57 of that same cemetery together with an imitation of a fibula of the Bremen-

Mahndorf type dated to the late sixth and early seventh century (HILBERG 2009, 280–284).

⁸² JAKOBSON 2009, 220 pl. 119e.

⁸³ *IBID.*, 121 pl. 20a.1; b.

⁸⁴ Kielary: *IBID.*, 220 pl. 119f.; Leleszki: RUDNICKI 2009b, 425–426; 427 fig. 5; HILBERG 2009, 264–265; 266. – Three of the five kidney-shaped pendants with which the I C fibula from grave 22 in Waplewo was found (HILBERG 2009, 500 fig. 10.46; RUDNICKI 2009b, 422 fig. 1,8) have two good analogies in grave 14 of the same cemetery in which they were found together with a crossbow brooch of Rudnicki's class IIA that cannot be dated later than the third quarter of the sixth century (RUDNICKI 2009b, 426 fig. 4,1).

⁸⁵ JAKOBSON 2009, 236 pl. 135c.

⁸⁶ *IBID.*, 103 pl. 2a.1; 2; 150 pl. 49a; b.

⁸⁷ *IBID.*, 239 pl. 138a–d; HILBERG 2009, 266; 268.

⁸⁸ JAKOBSON 2009, pl. 49h.

to the period E2a⁸⁹. By contrast, the specimen of Werner's class I C from grave 74 in Kielary may be of a later date. The spearhead-shaped strap end with which it was associated has a good analogy in grave 37⁹⁰, in which it was found together with a crossbow brooch of Rudnicki's class IVB dated to the period E3 (600–650/675)⁹¹. The assemblage in grave 74 may therefore be dated to the first half of the seventh century, possibly to its first decades.

Of a similar date is the I C fibula from grave 68 in Tumiany, which was associated with an envelope-shaped mount with open-work ornament, the best analogy for which was found in grave 87 together with other belt mounts and a buckle with open-work ornament, but also with a crossbow brooch of Rudnicki's class IVB⁹². The association between a belt mount with open-work ornament and a "Slavic" bow fibula of Werner's class I C is also documented for grave 21 in Waplewo⁹³, which may therefore be also dated to the first half of, or the early seventh century. A similar, if not slightly later dating may be advanced for grave 130 in Bratei, which besides a I C fibula produced an earring with spiral end⁹⁴. A good analogy for that earring was found in grave 8 in Unirea together with a strap end with interwoven ornamental pattern most typical for the late Early and the Middle Avar age, c. 630–650⁹⁵.

Of a late sixth- or early seventh-century date are also three fibulae of Werner's class I D found in Bratei, Kielary, and Piecki. The Bratei specimen was found in grave 262 together with eye-beads most typical for the Early Avar age⁹⁶, while the spearhead-shaped strap end with which a I D fibula was found in grave 85 in Kielary has a good analogy in grave 79 of that same cemetery, where it was associated with belt mounts with open-work ornament most typical for the late sixth and the early seventh century⁹⁷. The I D fibula from grave 1 in Piecki was found together with a ceramic chalice with good analogies in Kosewo, Wyszembork, and Tumiany, all of which may be dated to the late sixth and early seventh century⁹⁸.

The same date may be advanced for the assemblage in grave 93 in Tumiany which produced a fibula of Werner's class I G and an ear-cleaner pendant with good analogies in grave 78 in Kielary, where they were found together with a late sixth- or early seventh-century helmet crest turned into a fibula⁹⁹. Similarly, the gag (Knebelverschluss) with which a I G fibula was associated in grave 167 in Bratei may be dated to the late sixth or early seventh century¹⁰⁰. Somewhat earlier is the assemblage in grave 74 in Tumiany, in which a I G fibula was associated with a spectacle-shaped pendant with good analogies found in graves 8 and 80a¹⁰¹, together with crossbow brooches of Rudnicki's classes IIA and IVA dated to the period E2a¹⁰².

⁸⁹ *IBID.*, 150 pl. 49a.

⁹⁰ *IBID.*, 202 pl. 161c2.

⁹¹ *IBID.*, 241 pl. 140e. – The assemblage in grave 37 also contained a belt mount with open-work ornament dated to the late sixth and first half of the seventh century (JAKOBSON *op. cit.*, 241 pl. 140a; f; HILBERG 2009, 266; 268).

⁹² JAKOBSON 2009, 144 pl. 43e; 155 pl. 54f; a.

⁹³ HILBERG 2009, 499 fig. 10,45.

⁹⁴ BÄRZU 2010, 301 pl. 23,6.

⁹⁵ ROSKA 1934, 126 fig. 3A, 1.4.8; HEINRICH-TA-MÁSKA 2006, 527; 528 tab. 1.

⁹⁶ BÄRZU 2010, 92; 321 pl. 43,1.11.

⁹⁷ JAKOBSON 2009, 271 pl. 170d; 267 pl. 166c.2.

⁹⁸ Piecki: RUDNICKI 2004, 273 pl. 19. – on Kosewo, Wyszembork, and Tumiany: OKULICZ 1988, 108; NOWAKOWSKI 1989, 106, 108–109; 134 pl. IIa; 137 pl. Vb; 140 pl. VIIa.

⁹⁹ Tumiany: JAKOBSON 2009, 159 pl. 58c; Kielary: JAKOBSON *op. cit.*, 266 pl. 165q; 265 pl. 164b; HILBERG 2009, 196–198; 201; 203.

¹⁰⁰ BÄRZU 2010, 305 pl. 27.8; SCHULZE-DÖRRLAMM 2002, 574–575.

¹⁰¹ JAKOBSON 2009, 146 pl. 45c.

¹⁰² *IBID.*, 214 pl. 113a, h; *IBID.*, 268 pl. 167a; d.

Of an equally early date is the I H fibula from grave 113 of the Bratei cemetery¹⁰³. It was found together with a belt buckle of the Sucidava type (Schulze-Dörrlamm’s class D1) dated between c. 540 and c. 600¹⁰⁴. The I J fibula in grave 6 of the Kielary cemetery was found together with a crossbow brooch of Rudnicki’s class IVB dated to the periods E2b and E3, i. e. between c. 570 and 640/675¹⁰⁵. The assemblage also produced a belt buckle and belt mounts with open-work ornament, which must be dated to the late sixth and early seventh century¹⁰⁶. However, the most recent component of the assemblage may well be a strap end of Zábajník’s class 65, which is typical for the Middle Avar age (c. 630 to c. 650)¹⁰⁷.

Finally, it is worth mentioning that the bronze chain found in grave 14 in Szigetszentmiklós-Háros together with a “Slavic” bow fibula of Werner’s class II C has S-shaped links, much like the chain found in the Horgești hoard¹⁰⁸. The latest coin in that collection is a follis struck in Constantinople in 596/597¹⁰⁹. This suggests a *terminus post quem* of c. 600 for the Early Avar assemblage in grave 14 of the Szigetszentmiklós-Háros cemetery.

That year has a particular significance for the dating of all “Slavic” bow fibulae. More than ten years ago, I have suggested that all classes were in fashion around AD 600, though “they certainly enjoyed different popularity rates”¹¹⁰. The careful examination of 60 well-dated assemblages containing such fibulae now seems to confirm that suggestion, as over 78 percent of them (47) were in existence shortly before or after that year (*tab. 1*). It is important to note that three out of the four earliest assemblages with “Slavic” bow fibulae have been found in Mazuria. Two of them are of Werner’s class I C, which raises the possibility of a Mazurian origin for this type of fibulae¹¹¹. Most assemblages containing I C fibulae, each with one pair of bird-heads, are of late sixth- and early seventh-century date¹¹². By contrast, none of those containing I C fibulae with two pairs of bird-heads may be dated before 600 or later than 700. This substantiates Fiedler’s suggestion that I C fibulae with one pair of bird-heads were the source of inspiration for those with two pairs of bird-heads¹¹³. Two of the latest assemblages with “Slavic” bow fibulae produced specimens of class I F, one of which (Kamenovo) has nearest neighbors in Walachia (Desa) and Mazuria (Bogdany). It is likely that the specimens from Kamenovo were already old when included in the hoard collection, and one is left with the impression that the fragment found in house 8 in Semenki was also treated as an heirloom¹¹⁴. Two other assemblages with fibulae of class I F are dated to the late sixth and early seventh century¹¹⁵.

¹⁰³ BÄRZU 2010, 297 pl. 19.2.

¹⁰⁴ SCHULZE-DÖRRLAMM 2002a, 149.

¹⁰⁵ JAKOBSON 2009, 211 pl. 110a.

¹⁰⁶ *IBID.*, 211 pl. 110d; h.1; h.4.

¹⁰⁷ ZÁBOJNÍK 1991, 234.

¹⁰⁸ NAGY 1998, 110 pl. 102.M13.6.

¹⁰⁹ CĂPITANU 1971, 255 and fig. 2.

¹¹⁰ CURTA 2001a, 269.

¹¹¹ This possibility has already been suggested by KATSOUGIANNOPOULOU 1999, 36. As suggested by the second-rank similarity ties between the fibulae from grave 30 in Kielary and grave 131 in Bratei, the earliest imitations of the Mazurian specimens may have been those of Transylvania.

¹¹² Such a date may now be also accepted for some fibulae without any archaeological context. That found in Pașcani, for example, is a second-rank neighbor of the fibula from grave 44 in Kielary.

¹¹³ FIEDLER 2010, 237.

¹¹⁴ CURTA 2008a, 477; 480. – The ceramic assemblage from Semenki includes ten fragments of Gray Ware with burnished decoration, the production of which cannot be dated before ca. 700 (KOMAR 2007).

¹¹⁵ This date may now also be accepted for the fibulae from Davideni and Tumiany (stray find), which are first-rank neighbors of those from grave 33 in Szatymáz-Fehértó and from grave 20 in Tumiany, respectively.

No assemblage with a I H or II B fibula may be dated after c. 625, and all datable specimens seem to cluster within the second half of the sixth century and the first few decades of the seventh century¹¹⁶. Similarly, no assemblage with a fibula of Werner's classes I G, I J, II A, II C, or II D can be dated later than c. 650, and most such assemblages are also of a late sixth- and early seventh-century date. The fact that three early specimens are all from the same cemetery in Mazuria (Tumiany) strongly suggests a Mazurian origin for class I G¹¹⁷. By contrast, the II A, II C, and II D fibulae may have originated in the Middle Dnieper region¹¹⁸. Fibulae of Werner's class I G from Transylvania (Bratei) and the Crimea (Luchistoe), and of class II C from Hungary (Szigeszentmiklós-Háros) and the Crimea (Suuk Su) are of a somewhat later date within the first half (perhaps second quarter) of the seventh century¹¹⁹. This may also be true for the fibula of Werner's class II A from Eski Kermen, which was found together with a pendant made out of a coin struck in 629/630. A date after the middle of the seventh century may be advanced for the I D fibulae from Luchistoe, even though all other assemblages with such fibulae are dated to the late sixth and early seventh century. At least some of the I D fibulae were probably produced in Mazuria as well, as demonstrated by the first-rank links between the specimens from graves 1 and 8 in Piecki¹²⁰.

"Slavic" bow fibulae of most classes were thus in fashion at about the same time, shortly before and shortly after AD 600. This general conclusion has great implications for the various attempts to distinguish separate phases of the so-called Prague culture attributed to the early Slavs, and to assign them to clear-cut chronological divisions. The Ukrainian archaeologist Volodymyr Baran, who excavated the settlement at Rashkiv, believed that house 76 there, which had produced handmade pottery, had to be dated to the second half, if not even to the last decades of the seventh century, because of the associated fibula of Werner's class I H¹²¹. While initially advancing a blanket dating of all "Slavic" bow fibulae to the seventh century, Gavritukhin has recently argued that the handmade pottery of the Prague type found in a sunken-floored building in Bernashivka together with a mould for "Slavic" bow fibulae must be dated to the late sixth and / or early seventh century¹²². Nonetheless, according to him, settlement assemblages with handmade pottery and "Slavic" bow fibulae, such as those from Hansca, Rashkiv, Suceava, Gorosheve, Demianiv, Chernivka, Velyka Sloboda, and Iași must be dated to the seventh century¹²³. However, the evidence of well-dated assemblages strongly suggests that the date of at least some of

¹¹⁶ Given that it is a second-rank neighbor of the I H fibula from grave 59 in Seliște, the fibula from Socu – a stray find – may also be dated to the late sixth or early seventh century.

¹¹⁷ It is important to note in this respect that the fibula from grave 84 in Tumiany is a first-rank neighbor of two other Mazurian specimens of uncertain date, namely those found in grave 15 in Bartolty Wielkie and in Wiska.

¹¹⁸ CURTA 2010a, 153; CURTA 2011c, 173; 175; CURTA 2012, 50. – The II D fibula from grave 154 in Suuk Su is a first-rank neighbor of that from Volos'ke.

¹¹⁹ This is most likely true also for the I G fibula from Sarmizegetusa and for the II C fibula from Draxini, which are the first-rank neighbors of those from Luchistoe and Suuk Su, respectively.

The second-rank neighbor of the fibula from Szigeszentmiklós-Háros is one of the fibulae from the Koloskovo hoard, just as one of the fibulae from Kurilovka is a second-rank neighbor of that from the grave discovered on Panonhalma Street in Budapest.

¹²⁰ However, judging by the second-rank links between the fibulae from Căscioarele and grave 262 in Bratei, imitations were also produced outside Mazuria.

¹²¹ BARAN 2004, 38. – He had previously dated the assemblage with a I G fibulae from Demianiv between the sixth and the seventh, then to the seventh century only (BARAN 1968, 586–587; BARAN 1990, 66).

¹²² GAVRITUKHIN 1997; GAVRITUKHIN 2005, 515.

¹²³ GAVRITUKHIN 1997, 48.

Assemblage	Fibula	500	525	550	575	600	625	650	675	700
Kielary 8	I C		_____							
Tumiany 74	I G		_____							
Waplewo 22	I C		_____							
Piatra Frecăței B42	I H		_____							
Bratei 113	I H			_____						
Gaponovo	II A			_____						
Kielary 44	I C			_____						
Koloskovo	II C			_____						
Luchistoe 38	II C, II D			_____						
Martynivka	II A			_____						
Martynivka hoard	II B			_____						
Suuk Su 28	II C, II D			_____						
Trubchevsk	I D, II A			_____						
Kielary 13	I C			_____						
Tumiany 84	I G			_____						
Krivina	I H			_____						
Tumiany 20	I F			_____						
Tumiany 30	I D			_____						
Luchistoe 46a / 4	II B				_____					
Bratei 130	I C				_____					
Bratei 262	I D				_____					
Csákberény 349	II C				_____					
Kielary 85	I D				_____					
Kiskörös 2	I G				_____					
Kurilovka	II D				_____					
Luchistoe 36 / 14	II B				_____					
Nyzhniaia	II B				_____					
Syrovatka										
Piecki 1	I D				_____					
Seliște 59	I H				_____					
Suuk Su 86	II A, II C				_____					
Szatymáz	I F				_____					
Fehértó 33										
Tumiany 93	I G				_____					
Waplewo 21	I C				_____					
Kielary 30	I C				_____					
Bratei 255	I D				_____					
Caričin Grad	II C				_____					
Koziivka	II D				_____					
Bakla 11	II C					_____				
Budapest	II C					_____				
Pannonhalma 2						_____				
Óföldaék	I J					_____				
Suuk Su 154	II C, II D					_____				

Assemblage	Fibula	500	525	550	575	600	625	650	675	700
Szakály	I B									
Öreghegy 12										
Szigetszentmiklós	II C									
Háros 14										
Suuk Su 55	II D									
Kielary 74	IC									
Tumiany 68	I C									
Nea Anchialos	I B									
Cornești	I C									
Bashtanovka	I D									
Edessa	I D									
Kruje 28	I C									
Luchistoe 10/17	I D									
Bratei 167	I G									
Eski Kermen 257	II A									
Luchistoe 10/4	I G									
Kielary 6	I J									
Gâmbaş III	I C									
Semenki 8	I F									
Coșovenii de Jos	I B									
Kamenovo	I F									

Table 1. The chronology of "Slavic" bow fibulae.

the I C, I D, I F, and I G fibulae found on settlement sites may be pushed back into the last decades of the sixth century. Whatever the exact dates chosen for those artifacts within the span of fifty to sixty years on both sides of the year 600, there are good reasons to believe that many of those assemblages with fibulae coincided in time. Indeed, the fibulae from Budureasca and Hansca are nearest neighbors, and the former has second-rank ties to the fibula from Iași¹²⁴. Even more significant is the nearest-neighbor similarity between the fibulae from Demianiv and Kiskörös, because the latter is without any doubt an Early Avar-age assemblage that cannot be dated after c. 630. It is also important to keep in mind that "Slavic" bow fibulae have also been found together with sixth-century wheel-made pottery, including fine wares and vessels with stamped decoration, in Bakla, Bratei, Skalistoe, Suuk Su, and Tulcea¹²⁵.

¹²⁴ The fibula from Suceava has only second-rank links with that from Gorosheve, much like that from the settlement in Bratei with the fibula from Igren'-Podkovka.

¹²⁵ AIBABIN / IUROCHKIN 1995, 226 fig. 21.1; BĂRZU 1994–1995, 269; BĂRZU 2010, 281 pl. 3. G11.1; 297 pl. 19.G. 113.3; 305 pl. 27.G. 167.9; 307 pl. 29.G.174.3, 4; 320 pl. 42.G.

255.4; 325 pl. 47.G. 277.7; VEIMARN / AIBABIN 1993, 54 fig. 34.1–7.10.13; REPNIKOV 1907, 117; SIMION 2009, 411 and 412 fig. 1,1. – A unique association between a I F fibula and a handled jug thrown on a slow-moving wheel is documented for grave 33 in Szatymáz-Fehértó (CSALLÁNY 1961, 228 and pl. 232.11). There is no mention of this vessel in VIDA 1999.

A fragment of a handmade pot with out-flared rim is known from the ceramic assemblage in house 5 from Chornivka, which has also produced a I C fibula¹²⁶. There was also a fragment of a clay pan, a ceramic category associated with the consumption of special cereal-based foods, such as flat loaves of bread, possibly in special ceremonies¹²⁷. The associated fibula of Werner’s class I C has only one pair of bird-heads, and although it has no nearest-neighbor links to any other specimen of that class, it may be dated to the late sixth and early seventh century. This nicely dovetails with the chronology of the other remains of the handmade pottery found in house 5 from Chornivka. Three rim fragments belong to Stanciu’s types 623 and 624 (Parczewski’s types Cd2 and Fg4), which are said to be typical for the second phase of the so-called Prague culture dated to the first third of the seventh century¹²⁸. On the basis of the associated fibula of Werner’s class I C, a date within some fifty years on both sides of AD 600 may also be advanced for the assemblage in house 19 in Poian¹²⁹. Although remains of pottery thrown on a slowly turning wheel are mentioned, the ceramic assemblage consists primarily of handmade pottery. One of the reconstructed pots fits very well into Stanciu’s type 1.2, which also includes a pot found in house 36 in Bernashivka together with the mould for “Slavic” bow fibulae, and may thus be dated to the late sixth century¹³⁰. Right above the shoulder, the pot is decorated with a row of cross-in-circle, stamped ornaments¹³¹. Although no exact analogy is known so far for this ornamental pattern, handmade stamped pottery is also known from sites in Ukraine, Slovakia, and Bohemia¹³². A second, much smaller tulip-shaped pot is decorated with an irregular row of reed impressions and a cross. In addition, there is also a barrel-shaped pot of Prykhodniuk’s type I, which is regarded as the hallmark of the so-called Pen’kivka culture¹³³. The assemblage has been dated to the mid-seventh century, at the earliest, or even to the second half of that century¹³⁴. Nearest neighbors for the associated fibula of Werner’s class I C are missing, but there is no reason to date this specimen with one pair of bird-heads later than other such fibulae found in assemblages of the late sixth or early seventh century.

Only one pot in the assemblage with a fibula of Werner’s class I D from house 14 of the settlement excavated in Hansca fits into the shape repertoire of the so-called Prague culture, specifically into Stanciu’s type 4.3 dated to the first third of the seventh century¹³⁵. In addition, there was a wheel-made pot in the assemblage, as well as a fragment of an amphora, possibly of a globular specimen of the Late Roman 2 type, which remained in use until the early seventh century¹³⁶. A rim fragment is from a barrel-shaped, handmade pot of Prykhodniuk’s type I, while a second handmade pot belongs to Prykhodniuk’s type

¹²⁶ TIMOSHCHUCK / RUSANOVA / MYKHAYLYNA 1981, 91 and figs. 7–8.

¹²⁷ CURTA 2001a, 295–307.

¹²⁸ PARCZEWSKI 1993, 51 fig. 13; 53 fig. 15; STANCIU 2011, 298; 236 fig. 124; 291 fig. 162; 295 fig. 166.

¹²⁹ SZÉKÉLY 1992, 263; 266; 268; 266 fig. 15; 267 fig. 16

¹³⁰ *IBID.*, 267 fig. 16,1; STANCIU 2011, 207; 208 fig. 84

¹³¹ SZÉKÉLY 1992, 266 fig. 15,3.

¹³² BARAN 1972, 173–176 and fig. 53.1; HROMADA 1991, 277–278; 281 figs. 1 and 2,4; HROMADA / KOLNÍK 1991, 258–261; 272 pl. III 5.9; FUSEK 1994, 213; 336 pl. XXII 9.15; 337 pl. XXIII 2

¹³³ SZÉKÉLY 1992, 267 fig. 16,3; PRYKHODNIUK 1998, 33 pl. 21.1.

¹³⁴ TEODOR / STANCIU 2009, 137–138; CURTA 2008, 678–679.

¹³⁵ RAFALOVICH 1968, 97; 100; 96 fig. 29,2; 98 fig. 30,8; RAFALOVICH 1972b, 32, 66–67, 196–197; 140–141; 32 fig. 2; 33 fig. 3,1; 37 fig. 7,9; 38 fig. 8,8; 68 fig. 14; 135 fig. 21,3; 136 fig. 22,2–4; STANCIU 2011, 193, 209–210; 298; 210 fig. 88.

¹³⁶ IAKOBSON 1979, 14; MACKENSEN 1992, 241. – According to ОПАЙТ 1984, 316, the late date is indicated by the horizontal, as opposed to wavy combed decoration.

VI, which is believed to appear more frequently on sites in the Lower Danube region¹³⁷. Although a few fibulae of Werner's class I D may be dated even after c. 650, it is more likely that the date of the specimen in Hansca falls within the same interval – sixth to early seventh century – as most other fibulae of that class, and that does not contradict the conclusions drawn from the analysis of the pottery. The nearest neighbor of the Hansca fibula is that from Budureasca, which has second-rank links with a fibula found in a partially destroyed sunken-floored building in Iași together with fragments of handmade pottery¹³⁸. A tulip-shaped, reconstructed pot from that building belongs to Prykhodniuk's type IV, believed to have been the hallmark of the Kolochin culture in the Upper Dnieper region¹³⁹. Four other rim fragments may be classified as Stanciu's types 100, 421, and 623 (Parczewski's types Ga2, Fk2, and Cd4), all of which are believed to be typical for the later phase of the Prague culture dated to the early seventh century¹⁴⁰.

A fragment of a I F fibula was found together with hand- and wheel-made pottery, in addition to pottery thrown on a slowly moving wheel, in house 12 of the Bucharest-Soldat Ghivan site¹⁴¹. Among the ceramic remains was a fragment with an incised cross, a decoration often found on the handmade pottery from late sixth- and early seventh-century sites in the Lower Danube region and in Transylvania¹⁴². Even though its fragmentary state of preservation prevented the I F fibula from Bucharest-Soldat Ghivan from being considered for cluster analysis, it is at least possible to date it shortly before or after AD 600, like most other specimens of that class. Be as it may, the handmade pot found together with the fibula – a tall vessel with out-flared rim, perhaps a specimen of Teodor's morphological group 20A¹⁴³ – does not appear in the ceramic repertoire believed to be typical for the Prague culture¹⁴⁴.

¹³⁷ PRYKHODNIUK 1998, 33–34 pl. 21,1,9; RIABCEVA 2005, 362. – This is in fact Teodor's type 24A, a good example of which is known from Bucharest-Străulești (http://www.esteo.ro/TTW/Vol_3/v3_s3/pl48.htm, accessed March 29, 2015). According to GAVRITUKHIN 2005, 453, there are many more fragments of handmade pottery in the assemblage.

¹³⁸ TEODOR 1971, 120; 127 fig. 3,2; 128 fig. 4,1–3., 5–6.11–12.15. GAVRITUKHIN 2005, 453 raises doubts about the association of pottery and fibula.

¹³⁹ PRYKHODNIUK 1998, 34 pl. 21,6; STANCIU 2011, 217 fig. 97.

¹⁴⁰ STANCIU 2011, 294; 232 fig. 121; 233 fig. 122; 236 fig. 124; 284 fig. 155; 285 fig. 156; PARCZEWSKI 1993, 51 fig. 13; 53 fig. 15; 54 fig. 16. – Another tulip-shaped, but much smaller pot was found together with a fibula of Werner's class I D in grave 149 in Bratei. This very simple pot may be classified as Parczewski's type 10.6, but analogies are also known from sites attributed to the Pen'kivka culture, and are classified as Prykhodniuk's type IX (PARCZEWSKI 1993, 42 fig. 12; PRYKHODNIUK 1998, 35; pl. 21,14). As a matter of fact, its best analogy is

the pot with which a pair of II C fibulae in grave 280 in Dănceni was associated (RAFALOVICH 1986, pl. XIV.5). A pot decorated with notches on the rim has been found together with an I G fibula in grave 2 of the Kiskörös cemetery, but no illustration has been published and the pot has not been taken into consideration in VIDA 1999 (CSALLÁNY 1961, 230). Similarly, a rim fragment decorated with notches on the lip was found in grave 7 in Kuz'minki, but no cross section has been published (SPICYN 1901, 88). According to GAVRITUKHIN 2005, 451, fragments of handmade pottery "of the Prague type" have been found together with the I C fibula from Velyka Sloboda, but none has been published.

¹⁴¹ DOLINESCU-FERCHE / CONSTANTINIU 1981, 293–294; 297; 311; 313; 324; 296 fig. 3,5; 298 fig. 4,7; 314 fig. 12; 323 fig. 20.

¹⁴² TEODOR / STANCIU 2009, 136; STANCIU 2011, 245.

¹⁴³ TEODOR 2005, 218 fig. 7.

¹⁴⁴ The only analogies mentioned in TEODOR 2001 are from Budureasca (http://www.esteo.ro/TTW/Vol_3/v3_s3/pl44.htm, accessed March 29, 2015).

A rim fragment of Stanciu's type 624 is known from the ceramic assemblage in house 58 in Davideni, which was associated with a rim fragment of a wheel-made jug or amphora, and a I G fibula¹⁴⁵. Since I G fibulae cannot be dated later than the mid-seventh century, it is likely that the date of the assemblage in Davideni may be placed shortly before or after the year 600¹⁴⁶.

A I H fibula was found together with a few remains of handmade pottery in house 76 in Rashkiv¹⁴⁷. Judging by the cross-section of its surviving part, one pot appears to belong to Parczewski's type 3.1 (Stanciu's type 2.1) dated to the earliest phase of the Prague culture, i. e. to the middle and second half of the sixth century¹⁴⁸. Although no nearest neighbor is known so far for the Rashkiv fibula, the assemblage in which it was found is most likely of a later date, c. 600, given that most specimens of its class may be dated to the late sixth and early seventh century. If a similar date may be accepted for the I C fibula from Săcuieni, there is no match in the ceramic repertoire of the Prague culture for the handmade pot found in that burial assemblage. Following Nicolae Chidioșan and Zoltán Nánási, Ioan Stanciu believes that the best analogies may be found in the ceramic repertoire of Early Avar-age sites, but there are no exact matches for this pot in Tivadar Vida's elaborate typology of the Early Avar-age handmade pottery¹⁴⁹. Actually, a much better analogy is the pot from house 5 in Seliște, an assemblage which has also produced a fragment of a I H fibula¹⁵⁰. More than 135 fragments of handmade pottery have been recovered from the house, but none of them has been illustrated. However, two are said to be decorated with finger impressions on the rim, a kind of ceramic decoration that became popular only after c. 600¹⁵¹. A discrepancy between the dates assigned to the handmade pottery and the associated fibula, respectively, appears in the case of the assemblage from a destroyed sunken-floored building in Suceava¹⁵². To be sure, two rim fragments may be classified as Stanciu's types 323 and 423¹⁵³, however, a reconstructed pot of quasi-globular form belongs to Prykhodniuk's type VII, which is believed to be particularly common on sites dated to the second phase of the Pen'kivka culture, namely to the fifth century and to the early decades of the sixth century¹⁵⁴. This, however, is contradicted not just by the chronology of I H fibulae, none of which could be dated earlier than the second quarter of the sixth century, but also by one of the three spindle whorls in the assemblage. The disc-shaped whorl was fashioned out of a recycled fragment of a third- to fourth-century pot. Spindle whorls made out of recycled potsherds represent a typically Early Avar cultural phenomenon¹⁵⁵. Moreover, a good analogy for the bifurcated antler awl from Suceava has recently been found in the filling of a house of the early Byzantine fortified site at Capidava, on the Danube, and cannot therefore be dated earlier than the mid-sixth century or later than c. 620¹⁵⁶.

¹⁴⁵ MITREA 2001, 99–100; 304 fig. 44,4; 329 fig. 68,4; 381 fig. 120,6; 382 fig. 121,4.5.

¹⁴⁶ If the I G fibula from Demianiv was indeed associated with three rim fragments, as claimed by GAVRITUKHIN 2005, 451 and 431 fig. 21,2–4, it is worth mentioning that all three belong to Stanciu's type 623.

¹⁴⁷ BARAN 1988, 116; 143 pl. XVIII.76; 157 pl. LVI 4–6; 21 fig. 12,1. – According to GAVRITUKHIN 2005, 452, the association has not been confirmed.

¹⁴⁸ PARCZEWSKI 1993, 36 fig. 6; STANCIU 2011, 207; 298; 209 fig. 85.

¹⁴⁹ CHIDIOȘAN / NÁNÁSI 1968; VIDA 1999; STANCIU 2011, 81–82.

¹⁵⁰ RAFALOVICH 1972a, 135; 137; 133 fig. 10,14; 136 fig. 11; 137 fig. 12,2.

¹⁵¹ CURTA 2001a, 291.

¹⁵² MATEI 1962, 151–158; 152 fig. 2; 156 fig. 4–5; 157 fig. 6.

¹⁵³ STANCIU 2011, 232 fig. 121; 233 fig. 122.

¹⁵⁴ PRYKHODNIUK 1998, 34 and 46; 49 tab. VI; pl. 21,10.

¹⁵⁵ CURTA 2004, 69.

¹⁵⁶ COVACEF 1995–1996, 106 pl. V 3.

Assemblage	Fibula	"Prague" types (after Stanciu)	"Pen'kivka" types (after Prykhodniuk)	Other techniques	Other forms
Rashkov 76	I H	2.1			
Iași	I D	100, 421, 623	IV		
Suceava 2	I H	323, 423	VII		
Poian 19	I C	1.2	I	tournette	
Hansca 14	I D	4.3	I, VI	wheel-made	
Davideni 58	I G	624		wheel-made	
Chornivka 5	I C	623, 624			pans
Davideni 41	II B	100, 323, 422, 623			pans
Bratei 149	I D		IX		
Dănceni 280	II C		IX		
Soldat Ghivan 12	I F				Teodor 20A
Volos'ke	II D				Teodor 12A

Table 2. Hand- and wheel-made pottery associated with "Slavic" bow fibulae.

The ceramic assemblage in house 41 in Davideni, the filling of which produced a "Slavic" bow fibula of Werner's class II B, contained both wheel- and handmade pottery¹⁵⁷. The latter includes rim fragments of Stanciu's types 100, 323, 422, and 623, which are also believed to be typical for the first third of the seventh century¹⁵⁸. Two fragments of clay pans add to the diversity of the ceramic assemblage in house 41 of the Davideni settlement. There are no analogies in the ceramic repertoire of the Pen'kivka culture for the pot with out-flared rim found together with a II D fibula in a house excavated in Volos'ke, on the Lower Dnieper. Instead, this appears to be Teodor's morphological group 12A, with a good analogy from the site excavated on Soldat Ghivan Street in Bucharest¹⁵⁹.

Assuming for a moment that there was such a thing as the Prague-type pottery, at a closer examination it becomes evident that out of twelve ceramic assemblages with "Slavic" bow fibulae, three (Rashkiv, Chornivka, and house 41 in Davideni) have only forms attributed to the Prague culture (*tab. 2*)¹⁶⁰. Moreover, the clay pans found in two of them are an altogether rare form in assemblages with Prague-type pottery known from Slovakia, north-western Romania, or Poland¹⁶¹. More often than not, the Prague forms most typically associated with "Slavic" bow fibulae have either straight and almost outright (Stanciu's type 100), or everted rims (Stanciu's types 4.3, 623, and 624), which are said to characterize the second, later phase of the Prague culture dated to the first third of the seventh century. However, such forms cannot be treated as an exclusive feature of the Prague culture, because they also appear in assemblages attributed to the Pen'kivka culture in the forest-

¹⁵⁷ MITREA 2001, 81–83; 296 fig. 36,1; 297 fig. 37; 322 fig. 62,16; 329 fig. 68,2; 335 fig. 74,1; 338 fig. 77,2; 336 fig. 75,3; 372 fig. 111,4–5; 373 fig. 112,1–2.4.9.15; 375 fig. 114,14–15.

¹⁵⁸ STANCIU 2011, 298; 232 fig. 121; 233 fig. 122; 236 fig. 124; 284 fig. 155; 285 fig. 156.

¹⁵⁹ RUTKIV'SKA 1974, 38; 35 figs. 4.6–13; TEODOR 2005, 219 fig. 8; http://www.esteo.ro/TTW/Vol_3/v3_s3/pl37.htm, accessed March 29, 2015.

¹⁶⁰ For a critique of the concept of Prague-type pottery, see CURTA 2001b.

¹⁶¹ STANCIU 2011, 221.

steppe region of present-day Moldova and Ukraine¹⁶². As a matter of fact, “Slavic” bow fibulae are more often associated with Pen’kivka than with (exclusively) Prague forms¹⁶³. In two cases (Bratei and Dănceni) “Slavic” bow fibulae appear together with one and the same form of the Pen’kivka repertoire – Prykhodniuk’s type IX. In two other cases (Hansca and Poian) wheel-made wares were associated with Pen’kivka forms. The conclusion seems inescapable: despite claims to the contrary¹⁶⁴, most assemblages in which “Slavic” bow fibulae appear together with handmade pottery cannot be classified as of the Prague type attributed to the Slavs.

To be sure, such fibulae have also been found with urn cremations in Mazuria (north-eastern Poland). Most of those from Kielary are pots with apertures larger than the bottoms, often with tall necks and out-flared rims. In spite of contrary claims, none of these handmade pots matches any form attributed to the Prague culture¹⁶⁵. The pottery commonly attributed to the Prague culture is typically devoid of any ornamentation¹⁶⁶. By contrast, every one of the eight urns found in Kielary together with “Slavic” bow fibulae was decorated, often in a quite elaborate manner. Particularly common is the combination of several sets of two or three horizontal lines separated by zigzag patterns of triple lines¹⁶⁷. This ornament was most likely produced with a comb-like instrument and is believed to be typical for a presumed first phase of the cemetery¹⁶⁸. However, a correspondence analysis of the Kielary cemetery has demonstrated that the graves with urns and “Slavic” bow fibulae belong to a large group dated to the late sixth and early seventh century¹⁶⁹.

The examination of the ceramic assemblages with which some “Slavic” fibulae were associated shows considerable cultural variability in each one of the four major areas identified by means of cluster analysis. This becomes even more evident when one considers that such fibulae were found with both inhumations (the Crimea, Carpathian Basin, central Russia) and cremations (Lower Danube, Mazuria, Oka region). “Slavic” bow fibulae appear inside the early Byzantine Empire – in the Balkans and the Crimea, but also in Asia Minor

¹⁶² For examples see PRYKHODNIUK 1998, 94 fig. 23,10; 101 fig. 30,4; 110 fig. 39,13; 120 fig. 49,16; 122 fig. 51,2; 124 fig. 53,14; 125 fig. 54,15,16; 127 fig. 57,10

¹⁶³ The assemblages in Bucharest-Soldat Ghivan and Volos’ke produced forms that do not appear either in the Prague or in the Pen’kivka repertoire.

¹⁶⁴ GAVRITUKHIN 2005, 430; 434.

¹⁶⁵ Claims to the contrary: OKULICZ 1988; KOWALSKI 1991, 82–83. – A particularly good example of a handmade pot not matching any form attributed to the Prague culture is the tall urn in grave 74 with an aperture slightly smaller than the bottom and the maximum diameter around the middle (JAKOBSON 2009, 262 pl. 161f). Equally foreign to the ceramic repertoire of the Prague culture is the chalice found in Piecki in grave 1 (RUDNICKI 2009a, 607 fig. 8.9). According to Jerzy Okulicz, the influence of the Prague-type culture on the local pottery production in Mazuria may be dated to the late sixth and early seventh century (OKULICZ 1988, 115 and

125; see also BARANOWSKI 1998, 285). However, more recent studies have demonstrated that no influence of the so-called “Slavic” pottery may be detected in Mazuria before the eighth century (NOWAKIEWICZ / WRÓBLEWSKI 2003, 178).

¹⁶⁶ PARCZEWSKI 1993, 60–62; FUSEK 1994, 58–63; STANCIU 2011, 240.

¹⁶⁷ Very similar in this respect is the decoration of the urns found in grave 8 in Kielary and 56 in Tumiany together with fibulae of Werner’s classes I C and I J, respectively (JAKOBSON 2009, 139 pl. 38d; 215 pl. 114p). This same ornamental pattern is doubled on the urns from graves 6 and 74 in Kielary, which have also produced fibulae of Werner’s classes I C and I J, respectively (JAKOBSON 2009, 212 pl. 111r; 262 pl. 161f). The idea that this ornamental pattern originated in the Slavic world has no basis in the existing evidence (MOSZCZYŃSKI 2004).

¹⁶⁸ BARANOWSKI / MOSZCZYŃSKI 2004, 173–174 with tab. 6.

¹⁶⁹ CURTA 2011b, 68; 101 pl. 14.

– as well as beyond its northern borders, in *barbaricum*. Although individual fibulae may have first- or second-rank links to each other, they have been found in very different cultural environments. If the extraordinary similarity revealed by such links cannot be explained either in terms of itinerant specialists, or as a movement of ornamental patterns and ideas from one community to the other by means of chains of transmission, the cultural diversity precludes any explanation based on the idea of migration. As we have seen, not all classes of “Slavic” bow fibulae originated from the same region, and every region lacks some classes. For example, there are no fibulae of Werner’s class I G, II A, II B, or II D in the Lower Danube region, while the classes I H, II A, and II B do not appear in Mazuria. The Carpathian Basin is devoid of any finds of I H and II A fibulae, the Crimea has produced no I C or I F fibulae, and class I B is absent from the Middle Dnieper region. Moreover, nearest-neighbor links between specimens of the same class are in a north-south direction in some cases, while in others they follow an east-west axis. Nor can an area of origin for all types be postulated at the intersection of those axes, because that is precisely the region of Eastern Europe devoid of any “Slavic” fibula finds. Furthermore, the idea of a migration in all directions at the same time from some location in the middle of the distribution map of all known fibulae is neither supported by other categories of evidence, nor indeed in tone with the current understanding of how migrations worked in the past¹⁷⁰. Despite Werner’s claims to the contrary, therefore, there is no reason whatsoever to link the “Slavic” fibulae to any migration, especially not to that of the Slavs¹⁷¹. If the fashion with “Slavic” fibulae did not spread across large sections of East Central and Eastern Europe by means of itinerant specialists, diffusion, or migration, how can then one explain the long-distance links revealed by the analysis of nearest-neighbor similarity? Could the purpose of those artifacts have anything to do with their extraordinary popularity? Did their social meaning contribute to the regional patterning of their distribution?

Function

Most scholars assume that the “Slavic” bow fibulae were accessories of female dress, although the remains of persons buried together with such accessories have generally not been properly sexed, except in two cases¹⁷². In several other cases, the size and even poor state of preservation of the skeletal remains indicate children or adolescents (Bratei, Luchistoe, Shokshino)¹⁷³. The main purpose of the fibula was to fasten the dress, but there is no agreement as to the nature of the dress and the particular ways in which fibulae were attached to it. In the Crimea, where “Slavic” bow fibulae are typically found in pairs, often in the company of a large buckle with an eagle-headed plate, the general interpretation is that such accessories were used to fasten a peplos-like dress open at the front¹⁷⁴. This dress is commonly regarded as a kind of “uniform” of aristocratic women, all of whom wore a

¹⁷⁰ LEE 1966; NEUSTUPNÝ 1982; ANTHONY 1990; BRAUKÄMPER 1992; HÄRKE 1998; KLEIN 1999.

¹⁷¹ WERNER 1950, 172; SEDOV 1992, 36; KAZANSKI 2000, 27; FIEDLER 2010, 240–241.

¹⁷² The woman buried in Mokhnach with a pair of IIC fibulae died at a relatively young age, between 25 and 30, while the woman whose cremated remains were buried in grave 8 in Piecki was between 35 and 55 old at the time of her death (AKSENOV / BABENKO 1998, 111; RUD-

NICKI 2009a, 602). According to KHAIREIDINOVA 2000, 109 skeleton 4 in the burial chamber 46a excavated in Luchistoe was that of an old woman, but there is no reference to an anthropological report.

¹⁷³ Of those, only for the skeleton in grave 174 has age been properly established – between 6 and 8 years (BARZU 2010, 225).

¹⁷⁴ KHAIREIDINOVA 2007, 22.

Site	Main fibula	Position	Additional fibula	Position
Adamclisi	II C	r. shoulder		
Bratei 262	I D	l. side of skull		
Seliște 59	I H	r. side of skull		
Shokshino 913	I C	on the neck		
Suuk Su 55	II D	l. shoulder		
Syatzmáy-Fehértó 375	I C	l. shoulder		
Bratei 174	I C	r. collar bone	I C	l. collar bone
Dănceni 280	II C	r. shoulder	II C	l. shoulder
Luchistoe 10/4	I D	under r. collar bone	I G	under l. collar bone
Luchistoe 38/9	II C	r. collar bone	II D	l. collar bone
Suuk Su 28	II C	r. shoulder	II D	l. shoulder
Suuk Su 154	II C	r. collar bone	II D	l. collar bone
Syatzmáy-Fehértó 33	I F	r. side of chest	I F	l. shoulder
Bratei 277	I H	l. side of chest		
Săcuieni	I C	chest		
Luchistoe 36/14	II A	r. chest	II B	l. chest
Eski Kermen 257	II A	r. chest	II C	l. chest
Gâmbaș III	I C	r. chest	I C	l. chest
Luchistoe 10/17	I D	r. chest	I D	l. chest
Piatra Frecăței B42	I H	r. chest	I H	l. chest
Suuk Su 86	II A	r. chest	II B	l. chest
Suuk Su 87	IIB	r. chest	II B	l. chest
Kiskörös 2	I G	by the l. hand		
Bakla	II C	pelvis		
Podbolot'e 220	II B	r. side of pelvis		
Szigetszentmiklós-Háros 14	II C	r. side of pelvis		

Table 3. The position of “Slavic” bow fibulae in graves (shading indicates burials in which the fibula does not seem to have been included as a dress fastener.)

pair of brooches on the shoulders and a large belt buckle at the waist¹⁷⁵. Indeed, when recorded, the position of fibulae in graves seems to correspond with the idea of two fasteners attached at the shoulders (*tab. 3*). Most pairs found on the shoulders or on the chest consist of fibulae of the same class, but there are also combinations of ID, IG, II A, II D,

¹⁷⁵ SHCHUKIN / FURAS'EV 2007, 77. – The general assumption is that each and every one of the women was buried in the dress that she had worn during her lifetime, as suggested by traces of wear on brooches, fibulae, or earrings (KHAIR-EDINOVA 2000, 109). No author dealing with this question seems to have taken into consideration the unlikelihood of aristocratic women being

buried as dressed when reaching the end of their lives. There is an obvious tendency to treat the archaeological evidence as remains of the living culture, with no notion of burial as a ceremony involving long preparations and staged displays of dress accessories, some of which were attached to the body, while others were deposited next to it.

and II C fibulae. According to Elzara Khairedinova, in the Crimea fibulae found in pairs on female skeletons are typically of different size, with the smaller one on the left and the larger one on the right. Only burials of young girls produced fibulae of the same size¹⁷⁶. This is definitely true for the skeleton no. 6 in the burial chamber 257 of the Eski Kermen cemetery and for that in grave 28 in Suuk Su¹⁷⁷. However, the child buried in the burial chamber 38 in Luchistoe, possibly a girl, had a shorter, II C fibula on the left, and a longer one of Werner's class II D on the right side. Moreover, the II B fibula found on the left side of the child skeleton no. 14 in the burial chamber 36 of that same cemetery was larger than the II A fibula on the right side¹⁷⁸.

It is unlikely that such large fibulae were actually worn by those children during their lifetime, which implies that their addition to the burial dress must be interpreted in symbolic terms. By contrast, a single fibula on one shoulder, next to the skull, on the neck, or on the chest of the skeleton may have been a true fastener either for a mantle or for the shroud in which the deceased was wrapped. In principle, this was also true for the few cases in which the fibula was found on the pelvis, as in Bakla, Podbolot'e, or Szigetszentmiklós-Háros. A dress opened at the front may, in such cases, have been fastened with a single fibula doubled perhaps with a belt¹⁷⁹. However, it is possible that in all three cases the fibula was attached to the belt, as in burial assemblages of the Merovingian or Early Avar age¹⁸⁰. The presence of the buckle is confirmed in Bakla and Szigetszentmiklós-Háros, while the silver belt mounts and strap end found in grave 220 in Podbolot'e indicate a belt perhaps tied around the waist without a buckle¹⁸¹. Much more problematic is the interpretation of the I G fibula in grave 2 of the Kiskörös cemetery. There was no buckle in the assemblage, and no traces of a belt have been found. Moreover, next to the fibula, which was found by the wrist of the left hand, was a bone needle case and a knife. This collection of items strongly suggests the existence of a purse attached to the left hand of the deceased or simply deposited next to it in the grave. At any rate, no indication exists that the Kiskörös fibula was used as a fastener, which begs the question of the symbolic value of its deposition in the grave.

For his ethnic interpretation of the "Slavic" bow fibulae, Werner has placed a considerable emphasis on the alleged difference between the Germanic costume with two fibulae and the Slavic costume with only one fibula. According to him, when found singly, "Slavic" bow fibulae are a sure indication of Slavic ethnicity. Occasional pairs found in such assemblages as grave III in Gâmbaş are to be explained as the result of "Germanic influence"¹⁸². However, "Slavic" bow fibulae appear both singly and in pairs with cremations in very different cultural environments, such as the cemeteries in Mazuria and in Sărata Monteoru. In Mazuria, such fibulae sometimes appear in combination with disc-shaped or crossbow fibulae (Kielary), while in the Crimea they are paired with bow fibulae of the Dnieper type (Luchistoe, Suuk Su)¹⁸³. There is, therefore, no one-to-one connection between a particular cultural profile and the preference for dress with either one or two "Slavic" fibulae. Moreover, most fibulae are associated with buckles in assemblages associated with both cremations and inhumations (*tab. 4*). These may be simple buckles with no plates and with oval or rectangular loops (Bratei, Gatér, Kosewo, Luchistoe, Miętkie,

¹⁷⁶ KHAIREDINOVA 2007, 21.

¹⁷⁷ CURTA 2011c, 164.

¹⁷⁸ CURTA 2009b, 61 with fig. 19; CURTA 2012, 52 with n. 23; 42 fig. 15

¹⁷⁹ CLAUS 1987, 536 and fig. 40.

¹⁸⁰ VIDA 2004, 438–439.

¹⁸¹ GORODCOV 1914, 133.

¹⁸² WERNER 1950, 162; 170; 172.

¹⁸³ For disc-shaped fibulae, see RUDNICKI 2007. For crossbow fibulae, see RUDNICKI 2008. For bow fibulae of the Dnieper type, see SZMONIEWSKI 2004, RODINKOVA 2006, and SKYBA 2011.

Site	Main fibula	Additional fibula(e)	Neck	Hands	Head	Waist
Csákberény	II C		beads			
Cornești	I C		beads			
Óföldreák	I J		beads			
Seliște 59	I H		beads, pendant			
Tumiany 3	I F		beads			
Tumiany 58	I G		beads			
Bratei 174	I C	I C	beads			
Bratei 262	I D	I D	beads			
Kosewo 202	I C	I C	beads			
Miętkie 587	I C	I C	beads			
Miętkie 424	I D	I F	beads			
Kielary 9	I C	I C	beads, pendant			
Miętkie 579	I F	I F	beads, pendants			
Kosewo 172	II D	II D	beads, pendants			
Luchistoe 36/9	II C	II D	beads, pendants			
Eski Kermen 257	II A	II C	beads, pendants, cross			
Bartolty Wielkie 15	I G	rectangular plate	torc			
Shokshino 913	I C		pendants	bracelet		
Balakliia	II C	II D	beads	bracelet		
Dănceni 280	II C	II C	beads	bracelet		
Suuk Su 87	II B	II B	beads, pendants	bracelets	earring	
Bratei 277	I H		beads		diadem, earring	
Kiskörös 2	I G		beads		earring	
Kuz'minskoe 7	II D		beads, pendants		earrings	
Gâmbaș III	I C	I C	beads		earrings	
Coșovenii de Jos	I B		torc		earrings	
Szatymáz-Fehértó 33	I F	I F	beads		earrings	buckle
Bratei 130	I C	I C	beads		lock ring	buckle
Kruje 28	I C	I C	beads		earrings	buckle, belt mounts
Várpalota 212	II C	II C	beads		earrings	strap end
Luchistoe 46a/4	II B	Dnieper type	beads, pendants		earrings	buckle
Tiszabura	II C		beads	bracelet	earrings	buckle
Miętkie 462	I C	I C	beads, pendants	fingerring		buckle, belt mounts
Bratei 113	I H					buckle
Gatér 238	II B					buckle
Kielary 85	I D					buckle, strap end, belt mount
Kielary 100	I C					buckle

Table 4. Accessories of female dress with “Slavic” bow fibulae.

Site	Main fibula	Additional fibula(e)	Neck	Hands	Head	Waist
Kosewo 548	I C					buckle
Leleszki "b"	I D					buckle
Miętkie 84	I C					buckle, strap ends, belt mounts
Nea Anchialos	I B					buckle
Tumiany 56	I J					buckle, strap end
Bashtanovka	I D	I D				buckle
Edessa	I D	I D				buckle
Kielary 43	I C	I C				buckle
Kosewo 366	I G	I G, Dattenberg type				buckle
Bakla 11	II C	Dnieper type				buckle
Kielary 30	I C	disc-shaped				buckle, strap ends, belt mounts
Kielary 6	I J	disc-shaped, crossbow				buckle, strap ends, belt mounts
Tumiany 30	I D		beads, pendants			strap ends, belt mounts
Tumiany 68	I C		beads			buckle, belt mounts
Skalistoe 279 / 1	I D		beads			buckle
Tumiany 74	I G		beads, pendants			belt mounts
Tumiany 93	I G		pendant			buckle
Waplewo 22	I C		torc, beads, pendants			buckle, strap end
Budapest- Pannonhalmi 2	II C		beads			buckle
Kosewo 553a	I F	I F	beads			buckle, strap ends, belt mounts
Suuk Su 154	II C	II D	beads			buckle
Miętkie 579	I F	I F	beads, pendants			buckle
Kielary 13	I C	I C	beads, pendants			buckle, strap ends, belt mounts
Kielary 8	I C	I C, crossbow	beads, pendants			belt mounts
Kielary 74	I C	I C	beads			belt buckle, strap ends, belt mounts
Luchistoe 10 / 17	I D	I D	beads, pendants			belt buckle

Table 4 (cont.)

Site	Main fibula	Additional fibula(e)	Neck	Hands	Head	Waist
Tumiany 84	I G	I G	beads, pendant			buckle, strap end, belt mounts
Waplewo 21	I C	I C	beads			buckle, strap end, belt mounts
Kosewo 529	I C	I C	beads, torc			buckle, strap ends, belt mounts
Boği III/23	II D			bracelet		
Kielary 44	I C			fingerring		
Tumiany 2				fingerring		strap end
Tumiany 20	I F			fingerring		buckle, strap ends, belt mounts
Piatra Frecăței B42	I H	I H		bracelets	earring	
Luchistoe 10/4	I D	I G		bracelets	earrings	buckle
Podbolot'e 220	II B			bracelets	diadems, earrings	belt mounts
Bratei 11	I H				earrings	
Bratei 167	I G				lock ring	
Lezhë 36	I B				earring	
Szákaly-Öreghegy 12	I B	I C			earring	buckle
Szatymáz-Fehértó 375	I C		beads	bracelets	earrings	buckle
Szigetszentmiklós-Háros 14	II C		beads, pendants	bracelets, fingerring	earrings	buckle
Suuk Su 28	II C	II D	beads	bracelets	earring	buckle
Suuk Su 86	II A	II C	beads, pendants	bracelets	earrings	buckle
Mokhnach	II C	II C	torc, beads, pendants	bracelet, fingerring	diadem, earrings, lock rings	buckle
Suuk Su 55	II D	Dnieper type	beads	bracelets	earrings	buckle

Table 4 (cont.)

Mokhnach, Szatymáz-Fehértó, Szigetszentmiklós-Háros, Tiszabura, Tumiany), with rectangular (Miętkie, Kielary, Kosewo, Tumiany, Waplewo) or oval plates (Tumiany), or more elaborate specimens: “Byzantine” buckles of the Sucidava (Bratei), Corinth (Kruje), Syracuse (Bakla, Edessa), or Trebizond classes (Luchistoe)¹⁸⁴. In Mazuria, “Slavic” bow fibulae are sometimes found together with belt buckles and belt mounts with elaborate open-work ornament (Kielary, Leleszki), while in the Crimea they are commonly associated with silver buckles with eagle-headed plates (Bashtanovka, Luchistoe, Suuk Su)¹⁸⁵.

¹⁸⁴ For the Sucidava, Syracuse, and Trebizond classes, see SCHULZE-DÖRRLAMM 2002a, 146–151; 177–179; 184–186. For the Corinth class, see SCHULZE-DÖRRLAMM 2009, 19–24.

¹⁸⁵ For belt buckles with eagle-headed plates, see ZASECKAIA 2005.

The latter never appear in burials of children, and it has been suggested that, since some women were buried without such buckles or without fibulae, those dress accessories may have served as symbols of social status, perhaps as badges of aristocratic rank¹⁸⁶. Even in the absence of belt buckles with eagle-headed plates, the fashion of connecting the two fibulae across the chest by means of a necklace of glass beads and metal pendants seems to have been restricted to members of the elite. The fashion is ultimately of Scandinavian origin and may have reached the Crimea through the intermediary of the elites in the Middle Dnieper region¹⁸⁷. The combination of glass beads, metal pendants, and pairs of “Slavic” bow fibulae also appears in Mazuria (Kielary, Kosewo, Miętkie, Tumiany)¹⁸⁸. However, there is no way to know whether necklaces of beads and metal pendants were meant to connect the associated fibulae, as in the Crimea. Moreover, in Mazuria beads and metal pendants also appear in burial assemblages with single “Slavic” bow fibulae (Tumiany and Waplewo). A closer examination of the beads found in association with “Slavic” bow fibulae reveals a few interesting patterns (*tab. 5*). The largest necklaces are those from two sites in the Middle Dnieper region (Balakliia and Mokhnach), and they include the largest number of amber beads¹⁸⁹. Such beads also appear in relatively smaller numbers in burial assemblages in the Crimea (Eski Kermen, Luchistoe, and Suuk Su), but only sporadically elsewhere (Bratei, Kosewo, Seliște). The only beads of chalcedony, carnelian, or rock crystal associated with “Slavic” bow fibulae are known from Crimean assemblages. Just as fibulae of Werner’s classes I C or I F do not appear in the Crimea, there are no eye-beads in assemblages from that region. By contrast, most eye-beads have been found together with “Slavic” bow fibulae on sites in Hungary and Transylvania, and in smaller numbers on sites in Mazuria¹⁹⁰. The smallest number of beads per assemblage is that from Mazuria, and half of all assemblages that produced only glass beads (but no millefiori beads) are from that same region. A certain pattern is also apparent when examining the colors of the beads found in Mazurian graves. Out of 104 beads collected from grave 8 in Kielary, 89 were yellow, just like seven out of the 15 beads from grave 30 in Tumiany¹⁹¹. All 44 beads from grave 579 in Miętkie were also yellow, and the same is true for the five beads from grave 74 in Tumiany, the three beads from grave 21 in Waplewo, or the two beads in grave 424 in Miętkie¹⁹². It is perhaps no accident that besides 34 yellow specimens, the necklaces with 81 beads from grave 9 in Kielary also contained three gilded pieces, which may have created a sharp contrast to the other beads of brown or dark green color¹⁹³. That this may well have been a Mazurian fashion results from the combination in three different burial assemblages (grave 8 in Kielary, and graves 30 and 74 in Tumiany) of yellow beads, double-spiral wire pendants, and “Slavic” bow fibulae¹⁹⁴. It is also worth mentioning that most

¹⁸⁶ KHAIREDINOVA 2000, 109; KHAIREDINOVA 2007, 22.

¹⁸⁷ CURTA 2009b, 63; CURTA 2010a, 153; CURTA 2011c, 172; CURTA 2012, 52.

¹⁸⁸ The pendants found in graves 84 in Tumiany, 9 in Kielary, 579 in Miętkie, and 172 in Kosewo are all spirals made of bronze wire (JAKOBSON 2009, 51 and 70; HILBERG 2009, 360 and 450). Necklaces found with cremations in Mazuria also included bronze sheet, trapeze-shaped and double-spiral (“spectacle”) wire pendants.

¹⁸⁹ For amber beads in Eastern Europe during the sixth and seventh centuries, see CURTA 2007a.

¹⁹⁰ For eye-beads in Early Avar assemblages from Hungary, see PÁSZTOR 2008, 313–314.

¹⁹¹ JAKOBSON 2009, 40 and 70.

¹⁹² HILBERG 2009, 448; 450; JAKOBSON 2009, 40.

¹⁹³ JAKOBSON 2009, 70–71.

¹⁹⁴ The only other assemblage with “Slavic” bow fibulae from Eastern Europe that includes plain yellow beads is grave III in Gâmbaș (HOREDT 1958, 98). However, there were three separate necklaces in that assemblage, none of which had pendants.

Assemblage	Total number	Eye-beads	Amber	Chalcedony	Carne- lian	Rock crystal	Mille- fiori	Metal
Balakliia	<i>ca.</i> 300		30					
Gâmbaş III	194	47						11
Mokhnach	164		116				3	
Dănceni 280	156							
Cornești	141	1						
Eski Kermen 257	104		5	1	11			
Kielary 8	104							
Skalistoe 279	86							
Kosewo 553a	84	3						
Kielary 9	81	5						
Szatymáz- Fehértó 375	77	7						
Suuk Su 55	55		30					6
Waplewo 22	55							
Csakberény	45	11						
Luchistoe 46a / 4	45		some					
Miętkie 579	44							
Tiszabura	42	40?						
Suuk Su 86	33		6			1	2	
Suuk Su 28	29		20					
Suuk Su 87	29		13					
Bratei 262	26	21	1					
Miętkie 587	25	some						
Luchistoe 10 / 17	23		11				10	1
Szatymáz-Fehértó 33	23							
Budapest- Pannonhalmi 2	17	16?						
Suuk Su 154	17		11				5	
Tumiany 30	15							
Várpalota 212	13							
Kosewo 172	12		4					
Óföldreák	12	3						
Szigetszentmiklós- Háros 14	12	12						
Kosewo 202	10							
Bratei 130	9	1						
Tumiany 68	6	2						
Tumiany 74	5							
Bratei 174	3							
Kruje 28	3							
Seliște 59	3		1				1	
Tumiany 3	3	3						
Waplewo 21	3							
Miętkie 424	2							
Tumiany 58	2							
Tumiany 84	1							

Table 5. Beads found in assemblages with “Slavic” bow fibulae (shading indicates assemblages which contain a few simple glass beads.)

finger-rings associated with “Slavic” bow fibulae appear in Mazurian assemblages (*tab. 4*). Those are either spiral wire finger-rings (Miętkie, Tumiany) or finger-rings with middle rib (Kielary), both specific to local fashions¹⁹⁵.

Conspicuously absent from the Mazurian fashions are earrings and bracelets. Both dress accessories frequently appear however in the Carpathian Basin and in the Crimea. The Crimean earrings are either simple links (Luchistoe, Suuk Su) or earrings with polyhaedral or pear-shaped pendant (Suuk Su). By contrast, most earrings found in Early Avar assemblages in Hungary have bead pendants¹⁹⁶. Most remarkable is the similarity between the silver earrings with spiral end found in two graves in Bratei (130 and 167) and the six bronze lock rings from Mokhnach. This parallel mirrors the second-rank links established between a I H fibula from Bratei and the same region of Left-Bank Ukraine along the Orel and Samara rivers. Another analogy between Bratei and Mokhnach points in the same direction, namely the use of diadems. That from grave 277 in Bratei, which has also produced a I H fibula, has good analogies within the same cemetery¹⁹⁷, but such imitations of early Byzantine head-dresses made of solid metal bands are known from Mokhnach and Gaponovo, both in Left-Bank Ukraine¹⁹⁸. Early Avar-age diadems were made of separate plates attached to a piece of leather, not of solid metal bands¹⁹⁹. Similarly, both diadems found in grave 220 in Podbolot’e together with a “Slavic” bow fibulae were made of plates, not of solid metal band²⁰⁰.

Meaning

The Middle Dnieper region plays a key role in understanding the meaning behind the dress with “Slavic” bow fibulae. On several sites in that region (Gaponovo, Koloskovo, Koziivka, Kurilovka, Martynivka, Nova Odessa, Nyzhniaia Syrovatka, Sudzha, Trubchevsk, Ugly, and Velyki Budky) fibulae have been found not in settlements or burials, but in hoards²⁰¹. The combination of “Slavic” bow fibulae, bracelets, earrings, beads, and metal pendants, which is illustrated by burial assemblages in the region such as Mokhnach, is also amply documented in hoards. Although some of them contained broken objects, there are no tools, and no metalworking residues. They were therefore neither collections of “hack-silver” nor bullion in the possession of some craftsmen specializing in the production of dress accessories. Instead, they were hoards of a rather different nature²⁰². The artifacts in the Khats’ky and Gaponovo hoards were carefully wrapped in silk and linen, respectively, and several collections seem to have been intentionally deposited next to water and in marshy areas, which strongly suggests votive deposition²⁰³. On closer examination, the

¹⁹⁵ KULAKOV 1997.

¹⁹⁶ The pair of golden earrings from grave 14 in Szigetszentmiklós-Háros belong to the Tószeg type, for which see ORMÁNDY 1995, 159–161. Simple links are known from Tiszabura, Szálkaly-Öreghegy, and Szatymáz-Fehértó.

¹⁹⁷ BÄRZU 2010, 312 pl. 34.G.195.1.

¹⁹⁸ SHCHEGLOVA 1999, 298–299. – An early Byzantine specimen made of gold is known from the Varna hoard, for which see DIMITROV 1964, 73 fig. 12; 74 fig. 13. For another, slightly earlier metal head-band from Transylvania, see FERENCZI 1960. For additional links between

the environs of Bratei and the hoards in the Middle Dnieper region, see BOROFFKA 2003.

¹⁹⁹ GARAM 2005, 169–170.

²⁰⁰ TUKHTINA 1997, 112; 113 fig. 1,2,3.

²⁰¹ The only hoard with “Slavic” bow fibulae found outside the Middle Dnieper region is Kamenovo (northern Bulgaria), a collection with many links to assemblages in Left-Bank Ukraine (PISAROVA 1997).

²⁰² For a good example of a contemporary hoard belonging to a craftsman, see OŠTANINA 2007.

²⁰³ BOBRINSKII 1901, 147; GAVRITUKHIN / OBLOMSKII 1995, 135; GAVRITUKHIN / OBLOMSKII 2009,

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
A	34	32	1	1	19				4	17			6		6					
B		10				3			2				3		1					
C				2	168	50		1		8	9		5			1			2	
D	8	45		1	33	2	4		4			2	5	4	10	6	2		10	1
E	15	12	8	7	46	29	2	1	21	6	2	3	6	3	27	11	4			1
F				1	7	7			12	2	12		2	17	28	6	4		4	
G	7	8			86		2	1	3	11	10		4	14	181	8	6	10	40	3
H						8			6	2		2	17		2	12	7	4	44	22

Table 6. Artifact categories in late sixth- to early seventh-century hoards of silver and bronze. Hoards: A Nova Odessa; B Nyzhniaia Syrovatka; C Koloskove; D Kurilovka; E Koziivka; F Sudzha; G Gaponovo; H Trubchevsk. – Artifact categories: 1 bell-shaped pendants; 2 lead mounts; 3 rectangular pendants; 4 chains; 5 beads; 6 armbands; 7 rings; 8 fibulae with bent stem; 9 trapeze-shaped pendants; 10 torcs; 11 double-spiral wire pendants; 12 bow fibulae, Dnieper type; 13 “Slavic” bow fibulae; 14 hat-shaped pendants; 15 tubular ornaments; 16 strap ends; 17 earrings; 18 pseudo-buckles; 19 belt mounts; 20 buckles.

composition of those hoards appears to be the result of careful selection (*tab. 6*). It has long been noted that most artifacts present in hoards are accessories of female dress, and attempts have been made to reconstruct that dress on the basis of comparisons with burial assemblages in the Middle Dnieper region and the Crimea²⁰⁴. Some have recently suggested that the concentration of hoards in the Middle Dnieper region indicates the existence of one or many centers of political power, but others have instead argued that hoards were collections not of prestige objects, but of common artifacts produced in multiple copies, only some of which ended up in hoards²⁰⁵. However, it is clear that metal dress accessories were not available to everyone, since few turned up in excavated settlements and cremation cemeteries²⁰⁶. Given that scrap metal itself was hoarded (as demonstrated by the Velyki Budky hoard), any collection of copper-alloy and silver artifacts must have represented valuable assets, especially when considering their skillful execution and elaborate decoration. That some of those collections were hidden in locations from which items could not be recovered is a further indication of the premium placed on those hoards.

All of these hoards include “Slavic” bow fibulae and some kind of metal pendants, and most have produced bead necklaces as well. This suggests that the fashion represented in hoards is not different from that documented in burials of females, either in the Crimea or in the Middle Dnieper region. I have demonstrated elsewhere that later hoards which include artifacts pointing to a date within the second half of the seventh century have some connections with rich graves interpreted as burials of men because of the presence of weap-

309; CURTA 2007b, 41 with n. 34; CURTA 2010a, 151–152. – The artifacts in the Velyki Budky hoard, mostly scrap metal, were also found wrapped in linen (GORIUNOVA 1992, 128).

²⁰⁴ SHCHEGLOVA 2000; RODINKOVA 2007. – Ol’ga Shcheglova has repeatedly insisted that the dress

in question was most likely ceremonial, and not that of everyday life (SHCHEGLOVA 2004, 121).

²⁰⁵ KAZANSKI 2011a, 522; SHCHEGLOVA 1999, 290; KOMAR 2006, 27.

²⁰⁶ The majority of the artifacts published by KORZUKHINA 1996, some of which have analogies in hoards, are stray finds, with no archaeological context.

ons and horse gear²⁰⁷. No high-status female burials are known for the period in which this later group of hoards may have been hidden, which suggests that the previously prominent position of female funerary displays was abandoned in favor of new forms of power representation. The presence of Byzantine silverware in the Martynivka hoard, and the fact that, with few exceptions, most items appear in pairs or in more than two specimens, suggests a type of conspicuous consumption known to anthropologists as “potlatch”. In times of social and political stress, such consumption may have served a number of functions, such as celebrating rites of passage or succession to office. This may well have been the privilege of several aristocratic groups in competition with each other for relative status and prestige. Initially, female dress accessories were common currency for this type of social behavior, just as women must have been for displaying the status of their male kin (for example through burial ritual). Contemporary male burials (with or without horse skeletons) are comparatively much poorer than the hoard collections. By contrast, during the second half of the seventh century men assumed that role for themselves, and extremely rich burials (Malo Pereshchepyne, Zachepylivka, Voznesens’ke, and Kelegeia) with a vast array of gold rather than silver artifacts dwarfed all displays of hoarded metal²⁰⁸.

The combination of artifacts in hoards must therefore be regarded as symbolic²⁰⁹. But what did “Slavic” bow fibulae actually symbolize? The presence of many such fibulae in settlement contexts, often in the company of hand- or wheel-made pottery, strongly suggests that these were not artifacts produced only to be attached to the funerary dress upon burial. If worn during lifetime, either singly or in pairs, some of these dress accessories, especially the large ones of Werner’s second group, must have been not only clearly visible, but perhaps the most visible of all dress accessories of a woman. On the other hand, children were buried in the Crimea with fibulae that were too large to have been possibly worn during lifetime. In such cases, the meaning of the fibula seems to have been tied to the social position of an adult female, most likely of aristocratic rank. Furthermore, if the symbolism attached to fibulae in hoard collections has anything to do with their meaning in daily life, those accessories were not just symbols of social status or gender, but badges of power. Access to and manipulation of such artifacts may have been strategies for gaining admission into elite groups, such as those engaging in “potlatch” competitions involving collections of jewels associated with the female dress.

The idea that women buried with “Slavic” bow fibulae were of elevated social rank is substantiated by cases of privileged inhumation. For example, the I B fibula from Nea Anchialos was found with a skeleton (presumably that of a woman) in a burial chamber on the southern side of an early Byzantine basilica²¹⁰. Burial in vaulted tombs inside or close to the church was a practice reserved in sixth-century Greece for important persons, either the clergy or wealthy donors²¹¹. On the other hand, within one and the same cemetery in Mazuria or the Crimea some women were buried with silver or gilded silver, others with

²⁰⁷ CURTA 2007b, 39–41.

²⁰⁸ CURTA 2001a, 222–223.

²⁰⁹ SZMONIEWSKI 2010, 81.

²¹⁰ SOTIRIOU 1939, 62; KATSOUGIANNOPOULOU 2009, 222 with fig. 6.

²¹¹ The burial in Nea Anchialos may therefore be compared with one of the two vaulted tombs in Stamata (Attica), which was built inside a three-aisled, fifth- to sixth-century basilica. The tomb has large murals depicting Latin crosses, a bird,

and a fish, as well as an inscription. Inside the tomb were a pair of gold earrings and a gold clasp, in addition to bronze and silver spatulas and a lekythos, all dated to the sixth century and betraying a female burial (GKINI-TSOPHOPOULOU 1990; TOUCHAIS et al. 1996, 1130; LASKARIS 2000, 78–79). Female donors are mentioned in contemporary inscriptions (CURTA 2011a, 27).

copper-alloy fibulae, while still others had no dress accessories whatsoever. High social status is also implied by the rune on the back of the fibula from grave 548 in Kosewo, or the Greek inscription on the back of the fibula from Bil'sk, both most likely representing property signs.

Furthermore, several “Slavic” bow fibulae have been found in settlement, not burial assemblages, often on the house's floor (Chornivka²¹², house 58 in Davideni, Filiaș, Hansca²¹³, Krivina, Suceava) or in its filling (house 41 in Davideni, Rashkiv, Velyka Sloboda)²¹⁴. Most known specimens are preserved entirely, with no signs of damage, and in archaeological contexts that show no traces of catastrophic destruction such as fire²¹⁵. House 58 in Davideni, for example, was on the southern edge of the settlement within a group of sunken-floored buildings arranged in a semi-circle around an open space with a free-standing oven in the middle. Those buildings produced artifacts that may at least be viewed as rare or exotic, if not indicative of high social status: a strainer in house 52, a cast fibula with bent stem in house 51, and a pectoral cross in house 16. Much like the fibula in house 58, the pectoral cross and the cast fibula with bent stem were also found on the floor by the oven²¹⁶. There is no pair of “Slavic” bow fibulae found on any settlement site, although, as we have seen, such fibulae were worn in pairs, not just singly. Moreover, the artifacts with which single “Slavic” bow brooches were commonly associated in settlement assemblages (spindle whorls, awls, needles, strap ends, pendants, bracelets, and combs) were also found singly²¹⁷. There is nothing to suggest that the houses in which those artifacts (including “Slavic” bow fibulae) were found have been evacuated in a hurry before destruction, nor is there any evidence that they were abandoned because of deterioration. Single finds of “Slavic” bow fibulae are therefore unlikely to have been “lost” or accidentally left behind²¹⁸. It is therefore possible that before evacuation, perhaps on the occasion of the death of the household head, houses were “marked” with bow fibulae, a ritual practice that may have also accompanied repair and changes in the internal organization of the structure²¹⁹.

²¹² There is no mention in TIMOSHCHUK / RUSANOVA / MYKHAYLYNA 1981, 91 of the exact location of the fibula inside the sunken-floored building 5 in Chornivka, but according to GAVRITUKHIN 2005, 453 it was found on the floor.

²¹³ There is nothing in RAFALOVICH 1972, 32–33 about the position of the fibula inside house 14 in Hansca, but according to GAVRITUKHIN 2005, 453, it was found on the floor.

²¹⁴ That the I C fibula in house 63 excavated in Velyka Sloboda was found on the floor is specifically mentioned in GAVRITUKHIN 2005, 451. – “Slavic” bow fibulae were also found in two houses inside early Byzantine fortified settlements in the northern Balkans, one in Carevec, the other in Caričin Grad. Nothing is known, however, about their exact location inside those houses.

²¹⁵ To be sure, a number of fibulae found in settlement assemblages are fragmentary: house 12 in Bucharest-Soldat Ghivan Street, Bucharest-Dămăroaia (MORINTZ / ROSETTI 1959, 33); house VIII in Semenki; and Zvonets'ke. However,

nothing is known about their precise location within the archaeological contexts, and it may well be that they were actually found in a secondary position (e. g. in the filling of the house). I have earlier suggested that the fragment of a II C fibula from Zvonets'ke was a piece of scrap metal to be re-used for the local production of other pieces of jewelry (CURTA 2011, 175 and n. 25). There is no evidence of metalworking in the vicinity of any of the other buildings in which fragments of “Slavic” bow fibulae have been found.

²¹⁶ CURTA 2006a, 101–102.

²¹⁷ CURTA 2004, 72. – Needles and spindle whorls appear singly even without “Slavic” bow fibulae (CURTA 2009b, 67).

²¹⁸ This is particularly true for the fibulae from Caričin Grad and Volos'ke, which were too large and most likely shiny to have been lost and never recovered.

²¹⁹ For the material culture correlates of house abandonment, see CAMERON 1991; STANCIU 2011, 307–308. – This is confirmed at least in

Whatever the meaning of “Slavic” bow fibulae left behind in abandoned houses, they were clearly symbols of social status. As we have seen, the dress with bow fibulae may have been constructed with different elements in different places, but within each one of the four major regions of East Central and Eastern Europe (the Crimea, Mazuria, the Lower Danube region, and the Middle Dnieper region) that dress had a distinct referent and transmitted a clear message to a defined target population (the members of the local communities, but perhaps also outside visitors) about conscious affiliation and identity. That more than one woman was buried either in Mazuria or in the Crimea with the same dress accessories, and most likely wearing a similar dress, suggests that the social meaning attached to “Slavic” bow fibulae was one of group identity. In other words, the fashions involving “Slavic” bow fibulae identified at various points in this article at a regional and even cross-regional level may have actually been a particular kind of “emblemic style”, a form of non-verbal communication through which doing something in a certain way conveys information about relative identity²²⁰.

Could that identity have been ethnic? And if so, could that ethnic identity have been “Slavic”? In other words, were “Slavic” fibulae truly Slavic, a symbol of ethnic identity? Certainly both fashions and styles are now recognized as the key categories for the archaeological exploration of past social identities²²¹. Some have rejected the link between material culture styles and ethnicity on the grounds that ethnic symbols are entirely arbitrary and situational – a purely emic category²²². However, material culture is not a passive reflection of ethnic identity, but an active element in its negotiation. While ethnic boundaries are often built out of a few cultural elements, those elements are never arbitrarily chosen, to the extent that they are meant to mark the boundaries of the ethnic group as visibly as possible for outsiders to acknowledge the existence of that group²²³. Moreover, emblemic styles commonly appear at critical junctures in the regional political economy when changing social relations would impel displays of group identity. Extensive relations with far-away communities could serve to deliver rare and foreign objects linked symbolically to universal forces. At a regional level, emblemic styles based on such objects may become important to legitimize and “naturalize” the inherent inequality that exists in such societies, despite stylistic variability which may continue to exist between local communities in clothing and display items²²⁴. There is therefore a strong possibility that some ethnic identity was indeed represented through the dress with “Slavic” bow fibulae, in the same way, for

the case of house 12 in Bucharest-Soldat Ghivan. Its oven was repaired at least once during the occupation of the structure, and the fragment of the I F fibula found inside it may have marked one of those changes in the internal organization of the house (CURTA 2008a, 489).

²²⁰ WIESSNER 1983; 1989; 1990. – I have in fact argued elsewhere that shortly before and after AD 600 in the Lower Danube region long-distance contacts with other regions of Eastern Europe, such as Mazuria, may have contributed to the rise of an emblemic style “which existed only in the repetitions and contrasts created by the replication of ornamental patterns or forms” (CURTA 2001, 274).

²²¹ BURMEISTER 1997; MILINKOVIĆ 2004, 194–195; HEINRICH-TAMÁSKA 2005, 298.

²²² BRATHER 2002, 172; BRATHER 2004, 570; 577. – A somewhat milder version of that agnostic approach claims that although styles may be identified in the material culture, their precise social interpretation is not so easy, because they may refer to different identities and / or groups, and choosing between those referents in the absence of the cultural context is impossible (BRATHER 2011, 169).

²²³ LUCY 2005, 96–97.

²²⁴ EARLE 1990; CURTA 2007, 173; HAKENBECK 2007, 24. – As PALIGA/TEODOR 2009, 163 have noted, “Slavic” bow fibulae found in southern or eastern Romania are remarkably similar to those from sites located at a considerable distance in Mazuria, the Middle Dnieper region, or the Crimea. At the same time, how-

example, as the “Avar costume” was manipulated to mark ethnic boundaries in ninth- and tenth-century Bulgaria²²⁵. But was that ethnic identity specifically Slavic? The question is particularly relevant in this context because, despite numerous caveats, many scholars, particularly in the Balkans, continue to treat “Slavic” bow fibulae not only as badges of Slavic identity, but also as index-fossils for the presence of the Slavs in certain regions²²⁶. Such an interpretation is absurd for at least two reasons. First, it is based on the idea that objects have intrinsic properties (such as ethnic attributes) that are independent from their producers or users. In other words, the assumption is that those who wore “Slavic” fibulae were Slavs, whether they knew it or not, or whether they wanted it or not²²⁷. Second, the distribution of “Slavic” bow fibulae shows significant clusters in at least two regions that are not mentioned in relation to the Slavs in any medieval sources – Mazuria and the Crimea. If the dress with “Slavic” fibulae was about emblematic styles which may have marked ethnic boundaries, several identities were possibly signaled by such means that were most obviously not Slavic. Whatever ethnic labels one chooses to employ for the groups whose women wore “Slavic” bow fibulae, there must have been more than one group (ethnic) identity signaled by such means. Could any one of them have been Slavic after all? It has rightly been observed that in order for “Slavic” bow fibulae to be Slavic, they did not need to be produced by Slavs alone. Instead, it was sufficient for them to fulfill the specific social needs within Slavic communities²²⁸. During the second half of the sixth century, the military posturing, which is otherwise poorly documented archaeologically²²⁹, must have been a major component of the social relations in the Lower Danube region at a time of intense social competition, a period which witnessed the rise of leaders whose basis of power was warfare²³⁰. By 560, the unknown author of a collection of questions and answers known as *Erotapokriseis* wrote of Slavs killing their leaders “sometimes at feasts, sometimes on travel”²³¹. By 590, the equally unknown author of a military treatise entitled *Strategikon* knew

ever, there are no such connections in terms of pottery morphology. Fibulae obviously reflect a higher social level than pottery, the production of which remains more localized, with little or no interest for long-distance connections.

²²⁵ SIMEONOVA 2011.

²²⁶ POPOVIĆ 1994, 135; WEITHMANN 1994, 100–101; FIEDLER 1996, 202; TOMIČIĆ 1996, 152; DZHORDZHIEVSKA 1997, 68; MITREA 1997, 180; JANKOVIĆ 2004, 40–41; DROBERJAR/STOLZ 2005, 527; RIABCEVA 2005, 368; FIEDLER 2010, 240; GRAČANIN 2010, 146; RODINKOVA 2010b, 266. – According to COSMA/GUDEA 2008, 217, the I B fibulae belonged to the social and political elite of the Slavs under Avar rule. Others have gone as far as to assign various groups in Werner’s classification of “Slavic” bow fibulae to different tribal groups known from the written sources. Fibulae of Werner’s class I B have been attributed to the Serbs, and the I C fibulae to the Berzetes, while the Sagudates are to be recognized by means of I D fibulae (JANKOVIĆ 2007, 155; BABIĆ 1997, 15; 18). Meanwhile, fibulae of Werner’s classes I C, II B, II C,

and II C are all typically Antian (SEDOV 1999, 255; 258). Some believe that the decoration of certain classes is inspired by Slavic mythology: the fibulae of Werner’s class I C from Gâmbaș, Tiszafüred, Kruje, and Viničani are thus associated with the cult of a fertility goddess with legs in the form of bird-heads (CHAUSIDIS 2005, 440; 450).

²²⁷ Moreover, no “Slavic” bow fibulae have so far been found in assemblages of the so-called Prague culture that archaeologists commonly associate with the Slavs. The few fibulae known from sixth- and early seventh-century Poland, for example, are all of different types, with no relations to the “Slavic” bow fibulae (HILBERG 2009, 293).

²²⁸ PALIGA/TEODOR 2009, 160–161.

²²⁹ But see KAZANSKI 1995–1996, 2005–2009, 2009, and 2011b.

²³⁰ CURTA 2005b, 198–202. – For the problems associated with the archaeological identification of centers of power (“central places”) in the Lower Danube region, see MĂGUREANU 2010.

²³¹ RIEDINGER 1969, 302; BENEDICTY 1964, 50.

that there were many Slavic *reges* who could even accept temporarily a paramount “king”²³². When Slavic raids resumed in the 570s, several chiefs’ names begin to appear in the written sources: Dauritas, Ardagastus, Peiragastus, and Musocius²³³. The rise of local leaders thus coincides in time with the dissemination of the fashionable dress with “Slavic” bow fibulae, which may have well been worn by women associated with elite groups. Their option for such a dress may have mirrored the social aspirations of their kinsmen and husbands. This is remarkably similar to the situation in the late third century, when so-called “monstrous brooches” (Almgren’s classes 216 and 217) and iron combs with perforated handles suddenly appear on a number of burial sites in eastern Romania and the Republic of Moldova as clear references to a female aristocratic dress of Scandinavian origin²³⁴. Like the “monstrous brooches,” the “Slavic” bow fibulae point to relations with distant communities, from which a few specimens may have been procured that were later imitated in local production. But how were those few specimens procured in the first place? The long-distance connections revealed by the analysis of the ornamental linkage cannot be explained by means of itinerant specialists or migration. How then are the remarkable nearest-neighbor similarities between specimens found at a great distance from each other to be explained?

Distribution

Initially, “Slavic” bow fibulae may have been sufficiently exotic to produce prestige. Soon after that, however, a transferred “model” was copied in less sophisticated forms, apparently in response to an exclusively local demand. Brooch forms borrowed from other cultural settings were authenticated culturally, and an emblematic style emerged²³⁵. The dissemination of ornamental patterns is therefore likely to signal the rise of individuals having the ability to employ craftsmen experienced enough to replicate ornamental patterns and brooch designs, which may have been borrowed from distant locations. A large-scale imitation such as that indicated by the cluster analysis of the nearest-neighbor similarity speaks strong ties between local elites and those in the regions from which models that were being imitated originated in the first place. As soon as a new group emerged, linked specimens spread rapidly over wide distances. Analogies for the Mazurian specimens of Werner’s class I F, for example, have all been found at a distance between 1,000 and 2,000 km from the Mazurian Lakes in northeastern Poland²³⁶. Extensive contacts with distant groups served to deliver rare and foreign objects that became fundamental components of status display. However, the network of linked fibulae shows that the movement of ornamental patterns was not unidirectional, but a two-way transfer. Some brooch forms and ornamental patterns traveled in a north-south (or south-north) direction, others from the east to the west. On the other hand, the plotting of nearest-neighbor similarities for different classes of fibulae shows mutually exclusive networks for the distribution of different types of bow fibulae. For example, although I D fibulae from both Mazuria and the Middle Dnieper region are linked to specimens from the Lower Danube region, they have no mutual links (*fig. 6*). The II B fibulae from Staasdorf (Austria) and Podbolot’e (Russia) are both linked to specimens from the Dnieper region, but not to each other, and the same

²³² *Strategikon* XI 4.30; CURTA 1999.

²³³ CURTA 2001a, 325–332.

²³⁴ WERNER 1988, 247–250 and 254–256;
SHCHERBAKOVA / SHCHUKIN 1991; ILKJAER 1998.

²³⁵ CURTA 2005a, 131–132.

²³⁶ CURTA 2008a, 484 with n. 40.

is true for the II D fibulae from Kosewo (Mazuria) and Kuz'minki (Russia)²³⁷. The chronology of assemblages with “Slavic” bow fibulae strongly suggests that contacts between north and south, or east and west signaled by linked fibulae were all in place at about the same time. The coincidence in time of assemblages with very similar fibulae found at a considerable distance from each other in at least four regions of Eastern Europe (Mazuria, the Lower Danube region, the Middle Dnieper region, and the Crimea) points to the existence of an exchange network between communities in each one of those regions. What kind of exchange could be responsible for such a rapid dissemination of brooch forms and ornamental patterns? Werner has proposed that since the presence of “Slavic” bow fibulae in Mazuria cannot be explained by means of migration, then it should be attributed to long-distance trade relations between that region and the Lower Danube area, along the so-called Amber Trail²³⁸. In other words, the “Slavic” bow fibulae from the south were exchanged for the amber of the north²³⁹. However, while such fibulae are relatively numerous on sites in Mazuria, there are no remains of amber – either raw, or in the form of beads – on any of the equally numerous and well researched sites in the Lower Danube region of present-day Romania, Moldova and Ukraine in which “Slavic” bow fibulae were most certainly produced²⁴⁰. Even in Mazuria, the evidence for late sixth-century amber is meager, especially when compared with the very large quantity of amber finds from Lamata, a small region in southwestern Lithuania (between the present-day towns of Šilutė, Priekulė, and Svėkšna), from which no “Slavic” bow fibulae are known²⁴¹. Nor is there any evidence of market places (either in Mazuria or at any point between that region and the Lower Danube) in which amber could have possibly been exchanged for fibulae or any other goods. Moreover, a commercial network for the distribution of such fibulae would have produced a much more dispersed distribution²⁴². Instead, as we have seen, vast areas of Eastern Europe to the north and northeast of the Carpathian Mountains produced few, if any finds of “Slavic” bow fibulae. The dissemination of brooch forms and ornamental patterns seems to have worked by great leaps, bypassing large areas of settlement and focusing only on a few regions – Mazuria, the Lower Danube region, the Middle Dnieper region, and the Crimea. The cluster of finds of “Slavic” bow fibulae in those regions may have something to do with the local conditions, as all four regions were characterized by forms of society in which valuables of foreign origin (or imitations thereof) played a major role in defining social hierarchies. “Slavic” bow fibulae seem to have been in fashion in areas with particularly marked social differentiation, which suggests that a number of regions with similar social systems that depended upon the supply and consumption of prestige goods that were only available (at least initially) through contact with elites elsewhere

²³⁷ CURTA 2009b, 65; CURTA 2012, 54.

²³⁸ WERNER 1950, 167.

²³⁹ WERNER 1984. – Werner initially dated all classes of “Slavic” bow fibulae after c. 600, while at the same time blaming the Slavs and the Avars for the interruption of the supposed trade relations between the Danube and the Baltic region along the Amber Trail.

²⁴⁰ For the distribution of sixth- to seventh-century amber in Eastern Europe as the result of non-commercial exchanges, see CURTA 2007a.

²⁴¹ BLIJIJĖ 2011, 258–267. Mazuria certainly was the intermediary through which the cultural

influence from the Middle and Lower Danube reached Eastern Lithuania (CURTA 2009a, 12). However, while communities in Mazuria may have mediated contacts of the Danube region with communities of the East Lithuanian Barrow Culture, they had no contacts with the neighboring territories in western Lithuania or eastern Belarus. If Werner’s “amber lords” in Mazuria acted as middlemen between the amber region in Lamata and the Lower Danube, it remains to be explained why no beads from Lamata have so far been found in Mazuria.

²⁴² RENFREW 1977.

came to be connected by means of a network of an inter-elite exchange²⁴³. This was most likely a form of gift exchange, which had already been established in the late fifth or early sixth century, as indicated by artifacts produced in the Carpathian Basin that appear in burial assemblages as far to the north as eastern Lithuania²⁴⁴. Contacts between the north and the south continued into the late sixth and early seventh century, but appear to have been severed shortly after that. The gifts may have been exchanged as part of matrimonial alliances which were intended to bolster the newly established position of local elites in each region. In other words, the “amber lords” of the North did not exchange fibulae for amber. Instead, they seem to have sent both to the south in exchange for regional alliances. In doing so, they were certainly not alone. Elites in the Lower Danube and the Middle Dnieper region, as well in the Crimea, established contacts with each other and with Mazuria, in an attempt to solidify regional alliances and consolidate their power over local populations.

²⁴³ CURTA 2004, 314.

²⁴⁴ BLIUJENĖ / CURTA 2011. – For a distinction between commercial transaction and gift exchange, see also HEDEAGER 1994.

A List of “Slavic” Bow Fibulae in Eastern Europe

1. Adamclisi (Constanța district, Romania); IIC, found in an inhumation burial; copper-alloy; L=10.8; PAPUC 1987, 207; 209–210; 208 fig. 1a–b; TEODOR 1992, 138 (where L=11.2); 150 fig. 9,1.
2. Adămești, in Alexandria (Romania); IF, stray find; copper-alloy; L=8.1; SPIRU 1970, 531 fig. 1; TEODOR 1992, 138; 148 fig. 7,8.
3. Alushta (Crimea, Ukraine); IH, stray find; copper-alloy; KORZUKHINA 1996, 422; 697 pl. 107,10.
4. Artek (Yalta district, Crimea, Ukraine); IIC, silver; REPNIKOV 1906, pl. VI,8; WERNER 1950, 161 pl. 39,21.
5. Așintș (Mureș district, Romania); IB, stray find; copper-alloy; fragment; L=9.5; COSMA / GUDEA 2008, 213–214; 222 pl. 1,1.
6. Babichi (Cherkasy district, Ukraine); IH, stray find; copper-alloy; KORZUKHINA 1996, 358; 595 pl. 3,1; GAVRITUKHIN / OBLOMSKII 1996, 287 fig. 102,1.
7. Bačko Petrovo Selo (near Bečej, Vojvodina, Serbia); ID, burial find; BRUKNER 1968, 171 pl. 58,1; POPOVIĆ 1997, 105 fig.
8. Bakla (Bakhchesaray district, Crimea, Ukraine); IIC, found in grave 11, together with a belt buckle of the Syracuse class and a bow fibula of the Dnieper class; AIBABIN / IUROCHKIN 1995, 128; 227 fig. 22,1.
- 9–10. Balakliia (Cherkasy district, Ukraine); found in an inhumation burial, together with a copper-alloy bracelet, 30 amber beads, 250 glass beads, and a copper-alloy tube; **9.** IIC, copper-alloy; BOBRINSKII 1901, 148–149 pl. I,9; RYBAKOV 1953, 58 fig. 9,3; PRYKHODNIUK 1980, 127; 70 fig. 47,3; KORZUKHINA 1996, 374; 613 pl. 23,1. – **10.** IID, copper-alloy; RYBAKOV 1953, 58 fig. 9,3; KORZUKHINA 1996, 374; 613 pl. 23,2.
11. Băleni-Români (Dâmbovița district, Romania); ID, settlement find; copper-alloy; L=5.5; TEODOR 1992, 137 no. 1.
12. Bălteni (Vaslui district, Romania); IIC, stray find; gilt copper-alloy; L=15.8; MAXIM-ALAI-BA 1981, 459–461; TEODOR 1984, 262; 263 fig. 1,3; TEODOR 1992, 138; 151 fig. 10,1.
13. Bartolty Wielkie (former Gross-Bartelsdorf, Olsztyn district, Poland); IG, found in grave 15; copper-alloy; L=6.1; KÜHN 1981, 149 no. 198 pl. 32,198; HILBERG 2009, 398; 592 pl. 16,119.
- 14–15. Bashtanovka (Bakhchesaray district, Crimea, Ukraine); ID, found in a burial chamber together with an eagle-headed buckle and a bell pendant; PIORO 1990, 135; 111 fig. 31; AIBABIN 1990, 199 fig. 20,3.
16. Berestovka (Krasnohrad district, Ukraine); IIA, stray find; copper-alloy, fragment; WERNER 1950, 160 pl. 36,2; KORZUKHINA 1996, 420; 697 pl. 107,6.
- 17–18. Bergama (Pergamon, Turkey); **17.** IC, copper-alloy; L=7.0; WERNER 1950, 153 pl. 29,20. – **18.** ID, stray find; KÜHN 1956, 93–94 pls. 33,II.35.
19. Bil's'k (Poltava district, Ukraine); IID, copper-alloy; fragment with Greek inscription (YPKM); SHRAMKO 1980, 76 fig. 3,9; 77 fig. 4,1.2; PRYKHODNIUK 1997, 507 fig. 6,7.
- 20–23. Bogaczewo (district Giżycko, Poland); **20.** IC, stray find; copper alloy; L=5.36; HILBERG 2009, 365; 581 pl. 5,29. – **21.** IC, stray find; copper alloy; L=5.4; HILBERG 2009, 365. – **22.** IC, stray find; copper alloy; L=5.45; HILBERG 2009, 365. – **23.** IC, stray find; copper alloy; L=5.5; HILBERG 2009, 365.
24. Bogdany (Braniewo district, Poland); IF, stray find; copper-alloy; HILBERG 2009, 493; 610 pl. 34,307.
25. Bojná (district of Nitra, Slovakia); IG, stray find; copper alloy, fragment; PIETA 2008, 472; 469 fig. 6.

26. Boķi (Jēkabpils district, Latvia); found in mound III, grave 23, together with a dagger with bronze-covered handle, a bracelet with widened ends, a battle axe, and tweezers; L=14; VANKINA 1985, 45; SEDOV 1994, 129; 128 fig. 2,1; SEDOV 1995, 174; KORZUKHI-NA 1996, 414; ATGĀZIS 2001, 286 fig. 199,1; CIGLIS 2001, 53; 58 fig. 7,2.
- 27–42. Bratei (Sibiu district, Romania); **27–28.** IC, found in grave 130, together with an earring with twisted end, and glass beads (including specimens with eye-shaped inlays); copper-alloy; BĀRZU 2010, 208; 301 pl. 23,G130,2; 5; 340 pl. 62,G130,2; 5. – **29.** IC, found in grave 131; copper-alloy; BĀRZU 2010, 208; 301 pl. 23,G131,1; 340 pl. 62,G131,1. – **30–31.** IC, found in grave 174, together with glass beads; copper-alloy; BĀRZU 2010, 225; 307 pl. 29,G174,1. – **32.** ID, found in grave 149, together with glass beads; copper-alloy; BĀRZU 2010, 214–215; 302 pl. 24,G149,1; 341 pl. 63,G149,1. – **33.** ID, found in grave 211; copper-alloy; L=6.5; TEODOR 1992, 137; BĀRZU 2010, 239; 313 pl. 35,G211,2. – **34–35.** ID, found in grave 255 of, together with glass beads (including specimens with eye-shaped inlays), and a fragment of a silver reliquary; copper-alloy; L=6.1; TEODOR 1992, 137; BĀRZU 2010, 254; 320 pl. 42,G255,1; 353 pl. 75, G255,1; 2. – **36.** ID, found in grave 262, together with a bell-shaped pendant and glass beads with eye-shaped inlays ("Augenperlen"); BĀRZU 2010, 257; 321 pl. 43,G262,10. – **37.** IG, found in grave 167, together with a silver earring with twisted end and a bronze gag ("Knebelverschluss"); copper-alloy; L=5.6; TEODOR 1992, 138 (where L=5.5); BĀRZU 2010, 221; 305 pl. 27,G167,2. – **38.** IH, found in the rubbish pit no. 33, together with wheel-made pottery; fragment; BĀRZU 1994–1995, 269; 290 fig. 16,16. – **39.** IH, settlement find; copper-alloy; L=4.7; BĀRZU 1994–1995, 290 fig. 16,15. – **40.** IH, found in grave 11, together with a wheel-made pot with stamped decoration; BĀRZU 2010, 175; 281 pl. 3,G11,2; 331 pl. 53,G11,2. – **41.** IH, found in grave 113, together with a belt buckle of the Sucidava class; BĀRZU 2010, 201; 297 pl. 19,G113,1; 338 pl. 60,G113,1. – **42.** IH, found in grave 277, together with a silver diadem and a bronze earring with pointed ends; BĀRZU 2010, 264; 325 pl. 47,G277,4.
43. Brebeni (Olt district, Romania); ID, stray find; copper-alloy; L=6.7; BUTOI 1970, 434–435 fig. 1; TEODOR 1992, 137 no. 3; 145 fig. 4,4.
44. Bucharest-Băneasa (Romania); IF, settlement find; silver, fragment; L=3.3; CONSTANTINIU 1965, 77–78; 92 fig. 18; CONSTANTINIU 1966, 667 fig. 2,2; TEODOR 1992, 138 (where the fibula is of copper-alloy, L=4); 149 fig. 8,5.
45. Bucharest-Dămăroaia (Romania); ID, found in a sunken building, together with wheel- and handmade pottery; copper-alloy, fragment; L=3.3; ROSETTI 1934, 21–22; 27 fig. 1,9; WERNER 1950, 155 fig. 3; MORINTZ / ROSETTI 1959, 33–34 pl. 31,6; TEODORESCU 1972, 74; 78 fig. 2,4; TEODOR 1992, 137; 146 fig. 5,4.
46. Bucharest-Soldat Ghivan Street (Romania); IF, found in the sunken building no. 12, together with wheel- and hand-made pottery; copper-alloy, fragment; L=3.25; CONSTANTINIU 1966, 667 fig. 2,1; DOLINESCU-FERCHE / CONSTANTINIU 1981, 324; 323 fig. 20; TEODORESCU 1972, 79 fig. 3; TEODOR 1992, 138 (where L=3.8); 149 fig. 8,8.
47. Budakalász (Pest district, Hungary); IID, found in grave 439; copper-alloy; Peter Stadler, personal communication.
48. Budapest-Pannonhalmi Street (Hungary); IIC, found in grave 2, together with a bronze buckle and glass beads with eye-shaped inlays; copper-alloy; NAGY 1998, 93; 95 pls. 82,4; 158,4.
49. Budapest-Pusztadombi Street (Hungary); ID, stray find; copper-alloy; NAGY 1993, 361; 393 pl. XI,2a–b; NAGY 1998, 32 pls. 36,3; 144,5.

50. Budești (Vaslui district, Romania); IIA, stray find; copper-alloy, fragment; TEODOR 1969, 266; 268 fig. 9,2; TEODOR 1973, 206 fig. 3,7; TEODOR 1980, 29 fig. 14,1; COMAN 1980, 99; 368 fig. 158,6; TEODOR 1992, 138; 149 fig. 8,2.
51. Budi (Okhtyrka district, Ukraine); IIC, copper-alloy; KORZUKHINA 1996, 402; 649 pl. 59,2.
52. Budureasca (Prahova district, Romania); ID, settlement find; copper-alloy; L=4.95; TEODORESCU / PENEȘ 1984, 47 fig. 22,2; TEODOR 1992, 138; 147 fig. 6,3.
53. Bukrin (Kaniv district, Ukraine); IIA, stray find; L=17.3; RYBAKOV 1953, 57 fig. 8,4; KORZUKHINA 1996, 353; 671 pl. 81,1; GAVRITUKHIN / OBLOMSKII 1996, 228 fig. 49,10.
54. Butimanu (Dâmbovița district, Romania); IH, stray find; copper-alloy; L=3.2; CURTA 2001, 252 fig. 41,7.
55. Butrint (Albania); IC, settlement find; copper-alloy (?); fragment; GUEST et al. 2004, 294–295; 294 fig. 16,3.
56. Buzhin (Cherkasy district, Ukraine); ID, stray find; copper-alloy; KORZUKHINA 1996, 371; 684 pl. 94,10.
57. Căprioara (Tulcea district, Romania); IC, stray find; copper-alloy; L=9.5; TEODOR / CHIRIAC 2005–2006, 241; 249 fig. 2.
58. Carevec, in Veliko Tărnovo (Bulgaria); IIC, found in the sunken building IX/2, together with a cast fibula with bent stem; copper-alloy; FIEDLER 1992, 100–101; KHARALAMBIEVA 1993, 25; 26 fig. 1,1.
- 59–60. Caričin Grad (Lebane district, Serbia); **59.** IG, stray find; copper-alloy; MANO-ZISI 1954–1955, 178 fig. 38; VINSKI 1958, 28 pl. 18,3; NESTOR 1961, 445 fig. 4,3; ČOROVIĆ-LJUBINKOVIĆ 1972, 47 fig. 1,2; POPOVIĆ 1984, 174; 175 fig. 187; ERCEGOVIĆ-PAVLOVIĆ / KOSTIĆ 1988, 47. – **60.** IIC, found in a house built in the western portico of the colonnaded street, together with three arrow heads, an earring with basket-shaped pendant, a cast fibula with bent stem, and two buckles; copper-alloy; MANO-ZISI 1958–1959, 312–313; 327 fig. 39; VINSKI 1958, 28 pl. 18,4; POPOVIĆ 1984, 175; 176 fig. 188; ERCEGOVIĆ-PAVLOVIĆ / KOSTIĆ 1988, 47.
61. Căscioarele (Călărași district, Romania); ID, stray find; copper-alloy; L=6.5; COMȘA / IONESCU 1960, 419–420 fig. 1; TEODORESCU 1972, 86 fig. 7,2; TEODOR 1992, 137; 146 fig. 5,2.
62. Căzănești (Vâlcea district, Romania); ID, stray find; copper-alloy; L=6.5; PETRE-GOVORA 1967, 185–186 fig. 1; TEODOR 1992, 137; 145 fig. 4,5.
63. Cherkasy (Ukraine); IIA, stray find; PRYKHODNIUK 1980, 140; 70 fig. 47,6.
64. Cherkesskii Bishkin' (Zmiiv district, Ukraine); IH, stray find; GAVRITUKHIN 1991, 130; 142 pl. 1,8; KORZUKHINA 1996, 420; 697 pl. 107,9.
65. Chernin (Tarashcha district, Ukraine); IIC, stray find; copper-alloy; KORZUKHINA 1996, 368; 672 pl. 82,4.
66. Chersonesus (near Sevastopol', Crimea, Ukraine); ID, stray find; AIBABIN 1990, 199 fig. 20,7; AIBABIN 1999, 159 fig. 68,5; KORZUKHINA 1996, 425; 700 pl. 110,4.
67. Chornivka (Chernivtsi district, Ukraine); IC, found in the sunken building no. 5, together with hand-made pottery (including clay pans); copper-alloy; L=5.6; TIMOSHCHUK / RUSANOVA / MYKHAYLYNA 1981, 91 fig. 7; TEODOR 1992, 137; 144 pl. 3,9; CORMAN 1998, 43; 243 fig. 50,2.
68. Chufut Kale (Bakhchesaray district, Crimea, Ukraine); IIC, found in the burial chamber no. 98, together with a silver belt buckle and belt mounts with open-work ornament; copper-alloy, fragment; KROPOTKIN 1965, 110; 111 fig. 44,7.
69. Chyhyryn (Cherkasy district, Ukraine); IF, stray find; silver; PRYKHODNIUK 1980, 140; 70 fig. 48.

70. Cornești (Cluj district, Romania); IC, found in an inhumation burial, together with 141 glass-beads, including one with eye-shaped inlays ("Augenperle"); copper-alloy; L=9.6; PÁLKO 1972, 677–678 pl. I,5; TEODOR 1992, 137; 143 fig. 2,6.
71. Coșovenii de Jos (Dolj district, Romania); IB, found (in a grave?) together with two silver earrings with star-shaped pendant and a silver torc; gilt silver; L=19.6; NESTOR / NICOLAESCU-PLOȘOR 1938, 33–35 pl. 7; BERCIU 1939, 231–232; 231 fig. 288; WERNER 1950, 152 pl. 28,14; TEODOR 1992, 137 (where L=19.5); 142 fig. 1,5.
72. Csákbéreny (Fejér district, Hungary); IIC, found grave 349, together with a reliquary and glass beads; SÓS 1963, 315; 314 fig. 5c; VIDA 1995, 246; 248 fig. 21A,7.
73. Dailidės (Molėtai district, Lithuania); IJ, stray find; copper-alloy; TAUTAVIČIUS 1972, 145; 146 fig. 16.
- 74–75. Dănceni (Strășeni district, Republic of Moldova); IIC, found in grave 280 (female burial), together with glass beads (including one with eye-shaped inlays, an "Augen-perle"), a copper-alloy bracelet, and a handmade pot; copper-alloy; L=14.3; RAFALOVICH 1986, 25–26 pl. 14,1,2; WERNER 1988, 260–262; 262 fig. 13,1,2; TEODOR 1992, 138; 151 fig. 10,3,4; PRYKHODNIUK 1997, 507 fig. 6,9,10; CORMAN 1998, 84–88; 273 fig. 84,1,2.
- 76–78. Davideni (Neamț district, Romania); **76.** IF, settlement find; copper-alloy; L=8.6; MITREA 2001, 162–163; 329 fig. 68,3. – **77.** IG, found in the sunken building no. 58, together with handmade pottery; copper-alloy; L=6.8; MITREA 1994–1995, 446 fig. 1; MITREA 1995, 128–129; 126 fig. 2,2; MITREA 2001, 100; 329 fig. 68,4. – **78.** IIB, found in the sunken building no. 41, together with wheel- and hand-made pottery (including clay pans), a bone needle, and a double-sided comb; copper-alloy; L=9.3; MITREA 1994, 307; 326 fig. 26,1; MITREA 1995, 127–128; 126 fig. 1; MITREA 2001, 160; 329 fig. 68,2.
79. Demetrias (Thessaly, Greece); IB, stray find; copper-alloy; AUPERT 1976, 646; 652 fig. 144; EIWANGER 1981, pl. 1.
80. Demianiv (Ivano-Frankivs'ke district, Ukraine); IG, settlement find; BARAN 1972, 161–162 and 52 fig. 18,9; DOVZHENOK / KUCHERA / SMILENKO 1975, 129; 133 fig. 33,3.
81. Dervent (Constanța district, Romania); IIA, stray find; copper-alloy, fragment; DIACONU 1962, 447–448; 447 fig. 1; TEODOR 1992, 138; 149 fig. 8,3.
82. Desa (Dolj district, Romania); IF, stray find; copper-alloy; L=6.6; POPESCU 1941–1944, 505; 504 fig. 11,121; NICOLAESCU-PLOȘOR 1945–1947, 310–311; WERNER 1950, 155 fig. 3; NESTOR 1961, fig. 5,1a–b; TEODOR 1992, 138 (where L=6.7); 148 fig. 7,3.
83. Dion (Thessaly, Greece); IB, stray find; copper-alloy; GOUNARIS 1984, 53; 56 fig. 1e; KATSUGIANNPOULOU 1991, 523; KATSUGIANNPOULOU 1997, 315; 316 fig. 2.
84. Donji Stenjevec (Zagreb district, Croatia); IJ, stray find; copper-alloy; VINSKI 1954, 79 pl. 50; WERNER 1960, 118; VINSKI 1958, 28 pl. 17,9; KUDLAČEK 1964, 42 pl. 5,2; SIMONI 1981, 156 fig. 2.
85. Drabivtsi (Cherkasy district, Ukraine); ID, stray find; copper-alloy, fragment; KORZUKHINA 1996, 369.
86. Drănic (Dolj district, Romania); IC, stray find, copper-alloy; L=5.5; TOROPU / CIUCĂ / VOICU 1976, 97–98; 99 fig. 3,8; CIUCĂ 1978, 47 fig. 1; TEODOR 1992, 137; 144 fig. 3,10.
87. Draxini (Botoșani district, Romania); IIC, stray find; copper-alloy; L=13.5; RAȚĂ 1965, 379–381; 380 fig. 1; TEODOR 1974, 107 fig. 4,5; TEODOR 1978, 41 fig. 13,4; 15,5; TEODOR 1979, 821 fig. 3,6; PĂUNESCU / ȘADURSCHI 1989, 346; 354 fig. 1; TEODOR 1992, 139 (where L=13.4); 150 fig. 9,6; GAVRITUKHIN / OBLOMSKII 1996, 229 fig. 50,1.
- 88–89. Dřevíč (Rakovník district, Czech Republic); **88.** IC, stray find; copper-alloy; L=3.5; DROBERJAR / STOLZ 2005, 526; 527 fig. 6,2; FIEDLER 2010, 233 fig. 4,1b. – **89.** IF, copper-alloy; fragment; L=3.4; DROBERJAR / STOLZ 2005, 526; 527 fig. 6,1.

- 90–91. Drobeta Turnu-Severin (Mehedinți district, Romania); ID, stray finds; L=5.0, 3.7; DAVIDESCU 1980, 218; 217 fig. c; TEODOR 1992, 137, 146 fig. 5,7; 148 fig. 7,5.
92. Dubovac (Bela Crkva district, Serbia); IB, stray find; WERNER 1950, 152 pl. 28,13; KOROŠEC 1954, 10 fig. 2; VINSKI 1958, 28 pl. 17,7; CSALLÁNY 1961, 195 pl. 172,4; DIMITRIJEVIĆ 1969, 88 fig. 1.
- 93–94. Dudari (Kaniv district, Ukraine); **93.** IF, stray find; copper-alloy; KORZUKHINA 1996, 354; 684 pl. 94,11. – **94.** IIB, stray find; WERNER 1950, 160 pl. 37,13; RYBAKOV 1953, 57 n. 1; 58 fig. 9; ARTAMONOV 1969, 6 fig. 4 a; KORZUKHINA 1996, 354; 675 pl. 85,4.
95. Dulceanca (Teleorman district, Romania); IF, settlement find; fragment; DOLINESCU-FERCHE 1992, 152.
- 96–97. Edessa (Macedonia, Greece); found in an inhumation burial, together with a buckle of the Syracuse class, and a knife; PETSAS 1969, 307 fig. 320 ε.η; POPOVIĆ 1980, 237; 235 fig. 1; PALLAS 1981, 298 fig. 4; GOUNARIS 1984, 52; 55 fig. 1.
98. Ellőszállás (Fejér district, Hungary); IB, burial find; SÓS 1963, 315; 314 fig. 5b.
- 99–100. Eski Kermen (Bakhchesaray district, Crimea, Ukraine); found in the burial chamber no. 257, on skeleton 6, together with an eagle-headed buckle, a cross pendant, and a solidus struck for Emperor Heraclius (629/630–641); **99.** IIA, copper-alloy; AIBABIN 1982, 184–187; KHAIREDIANOVA 2007, 38 fig. 11,7. – **100.** IIC, copper-alloy; L=12.9; AIBABIN 1982, 184–187; AIBABIN 1990, 197 fig. 18,1.
101. Fadeeva, in Dnipropetrovs'ke (Ukraine); IIC, stray find; copper alloy; KORZUKHINA 1996, 421; 698 pl. 108,11.
102. Fărcașu de Sus (Olt district, Romania); ID, stray find; L=6.5; NICA 1970, 327–329 fig. 1; TEODOR 1992, 137; 146 fig. 5,1.
103. Ferigile (Vâlcea district, Romania); IB, stray find; copper-alloy; L=10; PETRE-GOVORA/STOICA 1976, 115–118 fig. 1a; BÂRZU 1979, 66 fig. 13,4; TEODOR 1992, 137 (where L=9.9); 142 fig. 1,4.
104. Filiaș (Harghita district, Romania); IF, found in the sunken building no. 20, together with a copper-alloy earring with twisted end; copper-alloy, fragment; L=3.9; SZÉKELY 1971a, 147–148; 156 fig. 5,1; SZÉKELY 1971b, 131; 133 fig. 3,2–2a; SZÉKELY 1974–1975, 39 pl. 9,10.10a; TEODOR 1992, 138; 149 fig. 8,6.
- 105–106. Gâmbaș, in Aiud (Alba district, Romania); IC, found in grave III, together with four ear-rings with star-shaped pendant, 47 glass beads with eye-shaped inlays (“Augenperlen”), several hoops and the handle of a wooden bucket, an iron knife, 136 glass beads of different colors and forms, and several silver beads; copper-alloy; L=9.2; NESTOR/NICOLAESCU-PLOPȘOR 1938, 37 fig. 2; WERNER 1950, 153 pl. 29,15; HOREDȚ 1958, 97–98; 79 fig. 15,8,9; HOREDȚ 1986, 93 fig. 44,1; TEODOR 1992, 137; 143 fig. 2,1.4.
- 107–110. Gaponovo (Kursk district, Russia); IIA, found in a hoard, together with copper-alloy torcs, spectacle- and hat-shaped pendants, a brooch with bent stem, amber, coral, and glass beads, and silver strap ends and belt mounts with open-work ornament; GAVRITUKHIN/OBLOMSKII 1995, 139 fig. 3,1; 140 fig. 4,1; GAVRITUKHIN/OBLOMSKII 1996, 199 fig. 24,1.2; 200 fig. 25,2.3.
111. Garvăn (Tulcea district, Romania); ID, found in the early Byzantine fort; copper-alloy, fragment; L=7.3; ȘTEFAN et al. 1960, 632–633; 633 fig. 7; NESTOR 1961, 440; 444 fig. 3,1a–b; TEODOR 1992, 138 (where L=7.1); 145 fig. 4,8.
112. Gátér (Csongrád district, Hungary); IIB, found in grave 238, together with a knife, a fragment of an iron chain, and an iron buckle; copper-alloy; L=16.6; KADA 1906, 221; 220 fig.; WERNER 1950, 160 pl. 37,11; CSALLÁNY 1961, 231 pl. 219,11; GAVRITUKHIN/OBLOMSKII 1996, 228 fig. 49,5.

113. Geoagiu de Sus (Alba district, Romania); IB, stray find; copper-alloy; L=13.2; RUSTOIU / DĂRĂMUȘ 2005, 484; 487 fig. 1,4; 490 pl. 1,4.
114. Gorosheve (Ternopol district, Ukraine); IH, settlement find; copper-alloy; L=5.0; BARAN / PACHKOVA 1975, 87; 94 fig. 8; TEODOR 1992, 20; 29 fig. 6,7; CORMAN 1998, 42; 243 fig. 50,3.
115. Hamarnia (Cherkasy district, Ukraine); IIC, stray find; copper-alloy, fragment; KORZUKHINA 1996, 358; 676 pl. 86,3.
116. Hansca (Ialoveni district, Republic of Moldova); ID, found in the sunken building no. 14, together with hand-made pottery; copper-alloy; L=5.4; RIKMAN / RAFALOVICH / HÂNCU 1971, 65; 64 fig. 9,1; RAFALOVICH 1972b, 32–33, 196–197; 32 fig. 2; 33 fig. 3,1; HÂNCU / RAFALOVICH 1973, 164 fig. 1,1; TEODOR 1992, 328 (where L=5.9); 147 fig. 6,2; CORMAN 1998, 42; 243 fig. 50,4.
117. Horga (Vaslui district, Romania); IC, stray find; copper-alloy; L=4.9; fragment; TEODOR 1978, 41 fig. 13,1; COMAN 1979, 203; 200 fig. 9,7; COMAN 1980, 131; 368 fig. 158,2; TEODOR 1980, 29, 51 n. 177 fig. 13,1; TEODOR 1984, 263 fig. 1,2; TEODOR 1992, 137 (where L=5.0); 144 fig. 3,1.
- 118–121. Hradz'ke (Poltava district, Ukraine); stray finds; **118.** IIC, copper-alloy; fragment; LEVCHENKO 2001, 28; 27 fig. 10,18. – **119.** IID, copper-alloy; GAVRITUKHIN 2001, 30 fig. 1,2. – **120–121.** IID, copper-alloy; fragments; KRAKALO 2001, 85; 86 fig. 1,1; LEVCHENKO 2001, 26; 27 fig. 1,19.
122. Hrihoryvka (Kaniv district, Ukraine); IIA, stray find; copper-alloy, fragment; KORZUKHINA 1996, 354; 676 pl. 86,2; GAVRITUKHIN / OBLOMSKII 1996, 228 fig. 49,4.
123. Iambol (Bulgaria); IB, stray find; copper-alloy, fragment; L=4.9; WERNER 1950, 152 pl. 28,10 (where L=6); MIKHAILOV 1961, 43; 41 fig. 3,2; MIKHAILOV 1977, 43; 41 fig. 3,2.
124. Iași (Romania); ID, found in the sunken building no. 1, together with hand-made pottery and a bone awl; copper-alloy; L=7.3; TEODOR 1969b, 268 fig. 9,1; TEODOR 1969a, 202 fig. 16,5; TEODOR 1971, 120; 127 fig. 3,2; TEODOR 1972, 38 fig. 6,5; TEODOR 1973, fig. 3,2; TEODOR 1978, 41, fig. 13,5; fig. 15,4; TEODOR 1979, 817; 821 fig. 3,2; TEODOR 1992, 138; 146 fig. 5,8.
- 125–126. Igren' (Dnipropetrovs'ke district, Ukraine); **125.** IH, settlement find; GAVRITUKHIN 1991, 130; 142 pl. 1,7. – **126.** IID, stray find; copper-alloy; KORZUKHINA 1996, 421; 699 pl. 109,2.
127. Ivan'ki (Vinnytsia district, Ukraine); IID, stray find; copper alloy; RODINKOVA 2010b, 262; 271 fig. 2,1.
- 128–129. Izvoarele (Mehedinți district, Romania); **128.** ID, stray find; copper-alloy; L=6.4; DAVIDESCU 1980, 218; 217 fig. b; TEODOR 1992, 138 no. 11; 145 fig. 4,6. – **129.** ID, found during the excavation of a fourth-century basilica on the bank of the Danube River; copper-alloy; fragment; STÎNGĂ 2007, 179 fig. 4,4.
130. Jägala Jõesu, near Tallinn (Estonia); IID, copper-alloy; JAANITS et al. 1982, 295; 231 fig. 158,1; SELIRAND 1983, 29; KORZUKHINA 1996, 414; 686 pl. 96,4.
- 131–134. Kamenovo (Razgrad district, Bulgaria); found in a hoard, together with four human-shaped figurines, a cast strap end with open-work ornament, and two bronze mounts; **131–132.** IC; copper-alloy; PISAROVA 1997, 286; 294 fig. 1,7,8; RASHEV 2000, 189 pl. 83,13,14. – **133–134.** IF; copper-alloy; PISAROVA 1997, 286–287; 294 fig. 1,6,9; RASHEV 2000, 189 pl. 83,12,15.
- 135–137. Kaniv (Cherkasy district, Ukraine); **135–136.** ID, stray finds; WERNER 1950, 155 fig. 31,54; KORZUKHINA 1996, 369; 669 pl. 79,13; 670 pl. 80,7. – **137.** IH, stray find; copper-alloy, fragment; KORZUKHINA 1996, 370; 669 pl. 79,9.

138. Kerch' (Crimea, Ukraine); IID, stray find; copper-alloy; AIBABIN 1990, 23 fig. 18,3.
139. Keszthely-Dobogó (Zala district, Hungary); IF, stray find; copper-alloy; fragment, L=6.8; WERNER 1950, 154 pl. 30,33.
- 140–141. Khmilna (Kaniv district, Ukraine); IIC, stray find; copper-alloy; KALITINSKII 1928, pl. 37,56; WERNER 1950, 161 pl. 39,22; RYBAKOV 1953, 58 fig. 1,4; KORZUKHINA 1996, 357; 676 pl. 86,4,5; GAVRITUKHIN / OBLOMSKII 1996, 229 fig. 50,7.
- 142–158. Kielary (former Kellaren, Olsztyn district, Poland); **142**. IC, found in grave 2; L=4.55; JAKOBSON 2009, 68; 207 pl. 106 Grab 2. – **143–144**. IC, found in grave 8, together with a crossbow brooch, three spearhead-shaped strap-ends, five belt mounts with embossed decoration, a spectacle-shaped pendant, tweezers, and segmented glass beads; L=4.3, 4.5; KÜHN 1981, 177 no. 237 and pl. 38,237; JAKOBSON 2009, 70; 214 pl. 113b. – **145–146**. I C, found in grave 9, together with glass beads with eye-shaped inlays; L=4.4, 4.5; KÜHN 1981, 179 no. 238 pl. 39,238; JAKOBSON 2009, 70; 216 pl. 115a.1. – **147–148**. IC, found in grave 13, together with a silver kidney-shaped pendant, and two glass-beads with eye-shaped inlays; copper-alloy; L=4.5; KÜHN 1981, 177 no. 239 pl. 39,39; JAKOBSON 2009, 71; 220 pl. 119a.1. – **149**. I C, found in grave 30, together with a belt buckle with rectangular plate and a spearhead-shaped strap end; silver; L=3.4; KÜHN 1956, 91 pl. 22, II.13; KÜHN 1981, 179 no. 243 pl. 39,243; JAKOBSON 2009, 75; 236 pl. 135 Grab 30. – **150–151**. I C, found in grave 43; copper-alloy; L=4.0; KÜHN 1981, 180 no. 248 pl. 39,248; JAKOBSON 2009, 77; 245 pl. 144a.1. – **152**. I C, found in grave 44, together with a finger-ring and copper-alloy tweezers; copper-alloy; L=5.0; KÜHN 1981, 180 no. 249 pl. 39,249; JAKOBSON 2009, 78; 246 pl. 145 Grab 44. – **153**. I C, found in grave 68; copper-alloy; L=4.1; KÜHN 1956, 92 pl. 22,II.22; KÜHN 1981, 181 no. 252 pl. 40,252; JAKOBSON 2009, 82; 262 pl. 161 Grab 68. – **154**. IC, found in grave 74, together with two spearhead-shaped strap ends; silver; L=4.3; KÜHN 1956, 93 pl. 23,II.34; KÜHN 1981, 181 no. 254 pl. 40,254; JAKOBSON 2009, 83; 262 pl. 161a. – **155**. IC, found in grave 100, together with a buckle and a knife; copper-alloy; L=5.2; KÜHN 1956, 92 pl. 23,II.24; KÜHN 1981, 184–185 no. 263 pl. 41,263; JAKOBSON 2009, 88; 283 pl. 182a. – **156**. ID, found in grave XVII; L=5.8; KÜHN 1956, 90 pl. 22,II.36; KÜHN 1981, 185 no. 264 pl. 42,264; JAKOBSON 2009, 95; 307 pl. 206 Grab XVII. – **157**. ID, found in grave 85, together with a belt buckle with embossed decoration, a belt mount with open-work ornament, and a spearhead-shaped strap-end; copper-alloy; L=6.9; KÜHN 1956, 90 pl. 22,II.9; KÜHN 1981, 183 no. 259 pl. 41,259; JAKOBSON 2009, 85; 271 pl. 170a. – **158**. IJ, found in grave 6, together with a silver crossbow brooch, silver belt buckles and mounts with open-work ornament, 3 bronze spurs, and a scramasax with scabbard silver mounts; copper-alloy; L=5.0; WERNER 1950, 154 pl. 30,46; KÜHN 1956, 101 pl. 27,VII.3; KÜHN 1981, 185 no. 265 pl. 42,265; JAKOBSON 2009, 69; 211 pl. 110b,1.
159. Kiskörös (Bács-Kiskun district, Hungary); IG, found in grave 2, together with fragments of an iron bracelet (to which it was stuck), two silver earrings, glass beads, two bone needle cases, a spindle-whorl, a knife, and two gilded mounts; copper-alloy; L=5.5; HORVÁTH 1935, 35 pl. XXIII,3; CSALLÁNY 1961, 230 pl. 272,8.
- 160–161. Kiev (Ukraine); **160** IC, stray find; copper-alloy; L=5.0; KORZUKHINA 1996, 352; 684 pl. 94,2. – **161** IIB, settlement find; copper-alloy, fragment; BOROV'S'KYI 1984, 22 fig. 2.
162. Kletsk (Miensk district, Belarus); IC, settlement find; copper-alloy, fragment; N. A. 1999, 25 fig. 18.
163. Koloberda (Pereiaslav-Khmel'nyts'kyi district, Ukraine); IID, copper-alloy, fragment; KORZUKHINA 1996, 409; 672 pl. 82,5.

- 164–168. Koloskovo (Belgorod district, Russia); IIC, found in a hoard, together with other silver dress accessories; copper-alloy; RYBAKOV 1953, 66; 58 fig. 9,8; 65 fig. 12; LIAPUSHKIN 1961, 186–187; 185 fig. 87; KORZUKHINA 1996, 418; 689 pl. 99,1–3; 690 pl. 100,1,2.
169. Korbovo (Negotin district, Serbia); IC, settlement find; copper-alloy, fragment; JANKOVIĆ 1981, 250 pl. XVI,15.
- 170–183. Kosewo (former Alt-Kossewen, Mragowo district, Poland); **170–171.** I C, found in grave 202; copper-alloy; L=4.5; KÜHN 1981, 57 no. 10 pl. 2,10; KULAKOV 1989, 236 fig. 20,2; HILBERG 2009, 351; 577 pl. 1,2. – **172–173.** I C, found in grave 529; L=4.65; KÜHN 1981, 59 no. 21 pl. 4,21; KULAKOV 1989, 183; 236 fig. 20,5; HILBERG 2009, 354–355; 578 pl. 2,14. – **174–175.** IC, found in grave 542; KULAKOV 1989, 183. – **176.** IC, found in grave 548; copper-alloy; L=4.7; Runic sign (*fehu*) on the back of the headplate; KÜHN 1981, 59 no. 22 pl. 4,22; KULAKOV 1989, 184; 236 fig. 20,6; HILBERG 2009, 355; 579 pl. 3,15. – **177.** IF, found in grave 501; copper-alloy; L=6.3; KÜHN 1956, 95 pl. 24,III.12; KÜHN 1981, 59 pl. 3,18; KULAKOV 1989, 183, 216 fig. 4a; 236 fig. 20,4; HILBERG 2009, 353–354; 578 pl. 2,11. – **178–179.** IF, found in grave 553b; copper-alloy; L=6.4, 6.43; KÜHN 1956, 95 pl. 24,III.7; KÜHN 1981, 60 pl. 5,23; KULAKOV 1989, 184; HILBERG 2009, 358; 579 pl. 3,17a–b. – **180–181.** IG, found in grave 366, together with a bow fibula of Kühn's Dattenberg class; KÜHN 1981, 57 pl. 5,11; KULAKOV 1989, 183; HILBERG 2009, 352; 577 pl. 1,6. – **182–183.** IID, found in grave 172, together with tweezers, as well as amber and glass beads; KÜHN 1981, 57 pl. 2,9; KULAKOV 1989, 183, 215 fig. 3a; 236 fig. 20,1; HILBERG 2009, 359–360; 579 pl. 3,21.
- 184–189. Koziivka (Bohodukhiv district, Ukraine); found in a hoard, together with spectacle- and hat-shaped pendants, repoussé pendants, and strap ends and mounts with open-work ornament; **184.** IIC; KORZUKHINA 1996, 397; 637 pl. 47,1; GAVRITUKHIN / OBLOMSKII 1996, 229 fig. 50,8. – **185–189.** IID; SHCHEGLOVA 1990, 198 fig. 7,11; KORZUKHINA 1996, 397; 637 pl. 47,2,3; 638 pl. 48,1–3.
190. Krivina (Ruse district, Bulgaria); IH, found in the sunken building 66/23N, together with a sixth-century coin; copper-alloy; L=6.1; HERRMANN 1974, 303 pl. 44b; HERRMANN 1979, 114–115; 114 fig. 46a; WENDEL 1986, 78; 178–179.
- 191–192. Kruje (Durrës district, Albania); IC, found in grave 28, together with two silver earrings, a copper-alloy buckle of the Corinth class, three glass beads, and two knives; silver; L=9.0; ANAMALI / SPAHIU 1963, 16; 34–35; 57–58; 34 fig. 13; 58 pl. 12,2; ANAMALI / SPAHIU 1979–1980, 61–62 pls. 7,11,12; 11,1.
- 193–196. Kurilovka (Sudzha district, Russia); found in a hoard, together with two bow fibulae of the Dnieper type, two bracelets with widened ends, bell, trapeze- and hat-shaped pendants, glass and amber beads, strap ends and belt mounts with open-work decoration; **193–194.** IIC, copper-alloy; L=16.5; RODINKOVA 2010a, 85; 78 fig. 1,1–2. – **195–196.** IID, copper-alloy; L=14.3, 13.7; RODINKOVA 2010a, 85; 79 fig. 1,4–5.
197. Kuz'minki (Riazan' district, Russia); IID, found in grave 7, together with two bracelets with widened ends, two trapeze-shaped pendants and two spirals; copper-alloy; SPICYN 1901, 88 pl. XIV,8; KALITINSKII 1928, pl. 38,66; WERNER 1950, 161 pl. 40,38; SMIRNOV 1952, 139 with n. 6; 149 pl. 35,6; KORZUKHINA 1996, 418; 697 pl. 107,4.
198. Lăuni, in Alexandria (Teleorman district, Romania); IC, stray find; copper-alloy; L=5.5; SPIRU 1970, 531 fig. 2; TEODOR 1992, 137 no. 4; 144 fig. 3,8.
- 199–201. Leleszki (former Lehlesken, Olsztyn district, Poland); **199.** ID, found in grave "b", together with a buckle with open-work ornament on the plate; KULAKOV 1989, 186. – **200.** ID, stray find; copper-alloy; KULAKOV 1989, 186; 240 fig. 24. – **201.** IH, stray find; copper-alloy; L=3.6; KÜHN 1956, 88 pl. 21,I.19; KÜHN 1981, 201 no. 294 pl. 47,294; HILBERG 2009, 428; 597 pl. 21,184.

- 202–203. Lezhë (Albania); **202**. IB, found in grave 36, together with a copper-alloy earring and an arrow head; gilt, copper-alloy; PRENDI 1979–1980, 129; 166 pl. 20,3. – **203**. IC, found in grave 32, together with a copper-alloy finger-ring with engraved bezel, *millefiori* beads, a rectangular buckle, and a semicircular pendant with open-work ornament; copper-alloy, fragment; PRENDI 1979–1980, 129; 167 pl. 21,2.
204. Liteň (Beroun district, Czech Republic); IF, stray find; copper-alloy; fragment; DROBERJAR / STOLZ 2005, 526; 527 fig. 6,4.
205. Liuliakovo (Burgas district, Bulgaria); IB, stray find; gilt, copper-alloy; L=12.5; MIKHAILOV 1977, 317–318 pl. 7.
206. Liutari (Cherkasy district, Ukraine); IG, stray find; GAVRITUKHIN 1991, 128; 143 pl. I,8; KORZUKHINA 1996, 367–368; 669 pl. 79,7.
207. Löbertshoff, now in Polessk (Kaliningrad district, Russia); IC, burial find; L=4.55; KÜHN 1981, 210 no. 320 pl. 50,320; HILBERG 2009, 436; 598 pl. 22,189.
- 208–219. Luchistoe (Bakhchesaray district, Crimea, Ukraine); **208–209**. ID, found in the burial chamber no. 10, on skeleton 17 (child burial), together with amber and glass beads, as well as 7 trapeze-shaped pendants; copper-alloy; L=13.6; AIBABIN 1984, 240; 239 fig.; AIBABIN 1990, 199 fig. 20,1; AIBABIN 1994–1995, 135; 162 fig. 17,1,2. – **210**. ID, found in the burial chamber no. 10, on skeleton no. 4, together with a bow fibula of Werner’s class IG and a buckle of the Trebizond class; copper-alloy; L=5.2; AIBABIN 1990, 22; 199 fig. 20,6; AIBABIN 1994–1995, 133; 151 fig. 7,2. – **211**. IG, found in the burial chamber no. 10, on skeleton no. 4, together with a bow fibula of Werner’s class I D and a buckle of the Trebizond class; copper-alloy; L=6.5; AIBABIN 1990, 22; 199 fig. 20,2; AIBABIN 1994–1995, 133; 151 fig. 7,1. – **212**. IIA, found in the burial chamber no. 36, on skeleton no. 14 (child), together with another fibula of Werner’s class IIB; copper-alloy; L=11.7; AIBABIN / KHAIEDINOVA 2009, 134 pl. 117,8. – **213**. IIB, found in the burial chamber no. 36, on skeleton no. 14, together with another bow fibula of Werner’s class IIA; copper-alloy; L=15.0; AIBABIN 1990, 22; 196 fig. 17,3. – **214**. IIB, found in the burial chamber no. 46a, on skeleton no. 4, together with a bow fibula of Werner’s Dnieper class, and an eagle-headed buckle; copper-alloy; L=16.5; AIBABIN 1990, 23; 198 fig. 19,2; WERNER 1999, 135–136; 138 fig. 143. – **215**. IIC, found in the burial chamber 38, on skeleton no. 9, together with another bow fibula of Werner’s class IID, copper-alloy belt mounts, glass beads, bell- and hat-shaped pendants; copper-alloy; L=10.1; AIBABIN 1990, 22; 196 fig. 17,6; AIBABIN / KHAIEDINOVA 2009, 137; 141 pl. 142,1. – **216**. IIC, found in burial chamber no. 54, on skeleton no. 20, together with another bow fibula, two circular mounts, two silver earrings with polyhedral pendant, five jingle bells, and several trapeze-shaped pendants; copper-alloy; L=10.9; AIBABIN 1990, 196 fig. 17,5; 237 fig. 3,1; AIBABIN 1993, 165 fig. 5,2; AIBABIN 1994, 151 fig. 61,2. – **217**. IID, found in the burial chamber no. 36, on skeleton no. 9, together with another bow fibula of Werner’s class IIC, copper-alloy belt mounts, glass beads, bell- and hat-shaped pendants; copper-alloy; AIBABIN 1988, fig. 2. – **218**. IID, found in the burial chamber no. 38, on skeleton no. 9; copper-alloy; AIBABIN 1990, 22 fig. 17,4. – **219**. IID, found in the burial chamber no. 54, on skeleton no. 16; copper-alloy; AIBABIN 1990, 25.
220. Lytyntsi (Kaniv district, Ukraine); IB, stray find; copper-alloy; KORZUKHINA 1996, 355; 684 pl. 94,3.
221. Mala Ribytsa (Sumy district, Ukraine); IIC, stray find; copper alloy; fragment; GAVRITUKHIN / PRIIMAK 2001–2002, 91; 92 fig. 1.
- 222–223. Martynivka (Cherkasy district, Ukraine); **222**. IIA, found in an inhumation burial, together with another bow fibula of Kühn’s class Gurzuf; KORZUKHINA 1996, 359;

- 597 pl. 7,6; KAZANSKI 1999, 100. – **223**. IIB, found in a hoard, together with silver strap ends and belt mounts, spectacle-shaped pendants, two bow fibulae of Werner's Dnieper class, a silver chalice, a silver cup with control stamps, a silver plate, a silver spoon, silver torcs with widened ends, ten anthropomorphic and zoomorphic mounts, two helmet cheek-pieces, and sword scabbard fittings; gilt, silver; L=17; SEDOV 1982, 24–25; 25 fig. 4; PRYKHODNIUK et al. 1991, fig. 4,6; PEKARS'KA / KIDD 1994, pl. 29,6; KORZUKHINA 1996, 361; 598 pl. 8,3.
224. Mazepyntsi (Vasyl'kiv district, Ukraine); IIB, copper-alloy; WERNER 1950, 160 pl. 38,16; KORZUKHINA 1996, 353; 674 pl. 84,1; GAVRITUKHIN / OBLOMSKII 1996, 228 fig. 49,2.
- 225–226. Medvedevka (Cherkasy district, Ukraine); IC, stray finds; silver, fragments; RODINKOVA 2009, 402 fig. 1,1.2.
227. Mena (Chernihiv district, Ukraine); IIC, stray (burial?) find, together with three bracelets; copper-alloy; L=17.0; VINOGRADSKII / LAV'IUK 1959, 98; 97 fig. 2,1; KORZUKHINA 1996, 408; 667 pl. 77,1.
228. Messini, Peloponnese (Greece); ID, stray find; copper-alloy; fragment; POULOU-PAPADIMITRIOU 2002, 126; 135 fig. 1; TSIVIKIS 2012, 68–69; 69 fig. 10.
- 229–237. Miłtkie (former Mingfen, Szczytno district, Poland); **229**. IC, found in grave 84, together with a belt buckle and two strap-ends; copper-alloy; L=3.7; KÜHN 1981, 219 no. 335 pl. 53,35; KULAKOV 1989, 180; 224 fig. 8; HILBERG 2009, 442–443; 599 pl. 23,202. – **230–231**. IC, found in grave 462, together with a belt-buckle, spiral ornaments with trapeze-shaped pendants, a finger-ring, and glass beads; copper-alloy; L=4.25; KÜHN 1981, 221 no. 346 pl. 54,46; KULAKOV 1989, 182; 231 fig. 16; HILBERG 2009, 449; 601 pl. 25,213. – **232–233**. IC, found in grave 587, together with glass-beads (including specimens with eye-shaped inlays, "Augenperlen"); L=4.84, 4.96; KÜHN 1981, 221–222 no. 348 pl. 54,348; HILBERG 2009, 450; 601 pl. 25,215. – **234**. ID, found in grave 424, together with a bow fibula of Werner's class I F and an amber bead; copper-alloy; L=6.3; KÜHN 1956, 90 pl. 22,II.7; KÜHN 1981, 229 no. 344 pl. 54,344; KULAKOV 1989, 181; 230 fig. 14,1; HILBERG 2009, 448; 600 pl. 24,211. – **235**. IF, found in grave 424, together with a bow fibula of Werner's class I D and an amber bead; L=6.7; KÜHN 1956, 95 pl. 24,III.8; KÜHN 1981, 220–221 pl. 54,343; KULAKOV 1989, 181; 230 fig. 14,1; HILBERG 2009, 448; 600 pl. 24,210. – **236–237**. IF, found in grave 579, together with a buckle and glass beads; copper-alloy; L=6.2, 6.27; KÜHN 1956, 95 pl. 24,III.9; KÜHN 1981, 221 pl. 54,347; KULAKOV 1989, 182; 232 fig. 16,3; HILBERG 2009, 449–450; 601 pl. 25,214.
238. Mikol'cy (Miensk district, Belarus); ID, settlement find; copper-alloy; ZVERUGO 1989, 52 fig. 25,14.
239. Miroslovești (Iași district, Romania); ID, stray find; copper-alloy; L=6.0; TEODOR 1992, 138; 145 fig. 4,3.
- 240–241. Mokhnach (Zmiiv district, Ukraine); IIC, found in an inhumation burial, together with a fibula with bent stem, torcs, earrings with twisted end, trapeze- and hat-shaped pendants, amber and glass beads, and cowrie shells; copper-alloy; L=13.4; AKSENOV / BABENKO 1998, 113; 114 fig. 3,1.2.
242. Muzhinovo (Briansk district, Russia); IIB, stray find; copper alloy; SHINAKOV 1995, 103–104; 83 fig. 1; GAVRITUKHIN / OBLOMSKII 1996, 228 fig. 49,1; PUTSKO 1997, 149–153.
243. Nea Anchialos (Thessaly, Greece); IB, found in a burial chamber on the southern side of basilica Δ, together with a copper-alloy double-sided buckle; SOTIRIOU 1939, 62–63; 63 fig. 12; WERNER 1950, 150 pl. 27,1.
244. Negotin (Serbia); IJ, stray find; copper-alloy; L=5.0; CSALLÁNY 1961, 356 pl. 213,7.

245. Negulești (Bacău district, Romania); ID, stray find; copper-alloy; fragment; L=4.1; MITREA 1986–1987, 261; 263 fig. 1; TEODOR 1992, 138 (where L=4.2); 145 fig. 4,2.
- 246–249. Nikadzimava (Mohileu district, Belarus); settlement finds; **246**. IH, copper-alloy; L=5.5; SEDIN 1995, 163 fig. 3; SEDIN 1997, 285 fig. 2,3; SEDIN 2000, 38 fig. 4,3. – **247**. IIB, stray find; copper-alloy, fragment; SEDIN 1994; SEDIN 1997, 285 fig. 2,6; SEDIN 2000, 38 fig. 4,6. – **248**. IIC; L=12; SEDIN 1995, 163 fig. 3,2; SEDIN 1997, 285 fig. 2,2; SEDIN 2000, 38 fig. 4,2. – **249**. II C; fragment; SEDIN 1995, 163 fig. 3,2; SEDIN 1997, 285 fig. 2,5; SEDIN 2000, 38 fig. 4,3.
- 250–255. Nova Odessa (Bohodukhiv district, Ukraine); II C, found in a hoard, together with trapeze-shaped pendants and amber beads; KORZUKHINA 1996, 395; 634 pl. 44,1–3; 536 pl. 45,1–3.
256. Novi Banovci (Zemun district, Serbia); IJ, stray find; copper-alloy; L=5.0; BRUNŠMID 1905, 217–218; 213 fig. 32,8; CSALLÁNY 1961, 240 pl. 213,3; KÜHN 1956, 101 pl. 27, VII.2; VINSKI 1958, 28 pl. 17,8.
257. Novosely (Oster district, Ukraine); ID, stray find; copper-alloy, fragment; KORZUKHINA 1996, 408; 684 pl. 94,8
258. Nowa Huta-Mogila (Cracow district, Poland); ID, settlement find; copper-alloy, fragment; HACHULSKA-LEDWOS 1964–1965, 217–218; HACHULSKA-LEDWOS 1971, 121 pl. 65,12; ŻAK 1988, 68 fig. 2,1; PARCZEWSKI 1993, 71–72; 71 fig. 20,9.
- 259–261. Nyzhniaia Syrovatka (Sumy district, Ukraine); found in a hoard, together with a trapeze-shaped pendant; **259**. IIB; SALIN 1935, fig. 46; KALITINSKII 1928, pl. 37,60; WERNER 1950, 160 pl. 37,7; KORZUKHINA 1996, 403; 651 pl. 61,1; GAVRITUKHIN / OBLOMSKII 1996, 228 fig. 49,3. – **260–261**. IIC; KALITINSKII 1928, pl. 37,59; WERNER 1950, 161 pl. 39,24; KORZUKHINA 1996, 403; 651 pl. 61,2,3; GAVRITUKHIN / OBLOMSKII 1996, 229 fig. 50,16.
262. Óföldreák (Csongrád district, Hungary); IJ, found in an inhumation burial, together with 12 glass beads with eye-shaped inlays (“Augenperlen”); copper-alloy; L=5.1; CSALLÁNY 1961, 138 pl. 191,16; 259,1.
- 263–264. Orlea (Ilt district, Romania); **263**. IC, stray find; copper-alloy, fragment; L=1.6; COMȘA 1961, 105 fig. 1; TEODOR 1992, 137 no. 5; 144 fig. 3,7. – **264**. IIC, stray find; copper-alloy; L=7.0; NESTOR 1961, 438 no. 19; 445 fig. 4,1; TUDOR 1978, 456; 460 fig. 149,4; TEODOR 1992, 139; 150 fig. 9,4.
265. Pápa (Tolna district, Hungary); IIB, stray find; copper-alloy, fragment; L=9.6; WERNER 1950, 160 pl. 38,19; GAVRITUKHIN / OBLOMSKII 1996, 228 fig. 49,9.
- 266–284. Pastyrs’ke (Cherkasy district, Ukraine); **266–267**. IC, stray finds; copper-alloy; fragments; WERNER 1950, 153 pl. 29,17; GAVRITUKHIN 1991, 133; 143 pl. 2,25; PRYKHODNIUK 1994, 71 fig. 7,1; KORZUKHINA 1996, 379; 618 pl. 28,10,12. – **268–269**. IC, stray finds; GAVRITUKHIN 1991, 133; 143 pl. 2,30; KORZUKHINA 1996, 379; 618 pl. 28,15; PRYKHODNIUK 2005, 53; 170 fig. 65,1; RODINKOVA 2009, 404; 405 fig. 3,4. – **270–271**. ID, copper-alloy; ÅBERG 1919, 74 fig. 77; KALITINSKII 1928, 290 pl. 36,50; WERNER 1950, 153 pl. 29,26; KÜHN 1956, 90 pl. 21,II.5; DOVZHENOK / KUCHERA / SMILENKO 1975, 104 fig. 23,1; PRYKHODNIUK 1994, 70 fig. 7,6; KORZUKHINA 1996, 378; 618 pl. 28,4. – **272**. ID, stray find; silver, fragment; BRAYCHEVS’KYY 1951, 162; 161 fig. 46,10; KORZUKHINA 1996, 378; 618 pl. 28,14. – **273**. IF, copper-alloy, fragment; KORZUKHINA 1996, 379; 618 pl. 28,13. – **274–275**. IG, copper-alloy; ÅBERG 1919, 77; 75 fig. 82; WERNER 1950, 154 pl. 30,36; KUDLAČEK 1964, 15 pl. 3,6; PRYKHODNIUK 1994, 71 fig. 7,5; KORZUKHINA 1996, 378; 618 pl. 28,2,3. – **276–278**. IH; L=3.8, 4.4; KALITINSKII 1928, 290 pls. 37,53; 39,80; WERNER 1950, 154 pl. 30,42,43; PRYKHODNIUK 1994, 71 fig. 7,3,4; KORZUKHINA 1996, 379; 618 pl. 28,5–7; KAZANSKI 1999, 108. – **279**. IJ, copper-alloy;

- L=4.5; KALITINSKII 1928, 290 pl. 36,49; WERNER 1950, 154 pl. 30,45; KÜHN 1956, 101 pl. 27,VII.1; KORZUKHINA 1996, 378; 618 pl. 28,8. – **280**. IIA, stray find; copper-alloy, fragment; BOBRINSKII 1901, 29 pl. 1,11; WERNER 1950, 160 pl. 36,1; KORZUKHINA 1996, 381; 619 pl. 29,4; GAVRITUKHIN / OBLOMSKII 1996, 228 fig. 49,11. – **281–284**. IID, stray finds; copper-alloy; WERNER 1950, 161 pl. 40,33.39; RYBAKOV 1953, 58 fig. 9,5–7; KORZUKHINA 1996, 380; 619 pl. 29,2.3; 620 pl. 30,2.3; KAZANSKI 1999, 111.
285. Pașcani (Iași district, Romania); IC, stray find; copper-alloy; L=4.3; TEODOR 1984, 263 fig. 1,1; BIȚA 1985, 99 fig. 1; TEODOR 1992, 137; 144 fig. 3,5.
286. Pekari (Cherkasy district, Ukraine); IG, stray find; GAVRITUKHIN 1991, 128; 143 pl. 1,9; KORZUKHINA 1996, 356; 669 pl. 79,6.
287. Petrushky (Kaniv district, Ukraine); IIB, stray find; copper-alloy; KORZUKHINA 1996, 369; 675 pl. 85,2.
- 288–289. Piatra Frecăței (Brăila district, Romania); IH, found in grave B 42, together with a copper-alloy earring, three bracelets, a finger-ring, and a double-sided comb; copper-alloy; L=4.9; PETRE 1962b, 581 fig. 18,1; PETRE 1962a, 226 fig. 12,1–b.1–2; PETRE 1987, 77–78 pl. 141,233b; TEODOR 1992, 138; 147 fig. 6,9–10.
- 290–292. Piecki (Mragowo district, Poland); **290–291**. ID, found in grave 1, together with fragments of a single-sided comb, a spindle whorl, and a ceramic chalice; copper-alloy; L=6.1, 6.5; RUDNICKI 2004, 266; 273 pl. 1,1.2. – **292**. ID, found in grave 8; copper-alloy; L=6.8; RUDNICKI 2009a, 602 fig. 2.
293. Pietroasele (Buzău district, Romania); IF, stray find; silver, fragment; L=4.4; CURTA / DUPOI 1994–1995, 217; 219 fig. 1.
294. Plenița (Dolj district, Romania); ID, stray find; copper-alloy; L=7.9; PLOPȘOR 1925, 49–50 fig. 1; BERCIU 1939, 232 fig. 289,1; WERNER 1950, 153 pl. 29,25; TEODOR 1992, 138 (where L=8.0); 145 fig. 4,1.
295. Plovdiv (Bulgaria); ID, stray find; copper-alloy; KHARALAMBIEVA 1993, 29 fig. 4,4.
296. Podbolot'e (Murom district, Russia); IIB, found in grave 220, together with a diadem of silver tubes, a cowrie shell, three bronze bells, two large silver earrings, and silver belt mounts; GORODCOV 1914, 133 with fig. 60; RYBAKOV 1953, 59 fig. 10,5; KORZUKHINA 1996, 418; 697 pl. 107,1; GAVRITUKHIN / OBLOMSKII 1996, 228 fig. 49,6.
297. Pogrebi (Oster district, Ukraine); IIB, copper-alloy; KORZUKHINA 1996, 409; 674 pl. 84,3.
298. Poian (Covasna district, Romania); IC, found in the sunken building no. 19, together with hand-made pottery, a bone needle and a spindle-whorl; copper-alloy; L=2.8; SZÉKELY 1970, 135 fig. 7,1–1a; SZÉKELY 1971a, 355 fig. 2,1; SZÉKELY 1971b, 131; 133 fig. 3,1–1a; HOREDT 1986, 93 fig. 44,2; SZÉKELY 1992, 263; 266 fig. 15,1a–b; TEODOR 1992, 137; 144 fig. 3,6.
299. Potapivka (Bohodukhiv district, Ukraine); IIC, stray find; copper-alloy, fragment; PRYKHODNIUK 1998, 147; 134 fig. 63,2.
- 300–301. Prahovo (Negotin district, Serbia); **300**. IB, stray find; copper-alloy; JANKOVIĆ 1981, 250 pl. XVI,12. – **301**. IC, stray find; silver-alloy, fragment; L=2.6; JANKOVIĆ 1981, 250 pl. XVI,16.
- 302–303. Pruneni (Buzău district, Romania); found in an inhumation burial, together with a comb; **303**. ID, COMȘA 1973, 210; FIEDLER 1992, 100. – **304**. IH, COMȘA 1972, 15; COMȘA 1973, 210; FIEDLER 1992, 100 n. 24.
304. Răcari (Dolj district, Romania); IF, stray find; copper-alloy, fragment; L=4.1; WERNER 1950, 154 pl. 30,34 (where the fibula was found in Banat); CSALLÁNY 1961, 196 pl. 272,7; TUDOR 1964, 254 fig. 11,2; TOROPU / CIUCĂ / VOICU 1976, 133; TEODOR 1992, 138; 148 fig. 7,7.

305. Rashkiv (Chernivtsi district, Ukraine); IH, found in the sunken building no. 76, together with handmade pottery; copper-alloy; L=4.7; BARAN 1988, 116; 157 pl. 56,4; TEODOR 1992, 138; 147 fig. 6,5; CORMAN 1998, 42; 243 fig. 50,1.
306. Războieni-Feldioara (Alba district, Romania); IB, stray find; pewter; fragment; N. A. 1955a, 675; 672 fig. 15,5; HOREDȚ 1986, 93 fig. 44,5; TEODOR 1992, 137; 142 fig. 1,6.
307. Rish Pass (Shumen district, Bulgaria); IC, stray find; KHARALAMBEVA 1993, 29 fig. 4,1.
308. Rome (Italy); stray find (now in the Crypta Balbi Museum, from the collection of the Kircher Museum); IC, silver; L=8.5; RICCI 2001, 175 fig. I,3,4.
309. Rossava (Myronivka district, Ukraine); IIB, copper-alloy; L=16.95; KORZUKHINA 1996, 353; 684 pl. 94,4; GAVRITUKHIN / OBLOMSKII 1996, 229 fig. 50,15; MIŚKIEWICZOWA 1998, 159 no. 312.
- 310–311. Rzhetskoe (former Linkuhnen, Kaliningrad region, Russia); **310.** IB, found in grave 201A; L=11.3; WERNER 1950, 151–152 pl. 27,8; KÜHN 1981, 209 no. 319 (where L=10) pl. 50,319; HILBERG 2009, 434; 598 pl. 22,188. – **311.** IB, found in grave 5; fragment, copper-alloy; HILBERG 2009, 434; 598 pl. 22,186.
312. Săcuieni (Bihor district, Romania); IC, found in an inhumation burial together with a hand-made pot; copper-alloy; L=4.6; CHIDIOȘAN / NĂNĂSI 1968, 517–520 fig. 2; DUMITRAȘCU 1983, 89 no. 13 (where L=4.7); TEODOR 1992, 138; 147 fig. 6,4.
313. Sakhnivka (Kaniv district, Ukraine); IIB, stray find; copper-alloy, fragment; KORZUKHINA 1996, 369; 675 pl. 85,5.
- 314–322. Sărata Monteoru (Buzău district, Romania); **314.** IC, found in a cremation burial; gilt, silver; L=4.2; NESTOR / ZAHARIA 1959, 517 fig. 3 (where the brooch is made of copper-alloy); TEODOR 1972, 38 fig. 6,10; FIEDLER 1992, 83 fig. 11,1; TEODOR 1992, 137; 144 fig. 3,3. – **315.** IC, probably found in grave 463a; copper-alloy, fragment; FIEDLER 1992, 83 fig. 11,3; TEODOR 1992, 137; 144 fig. 3,2. – **316.** IC, found in grave 1185, together with another fibula of Werner’s class IH; copper-alloy; L=4.1; NESTOR / ZAHARIA 1960, 513; 511 fig. 1,7; FIEDLER 1992, 83 fig. 11,2; TEODOR 1992, 137; 144 fig. 3,4. – **317.** ID, found in grave 140, together with a small brooch with three knobs; copper-alloy; L=7.5; TEODOR 1972, 38 fig. 6,8; FIEDLER 1992, 81–82; TEODOR 1992, 138; 148 fig. 7,2 (where L=6.4). – **318.** ID, found in grave 1160; copper-alloy, fragment; L=3.1; NESTOR / ZAHARIA 1960, 511 fig. 1,3; FIEDLER 1992, 83 fig. 11,12; TEODOR 1992, 138; 147 fig. 6,11. – **319.** ID, copper-alloy; fragment; L=2.1; N. A. 1955b, 511; 510 fig. 11,3; FIEDLER 1992, 83 fig. 11,10 (wrongly assigned to grave no. 710); TEODOR 1992, 138 (where L=2.8); 148 fig. 7,6. – **320.** IH, found in grave 1185, together with a bow fibula (Werner’s class I C); copper-alloy; L=4.5; NESTOR / ZAHARIA 1960, 511 fig. 1,2; FIEDLER 1992, 82; 83 fig. 11,6; TEODOR 1992, 138; 147 fig. 6,12. – **321.** IH, found in a cremation burial; copper-alloy; L=4.3; N. A. 1955b, 511; 510 fig. 11,2; TEODOR 1992, 138; 147 fig. 6,6. – **322.** IJ, found in grave 1321; copper-alloy; L=2.8; NESTOR 1961, 446; FIEDLER 1992, 81; 83 fig. 11,9.
323. Sarmizegetusa (Hunedoara district, Romania); IG, copper-alloy; L=7.0; TÉGLÁS 1897, 288; HOREDȚ 1956, 106; 107 fig. 2,2; POPA 1988, 46 fig. 6; TEODOR 1992, 138; 146 pl. 5,6.
- 324–325. Seliște (Orhei district, Republic of Moldova); **324.** IH, found in the sunken building no. 5, together with handmade pottery; copper-alloy, fragment; RAFALOVICH 1972a, 137; 133 fig. 10,14. – **325.** IH, found in grave 59, together with two millefiori beads, an amber bead, a spindle-whorl, and a bone needle; copper-alloy; L=5.0; RAFALOVICH / LAPUSHNIAN 1973, 139; 131 fig. 9,2; PRYKHODNIUK 1997, 507 fig. 6,5; CORMAN 1998, 91; 275 fig. 86,2.

326. Semenki (Vinnytsia district, Ukraine); IF, found in the sunken building VIII, together with wheel- and hand-made pottery (including clay pans) and an earring with twisted end; copper-alloy, fragment; KHAVLIUK 1974, 207; 202 fig. 11,2.
327. Šereitlaukis (former Schreitlauken, Šilutės, Lithuania); IB, stray find; copper-alloy; fragment; L=7.1; WERNER 1950, 152 pl. 28,9; KÜHN 1981, 317 pl. 75,502; HILBERG 2009, 490; 610 pl. 34,302.
328. Shokshino (Vyksa district, Russia); IC, found in grave 913; copper-alloy; SHITOV 1994, 162–164; 175 fig. 10,1; SEDOV 1995, 89 fig. 31,8; SEDOV 1999, 256 fig. 2,8.
329. Shumen (Bulgaria); IH, stray find; fragment; KHARALAMBIEVA/ATANASOV 1992, 110 pl. 13,7.
- 330–331. Skalistoe (Bakhchesaray district, Crimea, Ukraine); **330.** ID, stray find; copper-alloy; VEIMARN/AIBABIN 1993, 145 fig. 107,13. – **331.** ID, found in the burial chamber 279, together with a buckle, a phylacterium, a silver cross with glass inlay and 86 glass beads; copper-alloy; fragment; AIBABIN 1990, 199 fig. 20,5; VEIMARN/AIBABIN 1993, 52–53; 51 fig. 31,28.
332. Slava Rusă (Tulcea district, Romania); IIA, settlement find; copper-alloy, fragment; L=4.5; OPAIȚ 1990, 37–38; 48 fig. 19,37; TEODOR 1992, 138 (where L=4.4); 149 fig. 8,4.
333. Sloboda Likhachevka (Bohodukhiv district, Ukraine); IID, copper-alloy, fragment; KORZUKHINA 1996, 395; 633 pl. 43,6.
334. Smila (Cherkasy district, Ukraine); IF, stray find; copper-alloy, fragment; L=6.1; BOBRINSKII 1901, 28 pl. 1,8; WERNER 1950, 154 pl. 30,32; KORZUKHINA 1996, 373; 669 pl. 79,12.
335. Smolanka (former Landskron, Bartoszyce district, Poland); ID, found in grave 66; copper-alloy; L=6.3; KÜHN 1956, 90 pl. 22,II.8; KÜHN 1981, 194 pl. 45,281; HILBERG 2009, 423; 597 pl. 21,177.
- 336–339. Smorodino (Graivoron district, Russia); stray (burial?) find, together with repoussé copper-alloy pendants; **336.** IIB; KORZUKHINA 1996, 402; 650 pl. 60,1. – **337–338.** II C; RYBAKOV 1953, 57 n. 1; 59 fig. 10,3; SHCHEGLOVA 1990, 199; KORZUKHINA 1996, 402; 650 pl. 60,12.13. – **339.** IID; RYBAKOV 1953, 59 fig. 10,4; SHCHEGLOVA 1990, 199; KORZUKHINA 1996, 402; 650 pl. 60,3.
340. Socu (Gorj district, Romania); IH, stray find; L=4.8; MARINOIU/HORTOPAN 1999, 185; 186 fig. 1.
- 341–343. Somova (Tulcea district, Romania); IIA, stray finds; copper-alloy; fragments; L=11.2; SIMION 2009, 414; 415 fig. 2,1–2; 416 fig. 3.
344. Sparta (Lakonia, Greece); IB, stray find; L=9.5; WERNER 1950, 151 no. 4 pl. 27,4.
345. Staasdorf, in Vienna (Austria); IIB, copper-alloy; L=16.5; WERNER 1950, 160 pl. 38,15.
346. Stărmen (Ruse district, Bulgaria); IH, stray find; KHARALAMBIEVA 1993, 30; 31 fig. 6,8.
347. Strīki (former Warwen, Ventspils district, Latvia); ID, stray find; copper-alloy; L=7.7; WERNER 1950, 154 pl. 30,31; KÜHN 1956, 91 pl. 22,II.10; KORZUKHINA 1996, 414–415; ATGĀZIS 2001, 286 fig. 199,2.
348. Suceava (Romania); IH, found in the sunken building no. 2, together with handmade pottery, a spindle-whorl, an awl, and a glass bead; copper-alloy; L=3.8; MATEI/NICORESCU 1962, 741–744; 744 fig. 5; TEODOR 1972, 38 fig. 6,6; TEODOR 1973, 205; 206 fig. 3,3; TEODOR 1978, 41–42, fig. 13,2; 15,2; TEODOR 1979, 821 fig. 3,5; TEODOR 1992, 138 (where L=3.9); 147 fig. 6,8.
- 349–350. Sudzha (Kursk district, Russia); IIB, found in a hoard, together with 12 hat-shaped mounts, six silver strap-ends, 12 trapeze-shaped pendants, four amber beads, and several belt mounts with open-work ornament; RYBAKOV 1949, 75–84; 76 fig. 30; RYBAKOV 1953, 59 fig. 10,2; KORZUKHINA 1996, 403; 652 pl. 62,1.2.

351. Sukhiny (Kaniv district, Ukraine); IID, stray find; copper-alloy; L=0.14; KORZUKHINA 1996, 368; 673 pl. 83,2.
- 352–363. Suuk Su (Yalta district, Crimea, Ukraine); **352.** IIA, found in grave 86, together with another bow fibula of Werner’s class II C, copper-alloy bracelets, an eagle-headed belt buckle, as well as amber, glass and *millefiori* beads; REPNIKOV 1906, 25 pl. 6,1; WERNER 1950, 160 pl. 36,3; KORZUKHINA 1996, 424; 702 pl. 112,1. – **353.** IIB, stray find; copper-alloy; L=0.20; REPNIKOV 1906, pl. 7,9; RYBAKOV 1953, 59 fig. 10,6; KORZUKHINA 1996, 424; 703 pl. 113,1. – **354–355.** IIB, found in grave 87, together with two bracelets, and amber and glass beads; REPNIKOV 1906, 25–26 pl. 7,1; RYBAKOV 1953, 59 fig. 10,8; KORZUKHINA 1996, 424; 702 pl. 112,3. – **356.** II C, found in grave 28, together with 30 amber beads, another bow fibula, an eagle-headed buckle, and two silver bracelets; copper-alloy; REPNIKOV 1906, 8–9 pl. 7,3; KORZUKHINA 1996, 424; 701 pl. 111,2. – **357.** II C, found in grave 86, together with another bow fibula of Werner’s class IIA, two earrings with polyhedral pendant, *millefiori* and glass beads (some with eye-shaped inlays, “Augenperlen”), an eagle-headed buckle, and two bracelets; copper-alloy; REPNIKOV 1906, 25 pl. 6,1; WERNER 1950, 160 pl. 39,20; KUDLAČEK 1964, 16 pl. 4,2; KORZUKHINA 1996, 424; 702 pl. 112,1. – **358.** IIC, found in grave 154, together with another bow fibula of Werner’s class II D and an eagle-headed buckle; copper-alloy; L=8.7; AIBABIN 1990, 197 fig. 18,2; KORZUKHINA 1996, 424; 701 pl. 111,5. – **359.** IIC, stray find; copper-alloy; L=17; REPNIKOV 1906, pl. 7,7; RYBAKOV 1953, 59 fig. 10,7; KORZUKHINA 1996, 424; 703 pl. 113,2. – **360.** IID, found in grave 28, together with another bow fibula of Werner’s class II C, an eagle-headed belt buckle, two silver bracelets, and amber and glass beads; L=14.5; REPNIKOV 1906, 8–9 pl. VI,3; KALITINSKII 1928, pl. 38,64; WERNER 1950, 161 pl. 40,31; KORZUKHINA 1996, 424; 701 pl. 111,1. – **361.** IID, found in the grave 55, together with another bow fibula of Werner’s Dnieper class, amber, copper-alloy, and glass beads, and a buckle with cross-shaped plate; REPNIKOV 1906, 15 pl. VI,16; KORZUKHINA 1996, 424; 701 pl. 111,4. – **362.** IID, found in grave 154, together with another bow fibula of Werner’s class II C and an eagle-headed buckle; copper-alloy; WERNER 1950, 161; KORZUKHINA 1996, 424; 701 pl. 111,6. – **363.** IID, stray find; copper-alloy; KALITINSKII 1928, pl. 38,65; WERNER 1950, 161 pl. 40,32.
364. Sv. Erazmo (Ochrid district, Macedonia); IIC, burial find; copper-alloy, fragment; MALENKO 1985, 289 pl. VI,4; CHAUSIDIS 1992, 90 fig. 9,1.
- 365–366. Szakály-Öreghegy (Tolna district, Hungary); found in burial no. 12; **365.** IB, pewter, fragment; CSALOG 1944–1945, 296 pl. XCIII,23; WERNER 1950, 151 pl. 28,6a. – **366.** IC, pewter; CSALOG 1944–1945, 296 pl. XCIII,24; WERNER 1950, 151 pl. 29,18; GAVRI-TUKHIN 1991, 131; 144 pl. 2,29.
- 367–369. Szatymáz-Fehértó (Csongrád district, Hungary); **367.** IC, found in grave 375, together with 73 glass-beads, two silver ear-rings, two iron bracelets, an iron buckle, and a knife; silver-alloy; L=4.9; CSALLÁNY 1961, 228; pl. 259,3.3a. – **368–369.** IF, found in grave 33, together with two copper-alloy earrings with bead-shaped pendant, glass beads, and a wheel-made jar; silver; L=8.3; CSALLÁNY 1961, 228; pl. 309,17.18; MADARAS 1995, pl. 5.
370. Szigetszentmiklós-Háros (Pest district, Hungary); IIC, found in grave 14, together with beads, some of glass with eye-shaped inlays (“Augenperlen”), another of carnelian, and two gold earrings with globe-shaped pendants; copper-alloy; SÓS 1961, 51; 40 fig. 11,1; SÓS 1963, 315; 316 fig. 6,1; NAGY 1998, 150 pls. 102,9; 171,5.
371. Tác (Fejér district, Hungary); IIB, found in grave 354/1976; SCHILLING 2011, 388 fig. 2,3.

372. Târgușor (Constanța district, Romania); ID, stray find; copper-alloy; Bartłomiej Szymon Szmoniewski, personal information.
373. Tiszabura (Szolnok district, Hungary); IIC, found in an inhumation burial, together with two silver earrings and glass beads with eye-shaped inlays; copper-alloy; L=10.5; CSALLÁNY 1961, 215 pl. CXCVI,2.
374. Tiszafüred (Szolnok district, Hungary); IC, stray find; copper-alloy; L=9.00; GARAM 1995, 386 pl. 252,1.
375. Tiszanagyfalu (Szabolcs-Szatmár district, Hungary); IC, stray find; CSALLÁNY 1961, 219.
- 376–383. Trubchevsk (Briansk region, Russia); found in a hoard, together with silver- and copper-alloy torcs, repoussé copper-alloy pendants, and strap ends and mounts with open-work ornament; **376.** ID, copper-alloy; PRYKHODNIUK / PADIN / TIKHONOV 1996, 79; 80 fig. 1,5. – **377.** II A, copper-alloy; PRYKHODNIUK / PADIN / TIKHONOV 1996, 79; 81 fig. 2,3; 82 fig. 3,2. – **378.** IIA, copper-alloy, fragment; PRYKHODNIUK / PADIN / TIKHONOV 1996, 79; 80 fig. 1,4. – **379–381.** IIB, copper-alloy; PRYKHODNIUK / PADIN / TIKHONOV 1996, 79; 81 fig. 2,1; 82 fig. 3,1; 84 fig. 5; 85 fig. 6. – **382–383.** IID, copper-alloy; PRYKHODNIUK / PADIN / TIKHONOV 1996, 79; 80 fig. 1,2; 81 fig. 2,4; 83 fig. 4.
384. Tulcea (Romania); IH, found in an inhumation burial, together with a ceramic pitcher, 9 amber beads, and a bronze ring; copper-alloy; L=7.5; SIMION 2009, 413; 412 fig. 1.
- 385–419. Tumiany (former Daumen, Olsztyn district, Poland); **385.** IC, found in grave 68, together with a buckle with oval plate and 3 rivets, five T-shaped belt mount with domed rivets, and six glass beads (including one eye-shaped bead and a segmented bead); copper-alloy; L=5.3; KÜHN 1981, 107 pl. 19,119; KULAKOV 1989, 192; 255 fig. 39,3; JAKOBSON 2009, 48; 144 pl. 43 Grab 68.a. – **386.** IC, stray find; silver-alloy; L=5.15; KÜHN 1956, 92 pl. 22,II.19; KÜHN 1981, 109 no. 128 pl. 21,128; JAKOBSON 2009, 62; 186 pl. 85,25. – **387.** IC, stray find; L=4.35; ÅBERG 1919, 74 fig. 79. – **388–389.** IC, stray finds; copper-alloy; L=4.6, 5.2; KÜHN 1981, 110 nos. 129–130 pl. 21,129, 130; JAKOBSON 2009, 62; 186 pl. 85,24; 187 pl. 86,26. – **390.** IC, stray find; fragment; copper-alloy; KÜHN 1981, 111 no. 135 pl. 21,135; JAKOBSON 2009, 62; 187 pl. 86,20. – **391.** ID, found in grave 2, together with a strap end; KULAKOV 1989, 187; 241 fig. 1; JAKOBSON 2009, 36; 102 pl. 1,2a. – **392–393.** ID, found in grave 26/1969; copper-alloy; L=7.1; DĄBROWSKI 1975, 267; 278 fig. 16. – **394.** ID, found in grave 30, together with a silver trinket with chains and horse-shoe pendants, two spectacle-shaped pendants with trapeze-shaped attachments, two spear-shaped strap-ends and silver mounts with open-work ornament, as well as glass beads (including beads with eye-shaped inlays); gilt, silver; L=7.8; ÅBERG 1919, 74 fig. 76; SALIN 1935, 55; 57 fig. 126; WERNER 1950, 153 pl. 29,28; KÜHN 1956, 90 pl. 22,II.6; Gurevich 1960, 400; 402 fig. 61,4; KUDLAČEK 1964, 13 pl. 5,10; ODOJ 1968, 138–139; 140 fig. 15; KÜHN 1981, 105–106 pl. 18,112; KULAKOV 1989, 189; 244 fig. 28; JAKOBSON 2009, 40; 114 pl. 13a. – **395.** ID, found in grave 46/1970, together with a bow fibula with three knobs; copper-alloy; L=6.5; JASKANIS / KACHINSKI 1981, 47 no. 47 pl. 47,3; KÜHN 1981, 113–114. – **396.** IF, found in grave 3, together with glass beads and a copper-alloy torc; copper-alloy; L=6.6; HEYDECK 1895, 43 pl. 3,4; KÜHN 1981, 104 pl. 17,105; KULAKOV 1989, 187; 241 fig. 25,2; JAKOBSON 2009, 36; 102 pl. 1 Grab 2.a. – **397.** IF, found in grave 20, together with a buckle, two spurs, two spearhead-shaped strap ends, and a spiral finger-ring; copper-alloy; L=6.5; HEYDECK 1895, 45; KÜHN 1981, 105 pl. 17,108; KULAKOV 1989, 188; 242 fig. 26,1; JAKOBSON 2009, 38–39; 108 pl. 7 Grab 20.a. – **398–399.** IF, found in grave 105; copper-alloy; L=6.25, 6.4; HEYDECK 1895, 59; KULAKOV 1989, 195, 216 fig. 4g; 263 fig. 47,1; JAKOBSON 2009, 54–55; 164 pl. 63 Grab 105.a1. – **400–401.** IF, stray finds; copper-alloy; L=6.4, 6.2, 6; KÜHN 1981, 102–103 pls. 21,131; 22,138; JAKOBSON 2009, 62;

- 186 pl. 85,23.27. – **402–405**. IF, stray finds; copper-alloy; KÜHN 1981, 102–103 pls. 21,133.134; 22,139; JAKOBSON 2009, 62; 187 pl. 86,19.21. – **406**. IG, found in grave 58, together with two glass beads; L=5.4; KÜHN 1981, 107 pl. 19,118; KULAKOV 1989, 192; 254 fig. 38,2. – **407–408**. IG, found in grave 74, together with a spindle-whorl, a spectacle-shaped pendant, and five glass beads; KÜHN 1981, 108 pl. 19,120.122; KULAKOV 1989, 192; 256 fig. 40,2; JAKOBSON 2009, 49; 146 pl. 45 Grab 74.a1. – **409–410**. IG, found in grave 84, together with a belt buckle, a tongue-shaped strap end, mounts with open-work ornament, spiral beads, and glass beads; KULAKOV 1989, 193; 257 fig. 41,3; JAKOBSON 2009, 51; 153 pl. 52 Grab 84.a.1. – **411**. IG, found in grave 93, together with an iron belt buckle, a knife, and scissors with damascened decoration; copper-alloy, fragment; KÜHN 1981, 109 no. 124 pl. 20,124; KULAKOV 1989, 194; 260 fig. 44,1; JAKOBSON 2009, 53; 159 pl. 58a. – **412–413**. IG, found in grave 195; KULAKOV 1989, 200; 273 fig. 57,5. – **414**. IG, found in a cremation burial, together with the fragment of another bow fibula of Werner’s class II C; KÜHN 1981, 114 no. 151 pl. 24,151. – **415–416**. IG, allegedly found in grave 42; KÜHN 1981, 106 pl. 19,114. – **417**. IJ, found in grave 56, together with a belt buckle and a strap end; copper-alloy; L=5.5; KÜHN 1956, 101 pl. 27,VII.4; KÜHN 1981, 106–107 no. 116 pl. 19,116; KULAKOV 1989, 191; 252 fig. 36,3. – **418**. IJ, stray find; copper-alloy; L=5.0; KÜHN 1956, 101 pl. 27,VII.5; KÜHN 1981, 110 pl. 21,132; JAKOBSON 2009, 62; 186 pl. 85,22. – **419**. IIC, stray find; copper-alloy, fragment; KÜHN 1981, 102–103 pl. 24,150; HILBERG 2009, 385; 588 pl. 12,89.
- 420–424. Tylkowo (former Scheufelsdorf, Szczytno district, Poland); **420**. IC, copper-alloy; L=5.0; KÜHN 1981, 310 no. 489 pl. 73,489; HILBERG 2009, 485; 609 pl. 33,292. – **421–422**. ID, copper-alloy; L=6.8, 5.7; WERNER 1950, pl. 29,29; KÜHN 1956, 90; 91 pl. 22,II.11; II.15; KÜHN 1981, 311; 312 pls. 73,491; 74,496; HILBERG 2009, 486; 487; 609 pl. 33,294.298. – **423**. IF, copper-alloy; L=6.8; KÜHN 1956, 94–5 pl. 24,III.5; KÜHN 1981, 312 pl. 74,497; HILBERG 2009, 487; 609 pl. 33,299. – **424**. IH, stray find; copper-alloy; L=3.3; KÜHN 1956, 88 pl. 21,I.18; KÜHN 1981, 311 no. 492 pl. 73,492; HILBERG 2009, 486; 609 pl. 33,295.
- 425–426. Ugly, in Staryi Oskol (Kursk district, Russia); IIB, found in a hoard, together with two belt buckles and belt mounts with open-work ornament; KORZUKHINA 1996, 418; 688 pl. 98,1.
427. Unknown location; ID, copper-alloy, fragment; WERNER 1961, pl. 34,135.
- 428–429. Unknown location (Banat region, Romania); **428**. IC, pewter, fragment; L=8.6; NES-
TOR/NICOLAESCU-PLOPȘOR 1938, 37 pl. 9,2; WERNER 1950, pl. 29,16; CSALLÁNY 1961, 196 pl. 240,2; TEODOR 1992, 137; 143 fig. 2,5. – **429**. IF, copper alloy; fragment; L=4.3; TĂNASE/MARE 2001, 190; 203 pl. V,2.
430. Unknown location (Bitola district, Macedonia); IC, copper-alloy, fragment; BABIĆ 1976, 63 fig. 5b; DZHORDZHIEVSKA 1997, 67 fig. 2,3.
431. Unknown location (Bulgaria); ID, copper-alloy; SCHULZE-DÖRRLAMM 1997, 764 fig. 32.
432. Unknown location (Cherkasy district, Ukraine); IIB; KALITINSKII 1928, pl. 37,58; WERNER 1950, 160 pl. 37,12; KORZUKHINA 1996, 370; 673 pl. 83,1.
433. Unknown location (Chernihiv district, Ukraine); IIA, copper-alloy, fragment; WERNER 1950, 160 pl. 36,6; KORZUKHINA 1996, 408; 671 pl. 81,2.
- 434–435. Unknown location (Dnipropetrovsk district, Ukraine); **434**. IIC; copper-alloy; KORZUKHINA 1996, 421; 698 pl. 108,9. – **435**. IID; copper-alloy; KORZUKHINA 1996, 421; 699 pl. 109,1.
- 436–442. Unknown location (Eastern Europe); **436**. IB, gilt, copper-alloy; L=13.3; WERNER 1950, 151 pl. 27,6 (where L=12.8); WERNER 1961, 33 pl. 35,133a. – **437**. IB, gilt copper-alloy,

- L=13.3; WERNER 1950, 151; WERNER 1961, 33 pl. 35,133b. – **438**. IB, gilt copper-alloy; L=12.2; WERNER 1950, 151 fig. 1. – **439**. IB, copper-alloy; WERNER 1950, 152 pl. 28,11. – **440**. IB, copper-alloy; L=10.2; MACGREGOR 1997, 249–250; 250 fig. 132,1. – **441**. IB, copper-alloy; KATSOUGIANNOPOULOU 1999, 85. – **442**. ID, copper-alloy; WERNER 1950, 155 pl. 31,51.
- 443–445. Unknown location (Eastern Prussia); **443**. IF, copper-alloy; L=5.1; KÜHN 1956, 95 pl. 24,III.11; KÜHN 1981, 264 pl. 63,410; HILBERG 2009, 459; 603 pl. 27,233. – **444–445**. IG, copper-alloy; KÜHN 1981, 263 407–408 pl. 63,407.408; HILBERG 2009, 458–459, 602 pl. 26,229; 603 pl. 27,237.
446. Unknown location (Gotland, Sweden); copper-alloy; fragment; ÅBERG 1919, 77 fig. 73; WERNER 1950, pl. 40,37.
- 447–450. Unknown location (Hungary); **447**. IB, copper-alloy, fragment; L=8; WERNER 1950, 151 pl. 27,5. – **448–449**. IIA, copper-alloy, fragments; WERNER 1950, 160 pl. 36,4; CSALLÁNY 1961, 245 pl. 272,5. – **450**. IIC, copper-alloy, fragment; WERNER 1950, 161 pl. 39,23.
451. Unknown location (probably Istanbul, Turkey); IB, gilt, copper-alloy; L=12.8; WERNER 1960, 119 pl. 2.
- 452–453. Unknown location (Kaniv district, Ukraine); **452**. ID; KORZUKHINA 1996, 355; 669 pl. 79,5; KAZANSKI 1999, 108. – **453**. IG, copper-alloy; KAZANSKI 1999, 108.
- 454–456. Unknown location (Kharkiv district, Ukraine); IIC; KALITINSKII 1928, pl. 37,62; RYBAKOV 1953, 58 fig. 9,9; KAZANSKI 1999, 111; SHABLAIVINA 2004, 244; 247 fig. 1.
457. Unknown location (Khmel'nyts'kyi district, Ukraine); IIC, copper-alloy, fragment; RODINKOVA 2010b, 261–262; 270 fig. 1,2.
- 458–474. Unknown location (Kiev district, Ukraine); **458**. IC, copper-alloy; L=7.1; WERNER 1950, 153 pl. 29,18; GAVRITUKHIN 1991, 131; 144 pl. 2,26; KORZUKHINA 1996, 409; 670 pl. 80,10; KAZANSKI 1999, 108. – **459–460**. ID; WERNER 1950, 153 no. 27 pl. 29,27; KORZUKHINA 1996, 409; 669 pl. 79,11. – **461**. IF; KORZUKHINA 1996, 409; 669 pl. 79,14; KAZANSKI 1999, 108. – **462**. IH, copper-alloy, fragment; KORZUKHINA 1996, 410; 669 pl. 79,8. – **463–465**. IIA, copper-alloy, fragments; KORZUKHINA 1996, 410; 670 pl. 80,4, 6; 676 pl. 86,1. – **466**. IIB; WERNER 1950, 160 pl. 37,14. – **467–469**. IIB, fragments; KORZUKHINA 1996, 410; 674 pl. 84,2–4. – **470–471**. IIC, copper-alloy, fragments; WERNER 1950, 161 pl. 39,29.30; KORZUKHINA 1996, 411; 673 pl. 83,3. – **472**. IIC, copper-alloy; KORZUKHINA 1996, 410. – **473–474**. IID, copper-alloy; WERNER 1950, 162 pl. 40,40.41; KORZUKHINA 1996, 411; 672 pl. 82,7; 673 pl. 83,4.
475. Unknown location near Liatychiv (Khmel'nyts'kyi district, Ukraine); ID, copper-alloy, fragment; RODINKOVA 2010b, 262; 271 fig. 2,2.
476. Unknown location (Macedonia, Bulgaria); IF, copper-alloy; L=5.7; WERNER 1950, 155 pl. 31,50; MIKHAILOV 1961, 43; 41 fig. 3,1.
- 477–479. Unknown location (northeastern Bulgaria); IC, copper alloy, fragments; KHARALAMBIEVA 1998, pp. 122; 119 fig. 1.3–5.
480. Unknown location (northern Serbia); IB, copper-alloy, fragment; WERNER 1950, 151 no. 2 pl. 27,2; VINSKI 1958, 28 pl. 18,2; CSALLÁNY 1961, pl. 272,3.
481. Unknown location (Oka region, Russia); IIB; WERNER 1950, 160 pl. 37,9.
482. Unknown location (Poland); IH; GAVRITUKHIN 1991, 131; 143 pl. 2,31.
483. Unknown location (Poltava district, Ukraine); IIC, copper-alloy, fragment; KORZUKHINA 1996, 395; 668 pl. 78,1.
- 484–485. Unknown location (southern Romania); **484**. ID, copper-alloy, fragment; L=3.0; POPESCU 1941–1944, 505; 504 fig. 11,123; TEODOR 1992, 138; 145 fig. 4,7. – **485**. IF, cop-

- per-alloy; L=7.1; POPESCU 1941–1944, 505; 504 fig. 11,122; WERNER 1950, 155 fig. 3; NESTOR 1961, fig. 5,2a–b; TEODOR 1992, 138; 148 fig. 7,1.
- 486–487. Unknown location (southern Russia); **486**. IC; KÜHN 1981, pl. 95,648. – **487**. IG; KÜHN 1981, pl. 95,649.
488. Unknown location (Transylvania, Romania); IB, copper-alloy, fragment; HORED T 1958, 93; 91 fig. 28,5; CSALLÁNY 1961, 209; HORED T 1986, 93 fig. 44,6; TEODOR 1992, 137; 142 fig. 1,3.
489. Unknown location (Turkey); IB, gilt, copper-alloy; WERNER 1950, 152 pl. 28,12.
- 490–491. Unknown location (Ukraine); IIB, copper-alloy; L=0.174; MIŚKIEWICZOWA 1998, 125 nos. 13, 15.
492. Unknown location (Västmanland, Sweden); IIB, copper-alloy, fragment; ÅBERG 1919, 73 fig. 72; WERNER 1950, 160 pl. 38,18; KORZUKHINA 1996, 414 pl. 96,2.
- 493–494. Unknown location (Vinnytsia district, Ukraine); **493**. IH, copper-alloy; RODINKOVA 2010b, 263; 271 fig. 2,4. – **494**. IIC, copper-alloy; RODINKOVA 2010b, 261; 270 fig. 1,1.
495. Unknown location (Voronezh district, Russia); IIC; KALITINSKII 1928, pl. 37,63.
496. Určice (Moravia, Czech Republic); IH, copper-alloy; WERNER 1950, 154 pl. 31,43a.
497. Vác (Pest district, Hungary); ID, stray find; copper-alloy; TETTAMANTI 2000, pl. 30A,10.
498. Valea Teilor (Tulcea district, Romania); IG, stray find; copper-alloy, fragment; TEODOR / CHIRIAC 2005–2006, 242; 250 fig. 3a.
499. Vardim (Svishtov district, Bulgaria); IH, stray find; KHARALAMBIEVA 1993, 30; 29 fig. 4,2.
- 500–501. Várpalota (Veszprém district, Hungary); IIC, found in grave 212, together with a pair of gold earrings with bead pendant, and glass beads with eye-shaped inlays; copper-alloy; L=12.8; ERDÉLYI / NÉMETH 1969, 191; 193 pl. XXII,5.6.
502. Vârtoape (Teleorman district, Romania); IF, stray find; copper-alloy; L=8; DOLINESCU-FERCHE / VOEOZEANU 1969, 354–355; DOLINESCU-FERCHE 1974, fig. 128; TEODOR 1992, 138; 148 fig. 7,4.
503. Vârtop (Dolj district, Romania); IC, copper-alloy, fragment; L=2.5; COMŞA 1961, 105–106 fig. 2; TEODOR 1992, 137; 143 fig. 2.
504. Vela (Dolj district, Romania); IC, stray find; copper-alloy, fragment; L=2.4; PLOPŞOR 1925, 49–50 fig. 2; BERCIU 1939, 232; WERNER 1950, 153 pl. 29,19; TEODOR 1992, 137 (where L=2.8); 143 fig. 2,2.
- 505–506. Velesnica, in Kladovo (Negotin district, Serbia); **505**. IB, stray find; L=13; WERNER 1950, 151; 152 fig. 2; KOROŠEC 1954, 10 fig. 1; VINSKI 1958, 28 pl. 18,1; ČOROVIĆ-LJUBINKOVIĆ 1972, 47 fig. 1,1; MARJANOVIĆ-VUJOVIĆ 1988, 155 fig. 2. – **506**. IC, copper-alloy, fragment; L=3.0; JANKOVIĆ 1981, 250 pl. XVI,17.
507. Velyka Sloboda (Vinnytsia district, Ukraine); IC, found in the sunken building no. 63; GAVRITUKHIN 1991, 133; 143 pl. 2,1.
- 508–509. Velyki Budky (Sumy district, Ukraine); IC, found in a hoard, together with a fragment of another brooch with scrollwork decoration, fragments of copper-alloy bracelets, torcs, and over 1,000 small silver-alloy mounts; copper-alloy; L=4.5; ROMANOVA 1983, 311; GAVRITUKHIN 1991, 27; GORIUNOVA 1992, 128; 138 fig. 1,24.
510. Verem'ie (Kiev district, Ukraine); IIA, copper-alloy; RYBAKOV 1953, 58 fig. 9,1; PRYKHODNIUK 1980, 129; 70 fig. 47,1; KORZUKHINA 1996, 353; 671 pl. 81,4; GAVRITUKHIN / OBLOMSKII 1996, 228 fig. 49,12.
511. Verkhohat (Dnipropetrovsk district, Ukraine); IID, stray find; copper-alloy; KORZUKHINA 1996, 422; 699 pl. 109,3.
512. Veţel, in Deva (Hunedoara district, Romania); IB, stray find; pewter; L=12.1; SALIN 1935, 130 fig. 349; NESTOR / NICOLAESCU-PLOPŞOR 1938, 33–34 pl. 9,3; WERNER 1950, 151 pl. 27,7 (where L=12); HORED T 1956, 107; 108 fig. 3; HORED T 1958, 107–108;

- 108 fig. 3; SZIMONOVA 1970, 75; 76 fig. 1 (where L=11.5); HOREDŤ 1986, 93 fig. 44,7; TEODOR 1992, 137; 142 fig. 1,1.
513. Viazovna (Chern district, Russia); IIC, stray find; copper-alloy; VORONCOV 2003, 296; 299 fig. 3.
514. Vinderei (Vaslui district, Romania); ID, stray find; copper-alloy; L=9.1; TEODOR 1978, 41 fig. 13,3; COMAN 1979, 203; 200 fig. 9,2 (where L=8.3); TEODOR 1979, 817; 821 fig. 3,3; COMAN 1980, 269; 368 fig. 158,1 (where L=8.3); TEODOR 1980, 29; 51 n. 177, fig. 13,3; TEODOR 1992, 139 (where L=8.5); 150 fig. 9,5.
515. Viničani (Gradsko district, Macedonia); IC, burial find; fragment; ČOROVIĆ-LJUBINKOVIĆ 1972, 47 fig. 1,3; BABIĆ 1976, 63 fig. 5.
- 516–519. Volos'ke (Dnipropetrovs'ke district, Ukraine); **516.** IH, settlement find; BEREZOVETS' 1963, 197 fig. 24,14; SMILENKO 1969, 162; 164 fig. 2,3; PRYKHODNIUK 1997, 507 fig. 6,8; KORZUKHINA 1996, 421; 698 pl. 108,1. – **517.** IIC, settlement find; copper-alloy, fragment; BEREZOVETS' 1963, fig. 24,15; KORZUKHINA 1996, 421; 698 pl. 108,5. – **518.** IID, found in a sunken building, together with a leaden bracelet, a strap end, a handmade pot, a spindle-whorl, and a copper-alloy earring; RUTKIVS'KA 1974, 38; 35 fig. 4,6; DOVZHENOK / KUCHERA / SMILENKO 1975, 107 fig. 24,7; KORZUKHINA 1996, 421; 699 pl. 109,4; PRYKHODNIUK 1998, 89 fig. 18,11; KAZANSKI 1999, 108. – **519.** IID, copper-alloy; BEREZOVETS' 1963, fig. 25,2; KORZUKHINA 1996, 421; 699 pl. 109,5.
520. Vutcani (Vaslui district, Romania); IIC, stray find; copper-alloy, fragment; L=12.3; TEODOR 1969b, 268 fig. 9,5; TEODOR 1969a, 201 fig. 15,1; TEODOR 1973, 206 fig. 3,8; TEODOR 1978, 41 fig. 14,3; 15,1; TEODOR 1979, 817; 821 fig. 3,7; COMAN 1980, 278; 368 fig. 158,7; TEODOR 1980, 29 fig. 14,3; 51 no. 155; TEODOR 1992, 139; 151 fig. 10,4 (where L=12.2).
- 521–525. Waplewo (former Waplitiz, Szczytno district, Poland); **521–522.** IC, found in grave 21 together with a bronze buckle, an envelope-shaped belt mount with domed rivets, a rectangular belt mount with open-work ornament, and a spear-shaped strap end; copper-alloy; L=4.8; KÜHN 1981, 355 no. 556 pl. 82,556; HILBERG 2009, 498, 499 fig. 10,45; 611 pl. 35,315. – **523–524.** IC, found in grave 22, together with an armring, a belt buckle, glass beads, and five pendants; copper-alloy; L=4.4; HILBERG 2009, 498; 611 pl. 35,316. – **525.** ID, found in grave 16; silver; L=7.5; WERNER 1950, 154 pl. 30,30; KÜHN 1981, 355 (where L=6.9) pl. 82,555; HILBERG 2009, 497; 611 pl. 35,314.
526. Wiska (Suwałki district, Poland); IG, copper-alloy; L=6.1; OKULICZ 1973, 477 fig. 243d; KÜHN 1981, 410 no. 639 pl. 94,639; HILBERG 2009, 507; 613 pl. 37,327.
527. Zemplénagárd (Szabolcs-Szatmár district, Hungary); IG, settlement find; copper-alloy; WOLF 1996, 51; 53 fig. 2,5.
528. Zhurzheritsi (Kaniv district, Ukraine); IIB, stray find; copper-alloy; KORZUKHINA 1996, 368; 675 pl. 85,1.
- 529–531. Zvonets'ke (Dnipropetrovs'ke district, Ukraine); **529.** IIB, stray find; copper-alloy; BEREZOVETS' 1963, fig. 25,2; KORZUKHINA 1996, 421; 699 pl. 109,5; PRYKHODNIUK 1997, 507 fig. 6,6. – **530.** IID, found in a house with stone walls, together with a strap end with open-work ornament, a spectacle-shaped pendant, and a bell; copper-alloy, fragment; BODIANSKII 1960, 274; 273 fig. 1,1; PRYKHODNIUK 1996, 114; 518 fig. 2,2; KORZUKHINA 1996, 422; 698 pl. 108,10; PRYKHODNIUK 1998, 89 fig. 18,2. – **531.** IID, settlement find; copper-alloy, fragment; PRYKHODNIUK 1997, 507 fig. 6,4.

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Zusammenfassung · Summary · Résumé

Zusammenfassung: „Slawische“ Bogenfibel – Zwanzig Jahre Forschung

Zusammen mit einem wieder erwachten wissenschaftlichen Interesse an den frühen Slawen, vor allem an der Keramik, die dem Prager Typ zugeschrieben wurde, lebte in den frühen 1990er Jahren auch das Interesse an den so genannten „slawischen“ Bügelfibeln wieder auf. Mit diesem Artikel wird eine Darstellung der in den letzten 20 Jahren durchgeführten Forschungen zu den „slawischen“ Bügelfibeln vorgelegt. Die meisten Forscher haben das Klassifizierungssystem, das 1950 von Joachim Werner vorgeschlagen worden war, beibehalten, konnten dabei allerdings keine Erklärung für die außerordentliche Variabilität bei dekorativen Mustern innerhalb der vorgegebenen Klassen von Werners Typologie finden. Anstelle des traditionellen Ansatzes schlage ich nun die Anwendung einer Nächster-Nachbar-Clusteranalyse auf der Grundlage des Jaccard-Koeffizienten vor, um so Ähnlichkeitsmaße zu erhalten. Trägt man diese Verknüpfungen in eine Karte des östlichen Mitteleuropa und Osteuropas ein, wird deutlich, dass Funde in bestimmten Gegenden keineswegs Funden in einigen anderen Gegenden ähneln. So gibt es z. B. keine Nächster-Nachbar-Verbindungen zwischen Fibeln von der Krim und denen in der Ukraine, die Werners Klassenzuordnung entsprechen. Dagegen zeigt der Karteneintrag vier bedeutende Fundcluster auf: die Krim, das Gebiet der unteren Donau, Masuren und die mittlere Dnjepr-Region.

Dieser Artikel beschäftigt sich mit der Frage der Produktion und verweist dabei auf Funde von Gussformen (aus Stein) wie auch gegossenen Modellen (aus Bronze). Zu gleicher Zeit waren weite Teile des östlichen Mitteleuropa und Osteuropas völlig frei von Funden, was vermuten lässt, dass sowohl die Produktion wie auch das Tragen dieser Fibeln auf bestimmte Regionen beschränkt war. Die Verteilung von Formen und Ornamentmustern verschiedener Klassen von „slawischen“ Bügelfibeln weist mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit auf Fernkontakte zwischen Nord und Süd sowie Ost und West hin. „Slawische“ Bügelfibeln der meisten Klassen aus Werners Typologie waren ungefähr zur selben Zeit in Mode, nämlich kurz vor und kurz nach 600 n. Chr.

Dieses allgemeine Ergebnis hat weitreichende Folgen für die diversen Versuche, getrennte Phasen der so genannten Prag-Kultur, die den frühen Slawen zugeordnet wird, zu unterscheiden und diese klar geschiedenen chronologischen Einteilungen zuzuweisen. Obwohl in jüngerer Zeit die gegenteilige Ansicht vertreten wurde, können die meisten Fundkomplexe, in denen „slawische“ Bügelfibeln zusammen mit handgetöpfter Ware erscheinen, nicht als solche des Prager Typs klassifiziert werden. Darüber hinaus zeigt die Untersuchung der Keramikkomplexe, mit denen „slawische“ Bügelfibeln vergesellschaftet waren, eine beträchtliche kulturelle Vielfalt in jedem einzelnen der vier durch die Clusteranalyse identifizierten Gebiete. Trotz Joachim Werners gegenteiliger Behauptung gibt es keinen Grund, die „slawischen“ Bügelfibeln mit irgendeiner Wanderungsbewegung, schon gar nicht der der Slawen, in Verbindung zu bringen. Die Fibeln waren typisch weibliche Kleidungsaccessoires und höchstwahrscheinlich gesellschaftliche Status- und Machtsymbole. Die „slawischen“ Bügelfibeln als Indexfossilien für die Anwesenheit von Slawen zu behandeln, ist daher einfach absurd.

Die Fundcluster „slawischer“ Bügelfibeln in vier weit auseinander gelegenen Regionen des östlichen Mitteleuropa und Osteuropas legen nahe, dass die Verteilung dieser Kleidungsaccessoires das Ergebnis irgendeiner Form des Kontakts zwischen den Regionen ist. In jeder dieser Regionen bestanden im späten 6. und frühen 7. Jhd. gesellschaftliche Orga-

nisationsformen, in denen Wertgegenstände fremdländischer Herkunft (oder deren Imitationen) eine herausragende Rolle bei der Bestimmung von Hierarchien in der Gesellschaft spielten. Es kann daher sein, dass die vier Regionen über ein Netzwerk des gegenseitigen Austauschs unter Eliten miteinander in Kontakt standen, etwa in der Form eines Austauschs von Geschenken. Die Geschenke können als Teil von Ehebündnissen ausgetauscht worden sein, die dazu dienen sollten, die erst frisch begründete Position der Eliten in der jeweiligen Region zu stärken.

Summary: “Slavic” Bow Fibulae – Twenty Years of Research

Interest in so-called “Slavic” bow fibulae was revived in the early 1990s in the context of a resurgence of scholarly concern with the early Slavs, particularly with the pottery believed to be of the Prague type. This article represents a synthesis of the research carried out during the last 20 years on the “Slavic” bow fibulae. Most scholars have kept the classification system proposed in 1950 by Joachim Werner without, however, being able to account for the extraordinary variability in decorative patterns within established classes of Werner’s typology. Instead of a traditional approach, I have suggested the use of near-neighbor clustering analysis based on the Jaccard coefficient of similarity to obtain linkage patterns. Plotting these links on a map of East Central and Eastern Europe it becomes clear that finds in certain areas are not at all similar to finds in some other areas. For example, there are no nearest-neighbor links between fibulae from Crimea and those in Ukraine for Werner’s class I D. The mapping, however, reveals four main clusters of finds – Crimea, the Lower Danube region, Mazuria, and the Middle Dnieper region.

This article addresses the question of production, by pointing to finds of molds (of stone), as well as models (of bronze). At the same time, vast areas in East Central and Eastern Europe were devoid of any finds, which suggests that both production and wearing of these fibulae were restricted to certain regions. The dissemination of the design and ornamental patterns of various classes of “Slavic” bow fibulae most likely indicates long-distance contacts between south and north and between east and west. “Slavic” bow fibulae of most classes of Werner’s typology were in fashion at about the same time, shortly before and shortly after AD 600.

This general conclusion has great implications for the various attempts to distinguish separate phases of the so-called Prague culture attributed to the early Slavs, and to assign them to clear-cut chronological divisions. Despite recent claims to the contrary, most assemblages in which “Slavic” bow fibulae appear together with handmade pottery cannot be classified as of the Prague type. Moreover, the examination of the ceramic assemblages with which “Slavic” bow fibulae were associated shows considerable cultural variability in each one of the four major areas identified by means of cluster analysis. In spite of Joachim Werner’s claims to the contrary, there is no reason to link the “Slavic” bow fibulae with any migration, especially not to that of the Slavs. The fibulae were typically female dress accessories, most likely symbols of social status and power. Therefore to treat “Slavic” bow fibulae as index-fossils for the presence of the Slavs is absurd.

The cluster of finds of “Slavic” bow fibulae in four regions of East Central and Eastern Europe located at great distance from each other suggests that the distribution of these dress accessories is the result of some kind of contact between the regions. Since in each one of them forms of social organization existed in the late 6th and early 7th century in which valuables of foreign origin (or imitations thereof) played a major role in defining social hierarchies, the four regions may have been in contact with each other by means of a

network of an inter-elite exchange, possibly in the form of gift exchange. The gifts may have been exchanged as part of matrimonial alliances which were meant to bolster the newly-established position of the local elites in each region. (G.K.-S.)

Résumé: Les fibules arquées « slaves » – Vingt années de recherche

L'attention portée aux fibules arquées « slaves » s'est accrue au début des années 1990 avec le regain d'intérêt des spécialistes pour les anciens Slaves, particulièrement pour la poterie attribuée communément au type de Prague. Cet article fait la synthèse des recherches menées sur les fibules arquées « slaves » durant ces vingt dernières années. La plupart des spécialistes ont gardé le système de classification proposé par Joachim Werner en 1950, mais sans pouvoir expliquer l'extraordinaire variabilité des motifs décoratifs constatés dans les classes fixées par la typologie de Werner. Abandonnant l'approche traditionnelle, j'ai proposé d'utiliser l'agrégation par le plus proche voisin basée sur l'indice de similarité de Jaccard en vue d'obtenir des types de liaisons. En reportant ces liaisons sur une carte du Centre-Est et de l'Est de l'Europe, il devient évident que des objets de certaines régions ne ressemblent pas à ceux d'autres régions. Il n'y a par exemple pas de liaisons par le plus proche voisin entre les fibules de Crimée et celles d'Ukraine au sein de la classe 1D de Werner. La cartographie a cependant révélé quatre groupes principaux d'objets localisés en Crimée, dans la région du Danube inférieur, en Mazurie et dans la région du Dniepr moyen.

Cet article vise la question de la production en attirant l'attention sur la présence de moules (en pierre) et de modèles (en bronze). De vastes territoires du Centre-Est et de l'Est européens n'ont livré aucun objet à cette époque, ce qui signifierait que la production et le port de ces fibules se limitaient à certaines régions. La diffusion des formes et des motifs ornementaux de différentes classes de fibules arquées « slaves » indique très probablement des contacts à longue distance entre le sud et le nord, l'est et l'ouest. Les fibules arquées « slaves » de la plupart des classes typologiques de Werner étaient à la mode environ à la même époque, autour de 600 ap. J.-C.

Cette conclusion générale a d'importantes retombées sur les nombreuses tentatives de découper la culture dite de Prague, attribuée aux anciens Slaves, en plusieurs phases, pour les attribuer ensuite à des unités chronologiques bien distinctes. Malgré certaines déclarations contraires, la plupart des ensembles comprenant des fibules arquées « slaves » avec de la poterie faite à la main ne peuvent être attribués au type de Prague. De plus, l'étude des ensembles céramiques auxquels étaient associées des fibules arquées « slaves » présentent une grande variabilité culturelle dans chacune des quatre régions identifiées par l'analyse de groupement. Malgré la position contraire de Joachim Werner, il n'y a aucune raison de lier les fibules arquées « slaves » à une migration quelconque, certainement pas à celle des Slaves. Ces fibules étaient un accessoire typique de l'habillement féminin, très probablement des symboles de statut social et de pouvoir. Il est par conséquent absurde de voir dans les fibules arquées « slaves » des fossiles directeurs de la présence slave.

La concentration de fibules arquées « slaves » dans quatre régions du Centre-Est et de l'Est de l'Europe, assez éloignées les unes des autres, fait penser que la distribution de cet accessoire d'habillement résulte d'une sorte de contact entre ces régions. Chacune d'elle possédant vers la fin du 6^e et au début du 7^e siècle des formes d'organisation sociale, où les objets de valeur d'origine étrangère (ou leurs imitations) jouaient un rôle décisif dans la définition des hiérarchies sociales, les quatre régions ont peut-être entretenu des liens entre elles par le biais d'un réseau d'échanges entre élites, éventuellement sous forme

d'échanges de cadeaux. Ceux-ci s'échangeaient peut-être lors de mariages dont l'intention était de consolider la position acquise récemment par les élites locales dans chaque région.
(Y.G.)

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