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**UN SECOL DE ARHEOLOGIE
ÎN SPAȚIUL EST-CARPATIC
Concepte, metode, tendințe**

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SCYTHIAN *AKINAKAI* BETWEEN CARPATHIANS AND DNIESTER. THE STRUCTURE OF A STORM

Denis Topal

„Time slept when swords woke”
George R. R. Martin, *A Storm of Swords*

Keywords: *Scythian culture, akinakes, akinakai, swords, daggers, East Carpathians, Low Danube, Dniester, Late Hallstatt, Early La Tène*

Cuvinte-cheie: *cultura scitică, akinakes, akinakai, spadă, pumnal, Carpații răsăriteni, Dunărea de Jos, Nistru, Hallstatt-ul târziu, La Tène-ul timpuriu*

The number of Scythian *akinakai* is incredible bigger¹ than in other regions of the western area of the distribution of this type of weapons (*i.e.* Transylvania, Southern Carpathians, Southern Danube, Great Hungarian Plain or Silesia). Such an abundance of blade arms in the Carpathian-Dniester region is no longer known either before or after the Scythian period. Therefore, risking to be accused of the bad taste, I think that the allusion to George Martin’s book is the closest metaphor describing this phenomenon. What happens to the blade weapon between the Carpathians, the Dniester and the Danube in Scythian time can really be called a „storm of swords”, which is certainly connected with the movements of the new groups of people. Probably, this type of weaponry became a part of the military tradition or even the cultural identity for this population. Scythian blade arms of this region can help to describe the main trends to the evolution of *akinakai* at the western frontiers of Scythian culture. Specificity of the region is reflected in the fact that part of the Scythian swords and daggers are associated with a typical nomadic entourage, part of it is connected with a different cultural context. At the same time, it turned out that in the Late Classical period, the Scythian milieu itself became open to foreign cultural inclusions both in the form of direct imports, and in the form of *invisible import* *i.e.* the import of ideas that led to the hybridization of the

¹ The average density of *akinakai* (on a rough estimate) of the whole western area is about 1:4000 km², while the density for the Carpathian-Dniester region is 1:850 km².

Scythian *akinakai* and the creation of new experimental forms. So, this paper could be treated as an attempt to reveal the structure of this *storm of swords* with the help of such oppositions like: *chronological* (early vs. late), *functional* (daggers vs. swords), *cultural* (barrows vs. flat graves), *landscape* (steppe vs. forest-steppe, east vs. west) or *contextual* (stray finds vs. grave goods).

Scythian weaponry on the western fringe

The first documented discoveries of Scythian *akinakes* date back to the 18th century (excavations by A. P. Melgunov in 1763)². Then, the findings of Scythian weapons are connected with the excavations of the rich barrows in the 19th century: Kul-Oba (in Crimean Tatar = „Ash Mound”) and Kekuvatsky Barrows in the Crimea in 1830, the Aleksandropol Barrow in 1852³, Ostraya Tomakovskaya Mogyla (in Russian = „Sharp or Tomakovka Mound”) in 1861 and Chertomlyk Barrow in 1862-1863⁴. The second half of the 19th century is the time of the first discoveries as well as on the western frontiers: a burial containing at least one *akinakes* was excavated near the Archita village in Transylvania in 1871⁵. In 1882 was discovered the spectacular treasure from Vetersfelde (modern Witaszkowo near Gubin, Poland), which included a dagger richly decorated with gold⁶. In 1876 a catalog of the prehistoric collection of the Budapest Museum was published, and among the artefacts were the Scythian swords and daggers from Árdánháza (modern Ardanovo, Ukraine), Nógrád and Piliny⁷. Also in Hungary, in 1907 was excavated the burial near Gyöngyös⁸ and was found the Scythian-type dagger near Szirmabesenyő⁹. In addition, the discovery of a still unique dagger from the territory of Serbia, from Vršac (Vârșeț in Romanian) belongs to this period of

² I. V. Tunkina, *Academician G. F. Miller and the Treasures from Litoi Kurgan*, in *Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia*, 13, 2007, p. 193-196.

³ A. Ju. Alekseev, V. Ju. Murzin, R. Rolle, *Chertomlyk*, Kiev, 1991, p. 7.

⁴ *Drevnosti Gerodotovoj Skifii. Sbornik arkeologicheskikh raskopok i nakhodok v Chernomorskikh stepjakh*, II, Sankt Petersburg, 1872, p. 59, p. 74.

⁵ C. Goos, *Chronik der archäologischen Funde Siebenbürgens*, in *Archiv des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, N. F. 13, Sibiu, 1876, fig. 4/1, 5.

⁶ A. Furtwaengler, *Der Goldfund von Vetersfelde*, Winckelmannsfeste der archäologischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin, Program 43, Berlin, 1883, p. 4.

⁷ J. Hampel, *Catalogue de l'Exposition Préhistorique des Musées de Province et des collections particulières de la Hongrie: arrangée a l'occasion de la VIII^{ème} Session du Congrès International d'Archéologie et d'Anthropologie Préhistoriques a Budapest*, Budapest, 1876, p. 23, fig. 7/49, 34/129, 127.

⁸ L. Márton, *Szkitasirleletek Gyöngyösön*, in *AE*, 28, 1908, tab. II/5.

⁹ P. Reinecke, *Magyarországi Skytha Régiségek*, in *AE*, 17, 1897, p. 10; T. Lehoczky, *Adatok hazánk archaeológiájához, különös tekintettel Bereg megyére és környékére*, II. Munkács, 1912, p. VII.

study¹⁰. In the south of Russia, the very beginning of the 19th century made possible to investigate the richest Scythian funeral complexes containing the ceremonial armament: Ushakov mound near Elizavetovskaya (modern Elizavetinskaya) in 1901, Kelermess mound in 1903-1904, Chastye Kurgany (in Russian = „Many Barrows”) near Voronezh in 1910-1913 and Solokha Mound in 1912-1913. As well, the other ordinary findings (both stray and funeral) from the Dnieper, Crimea, the Volga-Urals, and the Caucasus regions were introduced into scientific circulation.

Without any doubts, the initial typological and chronological observations appeared simultaneously with the first publications of finds, while still searching for parallels to them, and studying their most vivid features. It is clearly noticeable that in the modern period of the study of Scythian blade weapons, the data has grown significantly in comparison with the previous periods, including the Western area. And this unprecedented data growth caused the regionalization of typological schemes. Therefore, the modern period of study of swords and daggers of the Scythian epoch can be also called the „Time of regional studies”. The western area of the *Scythian akinakai*, in addition to the Carpathian-Dniester region, is consisting of the territory of Transylvania, Great Hungarian Plain, Silesia, Southern Carpathians and Southern Danube. Totally, the western area includes about 17% of all known finds from Europe. Based on observations of the western distribution of swords and daggers of the Scythian origin, seven main territorial groups can be distinguished: I - *North-western* or Polish, associated with the Lusatian area and the Scythian movements in Central Europe; II - *Hungarian*, associated mainly with the Vekerzug culture; III - *Transylvanian*, connected with the Ciumbrud group; IV - *South Carpathian* or Wallachian, which is linked with Ferigile type; V - *South Danubian* or Bulgarian; VI - *Forest-steppe of Carpathian-Dniester* and VII - *Steppe of North Black Sea*. For the steppe part of the North Black Sea region of the Dniester-Danube region, the division into the *Lower Dniester* and *Lower Danube* subgroups is implied. In turn, the Carpathian-Dniester region also does not look homogeneous. Therefore, the following division into subgroups is proposed: *Middle Dniester* or Bukovina; *East Carpathian* or Neamt; *Siret-Dniester* or Moldavian. Conditionally allocated *Western Ukrainian* subgroup is adjoined to the last one.

The chronological distribution of *akinakai* in the Western part of the area shows the same trends as the Main Northern Pontic one, therefore there is every reason for the applying of A. I. Melyukova's¹¹ chronological scheme. This

¹⁰ B. Milleker, *A Versecsi Múzeumrégiségeiről*, in *AÉ*, 18, 1898, áb. 1; V. Pârvan, *Getica: o protoistorie a Daciei*, Bucureşti, 1926, fig. 249.

¹¹ A. I. Melyukova, *Vooruzhenie skifof*, SAID, 1-4, Moscova, 1964, p. 80.

periodization, with some adjustments¹² for the following region, of course, comes down to: *Early Scythian period* (7th - early 6th century BC), the *Middle Scythian one* (mid. 6th - first half of the 5th century BC) and the *Classical* (late 5th - 4th century BC). In the western part of the „Scythian world”, 22% of the products belong to the Early Scythian period. The majority of *akinakai* (almost two thirds, 64%) refer to the Middle Scythian period, so there is every reason for the further division of the Middle Scythian period, at least into two phases. The initial one or the earliest (until the last quarter of the 6th century BC) is characterized by *Shumeyko*, *Vettersfelde*¹³ and *Nógrád* types, the final (of the last quarter of the 6th century BC - the third quarter of the 5th century BC) is marked by the akinakes of *Cozia* type, zoomorphic antenna swords and daggers of *Găiceana* and *Grishchentsy* types. In addition, the first phase corresponds to the „transition period from Early Scythian to Middle Scythian culture” according to A. D. Mogylov¹⁴ and D. S. Grechko¹⁵. The smallest part, less than 14% of swords and daggers belong to the Classical Scythian culture. The development of early Scythian *akinakai* is mainly connected with Transylvania, Southern Carpathians and the Middle-Dniester. The most widespread distribution of Scythian blade weapon is associated with the Middle Scythian period, especially to its final stage. This time, according to researchers, is the time of the real *Great Scythia*: a cultural complex of a military nature which is common for the territories from Silesia to the Volga. The bulk of the Middle Scythian finds is associated with the Moldavian, Transylvanian and Hungarian groups. The *Golden autumn* of Scythian culture or the Classical period was also reflected in the peculiarities of the spread of Scythian swords and daggers: its area inevitably decreases and the last *akinakai* concentrate in the steppe part Dniester-Danube interfluvium and to the south of the Danube (Fig. 1).

The compound of weapons also varies from one region to another. Thus, the spearheads are characteristic mainly for the steppes between the Dniester and the Danube, Southern Carpathians, and their biggest concentration is associated with Great Hungarian Plain. Most of the finds of axes are also linked with the territory of Hungary, although the finds of *akinakai* in the area of the Vekerzug culture are rare even for large burial grounds. An interesting picture is given by the cartography (Fig. 2) of the *akinakai* of various functional groups (Fig. 3): daggers and short swords tend to Transylvania and the forest-steppe Carpathian-Dniester region, while the long and especially extra-long swords are

¹² I. V. Brujako, *Rannie kochevniki v Evrope X-V vv. do R. Kh.*, Chişinău, 2005, p. 149.

¹³ D. A. Topal, *Dva sredneskijskikh akinaka iz Bessarabskoj lesostepi*, in L. Sirbu et alii (ed.), *Culturi, procese și contexte în arheologie*, Chişinău, 2016, p. 279.

¹⁴ O. D. Mogilov, *Sporjadzhennja konja skifs'koj dobi u lisostepu Skhidnoj Evropi*, Kam'janets' Podil's'kij, IA NANU, Kiev, 2008, p. 111-113.

¹⁵ D. S. Grechko, *O vozmozhnykh «prosvetakh» v «temnoe» vremja (VI v. do n. e.) skifskoj istorii*, in *Stratum plus*, 3, 2012, p. 84.

characteristic of the steppe area. This important feature is emphasized by the calculation of the relations between various types of weapons using the *classification by unequal features*. Proceeding from the fact that the spread of functionally different types of weapons is not uniform, one can try to calculate the strength of the relations between various cultural groups. And based on the panoply a new typological grouping of regions could be obtained. Thus, it is possible to move from small cultural groups to cultural blocks, enclaves, communities of people who preferred similar types of weapons. The calculation of the relations with the help of the classification by unequal features has demonstrated several such enclaves (Fig. 4). The first can be conditionally called **Carpathian**: the greatest degree of similarity was manifested between Bukovina and Transylvania, to which the Moldavian subgroup adjoins. The main types of weapons for these groups are a dagger or a short sword and an axe. The next, **Steppe** enclave included the Low Danube, Low Dniester, South Carpathians and South Danube groups, where the spearheads and average or long swords are widely distributed. The third, **Western** enclave united the Hungarian and North-Western groups, axes and spearheads are more characteristic for this territory. It is worth nothing that the interpretation of these *blocks* and their bizarre configuration has yet to be realized. Nevertheless, according to other, indirect data, it becomes clear that the preference for the weapons was influenced by a whole range of factors: the landscape, chronological changes, cultural affinity.

***Akinakai* of Early Scythian period. The beginning.**

The first funeral Scythian *akinakai* between Carpathians and Dniester are mainly connected with the forest-steppe region. Few well-dated burials come from Bukovina: barrows 3 (App. 1/7¹⁶) and 7 (App. 1/6) from Cajvana and the burial mound from Lenkovtsy (App. 1/4). The Lenkovtsy barrow (Kelmintsi District, Chernivtsi Region, Ukraine) is rather the earliest one and probably marks the moment of the penetration of the Scythians in the Middle Dniester around the mid. 7th century BC¹⁷. In addition to the iron bits with single rings, similar to Kelermes type, it also contained a fragmented dagger¹⁸. The barrows from Cajvana (Suceava County, Romania) are dated back to the second half of the 7th - the early 6th century BC due to the presence of the bilobate arrowheads with

¹⁶ Appendix = App.

¹⁷ G. I. Smirnova, *Pamjatniki Srednego Podnestrov'ja v khronologicheskoi skheme ranneskifskoi kul'tury*, in *RossArkh*, 2, 1993, p. 105; I. V. Brujako, *Rannie kochevniki...*, p. 149.

¹⁸ A. I. Meljukova, *Pamjatniki skifskogo vremeni na Srednem Dnestre*, in *KSIMK*, 51, 1953, p. 64, fig. 29/1.

spikes and axes¹⁹. One of the earliest stray finds is the bronze dagger from the Ruski Filvarki (App. 1/1), Kamianets-Podilskiyi, Khmelnytsky Region, Ukraine, and its origin is associated with the daggers of Tagar culture²⁰. Its dating is defined within the framework of 7th (although it is not excluded even the 6th) century BC, as, for example, to the stray find from Hungary, in Borsod County²¹. Unlike the forest-steppe zone of the Dniester region, the overwhelming majority of the *akinakai* finds in the steppe part refer to the Classical Scythian culture. The only one burial with an akinakes could be dated to the Early Scythian period: the grave of the 2nd sector of the burial ground II of Celic-dere near Telița, Tulcea County, Romania (App. 1/105)²². This grave was considered by A. I. Melyukova²³ as a simultaneous one to the Sabangia barrow and dated back to the second half - the late 7th century BC.

Besides that, the stray finds from Central and Northern Bessarabia from Vatici (Fig. 6/3; App. 1/ 27), Susleni (Fig. 6/1; App. 1/26), Lipnic (Fig. 6/7; App. 1/2)²⁴, Ivancea (Fig. 6/8; App. 1/28) and recent find „somewhere from the territory of the Republic of Moldova” (Fig. 6/2; App. 1/ 25) are dated to the second half of the 7th century BC and belong to the *Kelermes* type of *akinakai*. Based on a combination of features of *akinakai* (like the shape of the hilt, blade and the most archaic one - a bight on the handle), A. N. Voroshilov²⁵ defined a new group of Scythian swords and daggers from forest-steppe of Don called *Kelermes* type. The observations of A. N. Voroshilov under this type of

¹⁹ M. Ignat, *Necropolele tumulare din zona Rădăuți în cadrul lumii traco-getice (sec. VII-V a Ch.)*, Târgoviște, 2006, p. 80-81, pl. XI, XV.

²⁰ A. Gavlik, *Bronzovyy kinzhal iz Russkikh Fol'varkov, r-n Kamenets-Podol'skij*, in J. Chochorowski (ed.), *Kimmerowie. Scytowie. Sarmaci*, Kraków, 2004, p. 166, fig. 1/1.

²¹ D. Topal, M. Golec, *Vekerzug culture and new finds of Scythian akinakai in Moravia*, in *Tyragetia*, XI (XXVI), 1, 2017, p. 14; D. A. Topal, *Sostav vooruzhenija i vozmozhnosti kul'turnoj gruppировki (na materialakh skifskogo vremeni Karpato-Podunav'ja)*, in V. S. Sinika, R. A. Rabinovich (red.), *Drevnosti. Issledovanija. Problemy. Sbornik statej v chest' 70-letija N. P. Tel'nova*, Stratum, Chișinău, 2018, p. 250.

²² G. Simion, *Geții și sciții dinspre gurile Dunării*, in *Carpica*, XXIII, 1, 1992, fig. 1.

²³ A. I. Meljukova, *Novye dannye o skifakh v Dobrudzhe (k voprosu o „Staroj Skifii” Gerodota)*, in *RossArkh*, 4, 2001, p. 22.

²⁴ D. A. Topal, *Akinaki na zapadnykh rubezhakh Skifii. Nakhodki skifskikh mechej i kinzhalov na territorii Respubliki Moldova*, in *Tyragetia*, VIII (XXIII), 2014, fig. 2/2, 5, 6.

²⁵ A. N. Voroshilov, *O serii akinakov kelermesskogo tipa*, in A. V. Balakhvantsev (ed.), *Drevnost': istoricheskoe znanie i spetsifika istochnika*, 4, Moscova, 2009, p. 40; idem, *Akinaki kelermesskogo tipa v Donskoj lesostepi*, in *Vostochnoevropejskie drevnosti skifskoj epokhi*, Voronezh, 2011, p. 157; idem, *Ob odnom tipe klinkovogo oruzhija rannikh skifof*, in V. E. Rodinkova, A. N. Fedorina (eds.), *Novye materialy i metody arheologicheskogo issledovanija*, Moscova, 2013, p. 91.

Scythian *akinakai* were recently supplemented²⁶. Earlier, E. V. Chernenko²⁷ proposed this term (Kelermes type) for the description of massive „butterfly-like” hilts and suggested as a model the sword from Kelermes barrow. Later, M. Pirtskhalava²⁸ attributed to „so-called Kelermes type” a group of *akinakai* from Tlia necropolis, Georgia. Chronological frames of Kelermes type could be based on a group of complexes from Caucasus and Dnieper region and placed within the second half of the 7th - early 6th century BC. The earliest Kelermes *akinakes* are the ceremonial items from Melgunov and Kelermes barrows which are dated on 650-625 BC by A. I. Ivantchik²⁹ or 675-625 BC by V. A. Kisel³⁰, basing on analogies of ornament in the form of triangles and the curved leaves on Urartian relief from Adilcevaz of 680-645 BC³¹. Among the late complexes with the Kelermes type *akinakes*, apparently, is the sunk burial 2 of the Rechyahovataya Mogyla Barrow³² dated on late 7th or on the turn of 7th - 6th centuries BC.

The stray finds of bronze bouterolles or scabbard chapes from the Snake Island (Fig. 6/6; App. 1/99)³³ (in Greek Λευκός, Leucos) and the Nisporeni District (Fig. 6/5; App. 1/79)³⁴, Republic of Moldova, also belong to the Early Scythian period. In general, there are several groups of the bird's head bouterolles: *Digorian* (the Faskau type), the *Koban* type and the *North Pontic* (Matusov type)³⁵. The scabbard chapes from Nisporeni and the Snake Island belong to the last listed one. Anyway, there are not too many well-dated complexes containing the bouterolles, but it is clear that the Pontic items are dated in general slightly later than the Caucasian ones. Basing on the chronology of the second tomb of the Repyakhovataya Mogyla, the bouterolles

²⁶ D. Topal, *Akinakai of Kelermes type: New discoveries in Central Bessarabia*, in *Marisia*, 33, 2013, p. 13-14.

²⁷ E. V. Chernenko, *Drevnejšie skifskie paradnye mechi (Mel'gunov i Kelermes)*, in A. I. Terenozhkin (ed.), *Skifia i Kavkaz*, Kiev, 1980, p. 11.

²⁸ M. Pirtskhalava, *Monuments of Scythian culture in Georgia*, in *AA*, 1, 1995, p. 56.

²⁹ A. I. Ivantschik, *Kimmerier und Skythen. Kulturhistorische und chronologische Probleme der Archäologie der osteuropäischen Steppen und Kaukasiens in vor- und frühskythischer Zeit*, in *Steppenvölker Eurasiens*, 2, Berlin, Moscova, 2001, p. 280.

³⁰ V. A. Kisel, *Shedevry juvelirov Drevnego Vostoka iz skifskikh kurganov*, Sankt Petersburg, 2003.

³¹ M. N. Van Loon, *Anatolia in the Earlier first Millenium B.C.*, Iconography of religions, XV, 13, Leiden, 1990, pl. XX.

³² V. A. Il'inskaja, B. N. Mozolevskij, A. I. Terenozhkin, *Kurgany VI v. do n. e. u. s. Matusov*, in A. I. Terenozhkin (ed.), *Skifia i Kavkaz*, Kiev, 1980, p. 41-42, fig. 11/6-7, 12/2.

³³ S. B. Okhotnikov, A. S. Ostroverkhov, *Svjatilishche Akhilla na ostrove Levke (Zmeinom)*, Kiev, 1993, p. 46, fot. 18/1.

³⁴ D. A. Topal, *Akinaki na zapadnykh rubezhakh...*, p. 23, fig. 2/4.

³⁵ Idem, *The use of bronze in making the early Scythian akinakai*, in *Tyragetia*, IX (XXIV), 2015, p. 42.

from Matusov, Leucos and Nisporeni could be dated to the turn of the 7th-6th century BC³⁶. This date could be indirectly confirmed by the finds from the Snake Island: the earliest fragments of Rhode-Ionian pottery from this site are dated to the late 7th - early 6th century BC³⁷. Another Early Scythian bouterolle of a different type has recently become known by a stray find from the „north of the Republic of Moldova” (Fig. 6/4; App. 1/9). Such cast bronze chapes with rounded edges are well known in the forest-steppe of the Black Sea region, by the sites of the second half - late 7th century BC: i.e. Starshaya Mogyla³⁸, grave 1 of barrow 18 from Kupyevakha³⁹, burial mound 406 near Zhuravka⁴⁰ and the mound 5 near Ryzhanovka⁴¹.

Early Middle Scythian period. New forms, new regions

In the Middle Scythian time, the experiments on the shape of the blade and hilt continue further. The bulk of Early Scythian *akinakai* have the blade with parallel edges, then by the end of the period triangular and narrow elongated blades appear. The hilts become even more massive, rounded, and the pommel opposite - rather thin, elongated⁴². The overwhelming majority of the burials with the *akinakai* of the Siret-Dniester (or *Moldavian*) and East Carpathian (or *Neamt*) groups are identified as **Middle Scythian**. The finds of the *Shumeyko type* (second-third quarter of the 6th century BC) and its derivative, the *Vettersfelde type* (second half - the late 6th century BC) are connected with the very beginning of the period. The Middle Scythian *akinakai* of *Shumeyko type* differ from the Early Scythian items with more massive rounded hilts and the thinner and elongated pommel at the same time. Summing up the chronological observations, we can conclude that, despite the probability of the appearance of this type of daggers in the late 7th - early 6th century BC, the main period of its existence, however, refers to the second-third quarter of the 6th century BC. Apparently, the *Vettersfelde type*, like the *Shumeyko type*, also appears in the late 7th - early 6th century BC. However, its main period of existence refers, rather, to the second half - the end of the 6th century BC. The

³⁶ D. S. Grechko, *O vozmozhnykh...*, p. 77-79; D. A. Topal, *Akinaki na zapadnykh rubezhakh...*, p. 25.

³⁷ S. B. Okhotnikov, A. S. Ostroverkhov, *Svjatilishche Akhilla...*, p. 29, 104.

³⁸ V. A. Illins'ka, *Kurgan Starsha Mogila - pam'jatka arkhainoj Skifii*, in *Arkheologija*, V, 1951, p. 197, tab. 1/1.

³⁹ Ju. N. Bojko, S. I. Berestnev, *Pogrebenija VII-IV vv. do n.e. kurgannogo mogil'nika u s. Kup'evakha (Vorsklinskij region skifskogo vremeni)*, Khar'kov, 2001, p. 126, fig. 39/2.

⁴⁰ V. A. Il'inskaja, *Ranneskifskie kurgany bassejna r. Tjasmin VII-VI vv. do n.e.*, Kiev, 1975, tab. 8/6.

⁴¹ *Ibidem*, tab. 22/9.

⁴² W. Ginters, *Das Schwert der Skythen und Sarmaten in Südrussland*, Berlin, 1928, p. 11-12; A. I. Meljukova, *Vooruzhenie skifof...*, p. 60.

fact that the experiments on the development of this type of daggers could be carried out in the archaic period may also be evidenced by the discovery of a bimetallic dagger from Łubnice⁴³. The bronze handle of this *akinakes* combines the mushroom-shaped pommel and the kidney-shaped hilt, and the wide triangular blade is decorated with longitudinal notches, like a third of daggers of Vetersfelde type. However, a more recent time of existence of this type is indirectly evidenced by the eponymous find of the type: the hoard from Vetersfelde is lagging in time at least half a century in comparison with Shumeyko barrow.

At the same time, Shumeyko type *akinakes* occupy the Bârlad plateau, while the Vetersfelde daggers are concentrated in the Neamț subgroup (on the Suceava plateau). A small concentration of stray and poorly documented findings of Shumeyko type is observed in Romanian Moldova. In the Iași County, the Shumeyko *akinakes* was found in Bâcu (App. 1/31), probably in a burial⁴⁴. Two items originate from the Galați County - from Gănești (App. 1/45)⁴⁵ and Bălăbănești villages (App. 1/29)⁴⁶ and one from Vaslui County, found in Dumești (App. 1/30)⁴⁷. Perhaps the Shumeyko type should also include a dagger without a pommel from Moșna (App. 1/32)⁴⁸ or the item with antenna pommel known as „find from the East of Romania” (App. 1/42)⁴⁹. A significant concentration of complexes and stray finds of Vetersfelde type is observed in the Carpathian-Dniester region, especially within the Middle Dniester or *Bukovina*, Siret-Dniester or *Moldavian* and East Carpathian or *Neamț* subgroups⁵⁰. The burial from Agapia (App. 1/22)⁵¹ is dated, perhaps, to the first half of the 6th century BC and later. A whole series of stray finds of Vetersfelde daggers are also coming from the territory of the Neamț subgroup: from the vicinity of Boureni (App. 1/18)⁵², Ghindăoani (App. 1/20)⁵³, Moțca (App.

⁴³ Z. Bukowski, *The Scythian influence in the area of Lusatian culture*, Wrocław, 1977, tab. XII/1.

⁴⁴ A. Nițu, *Despre unele urme scitice în Moldova*, in *MCA*, 1, 1953, p. 6-7, fig. 2.

⁴⁵ C. Buzdugan, *Pumnale hallstattiene târzii pe teritoriul României*, in *CA*, 2, 1976, p. 245.

⁴⁶ C. Buzdugan, G. Coman, *Pumnale hallstattiene târzii descoperite în Moldova*, in *SCIVA*, 28, 1977, 2, fig. 2/3.

⁴⁷ C. Buzdugan, *Pumnale hallstattiene...*, p. 243.

⁴⁸ C. Ionomu, *Un pumnal de tip akinakes descoperit la Moșna-Iași*, in *SAA*, 1, 1983, p. 65.

⁴⁹ A. Vulpe, *Die Kurzscherter, Dolche und Streitmesser der Hallstattzeit in Rumänien*, in *PBF*, 4, Bd. 9, München, 1990, p. 54, fig. 14/68a.

⁵⁰ D. A. Topal, *Akinaki na zapadnykh rubezhakh...*, p. 25, fig. 7.

⁵¹ V. Mihăilescu-Bîrliba, I. Untaru, *Notă despre un nou „akinakes” găsit la Agapia*, in *MemAntiq*, III, 1971, p. 441, fig. 1-2.

⁵² Gh. I. Brătianu, *Le poignard scythe de Boureni (Moldavie)*, in *Dacia*, II, 1924-1925, fig. 1.

1/24)⁵⁴, between the villages of Văratec and Filioara (App. 1/17)⁵⁵. Probably the akinakes from Miroslovești (App. 1/23)⁵⁶ and Cozia (App. 1/8)⁵⁷ are part of this type despite their antenna pommel (A. Vulpe allocated for these items a special *Nănești type*). The dagger found on the territory of the Comarna burial ground (App. 1/54)⁵⁸ seems to be connected with a burial of 5th century BC. Besides the akinakes from Măcișeni (App. 1/53)⁵⁹, various iron objects were discovered⁶⁰ being also part of a grave⁶¹. Other stray findings are known from the vicinity of Suseni (App. 1/56)⁶², Nănești (App. 1/52)⁶³, Cuhureștii de Jos (Fig. 6/9; App. 1/51) and Boldurești (Fig. 6/10; App. 1/ 46)⁶⁴. Probably, the daggers from the destroyed barrow near the village of Năvîrneț (App. 1/47, 50) also belong to the Vetttersfelde type⁶⁵. This is indicated by the triangular shape of the blade and the massive hilt. In Bukovina, the akinakes of Vetttersfelde type were found near Sokirintsy (App. 1/5)⁶⁶, Chernivtsi district of the Khmelnytsk Region, Ukraine and Ibănești (App. 1/10)⁶⁷, Botoșani County, Romania. The *akinakai* from other complexes are more difficult to identify, but their chronological position can be judged on the basis of accompanying grave goods. Thus, the burial 2 near Mileștii de Sus (App. 1/44), in addition to the akinakes with an antenna pommel, contained a *propeller-shaped* pendant, cowry shells and set of arrowheads⁶⁸, so it

⁵³ I. Mitrea, *Un pumnal scitic descoperit la Ghindăoani (corn. Bălțătești, jud. Neamț)*, in *SCIV*, 20, 1969, 3, fig. 2.

⁵⁴ C. Ionomu, *Descoperiri arheologice întâmplătoare în comuna Moțca, jud. Iași*, in *ArhMold*, XXIII-XXIV, 2001, p. 303, 304, fig. 3, 4.

⁵⁵ V. Mihăilescu-Bîrliba, *Un „akinakes” descoperit la Văratice (com. Agapia, jud. Neamț)*, in *SCIV*, 20, 1964, 2, fig. 2, 3.

⁵⁶ V. Chirica, M. Tanasachi, *Repertoriul arheologic al județului Iași*, I, Iași, 1984, fig. 10/5.

⁵⁷ A. Vulpe, *Die Kurzscherter...*, fig. 14/71.

⁵⁸ A. Nițu, *Despre unele...*, p. 8-9, fig. 3.

⁵⁹ V. Palade, *Un pumnal scitic descoperit la Măcișeni (r. Târgu Bujor, R. Galați)*, in *ArhMold*, II-III, 1964, fig. 1, 2.

⁶⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 487.

⁶¹ A. Vulpe, *Die Kurzscherter...*, p. 40.

⁶² C. Buzdugan, *Pumnale hallstattiene...*, fig. 7/7.

⁶³ A. Vulpe, *Die Kurzscherter...*, fig. 14/68.

⁶⁴ D. A. Topal, *Dva sredneskifskikh...*, fig. 1/1, 2.

⁶⁵ A. Donici, *Contribution à l'étude anthropologique des Scythes*, in *Archives suisses d'Anthropologie générale*, 1 (5), 1928, p. 323, fig. 2.

⁶⁶ A. F. Gutsal, *Skifs'ki kinzhal iz Podillja*, in *Naukovi pratsi Kam'janets'-Podil's'kogo derzhavnogo universitetu*, 12, 2004, fig. 1.

⁶⁷ A. Vulpe, *Die Kurzscherter...*, fig. 7/34.

⁶⁸ I. Mitrea, *Deux tombes des VI^e - V^e siècles de a.n.è. découvertes à Mileștii de Sus, departement de Bacău*, in *Carpica*, XV, 1983, fig. 1/2, 2/1.

can be attributed to the second half of 6th - early 5th century BC⁶⁹. The burial from Mânzătești (App. 1/71), containing an *akinakes* with a fragmented antenna pommel and trilobate basic arrowheads⁷⁰ could also be dated to the same period of time. A dagger of the Vetersfelde type of the Middle Scythian period was accidentally discovered in Steppe region at Gnilyakovo (modern Dachnoe) village near Odessa, Ukraine (Fig. 6/11; App. 1/90)⁷¹. Probably, the fragment of the blade from Chircești (App. 1/72)⁷² could also be identified due to supposed by A. Vulpe⁷³ the presence of the heart-like hilt.

Akinakes from the barrows 1 (App. 1/37) and 25 (App. 1/39) of the Bârsești burial ground are the eponymous finds for the *Bârsești type* of the second half of the 7th - 6th centuries BC by A. Vulpe⁷⁴. In my opinion, these items should be treated as a part of Vetersfelde, despite their supposed antenna pommels, which are not very characteristic for the given type. This consideration, as well as the composition of the burials, can significantly narrow the dating of these complexes. Thus, in the barrow 1, except for *akinakes*, a cross-shaped plate of the Olbian type was found. As a rule, the cross-shaped plates are dated within the second half of the 6th century, the earliest come from the burial 12 of 1910 in the Olbia necropolis and the grave 3 of barrow 3 from Aksai-I burial ground (they are similar to the item from Bârsești). The Olbian grave dates back on the second or third quarter of the 6th century BC and the Aksai is reliably dated due to the North Ionian amphora within the middle - second half of the 6th century BC or even more accurate to the end of the second - the beginning of the third quarter of the 6th century BC. Other Northern Black Sea burials with cross-shaped plates (Opishlyanka, Gusarka) are also the oldest complexes of the Middle Scythian phase and are even placed in the so-called transition period between the Early and Middle period: i.e. in the second-third quarter of the 6th century BC, according to D. S. Grechko⁷⁵. A. Kozubová⁷⁶ believes that the burial 40/1952 of the Chotin 1a burial ground and Törökszentmiklós-Surján with similar plates generally belong to the first half of

⁶⁹ I. V. Brujako, *Rannie kochevniki...*, p. 158; D. Măndescu, *Cronologia perioadei timpurii a celei de-a doua Epoci a Fierului (sec. V-III a. Chr.) între Carpați, Nistru și Balcani*, Brăila, 2010, p. 110, cat. 421.

⁷⁰ V. Palade, N. Ciucă, *Noi descoperiri scitice în județul Vaslui*, in *SCIV*, 23, 1972, 2, p. 285-290.

⁷¹ E. I. Diamant, E. V. Chernenko, *Skifskij kinzhali z Odesskogo muzeja*, in *Arkheologicheskie issledovanija na Ukraine v 1968 godu*, Kiev, 1971, p. 159-160.

⁷² A. Vulpe, *Die Kurzschwerter...*, fig. 17/84.

⁷³ *Ibidem*, p. 68.

⁷⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 53-54.

⁷⁵ D. S. Grechko, *O vozmoznykh...*, p. 93-95, fig. 1.

⁷⁶ A. Kozubová, *Pohrebiská vekeřzugskej kultúry v Chotíne na juhozápadnom Slovensku*, *Dissertationes Archaeologicae Bratislavenses*, 1, Bratislava, 2013, p. 94.

the 6th century BC. In any case, it is clear that the graves from Bârsești have no relation to the Early Scythian period, in addition, they can be reliably associated with the beginning of the Middle Scythian period.

The end of the Middle Scythian period. The epicentre of the storm

The further evolution of the Middle Scythian *akinakai* is easily traced on the ceremonial swords: e.g. from Ostraya or Tomakovskaya Mogyla, the Golden Barrow and Aleksandrovka. Thus, in the finale of the Middle Scythian culture, a number of signs are drawn up that will determine the appearance of swords and daggers of the Classical period. These features include the oval pommel, transverse notches on the handle, longitudinal grooves on the blade and the handle. However, the Classical swords and daggers become *lighter* due to the thinning of the handle (often forged with the pommel and hilt), then in the Middle Scythian time the *akinakai* retain their massiveness. The signs such as the oval pommel, the flat handle and the *profiled* (butterfly-shaped) hilt allowed A. Vulpe⁷⁷ to distinguish the *Cozia type*.

The researcher included to this type the stray finds from Romanian Moldova - the eponymous one from Cozia (App. 1/67)⁷⁸, Buciumeni (App. 1/61)⁷⁹, Lichitișeni (App. 1/63)⁸⁰ and Găiceana (App. 1/64)⁸¹. The *akinakai* of the Cozia type are also represented by finds in the funeral complexes of Romanian Moldova, e.g. from the grave at Poieniști-III burial ground (App. 1/80)⁸², grave of 1973 at Vaslui (App. 1/66), grave of 1969 near Cozia (App. 1/62), barrows 7, burial 2 (App. 1/36) and barrow 13 (App. 1/38) of the Bârsești burial ground. However, A. Vulpe calls them „probably belonging” to the Cozia type because of their preservation state. Thus, the dagger from the „burial-furnace” of the Poieniști burial ground⁸³ has no pommel and hilt, but the blade itself is elongated with parallel edges. In this case, the arrowheads found with the dagger are similar to those discovered in the burial of 1973 at Vaslui-*Capul Rediu* and date back to „a little earlier than 500 BC”⁸⁴. The burial 2 of the

⁷⁷ A. Vulpe, *Die Kurzscherter...*, p. 43.

⁷⁸ *Ibidem*, fig. 9/42.

⁷⁹ *Ibidem*, fig. 9/43.

⁸⁰ S. Antonescu-Ioviță, *Un akinakes descoperit la Lichitișeni, com. Vultureni, jud. Bacău*, in *SCIVA*, 33, 1982, 1, fig. 1.

⁸¹ V. Căpitanu, *O spadă de fier de tip akinakes descoperită la Găiceana, jud. Bacău*, in *Carpica*, XVI, 1984, fig. 1.

⁸² The fragmented single-edged sword from another burial at Poieniști: grave 307 (App. 1/82). A. Vulpe also identified as a *closed one to Cozia type*.

⁸³ R. Vulpe, *Săpăturile de la Poieniști din 1949*, in *MCA*, I, 1953, fig. 98.

⁸⁴ A. Vulpe, *Die Kurzscherter...*, p. 48.

barrow 7⁸⁵ and the barrow 13 of the Bârsești burial ground⁸⁶ in the foothills of Vrancea are dated a little later than to the 6th century BC⁸⁷. In addition, in the burial 2 of the barrow 7, besides the akinakes, hand-made ceramics were found, including the fragments of a vessel with openings under the rim, the upper date of which is limited to the early 5th century BC⁸⁸. *Akinakai* of Cozia type are known in the territory of Bukovina due to the destroyed burials from Cristinești (App. 1/14, 16) and Zăicești (App. 1/3, 8, 15), Botoșani County. There are two daggers, a sword and a spearhead in Zăicești-Porcari burial⁸⁹. Other two *akinakai* in a bad state of preservation found at Cristinești are also supposedly the elements of the funerary inventory⁹⁰.

The burial 13 of the barrow excavated near Artsiz (Fig. 9/25; App. 1/89), Odessa Region, Ukraine, belongs to the latter group of Middle Scythian steppe burials with Cozia type *akinakai*. However, the authors of the publication dated it to the second half - the end of the 5th century BC⁹¹, basing on the arrowheads characteristics. According to I. V. Brujako, their appearance in the quiver set records only the early period of existence, but generally, the set consisting of the low sleeve arrowheads refers to the mid. 5th century BC, and the burial itself belongs to the so-called *Knight group*⁹². A. Yu. Alekseev believes that such a characteristic detail, like a badge in the form of a hand, rather points to the second quarter or second-third quarter of the 5th century BC⁹³.

In 1954, an akinakes was found in a burial near Suruceni village, Ialoveni District (Fig. 7/12; App. 1/33)⁹⁴. In addition to the iron akinakes⁹⁵, in the ruined burial there were discovered the fragments of hand-made potsherds, the remains of a wooden quiver and bronze arrowheads⁹⁶. A sword of poor preservation was

⁸⁵ S. Morintz, *Novaja galshtatskaja grupa v Moldove*, in *Dacia*, 1, 1957, p. 117-132, fig. 4.1.

⁸⁶ S. Morintz, *Săpăturile de la Bârsești (r. Vrancea, reg. Galați)*, in *MCA*, VI, 1959, fig. 3.

⁸⁷ A. Vulpe, *Die Kurzscherter...*, p. 48.

⁸⁸ I. V. Brujako, *Rannie kochevniki...*, p. 152.

⁸⁹ A. Păunescu, P. Șadurschi, *Repertoriul arheologic al României. Botoșani. III. Comuna Bălușeni*, in *Hierasus*, VII-VIII, 1989, fig. 15/1-3.

⁹⁰ A. Vulpe, *Die Kurzscherter...*, p. 45, fig. 10/49, 50.

⁹¹ I. L. Alekseeva, S. B. Okhotnikov, E. F. Redina, *Skifskoe pogrebenie u g. Artsiz*, in E. V. Jarovoj (ed.), *Chobručskij arkheologičeskij kompleks i voprosy vzaimodejstvija antichnoj i varvarskikh kul'tur (IV v. do n.e. - IV v. n. e.)*, Tiraspol, 1997, p. 53.

⁹² I. V. Brujako, *Rannie kochevniki...*, p. 160-161.

⁹³ A. Ju. Alekseev, *Khronologija i khronografija Prichernomorskoj Skifii V v. do n. e.*, în *Arkheologičeskij sbornik Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha*, 31, 1991, p. 50; idem, *Khronografija Evropejskoj Skifii VII-IV vekov do n. e.*, Sankt Petersburg, 2003, p. 201.

⁹⁴ D. A. Topal, *Akinaki na zapadnykh rubezhakh...*, p. 15, fig. 1/4.

⁹⁵ G. P. Sergeev, *Pogrebenie skifskogo voina*, in *Trudy* (za 1960). Gosudarstvennyj istoriko-kraevedčeskij muzej, 1961, fig. 2.

⁹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 137, fig. 1.

severely corrupted, resulting in the damage of a part of the blade and the hilt. G. P. Sergeev⁹⁷ dated back the Suruceni complex to the time not earlier than the 5th century BC, but, most likely, in his opinion, it dates to the *second half of the 4th - early 3rd century BC*. Now, this chronology seems too high, and the most probable chronological framework is the second half of the 6th - the early 5th century BC⁹⁸. In the Middle Dniester (Bukovina) subgroup, the items of this type were found at Nelipovtsy (App. 1/11)⁹⁹, Kelmentsi District, Chernivtsi Region, Ukraine and Volodeni (App. 1/13)¹⁰⁰, Edineț District, Republic of Moldova. On the territory of the Republic of Moldova, the *akinakai* of this type are known as part of the Siret-Dniester (Moldavian) subgroup and are presented by the stray finds from Trebujeni (App. 1/65)¹⁰¹ and Lucășeuca (App. 1/57)¹⁰² of the Orhei District; Mikhailovka (App. 1/158)¹⁰³, Rybnitsa District; Teșcureni (App. 1/55)¹⁰⁴, Ungheni District, two finds from Lărguța (Fig. 7/14, 18; App. 1/40, 48)¹⁰⁵, Cantemir District, Rezeni, Ialoveni District (Fig. 7/16; 8/22; App. 1/35, 49) and stray finds from the territory of Republic of Moldova (App. 1/34, 43).

A series of swords and daggers from Celic-Dere cemetery (App. 1/103, 110-113, 124) at Telița village, Tulcea County on Lower Danube most likely belongs to the Cozia type¹⁰⁶. In all conscience, it is difficult to judge the composition of all complexes with Cozia *akinakai*, according to the publications of G. Simion. The data are available only for burials of the mound 10a (App. 1/103), 11 (App. 1/111)¹⁰⁷ and 44 (App. 1/110)¹⁰⁸. Burial in the mound 10a was

⁹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 140.

⁹⁸ I. V. Brujako, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

⁹⁹ A. Mogilov, *K arkheologicheskoi karte Severnoj Bukoviny rannego zheleznoogo veka*, in *RA*, V, 1, 2010, p. 120, fig. 12/1.

¹⁰⁰ D. A. Topal, *op. cit.*, p. 23, fig. 2/7.

¹⁰¹ V. L. Lapushnean, *Rannie frakijtsy X - nachala IV v. do n. e.*, Chișinău, 1979, fig. 43.

¹⁰² *Ibidem*, fig. 42/2.

¹⁰³ S. V. Makhortykh, S. M. Ievlev, *Skifskie mechi i kinzhaly iz sobranija Natsional'nogo muzeja istorii Ukrainy*, in *Drevnosti Severskogo Donsa*, 5, Lugansk, 2001, fig. 3/2.

¹⁰⁴ V. Haheu, V. Bikbaev, *Akinakesul din r-nul Ungheni*, in *RA*, 2, 1998, p. 160, fig. 1.

¹⁰⁵ D. A. Topal, *Akinaki na zapadnykh rubezhakh...*, p. 23, fig. 2/2.

¹⁰⁶ G. Simion, *Geții și sciții...*, fig. 3/5; *idem*, *Culturi antice în zona Gurilor Dunării, I, Preistorie și protoistorie*, Cluj-Napoca, 2003, p. 256, fig. 5; *idem*, *Presences interethniques dans la région des embouchures du Danube aux VI^e - V^e s. av. J.- C.*, in *Ethnic contacts and cultural exchanges. North and West of the Black Sea from the Greek colonization to the Ottoman conquest*, Iași, 2005, fig. 6/4, 7.

¹⁰⁷ G. Simion, *Geții și sciții...*, fig. 3/5.

¹⁰⁸ V. Sîrbu, M.-M. Ștefan, D. Ștefan, G. Jugănar, T. Bochnak, *The necropolis from Telița-Celic Dere (6th - 3rd c. BC), Tulcea county, Romania. The study case of tumulus T44*, in V. Sîrbu, R. Ștefănescu (Eds.), *The Thracians and their neighbours in the Bronze and Iron ages*, Brașov, 2013, fig. 11/a-d.

dated by G. Simion¹⁰⁹ to the third quarter of the 5th century BC by the „Thasian” amphora, later this amphora was defined as „Samian” and dated to the late 5th century BC¹¹⁰, but it could be dated even more detailed. G. Simion dated burial 11 to the third quarter of the 5th century BC, basing on three amphorae and a bronze axe-sceptre¹¹¹, however, due to the lack of illustration and description of the amphora, this dating is still in doubt¹¹². Barrow 44 of the Celic-Dere burial ground is dated, according to the authors of the excavations, to the second half (or even to the very end) of the 5th century¹¹³, although a quiver set consisting of basic arrowheads¹¹⁴ indicates an earlier date, the upper limit of which is likely to come in the mid. 5th century BC. The similar sword (App. 1/102) was occasionally discovered on the territory of the Murighiol burial ground. It was traditionally dated to the late 4th - early 3rd century BC¹¹⁵, but however due to the recent discovery from Celic-Dere, there were reasons for its earlier dating, i.e. to the finale of Middle Scythian time. In the Carpathian-Danube region also appear single-edged swords based on the types characteristic of the finale of the Middle Scythian culture. Among the single-edged swords closed to Cozia type, besides the sword from grave 307 at Poienesti, is, for example, an item from Muncelu de Sus (App. 1/19)¹¹⁶.

Scythian swords and daggers with antenna pommels in animal style from Black Sea region were separated from the swords with a simple antenna by A. I. Melyukova¹¹⁷, who also noted that the first group is more characteristic for Scythia. At the same time, the swords with pommels in the shape of bird heads were studied separately from items with „clawed” pommels, allocated into the 1st (with a butterfly-shaped hilt) and 2nd types (with pseudo-triangular one). Among the *akinakai* who fell out of the classification (perhaps because of their specific

¹⁰⁹ G. Simion, *Geții și sciții...*, p. 104.

¹¹⁰ E. Teleagă, *Griechische Importe in den Nekropolen an der unteren Donau 6. Jh. - Anfang des 3. Jhs. v. Chr.*, Rahden, 2008, p. 49, fig. 192/10-11; V. Sîrbu *et alii*, *The necropolis...*, p. 350.

¹¹¹ Such sceptres in the shape of a head of a bird of prey are known from the looted burial 25 of the Kichkas burial ground of the 5th century BC, Pastyrské hillfort and the stray find from Kunderovich collection.

¹¹² However, G. Simion confidently identified both the mound 10a and 11 belonging to the final phase of the burial ground, i.e. the third quarter or the late 5th - the early 3rd century BC.

¹¹³ V. Sîrbu *et alii*, *The necropolis...*, p. 356.

¹¹⁴ *Ibidem*, fig. 10d.

¹¹⁵ A. Vulpe, *Die Kurzschwerter...*, p. 67, fig. 17/80.

¹¹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 95, fig. 30/201.

¹¹⁷ A. I. Meljukova, *Vooruzhenie skifof...*, p. 55.

realism) A. I. Melyukova, and later V. G. Petrenko¹¹⁸ called, for example, the swords from the burial mound 401 near Zhurovka village, a stray find from Gamarnya village and an undocumented artefact from State Museum in Kiev. The swords and daggers with zoomorphic pommels were also considered separately by A. Vulpe¹¹⁹. The Romanian archaeologist placed in the last typological group (Formengruppe V) the swords of *Găiceana type* and dated back to the second half of the 6th - the first half of the 5th century BC¹²⁰. In addition to the characteristic pommel in the animal style, the akinakes of Găiceana type have very original semicircular hilt in the shape of „Thracian shield” (πέλιτη), according to A. Vulpe¹²¹. The relative rarity of *akinakai* with a semicircular hilt did not allow A. I. Melyukova in the 1950's to determine their chronology reasonable¹²². However, over time, the time of existence of this type of the hilt was defined within the framework of 6th - 5th¹²³ or 5th century BC¹²⁴. An impressive series of swords and daggers with a semicircular hilt (55 ex.) were recently examined by the Ukrainian scholars who specified its dating as „the second half of the 6th - first half of the 5th century” BC¹²⁵. At the same time, it is characteristic that *akinakai* with semicircular hilt provided from burials are typical for the steppe of Black Sea region and Crimeea, while the stray finds occur mainly the forest-steppe of the Donets-Bug interfluvium and the Eastern Carpathians¹²⁶. If we summarize the chronological observations of daggers of the Găiceana type, it turns out that the preliminary dating of A. Vulpe¹²⁷ is confirmed within the framework of the „second half of the 6th - first half of the 5th century BC”. We could raise this dating until the late 5th century BC, but it should be noted that most of the well-dated burials tend, nevertheless, to the first half of the 5th century BC. Geographically, daggers of the Găiceana type practically do not go beyond the forest-steppe zone, concentrating in three main regions - the Carpathian-Danube, the Dnieper Forest-Steppe (mainly the Right-Bank) and the Ciscaucasia (Kuban region).

¹¹⁸ V. G. Petrenko, *Pravoberezh'e Srednego Pridneprov'ja v V-III vv. do n. e.*, SAI D1-4, Moscova, 1967, p. 43.

¹¹⁹ A. Vulpe, *Die Kurzschwerter...*, p. 57-64.

¹²⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 60.

¹²¹ *Ibidem*, p. 58.

¹²² A. I. Meljukova, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

¹²³ I. Fodor, *Skifskie i sarmatskie mechi s segmentovidnym perekrest'em*, in *SovArkh*, 3, 1969, p. 253.

¹²⁴ G. L. Evdokimov, V. Ju. Murzin, *Ranneskifskoe pogrebenie s oruzhiem iz Khersonskoj oblasti*, in E. V. Chernenko (ed.), *Vooruzhenie skifof i sarmatov*, Kiev, 1984, p. 78.

¹²⁵ L. I. Babenko, O. V. Shelekhan', *Kindzhali z segmentopodibnim perekhrestjam u zibranni Kharkivs'kogo istorichnogo muzeju*, in *Arkheologija*, 4, 2015, p. 83, 88.

¹²⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 79-86.

¹²⁷ A. Vulpe, *Die Kurzschwerter...*, p. 60.

Eponymous sword from Găiceana (App. 1/81), Bacău, Romania, was found by chance near the village church¹²⁸. Besides that, item another stray find from Capaclia (Fig. 7/15; App. 1/70) should be attributed to this type, due to its semicircular hilt and a massive (zoomorphic?) pommel. Similar design of the hilt is characteristic for the finds from Mircești (App. 1/74) and Dănești (App. 1/76)¹²⁹, which, according to the recent studies, allows them to be attributed to „the second half of the 6th - first half of the 5th century BC”¹³⁰. One of the two *akinakai* from the destroyed burials of the second half of the 6th - the first half of the 5th century BC near Cozia - *Voloaca Mică* (App. 1/77)¹³¹ also has a semicircular hilt. A similar form of the hilt reveals itself on the original dagger from Petricani (App. 1/21), but at the same time the pommel of the dagger straight, elongated and decorated in animal style¹³². The three swords with semicircular hilts (or in the shape of a Thracian shield) and engravings in animal style from Celic-Dere¹³³ burial ground (App. 1/108) also belong to the first half of 5th century BC. The same hilt also characterizes the stray finds from Telenești (Fig. 8/23; App. 1/41) and Lărguța (Fig. 8/24; App. 1/83).

The destroyed burial 2 discovered near Huși contained a fragment of *akinakes* (App. 1/59)¹³⁴, and due to the arrowheads, it could be dated on the first half of the 5th century BC¹³⁵. Not far from this grave was also found another concentration of finds (grave 3), among which there is one more, unfortunately, typologically not identifiable fragment of the dagger (App. 1/60). The burial clearly refers to the same burial ground, and, consequently, to the finale of the Middle Scythian period. As well, it is difficult to determine the type of dagger from Hansca (Fig. 7/16; App. 1/75)¹³⁶, but judging by the general proportions, the shape of the pommel, and by analogy with the dagger from burial 2 of barrow 1 from Berezki of 5th century BC it can also be attributed to the finale of the Middle-Scythian culture. The fragmented dagger from Dumești - *Dealul Coșarelor* (App. 1/73)¹³⁷ probably belongs to the finale

¹²⁸V. Mihăilescu-Bîrliba, *Akinakai from Moldavia. A new discovery*, in *TD*, 1, 1976, p. 109-110, fig. 1.

¹²⁹A. Vulpe, *Die Kurzschwerter...*, fig. 2/9, 10.

¹³⁰L. I. Babenko, O. V. Shelekhani, *Kindzhali...*, p. 83, 88.

¹³¹C. Iconomu, *Două akinakai descoperite la Cozia, județul Iași*, in *ArhMold*, XXXIII, 2010, p. 115-116, fig. 2.

¹³²A. Vulpe, *Die Kurzschwerter...*, fig. 15/76.

¹³³Two other daggers from Celic-Dere also have Thracian shield hilt (fig. 1/122, 126).

¹³⁴A. Vulpe, *Die Kurzschwerter...*, p. 68, fig. 17/89.

¹³⁵C. Iconomu, *Noi date arheologice despre județul Vaslui rezultate dintr-o donație*, in *ArhMold*, XXIII-XXIV, 2000-2001, p. 284, fig. 6/2.

¹³⁶D. A. Topal, *Akinaki na zapadnykh rubezhakh...*, fig. 2/1.

¹³⁷V. Sârbu, R. Ștefănescu, *The Thracians and their neighbours in the Bronze and Iron ages*, Brașov, 2003, p. 542, fig. 1.

of the Middle Scythian period. Also, several burials of the Lower Dniester belong to the end of the Middle Scythian period. Among them is, for instance, a recently published burial G2 of Mayaki in Bilyayivka District, Odessa Region, Ukraine (Fig. 9/26; App. 1/101) which is dated to the first half of 5th century BC due to the set of arrowheads¹³⁸. The same dating is preferable for the sword with the pommel in animal style from the destroyed cremation discovered between Palanca and Tudora villages (Fig. 8/20; App. 1/92), Ștefan Vodă District, Republic of Moldova.

Obviously, the image of a bird of prey accompanied Scythian art from the time of its appearance, including the design of weapons of the archaic period, e.g. scabbards or chapes¹³⁹. A. R. Kantorovich¹⁴⁰ claims that „the theme of the gryphon, which came from the ancient Greek and the Asian art, found itself in the Scythian environment of the 7th - 6th centuries BC was not popular enough in its pure form, being replaced by syncretic images”. Nevertheless, the image of the gryphon influenced the wide distribution of the image of the eared bird or the Scythian gryphon. However, from the second quarter of the 6th century BC the Greek influence (like the motive of the volute) was imposed on the Scythian Archaic iconography, which led to the emergence of a new, very popular Scythian-Greek motive¹⁴¹. Moreover, the Scythian animal style itself evolves over time from clear, but real images to their ornamental schematization¹⁴². A. I. Melyukova considered antenna pommels treated in the animal style more characteristic of Scythia, rather than simple one. In this case, most of them, in the opinion of the researcher, was decorated in the form of claws of a bird of prey and only three specimens are in the form of bird or gryphon heads¹⁴³. Firstly, the scholars noticed on Scythian antenna pommels only the stylized image of the heads of gryphons, birds of prey, or even calves¹⁴⁴. B. N. Grakov¹⁴⁵

¹³⁸ L. V. Nosova, „Grecheskoe” i „varvarkoe” v Severo-Zapadnom Prichernomor’e v „perekhodnyj period” (v svyazi s issledovaniem pogrebenij kontsa VI - pervoj poloviny V v. do n. e. u s. Majaki), in *MASP*, 12, 2011, p. 159.

¹³⁹ D. Topal, *The use of bronze...*, p. 39.

¹⁴⁰ A. R. Kantorovich, *Skifskij zverinyj stil’ Vostochnoj Evropy. Klassifikatsija, tipologija, khronologija, evoljutsija*, avtoreferat diss. dokt. ist. nauk, Moscova, 2015, p. 34.

¹⁴¹ *Ibidem*, p. 31.

¹⁴² A. I. Meljukova, *Skifskoe iskusstvo zverinogo stilja*, in B. A. Rybakov (ed.), *Stepi Evropejskoj chasti SSSR v skifo-sarmatskoe vremja, Arkheologija SSSR*, Moscova, 1989, p. 101.

¹⁴³ *Idem*, *Vooruzhenie skifof...*, p. 55.

¹⁴⁴ A. A. Bobrinskij, *Kurgany i sluchajnye arkhologicheskie nakhodki bliz mestechka Smely, II, Dnevnik raskopok 1887-1889 gg. gr. Alekseja Bobrinskogo i o kurganakh Zvenigorodskogo i Romenskogo uezdov*, Sankt Petersburg, 1894, p. 164; A. A. Miller, *Raskopki v rajone drevnego Tanaisa*, in *IAK*, 35, 1910, p. 115; M. I. Rostovtsev, *Skifija*

and N. Ya. Merpert¹⁴⁶ considered that the antennae were treated like the claws of a bird of prey („*the blow of the sword is like a blow of the eagle's claw*”), while the images of the eyes at the base of the pommel are connected with the second motive of the „vigilance and accuracy”.

One of the first documented *akinakes* with ornithomorphic design of the pommel, butterfly-shaped hilt and triangular blade was the stray find on the collection of A. A. Bobrinsky¹⁴⁷ near the Grischentsy village in Kanev district. Thus, this specimen could be considered as the eponym of the entire group of swords described as *Grishchentsy* type. Burial complexes with Grischentsy type *akinakai* are concentrated mainly in two main regions: in the forest-steppe part of the Middle Dnieper river (mainly on the left bank) and the North Caucasus. Judging by the chronology of the studied complexes, the Grischentsy type does not go beyond the limits of the 5th century BC, tending at the same time, rather, to the middle - third quarter of the century. Another important tendency is noted: steppe burials are usually later than forest-steppe (with the exception of the Caucasus). Stray finds are also characteristic of the forest-steppe. They are forming a traditional cluster in the interfluvium of the Desna and the Volga rivers and follow eastward to the Kama and the Volga-Ural regions. The western direction is less representative, the most western finds are discovered in Northern Bulgaria and Southern Transylvania (a unique sword from Dobolii de Jos). It could be also noted that some stray finds come into the steppe but this trend completely reveals itself already in the Classical Scythian period.

The Grischentsy type includes a stray find from the Râșcani District (Fig. 8/19; App. 1/12) of the Republic of Moldova and a sword discovered near Kotovsk (*modern* Podilsk) in the Odessa Region (App. 1/84)¹⁴⁸. In addition, a similar sword with a pommel of the Grischentsy type, with „eyes” in the base of the pommel, was found in the burial, investigated in 1972 near Pîrjolteni (Fig. 8/21; App. 1/78)¹⁴⁹. The antenna pommel differs a little from the Grischentsy type and its realistic manner is closer to Găiceana type. In addition to the sword, in the burial was documented the set arrowheads of the first half of the 5th

i Bospor. Kriticheskoe obozrenie pamjatnikov literaturnykh i arkhologicheskikh, Leningrad, 1925, p. 419.

¹⁴⁵ B. M. Grakov, *Skifi*, Kiev, 1947, p. 70, 71.

¹⁴⁶ N. Ja. Merpert, *Akinak s kogtevidnym navershiem*, in *KSIA*, 22, 1948, p. 78.

¹⁴⁷ A. A. Bobrinskij, *Otchet o raskopke v Kievskoj gubernii v 1912 godu*, in *IAK*, 54, 1914, p. 105, fig. 27.

¹⁴⁸ S. B. Okhotnikov, *Skifskij mech iz g. Kotovska Odesskoj oblasti*, in G. A. Dzis-Raiko (ed.), *Severnoe Prichernomor'e (materialy po arkheologii)*, Kiev, 1984, p. 112.

¹⁴⁹ V. L. Lapushnjan, *Rannie frakijtsy...*, p. 55.

century BC¹⁵⁰ and the long spearhead. Such long and narrow spearheads are well known among the materials of the second phase of the burial site of Celic-Dere, Isaccea¹⁵¹ and the burial 211 of Dănceni burial ground. D. Măndescu believes that the hand-made ladle with a high handle from Pârjolteni is either „rudimentary”, or, on the contrary, the „nascent” manifestation of grey-clay mugs. The classical mugs, manufactured on a potter’s wheel, appear in the 6th century BC, but are characteristic of the 5th century BC¹⁵². The shape of the hand-made bowl finds analogies even in the Bârsești burial ground, while the drawn ornament clearly belongs to an earlier tradition¹⁵³. Moreover, D. Măndescu¹⁵⁴ considers the second half of the 5th century BC to be the most acceptable date for burial from Pârjolteni. Another group of grave goods is the elements of horse harness¹⁵⁵ which are quite original items made from bone: facial and profiled plaques with the image of the bear’s head, a pendant in the form of a wild boar tusk, two iron psalia, iron bits, a bronze moon-shaped pendant, an iron ring for the harness bridle. The main period of the plaques with such images dates back to the 6th century BC, beginning with the second-third quarter of the century¹⁵⁶. The closest analogies come from the mound near Budki¹⁵⁷, which dates back to the late 6th century BC¹⁵⁸. A fragment of the pendant in the form of a wild boar tusk is decorated with a longitudinal strip of relief circles (imitation of teeth in the beak of a fantastic bird). Such wild boar tusks or their imitations with zoomorphic images are widely distributed in the Scythian time from the Black Sea to the South Siberia¹⁵⁹. Apparently, they are a

¹⁵⁰ A. Gawlik, *Znalezki Skascytyjskie na Wyzynie Moldawskiej Besarabskiej*, in *MSROA*, 19, 1998, s. 66; T. Arnăuț, *Vestigii ale sec. VII - III a. Chr. în spațiul de la răsărit de Carpați*, Chișinău, 2003, p. 245; I. V. Brujako, *Rannie kochevniki...*, p. 163.

¹⁵¹ D. Măndescu, *Cronologia perioadei...*, pl. 153/16, 17.

¹⁵² *Ibidem*, p. 54.

¹⁵³ *Ibidem*, p. 53.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 69, fig. 8/18.

¹⁵⁵ V. L. Lapushnjan, *op. cit.*, p. 118-119.

¹⁵⁶ D. S. Grechko, *Ot Arkhaicheskoi Skifii k Klassicheskoi*, in *Arkheologija i davnja istorija Ukraini*, 2 (19), Kiev, 2016, p. 53, 54.

¹⁵⁷ *Drevnosti Pridneprov'ja. Sobranie B. N. i V. I. Khanenko*, 3, *Epokha, predshestvujushchaja Velikomu pereseleniju narodov*, 2, Kiev, 1900, fig. 51/531; O. D. Mogilov, *Sporjadzhennja konja...*, fig. 135/5-7.

¹⁵⁸ S. V. Makhortykh, *Pronizi dlja perekrestnykh remnej konskoj uprzazhi na juge Vostochnoj Evropy v VII-VI vv. do n. e.*, in *Starozhitnosti rann'ogo zaliznogoviku*, 2 (23), 2017, p. 182.

¹⁵⁹ E. F. Korol'kova, *Zverinyj stil' Evrazii. Iskusstvo plemen Nizhnego Povolzh'ja i Juzhnogo Priural'ja v skifskuju epokhu (VII-VI vv. do n. e). Problemy stilja i etnokul'turnoj prinadlezhnosti*, Sankt Petersburg, 2006, p. 105.

very characteristic feature of the Iranian world¹⁶⁰ and, observing the earliest samples, it can be concluded that such pendants penetrate into the Black Sea from the East at the end of the 6th century BC¹⁶¹. In general, this particular variation with the image of a toothy long-billed bird almost does not go beyond the limits of the 5th century BC (e.g. Khosheutovo, Krivaya Luka, Kirov Sovkhoz, Syntas, Yalkhoy-Mohk), besides the pendant from the mound A12 at Blumenfeld in the Lower Volga region of the late 6th - early 5th century BC¹⁶². Proceeding from the foregoing, in my opinion, the most probable chronological framework for the Pârjolteni burial is the beginning of the 5th century BC, although we can not exclude the late 6th century BC.

Classical period. The end of the tradition.

On the forest-steppe territory, no complexes with *akinakai* of Classical Scythian culture are known yet, i.e. later the third quarter of the 5th century BC. It should be specially discussed the exclusion of two items from this group of antiquities: found in the burials of Hilişeu-Horia and Rădeni, which belong to *Rădeni type* of 5th - 4th century BC, according to A. Vulpe¹⁶³. Despite some resemblance to the single-edged *akinakai*, their small size indicates that they performed in a different function: e.g. as hunting knives, also known in the forest-steppe complexes of the Left Bank of Dnieper river, moreover, no later than the 6th century BC¹⁶⁴. Thus, the funeral complexes with *akinakai* of the **Classical Scythian culture** on its western borders are generally very few and connected exclusively with the steppe zone, i.e. with the territory of the Lower Dniester and Lower Danube subgroups. According to V. S. Sinika, the swords and daggers were part of the grave goods of only 30 complexes or 5,7% of the burials of the Scythian period of the steppes of Dniester-Prut-Danube region¹⁶⁵.

Two graves from the Lower Dniester are dated back to the late 5th - early 4th century BC: burial 1 of barrow 9 from Talmază (Fig. 9/29; App. 1/96)¹⁶⁶ and

¹⁶⁰ R. Ghirshman, *Le passe-bride endéfense de sanglier chez les peuples iraniens*, in *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 25, 1977, p. 33.

¹⁶¹ E. F. Korol'kova, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

¹⁶² K. F. Smirnov, *Savromaty. Rannjaja istorija i kul'tura savromatov*, Moscova, 1964, p. 41.

¹⁶³ A. Vulpe, *Die Kurzschwerter...*, p. 95, fig. 30/199-200.

¹⁶⁴ L. K. Galanina, *Skifskie drevnosti Podneprov'ja (Ermitazhnaja kollekcija N. E. Brandenburga)*, SAI D1-33, Moscova, 1977, p. 39, fig. 18/1.

¹⁶⁵ V. S. Sinika, *Pogrebal'nye pamjatniki skifskoj kul'tury VII - nachala III v. do n. e. na territorii Dnestro-Prutsko-Dunajskikh stepej*, avtoreferat diss. kand. ist. nauk, Moscova, 2007, p. 18.

¹⁶⁶ Idem, *Skifskij kurgannyj mogil'nik u pgt. Suvorovo na pravoberezh'e Nizhnego Dnestra*, in *RossArkh*, 4, 2007, p. 178.

the burial 3 of barrow 7 near Purcari (Fig. 9/27; App. 1/88)¹⁶⁷, Ștefan Vodă District, Moldova. The swords from these burials are the most western akinakes of *Solokha type*, except the find from Agatovo¹⁶⁸ in Bulgaria. In general terms, the observations for this type were formulated by the author of this paper in the process of collecting analogies to a sword from the burial near Purcari¹⁶⁹ and developed in a number of other articles¹⁷⁰. Earlier V. I. Gulyaev¹⁷¹ and I. B. Shramko¹⁷² paid their attention to this series. Solokha type most likely appears at the turn of 6-5th centuries BC and exists until the end of the 4th century BC. Chronologically, the complexes with Solokha *akinakai* could be divided into three groups, which are dated back: the second-third quarter of the 5th century BC; the end of 5th - the first third of the 4th century BC and the second half of the 4th century BC. Early complexes are concentrated in the left bank of Dnieper river in forest-steppe of Ukraine and a single complex is known in the Kuban region. The time of the widest distribution of swords of this type was the last decade of the 5th century - the first third of the 4th century BC: the overwhelming number of dated complexes is associated with this time. It is also the time of the greatest number of ceremonial forms with the handles and often the scabbards covered with gold, although they are found only on the left bank of the Dnieper river and near the Lower Don. Firstly, the akinakes of Solokha type penetrate to the right bank of the Dnieper, then to the south, to the steppe part and later they reach the lower Dniester to the West; and Volga-Ural interfluvium to the East. Apparently, the numerous stray finds of the forest-steppe between Volga and Don are associated with this period. At the final stage of its development in the second half of the 4th century BC, the Solokha type *akinakai* appear in the Crimea, as well as in the burials of the Southern Urals and the Trans-Urals.

¹⁶⁷ D. Topal, S. Țerna, S. Popovici, *Akinakai de tip Solokha în contextul unei noi descoperiri de la Nistrul de Jos*, in *Peuce*, 12, 2014, p. 21, 28.

¹⁶⁸ A. Milchev, N. Kovachev, *Neobnarodvani pametnitsi ot Sevlievsko*, in *Arkheologija*, 2, 1967, p. 40.

¹⁶⁹ S. M. Agul'nikov, S. S. Popovich, S. V. Tserna, D. A. Topal, *Skifskij kurgan no. 7 u s. Purkar' na Nizhnem Dnestre*, in *Stratum plus*, 3, 2013, p. 274-278.

¹⁷⁰ D. A. Topal, *Akinaki klassicheskoj Skifii: tip Solokha*, in S. I. Luk'jashko (ed.), *Vojna i voennoe delo v skifo-sarmatskom mire...*, p. 198-207; D. Topal, S. Țerna, S. Popovici, *Akinakai de tip...*, p. 33-57.

¹⁷¹ V. I. Guljaev, *Eshche raz k voprosu ob etnokul'turnoj situatsii v Srednem Podon'e v skifskoe vremja (V-IV vv. do n. e.)*, in *Arkheologija Srednego Dona v skifskuju epokhu*, Moscova, 2004, p. 14.

¹⁷² I. B. Shramko, *Ob odnom tipe mechej skifskoj epokhi*, in *Istorija i arkheologija Slobodskoj Ukrainy*, Khar'kov, 1992, p. 222.

The attic saltcellar from Purcari, covered with good black gloss, refers to the saltcellars *with concave walls*¹⁷³, which are represented by two series: with a recessed or flat bottom. The latter is characteristic mainly for the late Archaic period and exists till the mid. 5th century BC, while the saltcellars with the recessed lower part (like the item from Purcari) are also characteristic for the 4th century BC¹⁷⁴. The red-clayed amphora from the same complex refers to the Heracleian amphorae of the early I type¹⁷⁵, which date back to the late 5th - early 4th century BC. Two-line stamp of EYPY | ΔΑΜΟ (Εὐρυδάμο(υ)) on the neck of the amphora belongs to the Εὐρυδάμος, the manufacturer of the Early Fabricant Group. Such two-line stamps are known in the Northern Black Sea region for the following complexes: grave 64 and 68 of 1910 from Olbian necropolis, the well of 1992 from Chersonese, cellar 2 of 1960 from Nikonion¹⁷⁶. In addition, such stamps were found on the necks of amphorae from the funeral feast of barrow 28 near Plavni¹⁷⁷ and the barrow 2_γ near Petukhovka¹⁷⁸. S. Yu. Monakhov dates back these complexes to the 390 BC. According to V. I. Katz, Eurydamos worked not only within the framework of the Early Fabricant Group, but also continued his activity during the period of the existence of the 1st Magistrate Group¹⁷⁹. Nevertheless, according to S. Yu. Monakhov¹⁸⁰, such practice of stamping the one or two lines containing only the name of the manufacturer without the indication of a magistrate, lasted from 415 to the mid. 390 BC. Taking this into account, the barrow 7 from Purcari can be dated to the very end of the 5th century BC. Another Lower-Dniester complex with a fragment of sword's handle is the burial 1 of barrow 9 near Talmaz¹⁸¹

¹⁷³ B. A. Sparkes, L. Talcott, *Black and plain pottery of the 6th, 5th and 4th centuries B.C.* The Athenian Agora, 5, 12, Princeton, New Jersey, 1970, fig. 9, pl. 34, no. 936-938.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 136-137.

¹⁷⁵ S. Ju. Monakhov, *Grecheskie amfory v Prichernomor'e. Tipologija amfor vedushchikh tsentrov-eksporterov tovarov v keramicheskoy tare*, Katalog opredelitel', Moscova, Saratov, 2003, p. 126-128.

¹⁷⁶ Idem, *Grecheskie amfory v Prichernomor'e. Kompleksy keramicheskoy tary VII-II vekov do n. e.*, Saratov, 1999, p. 167, 177, 207, 232.

¹⁷⁷ S. I. Andrukh, S. I. Chernov, *Novye skifskie pamjatniki Dunaj-Dnestrovskogo mezhdurech'ja*, in *SovArkh*, 2, 1990, p. 157, fig. 2/2, 4; S. I. Andrukh, *Nizhnedunajskaja Skifia v VI-nachale I v. do n. e. (etno-politicheskij aspekt)*, Zaporozh'e, 1995, p. 48, fig. 8/7, 18; S. Ju. Monakhov, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

¹⁷⁸ N. Mateevici, *Amforele grecești în mediul barbar din nord-vestul Pontului Euxin în sec. VI - începutul sec. II a. Chr.*, Chișinău, 2007, p. 78.

¹⁷⁹ V. I. Katz, *Grecheskie keramicheskie klejma epokhi klassiki i ellinizma (opyt kompleksnogo izuchenija)*, Bosporskie issledovanija, 13, Simferopol, Kerch, 2007, p. 237, 429, anexa V.1.

¹⁸⁰ S. Ju. Monakhov, *Grecheskie amfory v Prichernomor'e. Tipologija...*, p. 124.

¹⁸¹ V. S. Sinika, *Skifskij kurgannyj...*, p. 171, fig. 1/6; D. A. Topal, *Akinaki na zapadnykh rubezhakh...*, fig. 1/2.

which was dated by V. S. Sinika¹⁸² to the late 5th - early 4th century BC due to the arrowheads' set.

Two *akinakai* were discovered among the graves of Nikolaevka II burial ground: in the grave 7 (Fig. 9/31; App. 1/93) and 8 (Fig. 9/30; App. 1/94)¹⁸³. A. I. Melyukova¹⁸⁴ dated the black-glazed attic kylix from grave 7 to the mid. third quarter of the 4th century BC, but the analogies from the Athenian Agora indicate rather the early 4th century BC till the 380 BC¹⁸⁵. In addition to the kylix, the Heracleian amphora from that grave has the stamp of the Ἡρῆσ manufacturer with the name of Κερκινός magistrate (with ἐπί preposition), which refers to the 2nd Magistrate group of the 380-370 BC¹⁸⁶. As a result, this complex should be dated to the second quarter of the 4th century BC. The sword from the grave 8 also can be attributed to this time, because the burial also contained an amphora with a similar stamp¹⁸⁷. The barrow 20 near the Diviziya village (App. 1/91), where a sword with a straight rectangular hilt was found in a burial 6¹⁸⁸, contained a lot of amphorae, including the stamped items of Heraclea Pontica. Initially, the authors of one of the first publications dated this burial mound to the second quarter of the 4th century BC¹⁸⁹. However, according to N. Mateevici¹⁹⁰, the amphoric material belongs to the two different chronological periods. Five fabricant stamps of Ἀριστωνός with „club” symbol belong to the late 5th - early 4th century BC. The other two, magistrate stamps with the name of Σάτυρος and the ἐπί preposition (in one case it is combined with the name of the Ἀπολλώιος manufacturer and the „spear” symbol, in the other - with the Ἡρακλεΐδης name and the „thyrsus” symbol) the scholar dated back to the 350 BC.

¹⁸² V. S. Sinika, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

¹⁸³ A. I. Meljukova, *Poselenie i mogil'nik skifskogo vremeni u sela Nikolaevka*, Moscova, 1975, fig. 56/7, 8.

¹⁸⁴ Eadem, *Naselenie Nizhnego Podnestrov'ja v IV-III vv. do n. e.*, in P. D. Liberov, V. I. Guljaev (eds.), *Problemy skifskoj arkheologii*, MIA, 177, 1971, p. 50, fig. 6/1, 2; eadem, *Poselenie i mogil'nik...*, p. 162, fig. 44/1.

¹⁸⁵ B. A. Sparkes, L. Talcott, *Black and plain...*, p. 111-112, 280, pl. 27, fig. 6, cat. 621-623.

¹⁸⁶ S. Ju. Monakhov, *Grecheskie amfory v Prichernomor'e. Tipologija...*, p. 125; V. I. Kats, *Grecheskie keramicheskie klejma...*, p. 429.

¹⁸⁷ Nevertheless, the situation with the black-glazed Attic kantharos from this grave is not clear. A. I. Melyukova dated it to the second half of the 4th century BC, while the analogies from the Athenian Agora attribute this type of *kantharoi* even to the last quarter of the 4th century BC.

¹⁸⁸ L. V. Subbotin, A. S. Ostroverkhov, S. B. Okhotnikov, E. F. Redina, *Skifskie drevnosti Dnestro-Dunajskogo mezhdurech'ja*, Kiev, 1992, p. 19-20, fig. 17/1.

¹⁸⁹ S. I. Andrukh, O. S. Oancha, *Skifs'kij mogil'nik IV-III st. do n. e. poblizu s. Divizija*, in V. N. Stanko (ed.), *Arkheologija pivdenного zakhodu Ukraini*, Kiev, 1992, p. 91.

¹⁹⁰ N. Mateevici, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

A sword with slots and an imitation of a winding on a hilt, an oval ornamented pommel was found in the destroyed barrow on the territory of Izmail city, Odessa Region (App. 1/115). According to the Heracleian amphora's stamp, the mound is dated to the early 360 BC¹⁹¹. Such swords with slotted handles of *Chertomlyk type*¹⁹², mainly refer to the earlier time, i.e. to the first half of the 4th century BC, however, tending to the beginning of the century. This is indicated by other archaic features, such as imitation of wire or rope winding on the handle and ornamentation of the upper part of the blade with longitudinal grooves. The burial with a sword, discovered in 1958 on a destroyed graveyard near Chișcani (App. 1/106)¹⁹³ contained an amphora dated by V. Sirbu¹⁹⁴ to the time after the 340 BC. Besides that, it is known another akinakes from the vicinity of Chișcani (App. 1/125), apparently also referring to the Classical Scythian culture¹⁹⁵.

The Scythian burial grounds of the Lower Danube, also provide a series of original single-edged swords of *Chaush type*. Seven items come from the eponymous Chaush burial ground, but only three of them could be entirely reconstructed: from the grave 12 (Fig. 10/38; App. 1/118), 15 (App. 1/120) and 22 (App. 1/117)¹⁹⁶. These burials were dated back by E. F. Redina to the third quarter of the 4th century BC. A similar sword was found in the barrow 24 of Plavni I burial ground (Fig. 10/32; App. 1/121). In general, the cemetery is considered to be simultaneous to Chaush and is also dated to the mid.- third quarter of the 4th century BC¹⁹⁷. The most recent find of Chaush type sword was revealed in Crihana Veche burial ground, in grave

¹⁹¹ S. V. Palamarchuk, V. S. Sinika, *Skifskie zakhoroneniya iz kurganov v g. Izmail i u s. Kamyshovka*, in *Stratum plus*, 3, 2014, p. 296.

¹⁹² D. A. Topal, *Final'naja linija razvitiya mechej klassicheskoy Skifii. Sootnoshenie tipov Chertomlyk i Shul'govka*, in *Stratum plus*, 3, 2014, p. 137.

¹⁹³ N. Harțuche, F. Anastasiu, *Catalogul selectiv al colecției de arheologie a Muzeului Brăilei*, Brăila, 1976, p. 197-198, p. 209, cat. 400-405, 422.

¹⁹⁴ V. Sirbu, *Importuri grecești în Câmpia Brăilei (sec. V-I î. e. n.)*, in *Pontica*, 15, 1982, p. 101.

¹⁹⁵ S. I. Andruk, *Nizhmedunajskaja Skifija...*, fig. 4/25; D. Măndescu, *Cronologia perioadei...*, pl. 85/22.

¹⁹⁶ E. F. Sunichuk, *Skifskij mogil'nik Chaush v nizov'jakh Dunaja*, in V. P. Vanchugov, G. A. Dzis-Rajko (ed.), *Pamjatniki drevnej istorii Severo-Zapadnogo Prichernomor'ja*, Kiev, 1985, p. 44, fig. 2/16, 17; E. F. Redina, *K voprosu o frako-skifskikh kul'turnykh vzaimootnoshenijakh (skifskoe odnoezvijnoe oruzhie)*, in *Problemy skifo-sarmatskoj arkheologii Severnogo Prichernomor'ja (k 100-letiju B. N. Grakova)*, Zaporozj'e, 1999, p. 223-226, fig. 1/2, 3, 2/1-3.

¹⁹⁷ E. F. Sunichuk, M. M. Fokeev, *Skifskij mogil'nik Plavni i v nizov'jakh Dunaja*, in I. T. Chernjakov (ed.), *Rannij zheleznyj vek v Severo-Zapadnom Prichernomor'e*, Kiev, 1984, p. 117; E. F. Redina, *K voprosu...*, p. 223.

1 of barrow 5 (Fig. 10/36; App. 1/1)¹⁹⁸, but remains still unpublished. That's why, it could be only supposed that this funeral complex is dated back to the second half of the 4th century BC as other Scythian graves from Crihana Veche. A single-edged sword closed to the Chaush type from Nikolaevka-I (App. 1/97) was found in the grave of the second half of 4th century BC¹⁹⁹. On the Lower Don, in the Elizavetovskaya burial ground, similar single-edged swords appear already in the 5th century BC, i.e. - in grave 1 (second half of the 5th century BC) and 4 (the turn of 5th - 4th centuries BC) of the burial mound 62. In addition, a sword from the mound 13 of 1966 indicates an even earlier time for the appearance of proper Scythian types of single-edged bladed weapons, because it is dated on the second quarter of the 5th century BC due to a black-glazed *kylix*. But the Chaush type swords are distinguished (for example, from the Thracian combat knives) by the presence of an essential detail - the lower part of the handle, in contact with the blade, is equipped with a hilt. This made it possible to use such a sword not only for the chopping blows, characteristic of single-edged weapons but also the stabbing ones.

The *Thracian types* of weapons became very popular in the Classical Scythian period, and are represented by the single-edged combat knives²⁰⁰. Such single-edge sword with a bone handle was found in the grave 1 of the Nikolayevka-II burial ground (Fig. 10/35; App. 1/98)²⁰¹. Basing on the Heracleian conical amphora, black-glazed kantharos and a bowl it could be dated back to the second quarter of the 4th century BC²⁰². A stray find from Enisala (App. 1/107)²⁰³ was discovered on the territory of the burial ground, which was generally dated to the 4th century BC²⁰⁴. The fragment of the curved dagger from the barrow 1 of Nikonion necropolis (App. 1/95) was found near the main burial, which was dated back to the second half of the 4th century BC²⁰⁵. The handle of one of such combat knives was found on the Lower Prut, in the grave

¹⁹⁸ I. Ciobanu, A. Simalcsik, *Date arheologice și antropologice privind mormintele scitice din tumulii 5 și 5a de la Crihana Veche*, in *Conferința „Patrimoniul cultural: cercetare, valorificare, promovare” IX, Chișinău, Moldova, 30-31 mai 2017*, Chișinău, 2017, p. 23.

¹⁹⁹ G. A. Dzis-Rajko, *Raskopki mogil'nika v s. Nikolaevka na Dnestrovskom limane*, in *KSO GAM za 1963 g.*, Odesa, 1965, p. 63-64, fig. 4/4.

²⁰⁰ I. V. Brujako, *Predmety vooruzhenija iz Nikonija*, in *Arkheologicheskie pamjatniki stepej Podnestrov'ja i Podunav'ja*, Kiev, 1989, p. 68.

²⁰¹ A. I. Meljukova, *Poselenie i mogil'nik...*, fig. 56/9.

²⁰² S. V. Polin, *Skifskij Zolotobalkovskij kurgannyj mogil'nik V-IV vv. do n.e. na Khersonshchine*, Kiev, 2014, p. 363-364.

²⁰³ G. Simion, *Despre cultura geto-dacă din nordul Dobrogei în lumina descoperirilor de la Enisala*, in *Peuce*, 2, 1971, fig. 7c.

²⁰⁴ D. Măndescu, *Cronologia perioadei...*, p. 75.

²⁰⁵ V. Brujako, *Predmety vooruzhenija...*, p. 68, fig. 1/2.

2 of barrow 7 near Crihana Veche (Fig. 10/33; App. 1/87), Cahul District, Republic of Moldova. The bone handle is decorated with silver wire inlay representing a *running wave* pattern, characteristic of Classical Greek and Thracian production²⁰⁶. The funeral feast of barrow refers to the middle of the 4th century BC. All the amphorae found in the ditch and various features can be attributed to the Thasian production. The Thasian amphorae belong to the conical or biconical type of II-B-2 (or advanced biconical) by Monakhov²⁰⁷, which appears since the late 370 BC. There are two-line stamps on five handles, four of which has the name of Πυλάδης manufacturer. Three imprints are made with one stamp²⁰⁸ and refer to the fifth stage of stamping which dates back to the mid. 350's BC according to Y. Garlan or to the late 360 BC according to V. I. Kats²⁰⁹. Another Pylades' stamp contains besides the name of the manufacturer a sign of the eponym: a star²¹⁰ and refers to the same time. The fifth stamp refers to the production of the Λυσικλῆς of 360-350 BC or mid. 350 BC according to Y. Garlan²¹¹. Thus, the amphoric complex, and, consequently, the time of the burial mound's construction can be attributed to the end of the 360 - the mid. 350 BC²¹². A fragment of another single-edged sword of the supposedly Thracian type was found in the grave 2 of barrow 13 of the Butor-I burial ground (App. 1/85) on the left bank of the Dniester River²¹³ of the first half of the 4th century BC.

It is difficult to identify the type of the fragment of the blade from the grave 1 of barrow 15 from Plavni-I burial ground (Fig. 9/28; App. 1/119)²¹⁴, but such wide flat blades are characteristic exclusively for the Classical time. Due to the arrowheads, the mound dates back on the second half of the 4th century BC. Also, a fragment of the blade from the burial 1 of mound 4 near Parcani

²⁰⁶ I. Ceban, D. Topal, S. Agulnikov, S. Popovici, *Tumulul scitic nr. 7 de la Crihana veche La Pietricei (r-nul Cahul)*, in *Arheologia Preventivă în Republica Moldova*, 2 (1-2), 2015, p. 52, fig. 11.

²⁰⁷ S. Ju. Monakhov, *Grecheskie amfory v Prichernomor'e. Tipologija...*, p. 60, 67.

²⁰⁸ A.-M. Bon, A. Bon, *Les timbres amphoriques de Thasos (catalogue établi avec la collaboration de V. Grace)*, Études thasiennes, IV, Paris, 1957, No. 1504; Y. Garlan, *Les timbres amphoriques de Thasos, I, Timbres thasiens et thasiensanciens*, Études thasiennes, XVIII, Athènes-Paris, 1999, no. 597.

²⁰⁹ V. I. Kats, *Grecheskie keramicheskie klejma...*, p. 415, anexa 2.

²¹⁰ A.-M. Bon, A. Bon, *Les timbres...*, no. 1505; Y. Garlan, *Les timbres...*, no. 633.

²¹¹ A.-M. Bon, A. Bon, *Les timbres...*, no. 1107; A. Avram, *Les timbres amphoriques I. Thasos*, in *Histria*, VIII, 1996, no. 60; Y. Garlan, *Les timbres...*, no. 593.

²¹² I. Ceban *et alii*, *Tumulul scitic...*, p. 56.

²¹³ V. S. Sinika, S. N. Razumov, N. P. Tel'nov, *Kurgany u s. Butory*, in *Arkheologicheskie pamjatniki Pridnestrov'ja*, I, Tiraspol, 2013, fig. 52/4.

²¹⁴ E. F. Sunichuk, M. M. Fokeev, *Skifskij mogil'nik...*, fig. 2/24.

(App. 1/104)²¹⁵ refers to the Classical time, but wider, in general to the 4th century BC.

Conclusions

A researcher who deals with cultural changes should look for three things like lieutenant Columbo at a *crime scene* (i.e. research field or region): what's there now that *wasn't there before*, what was there before that *isn't there now*, and *what's been moved*. And what do we see in the Scythian time in the territory to the west of the Dniester? First of all, we could see the dynamics of the spread of Scythian swords and daggers in various directions and coordinate systems. For the Early Scythian period, the main concentration of funerary complexes with *akinakai* occurs in Transylvania, Bukovina and the Southern Carpathians, single burials come into the steppe and to the right bank of the Lower Danube. Then, at the beginning of the Middle Scythian period, the epicentre is shifted to the east, to the territory between the Carpathians and the Prut River with some stray finds in the steppe. The finale of the Middle Scythian period is the time of the greatest distribution of the *akinakai*, they are presented in all local groups without exception for the first (and last) time. Already in the Classical period we can see how the space of the Scythian *akinakai* folds and now covers only the steppe part of the Lower Danube and the Dniester, as well as the territories between the Danube and the Balkans. *Inter alia*, there are no burials with swords or daggers in the Carpathian-Dniester region, which would have been reliably dated to the 3rd century BC. Moreover, the fact of complete absence of swords and daggers in the Late Scythian burial ground near Glinoe of the late 4th - mid. 2nd centuries BC is eloquent (although other categories of weapons are widely represented)²¹⁶. Apparently, this type of weapons disappears at the turn of the 4th - 3rd centuries BC not only in the Dniester region but also on the Lower Danube, where in the third quarter of the 4th century BC the traditional Scythian *akinakes* are rather replaced by single-edged swords of a hybrid Thracian-Scythian or Greek-Scythian type.

If we focus the research optics to the Carpathian-Dniester region, we can see a number of contextual trends. The earliest complexes with *akinakai* are associated with burial mounds, they also include cremations under the mounds. Stray finds of early Scythian *akinakai* are found exclusively in the forest-steppe, concentrating in the central part of Bessarabia and the Middle Dniester. In the Middle Scythian time, the *akinakai* appear in both flat graves and in burial

²¹⁵ V. Manzura, O. V. Larina, E. N. Savva, *Issledovanie kurganov u s. Parkany*, in *Arkheologicheskie issledovanija v Moldove v 1986 g.*, Chişinău, 1992, p. 187, fig. 3/4.

²¹⁶ V. S. Sinika, N. P. Tel'nov, *Kompleks vooruzhenija i predmetov voinskogo snarjazhenija iz skifskogo mogil'nika kontsa IV-II vv. do n. e. u s. Glinoe v Nizhnem Podnestrov'e*, in S. I. Luk'jashko (ed.), *Vojna i voennoe delo v skifo-sarmatskom mire. Materialy Mezhdunarodnoj nauchnoj konferentsii, posvjashchenoj pamjati A. I. Meljukovoj (Kagal'nik, 26-29 aprlja 2014 g.)*, Rostov na Donu, 2015, p. 188.

mounds, including cremations (e. g. Bârsești). At the same time, the barrows of the beginning of the Middle Scythian period are associated with the forest-steppe, penetrating the steppe at the end of the period. Cremations of the end of the Middle Scythian period are characteristics only for the flat graves. Burials with swords of Classical period are no longer represented by cremations, these are exclusively inhumations, both under mounds and in flat graves of the steppe zone, on the Lower Dniester and the Danube. Thus, in addition to the opposition „steppe vs. forest-steppe” and „early vs. late”, the dynamics are revealed in another coordinate system such as the funeral rite. There are no flat graves of the early Scythian culture on the territory between the Carpathians and the Dniester (they are abundant in Transylvania), and no cremations for the Classical Scythian period as well (the single cremation in the region was discovered in the barrow at Branichevo in Bulgaria). The burial ritual reaches the greatest variety in the Middle Scythian period, although for the beginning of the Middle Scythian period the ground burials reveal themselves exclusively in the forest-steppe, while the mounds of the final of the period are only in the steppe.

Obviously, the preferences in weaponry are directly related to the preferences in funeral rite and landscape localization, regardless of the chronological extent, the cultural enclaves allocated earlier²¹⁷, demonstrate uniformity not only in the weapons choice but also in the funeral features. Thus, for the *Steppe enclave* with the domination of the spears and long swords, the main type of the funeral construction is the barrow, whereas, for the *Carpathian* and *Western* (with the predominance of daggers and axes, respectively), flat graves are more characteristic. At the same time, cremation, both barrow and flat, does not show a strong connection with the landscape, nor with the chronological position, nor with weapons choice. Thus, it can be assumed that the cremation is not a reliable cultural marker of the swordsmen burials of the Carpathian-Danube region of the late Hallstatt - the early La Tène. In comparison with that feature, a Scythian sword is a stronger indication, which is indirectly confirmed by the complete disappearance of *akinakai* on the territory that was inhabited by Getae (the forest-steppe between Siret and Dniester) at the end of the 5th - 4th century BC. At this time, the epicentre of the storm of Scythian swords shifts to the south, to the steppe zone, where finally subsides with the dissolution of the Classical Scythian culture.

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²¹⁷ D. A. Topal, *Sostav vooruzhenija...*, p. 169-170, fig. 3.

Appendix 1

Catalogue of blade weaponry of Scythian period from Carpathian-Dniester region / Catalogul spadelor din perioada scitică din regiunea cuprinsă între Carpați și Nistru (1-16 - Siret-Dniester (Bukovina subgroup), 17-24 - East Carpathian (Neamț) subgroup, 25-85 - Siret-Dniester (Moldavian) subgroup, 86-101 - Lower Dniester subgroup, 10-122 - Lower Danube subgroup): 1 - Ruski Filvarki; 2 - Lipnic; 3 - Zăicești (1), burial?; 4 - Lenkovtsy, barrow; 5 - Sokirintsy; 6 - Cajvana, barrow 7; 7 - Cajvana, barrow 3, burial 1; 8 - Zăicești (2), burial?; 9 - north of Republic of Moldova; 10 - Ibănești; 11 - Nelipivtsy; 12 - Rîșcani District; 13 - Volodeni; 14 - Cristinești (1), burial?; 15 - Zăicești (3), burial?; 16 - Cristinești (2), burial?; 17 - Văratec; 18 - Boureni; 19 - Muncelu de Sus; 20 - Ghindăoani; 21 - Petricani; 22 - Agapia, burial; 23 - Miroslovești; 24 - Moțca; 25 - Republic of Moldova (1); 26 - Susleni; 27 - Vatici; 28 - Ivancea; 29 - Bălăbănești; 30 - Dumești; 31 - Băcu, burial; 32 - Moșna, burial?; 33 - Suruceni, burial; 34 - Republic of Moldova (2); 35 - Rezeni (1); 36 - Bârsești, barrow 7, burial 2; 37 - Bârsești, barrow 1; 38 - Bârsești, barrow 13; 39 - Bârsești, barrow 25, burial 1; 40 - Lărguța (1); 41 - Telenești District; 42 - east of Romania; 43 - Republic of Moldova (3); 44 - Mileștii de Sus; 45 - Gănești; 46 - Boldurești; 47 - Năvîrneț, barrow? (1); 48 - Lărguța (2); 49 - Rezeni (2); 50 - Năvîrneț, barrow? (2); 51 - Cuhureștii de Jos; 52 - Nănești; 53 - Măcișeni, burial?; 54 - Comarna, burial?; 55 - Teșcurenii; 56 - Suseni; 57 - Lucășeuca; 58 - Mikhailovka; 59 - Huși, burial? (1); 60 - Huși, burial? (2); 61 - Buciumeni; 62 - Cozia, burial of 1969; 63 - Lichitișeni; 64 - Găiceana (1); 65 - Trebujeni; 66 - Vaslui, burial 1973; 67 - Cozia (1); 68 - Cozia (2); 69 - Cozia-Voloaca Mică, burial (1); 70 - Capaclia; 71 - Mânzătești, burial; 72 - Chircești; 73 - Dumești-Dealul Coșarelor, burial; 74 - Mircești; 75 - Hansca; 76 - Dănești; 77 - Cozia-Voloaca Mică, burial (2); 78 - Pîrjolteni, burial; 79 - Nisporeni District; 80 - Poienești, burial; 81 - Găiceana (2); 82 - Poienești, burial 307; 83 - Lărguța (3); 84 - Kotovsk; 85 - Butor, barrow 13, burial 2; 86 - Crihana Veche, barrow 5, burial 1; 87 - Crihana Veche, barrow 7, burial 2; 88 - Purcari, barrow 7, burial 3; 89 - Artsiz, barrow 1, burial 1; 90 - Dachnoe; 91 - Diviziya, barrow 20, burial 6; 92 - Tudorovo-Palanca, burial; 93 - Nikolaevka-II, burial 7; 94 - Nikolaevka-II, burial 8; 95 - Nikonion, barrow 1, burial 1; 96 - Talmaza, barrow 9, burial 1; 97 - Nikolaevka-I, burial; 98 - Nikolaevka-II, burial 1; 99 - Snake Island; 100 - Krasnoe, barrow 8, burial 1; 101 - Mayaky, burial G2; 102 - Murighiol; 103 - Celic-dere, burial 10a; 104 - Parcani, barrow 4, burial 1; 105 - Celic-dere, burial (1); 106 - Chișcani, burial (1); 107 - Enisala; 108 - Celic-dere, burial (2); 109 - Celic-dere, burial 5; 110 - Celic-dere, barrow 44,

burial 1; 111 - Celic-dere, burial 11; 112 - Celic-dere, burial (3); 113 - Celic-dere, burial (4); 114 - Chaush, barrow 15, burial 2; 115 - Izmail, barrow; 116 - Chaush, barrow 9, burial 2; 117 - Chaush, barrow 22; 118 - Chaush, barrow 12; 119 - Plavni-I, barrow 15, burial 1; 120 - Chaush, barrow 15, burial 1; 121 - Plavni-I, barrow 24; 122 - Celic-dere, burial (5); 123 - Chaush, barrow 11, burial 1; 124 - Celic-dere, burial (6); 125 - Chișcani, burial (2); 126 - Celic-dere, burial (7).

AKINAKES-URI SCITICE ÎNTRE CARPAȚI ȘI NISTRU: STRUCTURA UNEI FURTUNI

Rezumat

Acest studiu este o încercare de a examina structura distribuției spadelor și pumnalelor din perioada scitică în regiunea carpato-nistreană, din punct de vedere cronologic, funcțional, cultural, spațial și contextual. Akinakes-urile scitice au devenit o parte a tradiției militare sau chiar a identității culturale din regiunea respectivă. Pe de altă parte, această categorie de piese din regiunea carpato-nistreană poate ajuta la descrierea principalelor tendințe ale evoluției akinakes-ului la frontierele occidentale ale culturii scitilor. Pe lângă aceasta, structura panopliei diferă în funcție de diferite grupuri locale. Astfel, vârfurile de lance sunt caracteristice zonei de stepă dintre Nistru, Dunăre și Carpații Meridionali, iar cea mai mare concentrare a acestora este asociată cu Marea Câmpie Ungară. Majoritatea descoperirilor de topoare sunt, de asemenea, legate de teritoriul Ungariei, deși descoperirile de akinakes-uri din zona culturii Vekerzug sunt rare, chiar și în cazul necropolelor mari.

Cartografierea akinakes-urilor, pe criterii funcționale, oferă următoare imagine: pumnalele și spadele scurte, de exemplu, sunt legate mai mult de teritoriul Transilvaniei și al silvostepii dintre Carpați și Nistru, în timp ce spadele lungi și extra-lungi sunt caracteristice zonei de stepă. Bazându-ne pe panoplie, s-ar putea obține o nouă grupare tipologică a regiunii. Astfel, este posibil să trecem de la grupuri culturale mici, la blocuri culturale mari, enclave, sau comunități care preferau tipuri similare de arme. Calculul corelației cu ajutorul clasificării prin caracteristici inegale a demonstrat prezența unor astfel de enclave: carpatice, stepice și occidentale. Preferințele pentru anumite tipuri de arme sunt legate direct de specificul ritualului funerar și de trăsăturile landşaftului, indiferent de cronologie. Adică, enclavele culturale respective demonstrează uniformitatea nu numai în alegerea armei, ci și în caracteristicile funerare. Astfel, pentru enclava

stepică, cu dominația lăncilor și a spadelor lungi, principalul tip de construcție funerară este tumulară, în timp ce pentru Carpați și Occident (cu predominanța pumnalelor și a topoarelor) sunt mai mult caracteristice mormintele plane.

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Fig. 19. Spade din perioada scitică din regiunea carpato-nistreană: 89 - Artsiz, tum. 1, burial 1; 90 - Dachnoe; 91 - Diviziya, tum. 20, m. 6; 92 - Tudorovo-Palanca, m.; 93 - Nikolaevka-II, m. 7; 94 - Nikolaevka-II, m. 8; 95 - Nikonion, tum. 1, m. 1; 96 - Talmaza, tum. 9, m. 1; 97 - Nikolaevka-I, m.; 98 - Nikolaevka-II, m. 1; 99 - Insula Șerpilor; 100 - Krasnoe, tum. 8, m. 1; 101 - Mayaky, m. G2.

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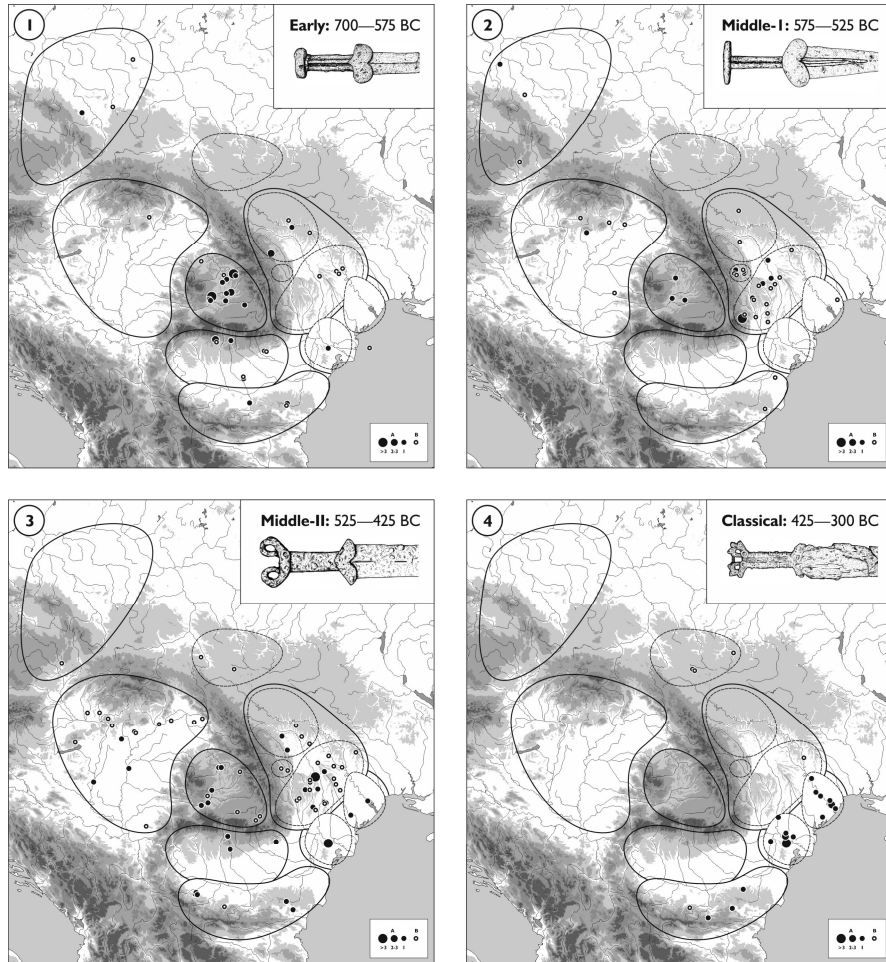


Fig. 1. Chronological distribution of the *akinakai* on its western area (a - complexes; b - stray finds).

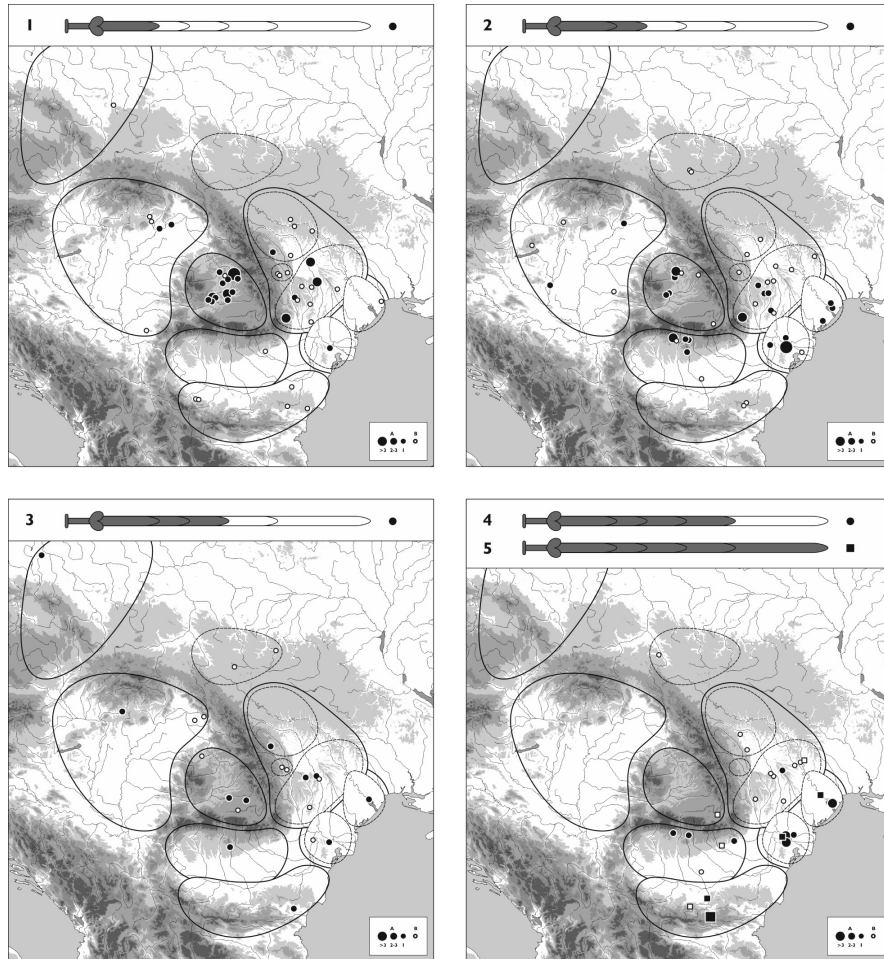


Fig. 2. Distribution of various functional groups of Scythian *akinakai*:
 1 - daggers; 2 - short swords; 3 - average swords; 4 - long swords;
 5 - extra-long swords (a - complexes; b - stray finds).

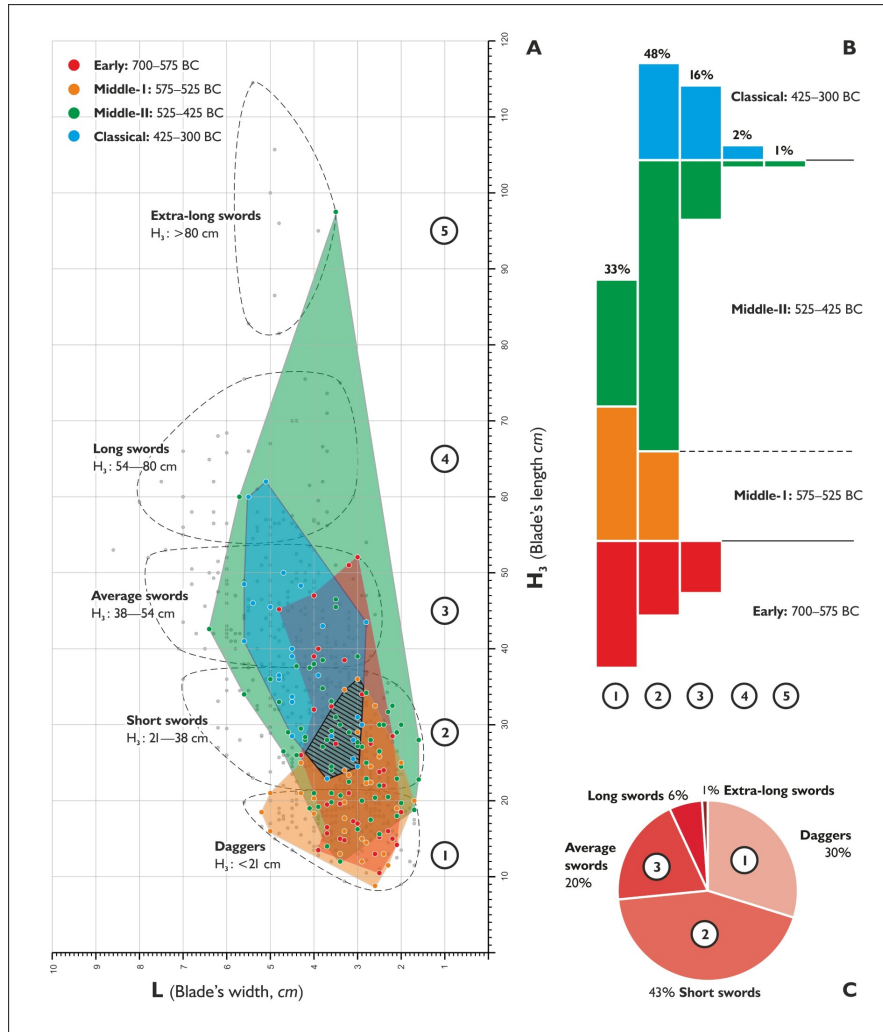


Fig. 3. Distribution of the functional groups of *akinakai*:
 A - scatter plot; B - chronological distribution (Carpathian-Dniester region);
 C - numerical proportion of groups (Europe).

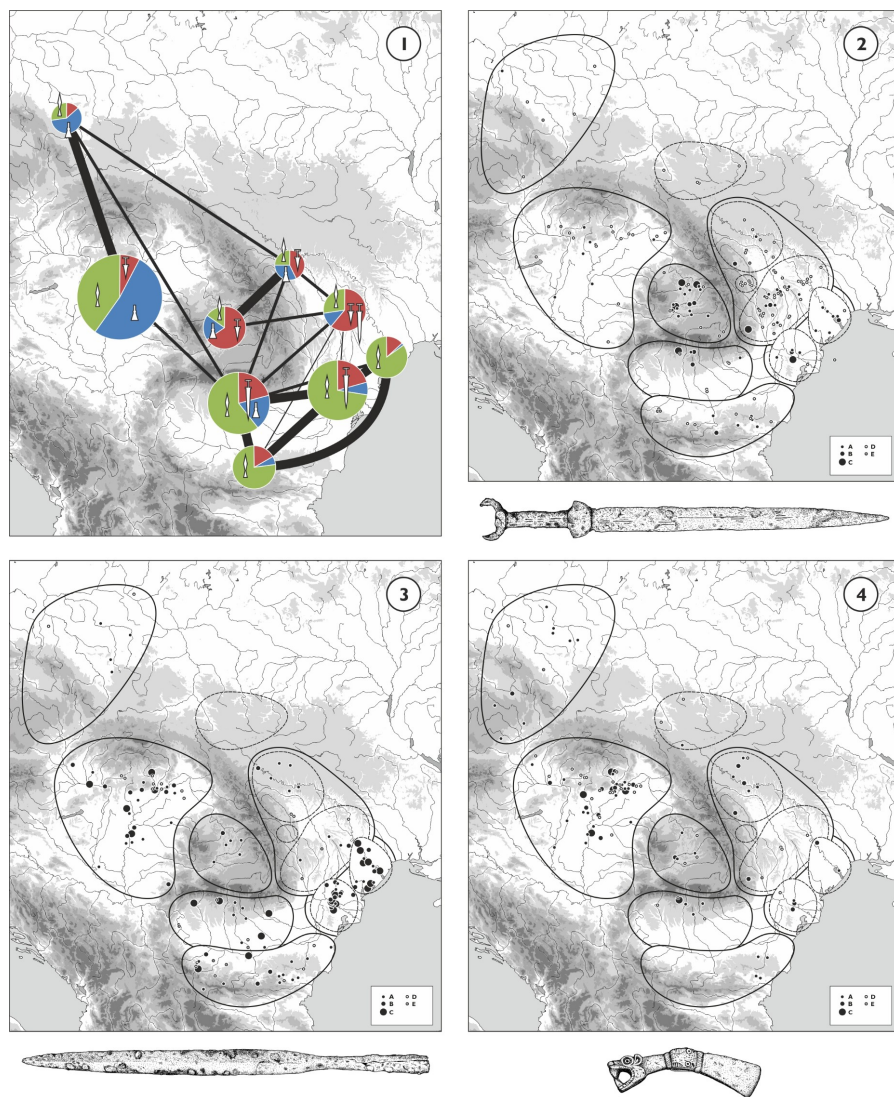


Fig. 4. The composition of weaponry in local groups of the Carpathian-Danube region: correlation (1), distributions of *akinakai* (2), spearheads and javelins (3), axes (4). A – 1 ex.; B – 2-3 ex.; C – more than 3 ex.; D – stray finds; E – destroyed burial.

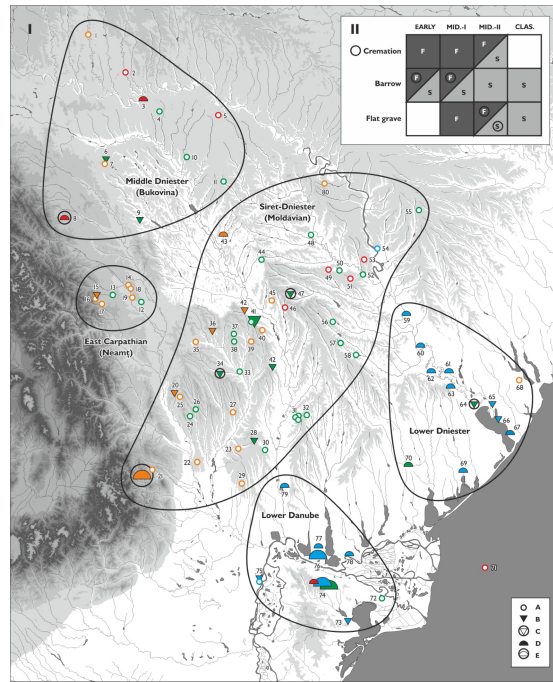


Fig. 5. Contextual and cultural distributions. I - *distribution of blade weapons of Scythian time in Carpathian-Dniester region* (a - stray find, b - flat grave, c - cremation in flat grave, d - barrow, e - cremation in a barrow): 1 - Sokirinți; 2 - Ruski Filvarki (Camenita); 3 - Lenkivți; 4 - Nelipivți; 5 - Lipnic; 6 - Cristinești; 7 - Ibănești; 8 - Cajvana; 9 - Zăicești; 10 - Volodeni; 11 - Rîșcani; 12 - Muncelu de Sus; 13 - Petricani; 14 - Moțca; 15 - Agapia; 16 - Văratec; 17 - Ghindăoani; 18 - Boureni; 19 - Miroslovești; 20 - Mileștii de Sus; 21 - Bârsești; 22 - Buciumeni; 23 - Bălăbănești; 24 - Găiceana; 25 - Nănești; 26 - Lichitișeni; 27 - Suseni; 28 - Mânzătești; 29 - Măcișeni; 30 - Gănești; 31 - Lărguța; 32 - Capaclia; 33 - Vaslui; 34 - Poieniști; 35 - Dumești; 36 - Băcu; 37 - Mircești; 38 - Dănești; 39 - Chircești; 40 - Moșna; 41 - Cozia; 42 - Comarna; 43 - Năvîrneț; 44 - Teșcureni; 45 - Boldurești; 46 - Nisporeni; 47 - Pîrjolteni; 48 - Telenești; 49 - Lucășeuca; 50 - Vatici; 51 - Ivancea; 52 - Trebujeni; 53 - Susleni; 54 - Mihailovka; 55 - Kotovsk (Podilsk); 56 - Suruceni; 57 - Hansca; 58 - Rezeni; 59 - Butor; 60 - Parcani; 61 - Krasnoe; 62 - Talmază; 63 - Purcari; 64 - Tudora; 65 - Maiakî; 66 - Nikolaevka (Mikolaivka); 67 - Nikonion (Roksolanî); 68 - Gnileakovo (Dacine); 69 - Divizia; 70 - Arțiz; 71 - Insula Șerpilor (Zminîi); 72 - Murighiol; 73 - Enisala; 74 - Celic-dere (Telița); 75 - Chișcani; 76 - Ceauș; 77 - Plavni; 78 - Izmail; 79 - Crihana Veche; 80 - Cuhureștii de Jos.

II - *correlation between burial rite and chronology.*

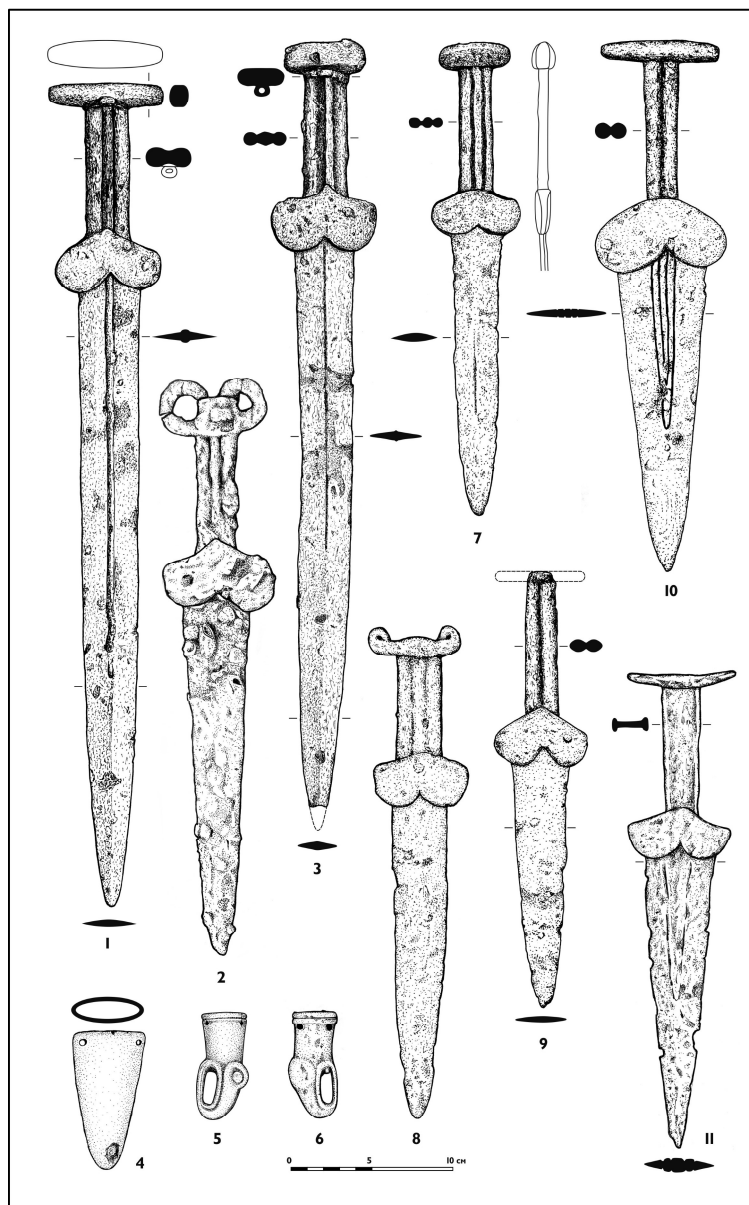


Fig. 6. *Akinakai* of Early (1-8) and Middle-I Scythian periods (9-11):
 1 - Susleni; 2 - Republicii Moldova (1) ; 3 - Vatici; 4 - nordul Republicii
 Moldova; 5 - raionul Nisporeni; 6 - Insula Șerpilor (Zmiinîi); 7 - Lipnic;
 8 - Ivancea; 9 - Cuhureștii de Jos; 10 - Boldurești; 11 - Gnileakovo (Dacine).

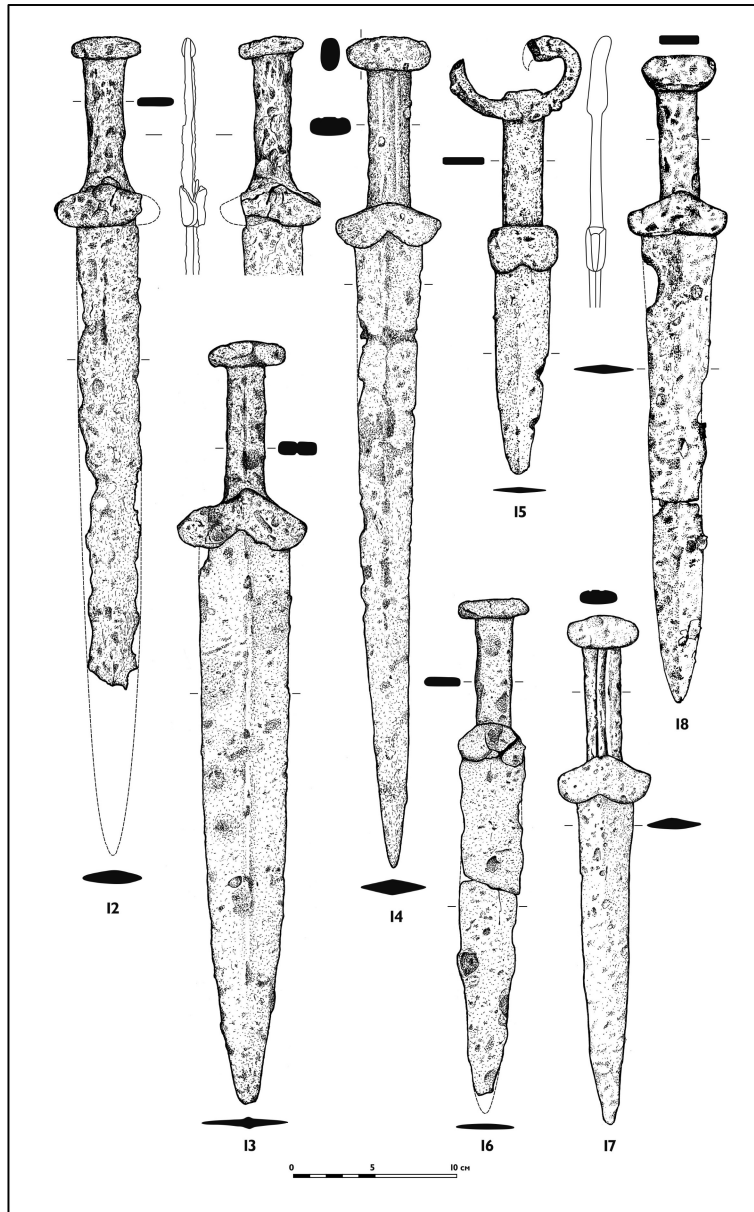


Fig. 7. *Akinakai* of Middle-II Scythian period (12-18):
 12 - Suruceni, burial; 13 - Volodeni; 14 - Lărguța (1);
 15 - Capaclia; 16 - Hansca; 17 - Rezeni (1), 18 - Lărguța (2).

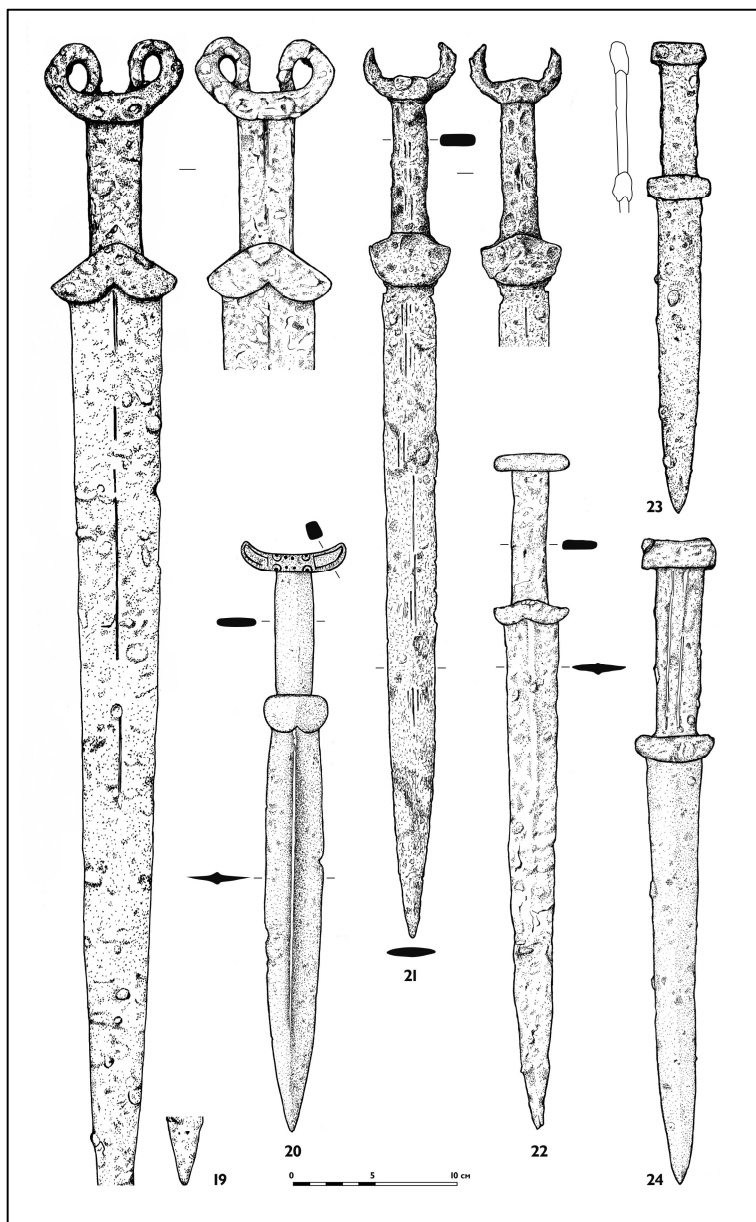


Fig. 8. *Akinakai* of Middle-II Scythian period (19-24):
 19 - Rîșcani District; 20 - Tudora-Palanca, burial; 21 - Pîrjolteni, burial;
 22 - Rezeni (2); 23 - Telenești District; 24 - Lărguța (3).

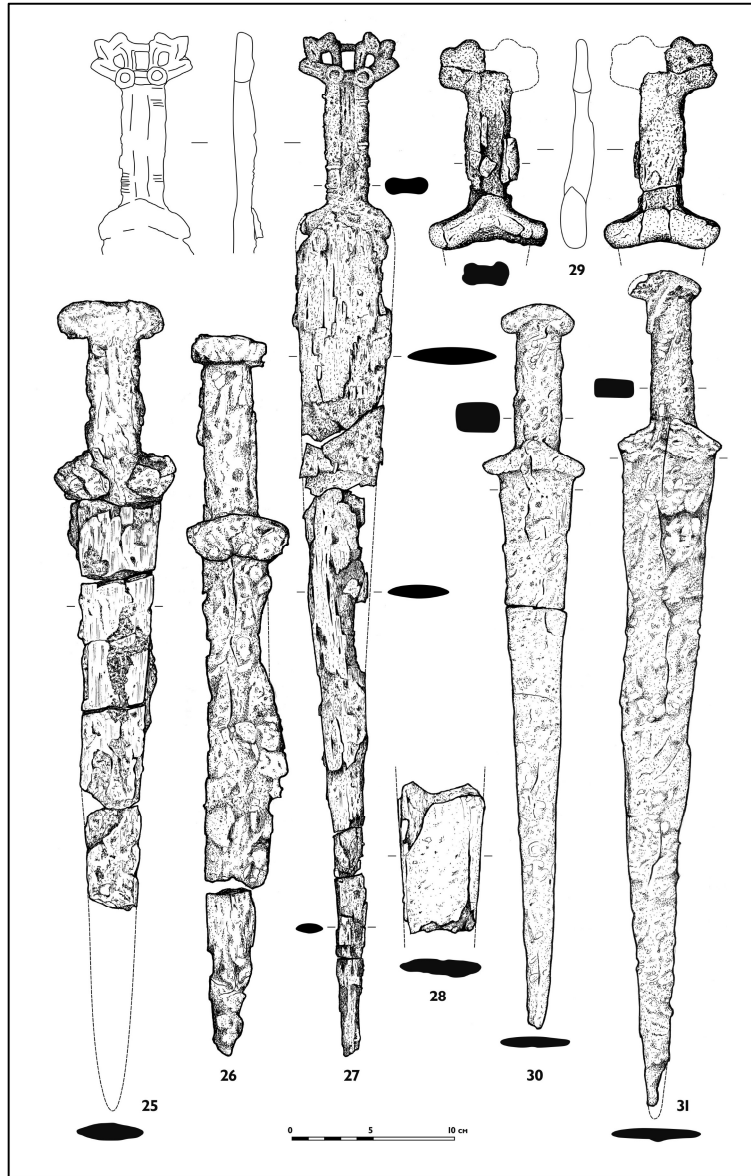


Fig. 9. *Akinakai* of Middle-II (25-26) and Classical Scythian period (19-24):
 25 - Artsyz, barrow; 26 - Mayaky, burial G2; 27 - Purcari, barrow 7, burial 3;
 28 - Plavni, barrow 15, burial 1; 29 - Talmaza, barrow 9, burial 1;
 30 - Nikolaevka-II, burial 8; 31 - Nikolaevka-II, burial 7.

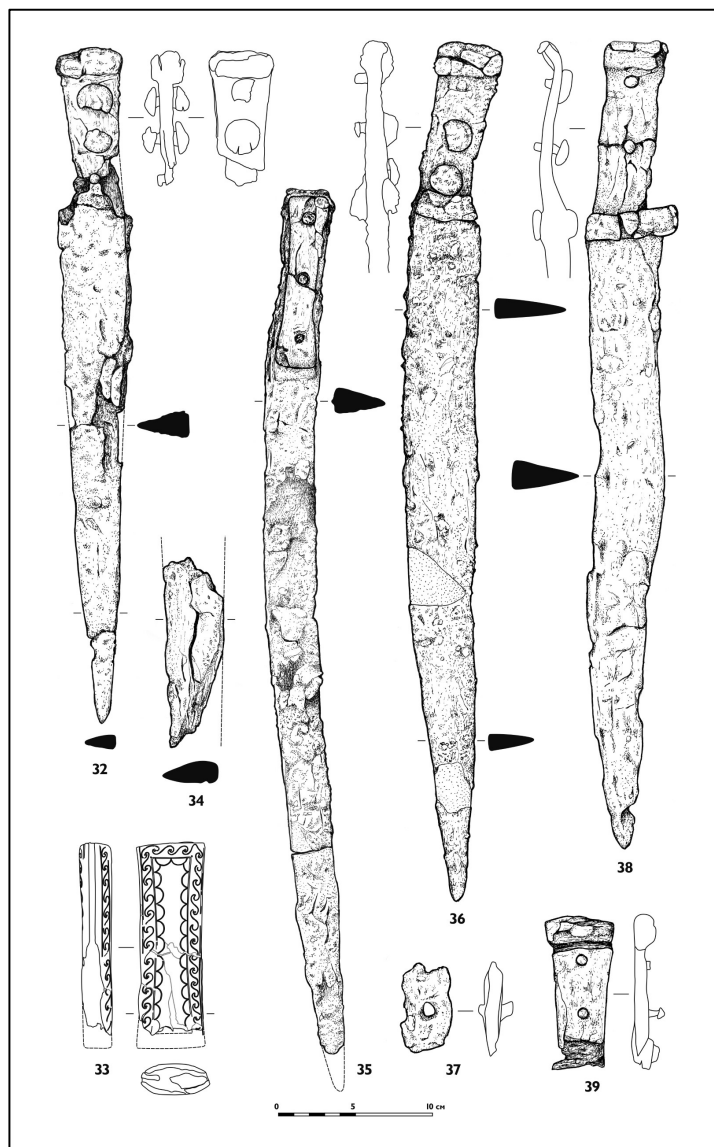


Fig. 10. Single-edged weaponry of Classical Scythian period:
 32 - Plavni-I, barrow 24, burial 1; 33 - CrihanaVeche, barrow 7, burial 2;
 34 - Chaush, barrow 15, burial 2; 35 - Nikolaevka-II, burial 1;
 36 - CrihanaVeche, barrow 5, burial 1; 37 - Plavni-I, barrow 22, burial 1;
 38 - Chaush, barrow 12, burial 1; 39 - Chaush, barrow 11, burial 1.

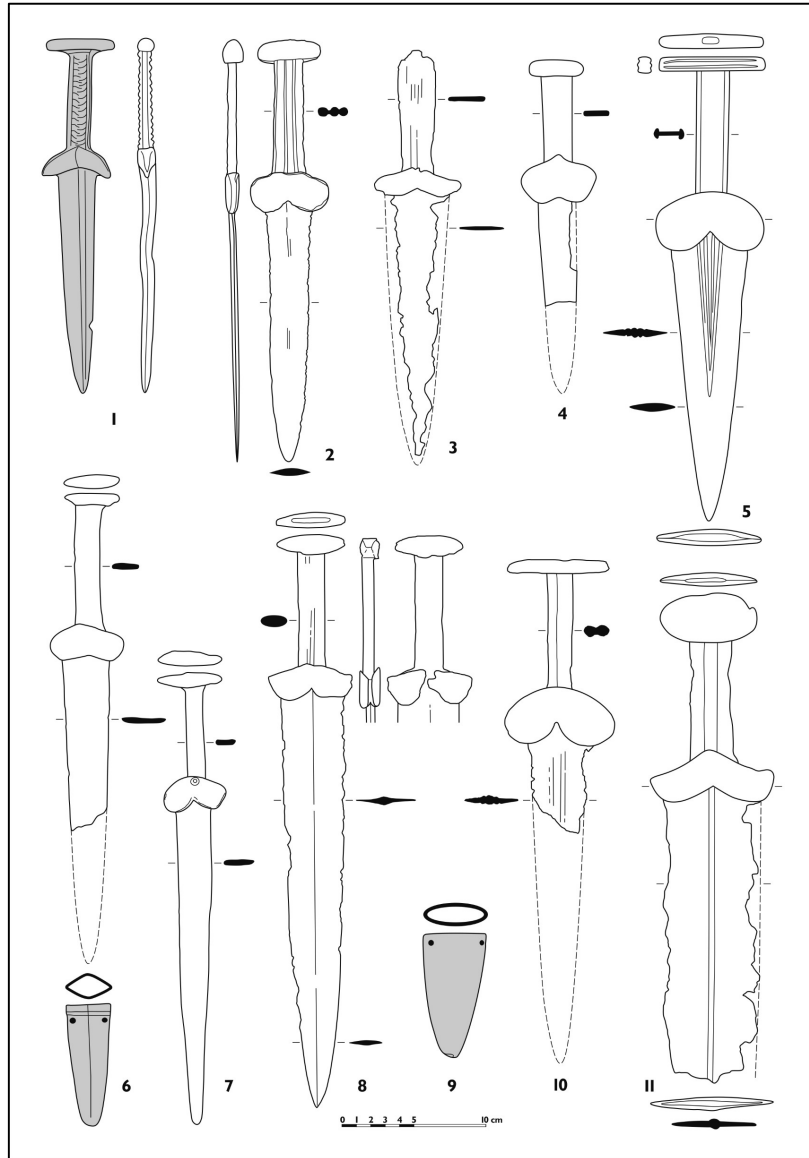


Fig. 11. The blade weaponry of Scythian period from Carpathian-Dniester region: 1 - Ruski Filvarki; 2 - Lipnic; 3 - Zăicești (1), burial?; 4 - Lenkovtsy, barrow; 5 - Sokirintsy; 6 - Cajvana, barrow 7; 7 - Cajvana, barrow 3, burial 1; 8 - Zăicești (2), burial?; 9 - north of Republic of Moldova; 10 - Ibănești; 11 - Nelipivtsy.

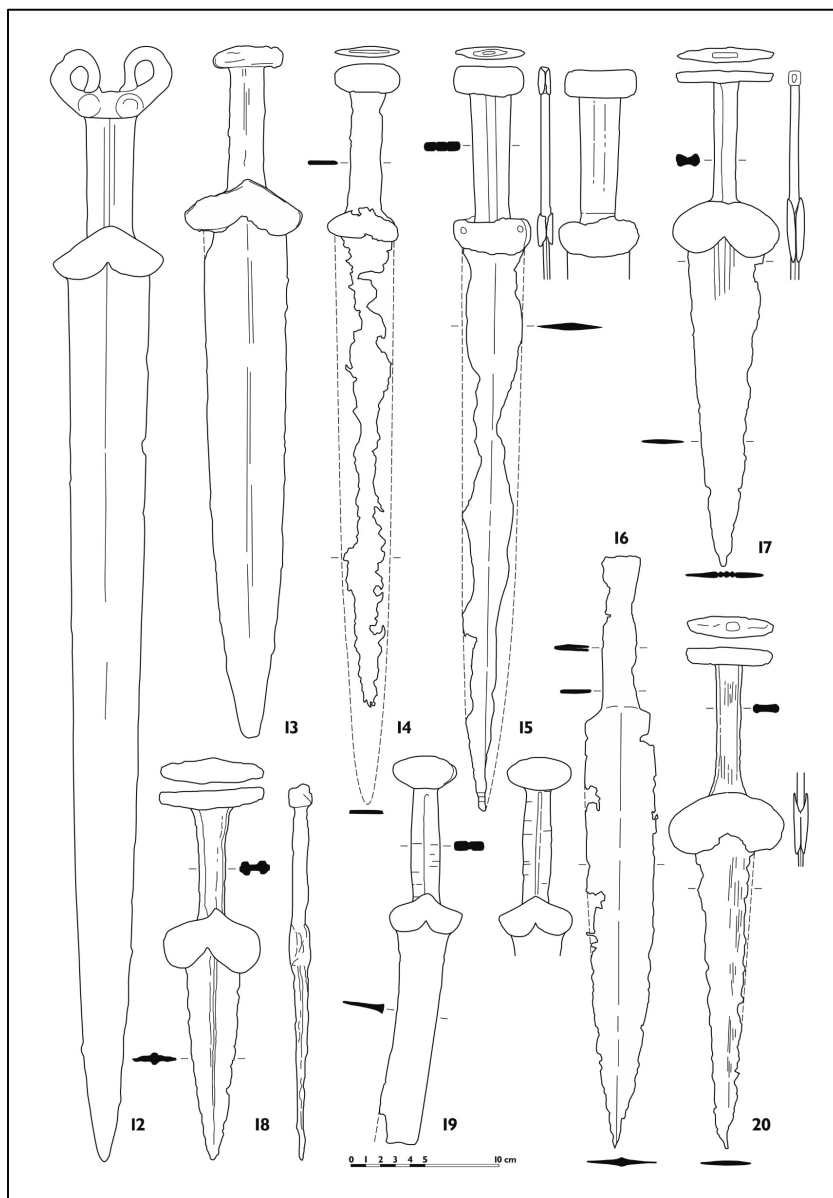


Fig. 12. The blade weaponry of Scythian period from Carpathian-Dniester region: 12 - Rîșcani District; 13 - Volodeni; 14 - Cristinești (1), burial?; 15 - Zăicești (3), burial?; 16 - Cristinești (2), burial?; 17 - Văratec; 18 - Boureni; 19 - Muncelu de Sus; 20 - Ghindăoani.

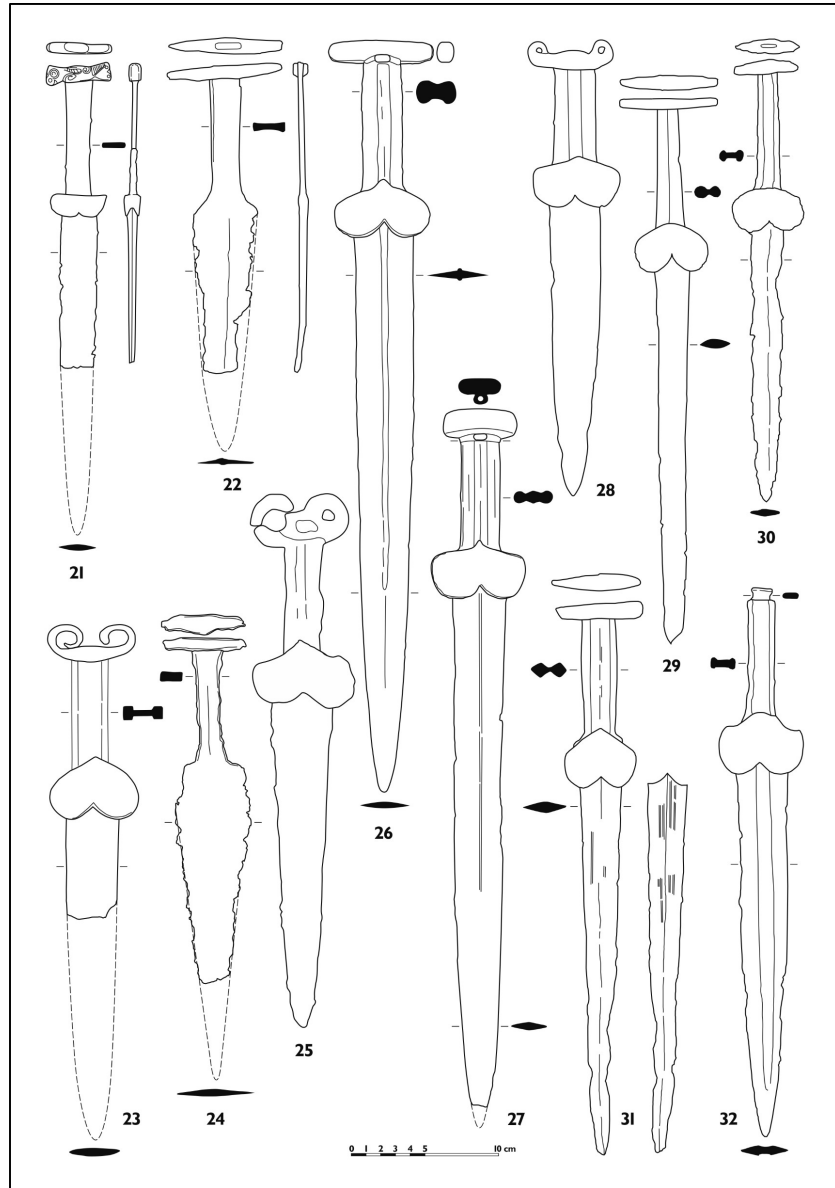


Fig. 13. The blade weaponry of Scythian period from Carpathian-Dniester region: 21 - Petricani; 22 - Agapia, burial; 23 - Miroslovești; 24 - Moțca; 25 - Republic of Moldova (1); 26 - Susleni; 27 - Vatici; 28 - Ivancea; 29 - Bălăbănești; 30 - Dumești; 31 - Bâcu, burial; 32 - Moșna, burial?.

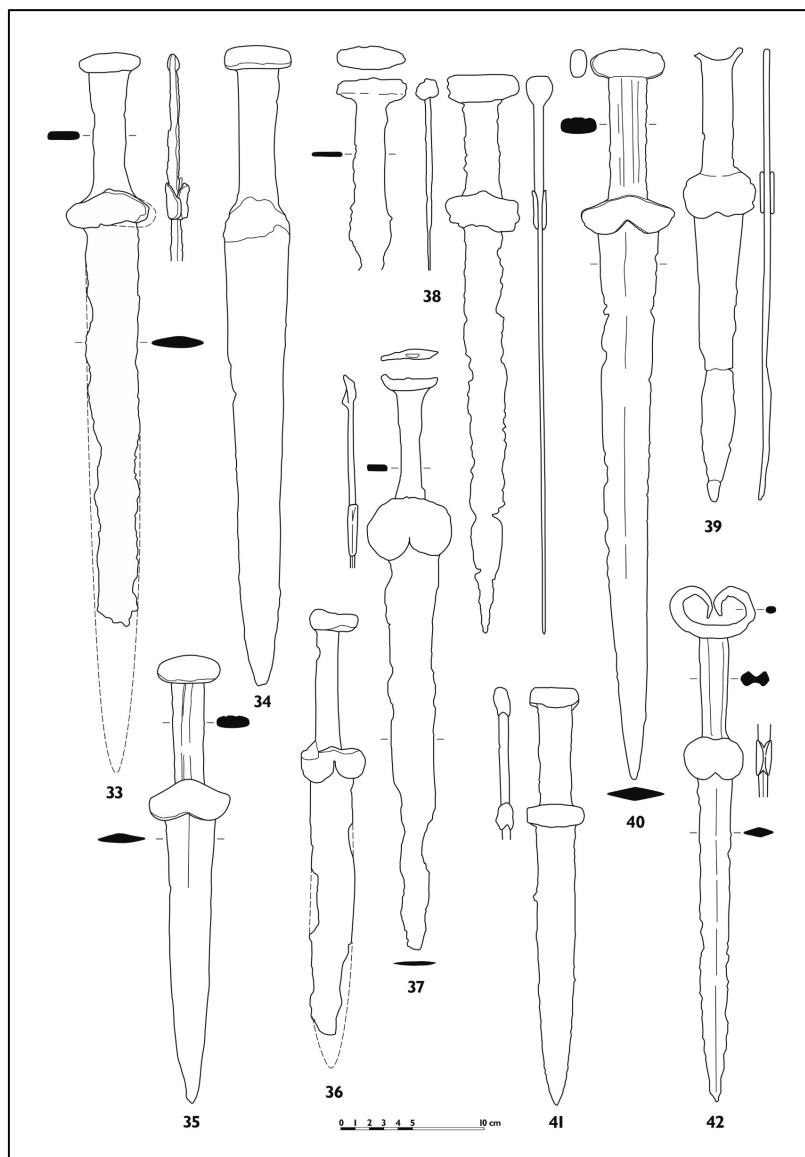


Fig. 14. The blade weaponry of Scythian period from Carpathian-Dniester region: 33 - Suruceni, burial; 34 - Republic of Moldova (2); 35 - Rezeni (1); 36 - Bârsești, barrow 7, burial 2; 37 - Bârsești, barrow 1; 38 - Bârsești, barrow 13; 39 - Bârsești, barrow 25, burial 1; 40 - Lărguța (1); 41 - Telenești District; 42 - east of Romania.

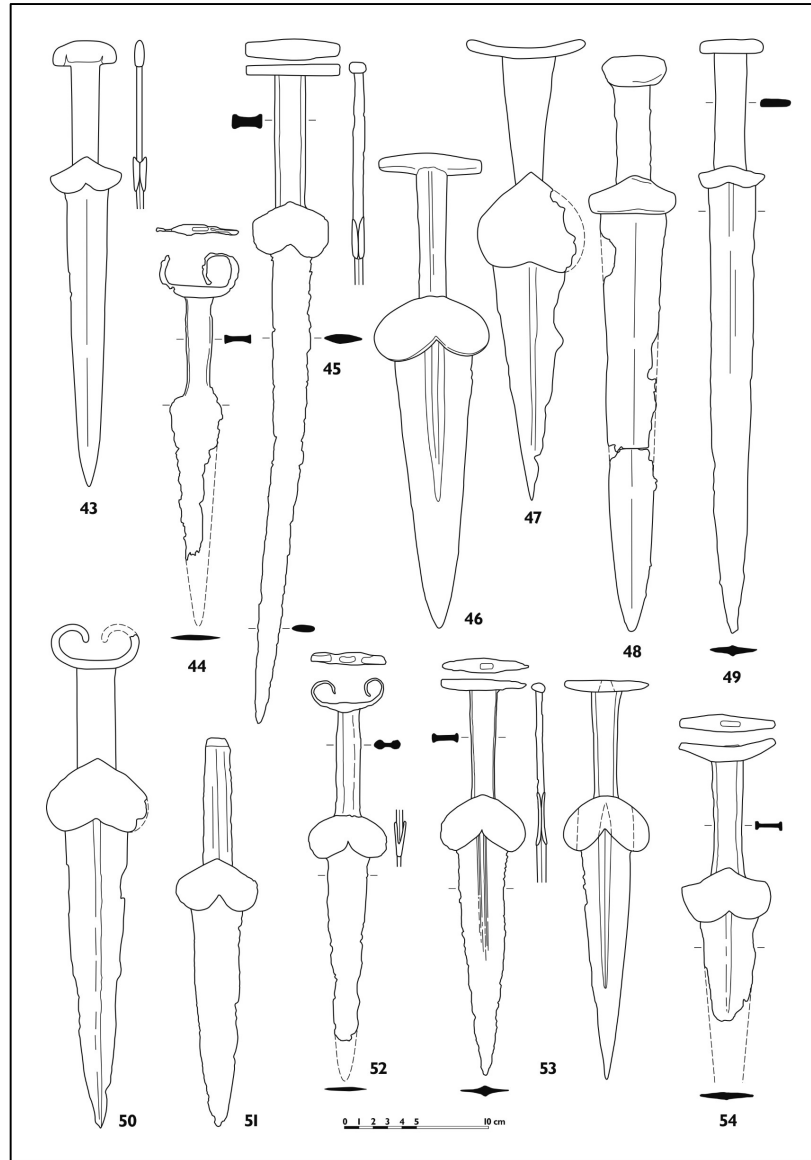


Fig. 15. The blade weaponry of Scythian period from Carpathian-Dniester region: 43 - Republic of Moldova (3); 44 - Mileștii de Sus; 45 - Gănești; 46 - Boldurești; 47 - Năvîrneț, barrow? (1); 48 - Lărguța (2); 49 - Rezeni (2); 50 - Năvîrneț, barrow? (2); 51 - Cuhureștii de Jos; 52 - Nănești; 53 - Măcișeni, burial?; 54 - Comarna, burial?.

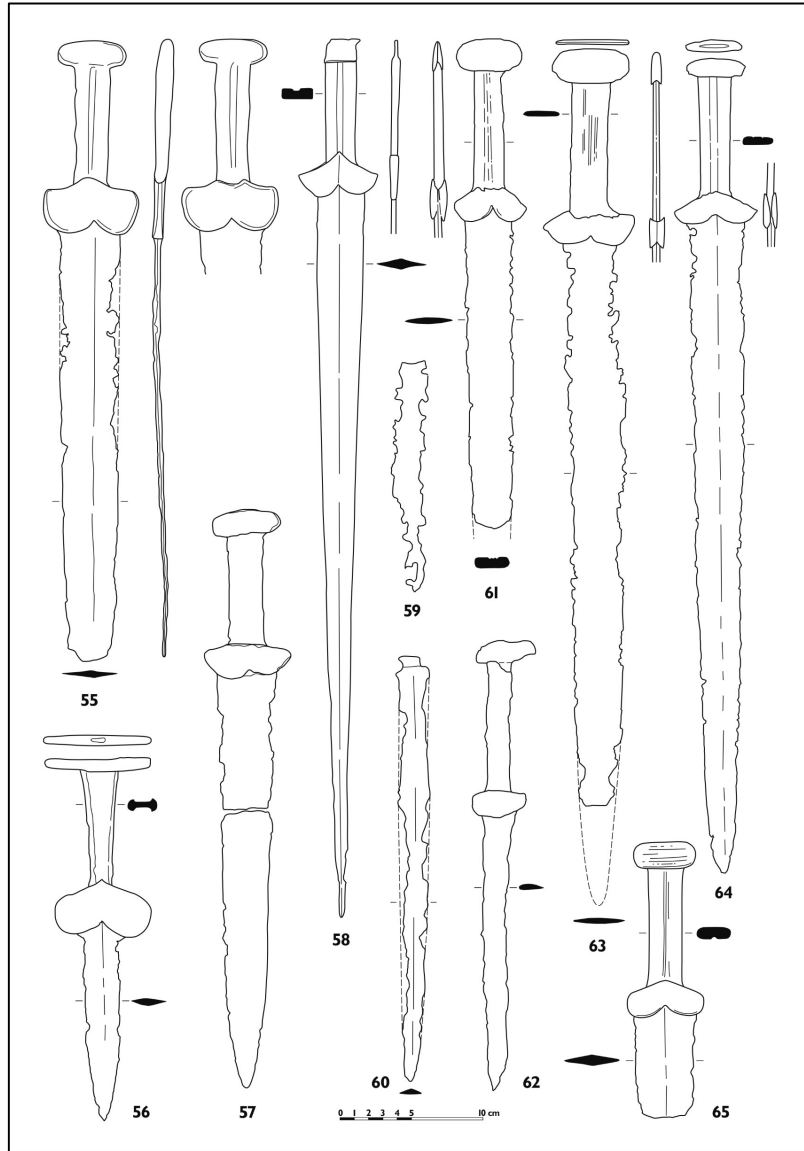


Fig. 16. The blade weaponry of Scythian period from Carpathian-Dniester region: 55 - Teșcureni; 56 - Suseni; 57 - Lucășeuca; 58 - Mikhailovka; 59 - Huși, burial? (1); 60 - Huși, burial? (2); 61 - Buciumeni; 62 - Cozia, burial of 1969; 63 - Lichitișeni; 64 - Găiceana (1); 65 - Trebujeni.

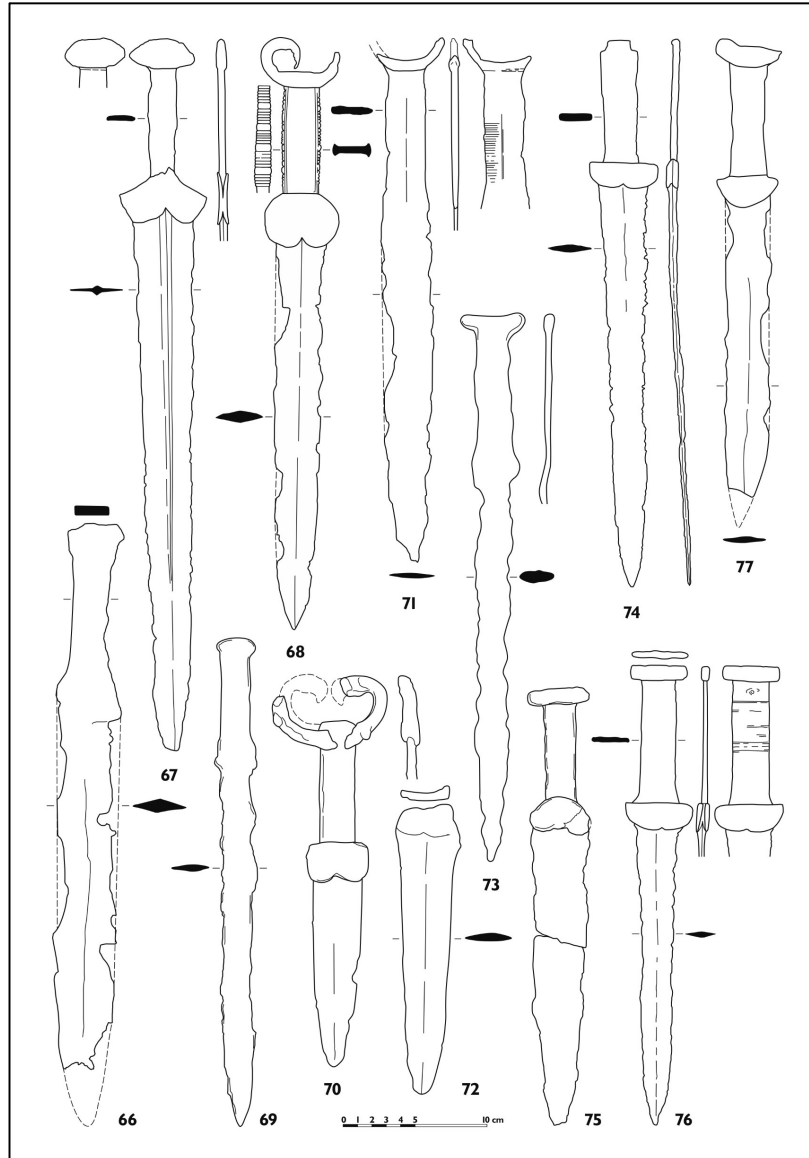


Fig. 17. The blade weaponry of Scythian period from Carpathian-Dniester region: 66 - Vaslui, burial 1973; 67 - Cozia (1); 68 - Cozia (2); 69 - Cozia-Voloaca Mică, burial (1); 70 - Capaclia; 71 - Mânzătești, burial; 72 - Chircești; 73 - Dumești-Dealul Coșarelor, burial; 74 - Mircești; 75 - Hansca; 76 - Dănești; 77 - Cozia-Voloaca Mică, burial (2).

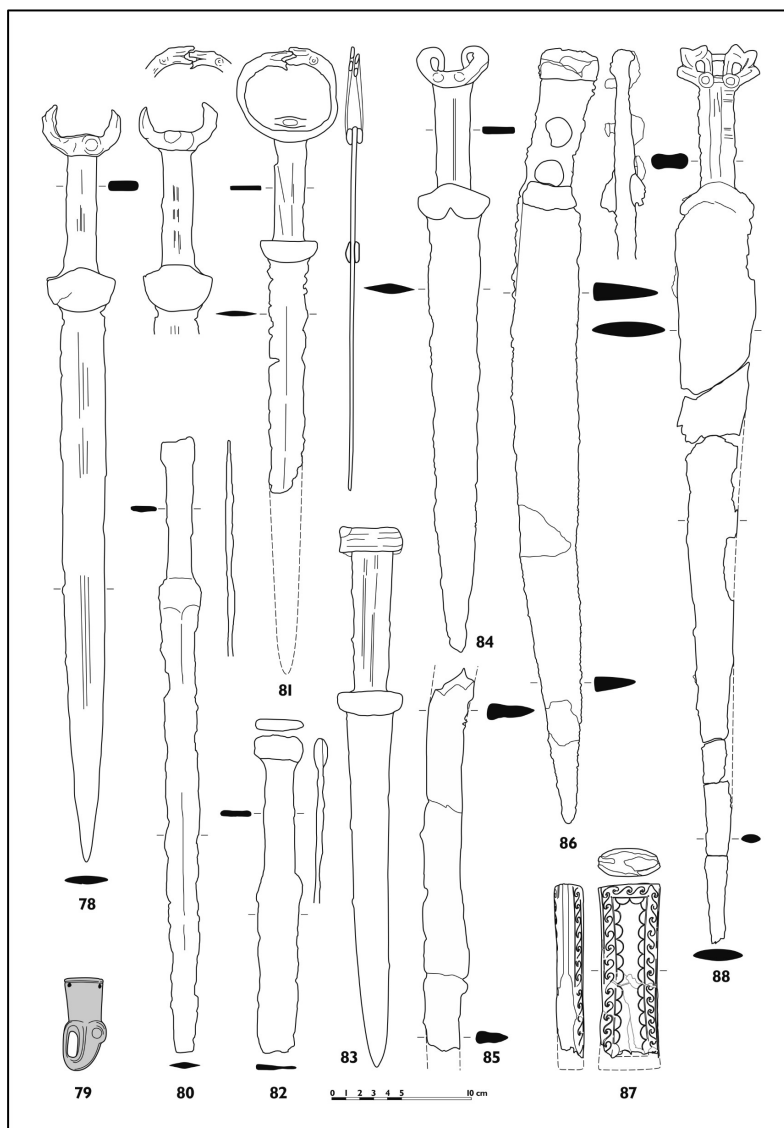


Fig. 18. The blade weaponry of Scythian period from Carpathian-Dniester region: 78 - Pîrjolteni, burial;
 79 - Nisporeni Ditric; 80 - Poienestî, burial; 81 - Găiceana (2); 82 - Poienestî, burial 307; 83 - Lărguța (3); 84 - Kotovsk; 85 - Butor, barrow 13, burial 2; 86 - Crihana Veche, barrow 5, burial 1; 87 - Crihana Veche, barrow 7, burial 2; 88 - Purcari, barrow 7, burial 3.

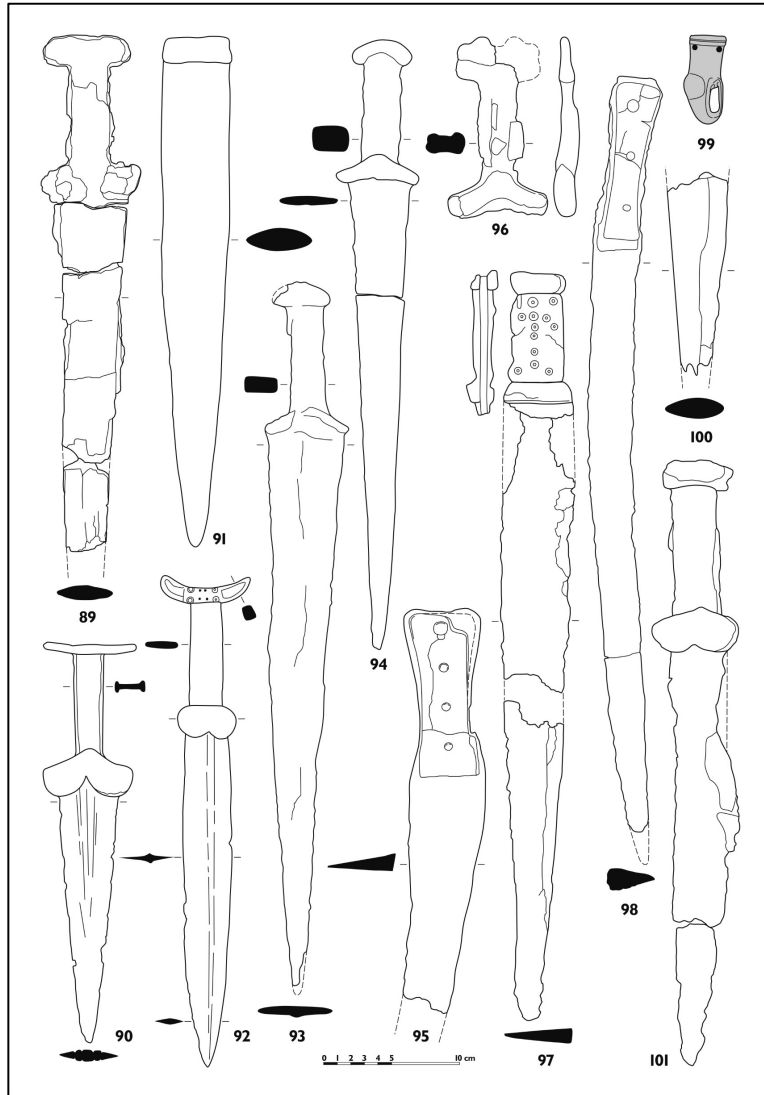


Fig. 19. The blade weaponry of Scythian period from Carpathian-Dniester region: 89 - Artsiz, barrow 1, burial 1; 90 - Dachnoe; 91 - Diviziya, barrow 20, burial 6; 92 - Tudorovo-Palanca, burial; 93 - Nikolaevka-II, burial 7; 94 - Nikolaevka-II, burial 8; 95 - Nikonion, barrow 1, burial 1; 96 - Talmaza, barrow 9, burial 1; 97 - Nikolaevka-I, burial; 98 - Nikolaevka-II, burial 1; 99 - Snake Island; 100 - Krasnoe, barrow 8, burial 1; 101 - Mayaky, burial G2.

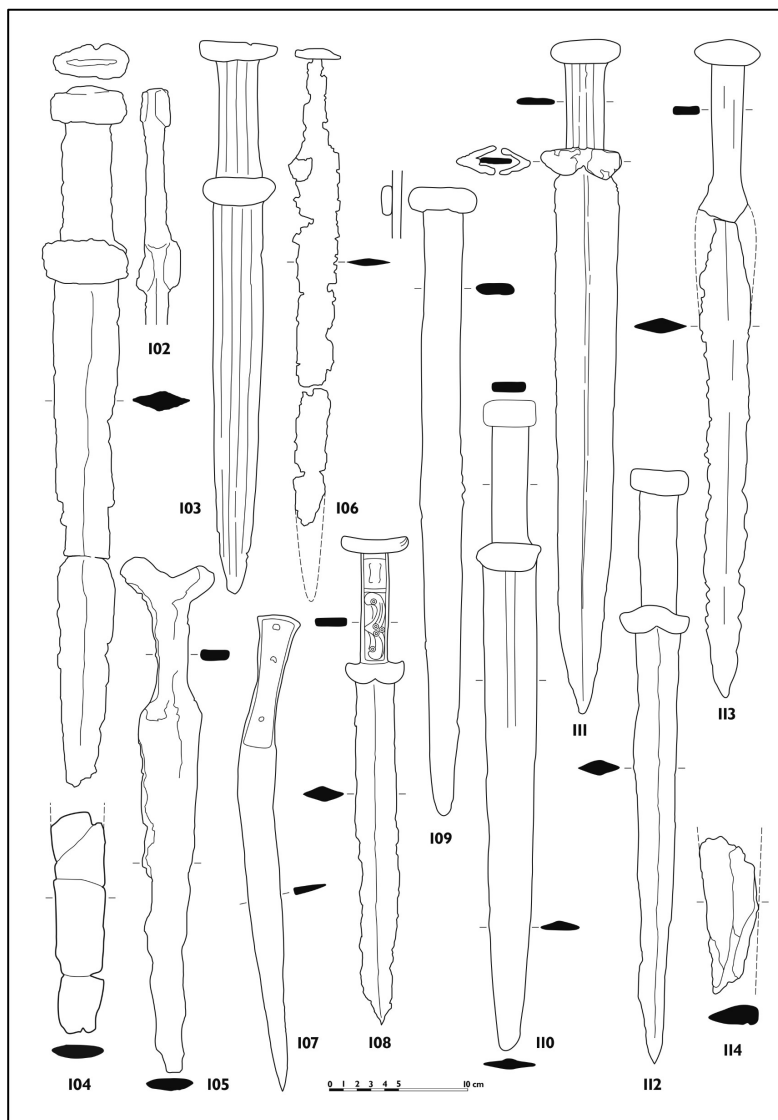


Fig. 20. The blade weaponry of Scythian period from Carpathian-Dniester region: 102 - Murighiol; 103 - Celic-dere, burial 10a; 104 - Parcani, barrow 4, burial 1; 105 - Celic-dere, burial (1); 106 - Chişcani, burial (1); 107 - Enisala; 108 - Celic-dere, burial (2); 109 - Celic-dere, burial 5; 110 - Celic-dere, barrow 44, burial 1; 111 - Celic-dere, burial 11; 112 - Celic-dere, burial (3); 113 - Celic-dere, burial (4); 114 - Chaush, barrow 15, burial 2.

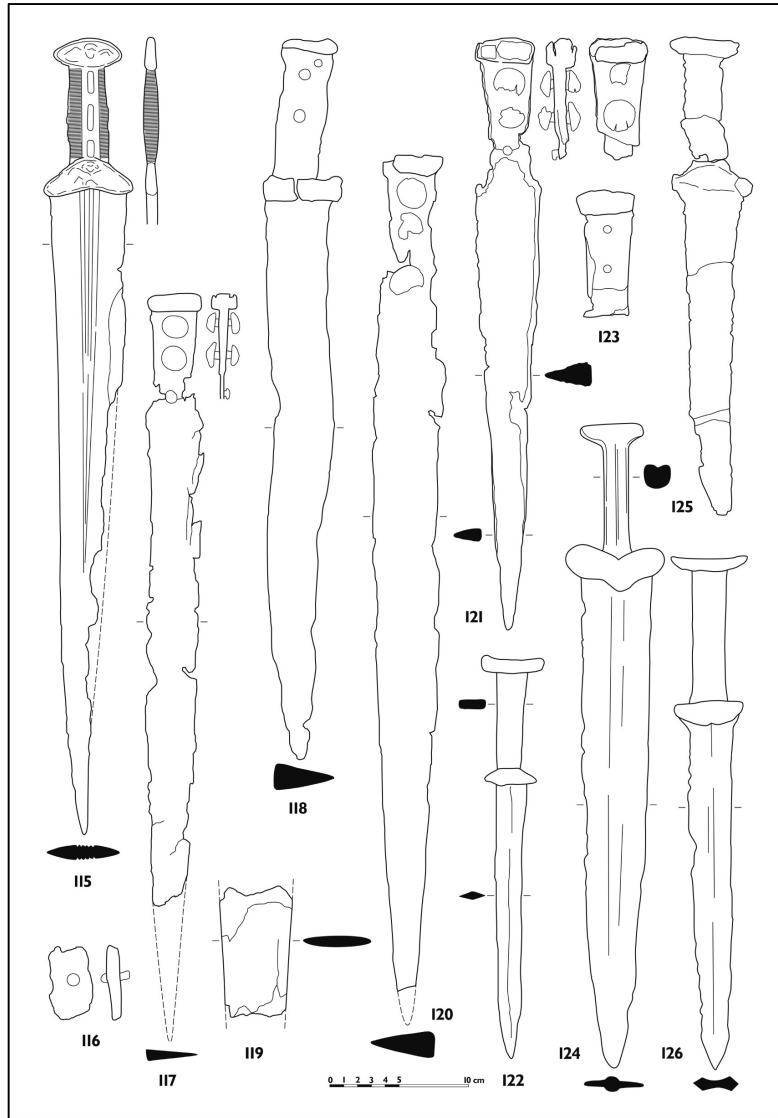


Fig. 21. The blade weaponry of Scythian period from Carpathian-Dniester region: 115 - Izmail, barrow; 116 - Chaush, barrow 9, burial 2; 117 - Chaush, barrow 22; 118 - Chaush, barrow 12; 119 - Plavni-I, barrow 15, burial 1; 120 - Chaush, barrow 15, burial 1; 121 - Plavni - I, barrow 24; 122 - Celic-dere, burial (5); 123 - Chaush, barrow 11, burial 1; 124 - Celic-dere, burial (6); 125 - Chişcani, burial (2); 126 - Celic-dere, burial (7).