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# Northern Barbarians and the Later Roman Empire's Pontic Border

Michel M Kazanski

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# STUDIA BARBARICA



PROFESOROWI ANDRZEJOWI KOKOWSKIEMU  
W 65. ROCZNICĘ URODZIN

FOR PROFESSOR ANDRZEJ KOKOWSKI  
ON HIS 65<sup>TH</sup> BIRTHDAY

TOM II

REDAKCJA

BARBARA NIEZABITOWSKA-WIŚNIEWSKA

PIOTR ŁUCZKIEWICZ

SYLWESTER SADOWSKI

MARTA STASIAK-CYRAN

MICHAEL ERDRICH



ŁUBLIN 2018



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COMMON EUROPE

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whence to the east of the Carpathians. However, there are some archaeological finds suggesting other ways in which the barbarians came to the

Pontus, primarily if they were deported by the Romans. This alternative view will be analysed in this paper.

#### NORTHERN EUROPEAN FINDS IN THE BLACK SEA AREA

There is a well-known group of artefacts of clear northern, Balto-Scandinavian origin, which penetrated to the northern Black Sea area through Central Europe. Among them are, for example, brooches, of the types such as *Monstruoso* (Fig. 1:1), *Schildfibeln* of Mattpes type VI.2–4/B2, metal

combs, and masks of the *Illerup-Kishpekk* type (see a corpus at: M. E. Levada 2006; 2012). For a long time, the distribution of such artefacts in the Pontic area has been related to the migration of different northern peoples of non-Gothic origin to the south (e.g. A. K. Ambroz 1969; M. E. Levada

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## NORTHERN BARBARIANS AND THE LATER ROMAN EMPIRE'S PONTIC BORDER

It is generally accepted that the contacts between Northern Europe and the Black Sea area in the Roman Period followed trans-European routes connecting the Baltic basin and the Pontus, primarily via the basins of the Vistula, the Western Bug, and the rivers in the Black Sea area. This interpretation is based on a tale of Gothic migration told by Jordanes (Jordanis, *Getica*, 27–29), archaeological evidence of the Wielbark culture expansion along the ‘Vistula-Volhynia’ axis (Ū. V. Kuharenko 1980; R. Wołagiewicz 1986; M. B. Šukin 1994, 246, 247, 347; 2005, 93–97, 103–108; A. Kokowski 2008, 159–162), and, finally, a distribution map of archaeological artefacts in this area (see e.g.: M. B. Šukin 1977, fig. 4; J. Werner 1988; A. Kokowski 1997, 704–735; M. Ščukin 2000, fig. 3; M. Shchukin *et alii* 2006, 32, fig. 19).

In general, archaeological data confirm Jordanes’ account and, doubtlessly, reflect a real picture, that the Germans, who found themselves in the northern Black Sea area in the third century AD, or at least the major part of them, came there by the continental corridor between the Baltic and the Black Sea, via the Vistula basin, and

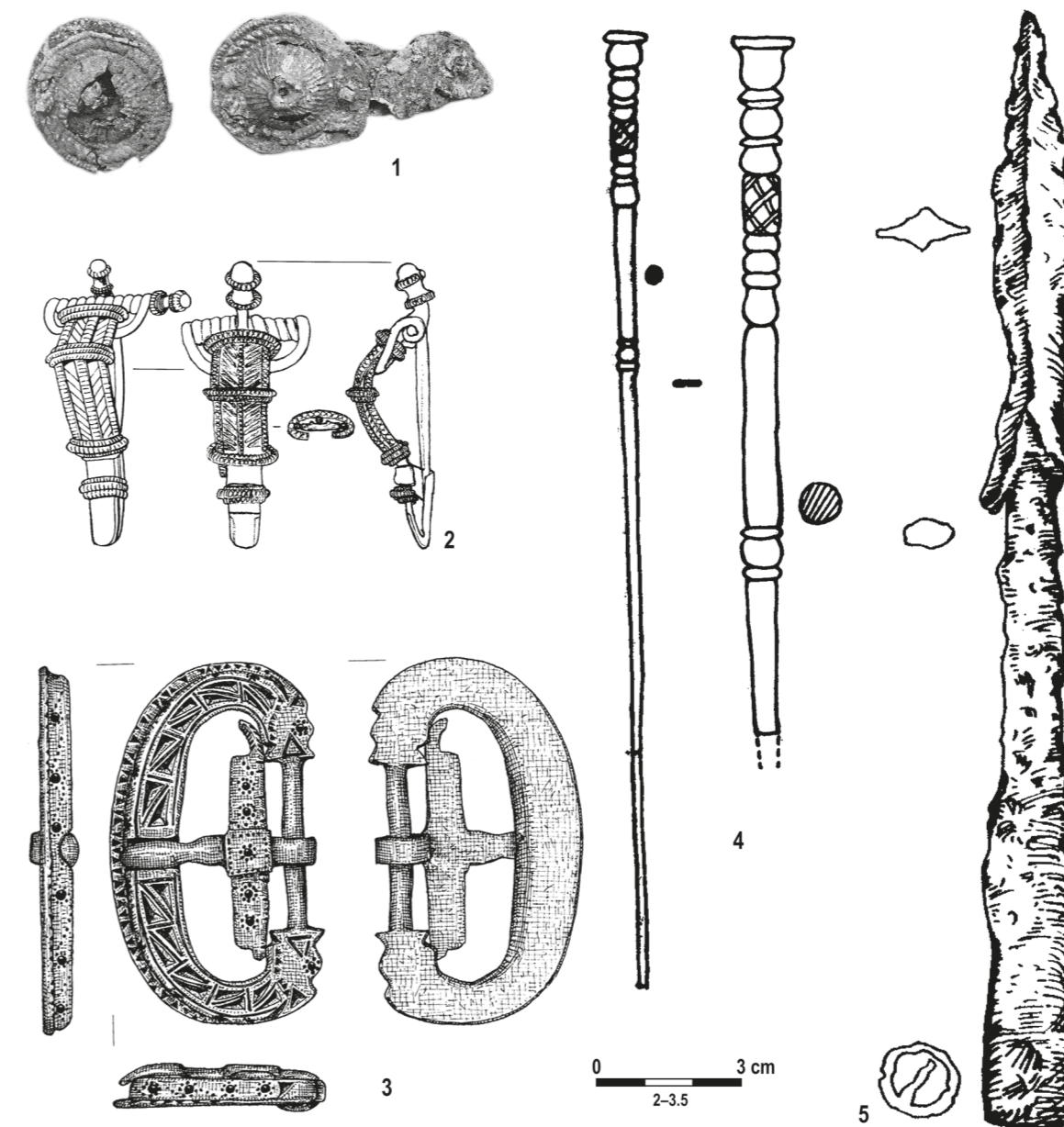


Fig. 1. Artefacts of supposed ‘northern’ and ‘western’ origin in the northern Black Sea area. 1 – Nejzac/Нейзац; 2 – Chersonese; 3 – Lučistoe/Лучистое; 4 – Gavriilivka/Гаврилівка; 5 – Rusâny/Русяны. After: M. Levada 2012 (1, 2); A. I. Ajbabin, È. A. Hajredinova 2010 (3); È. A. Symonovič 1973 (4); È. A. Rikman 1975 (5).





2006; M. B. Šukin 2005, 148). The participation of varied barbarians who were not Goths was underlined by the appearance in the Kuban' area and in the Crimea of buckles having a rectangular platform on the tongue, which were related to Western Balts' cultural tradition. Their chronology is within the Period B<sub>2</sub>/C<sub>1</sub> (AD 150/160–200/210) of the European *Barbaricum* timeline (O. V. Šarov 2013, 143, fig. 12).

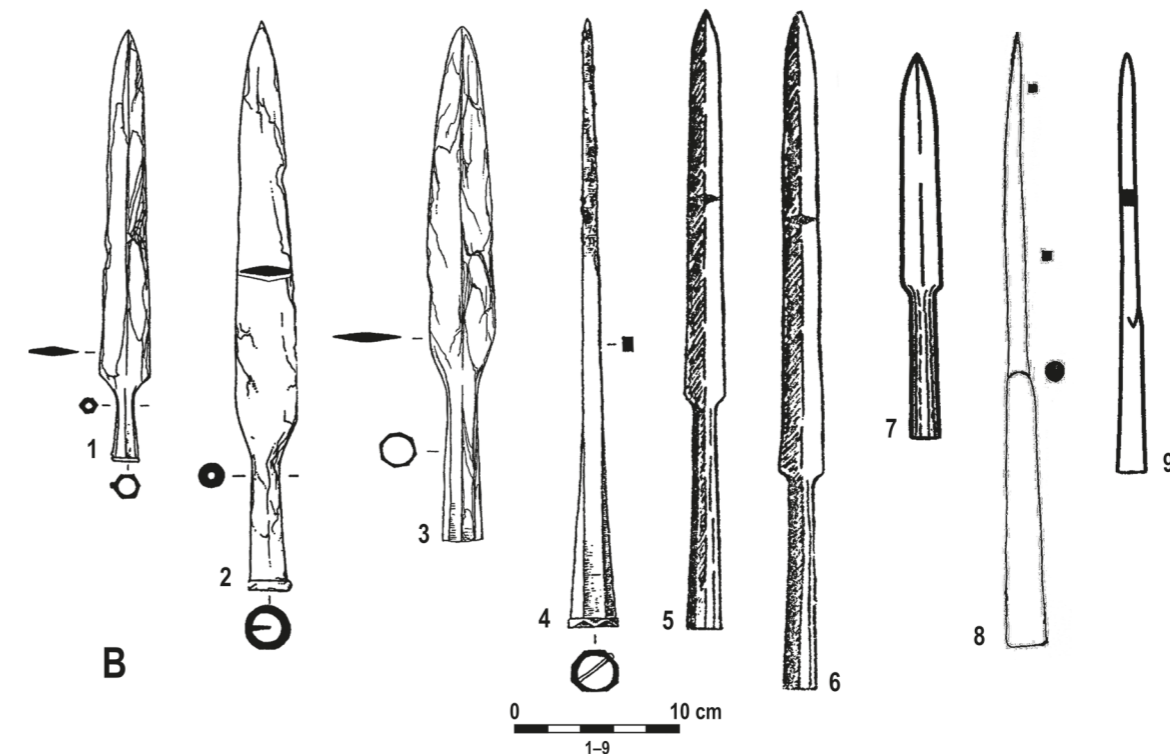
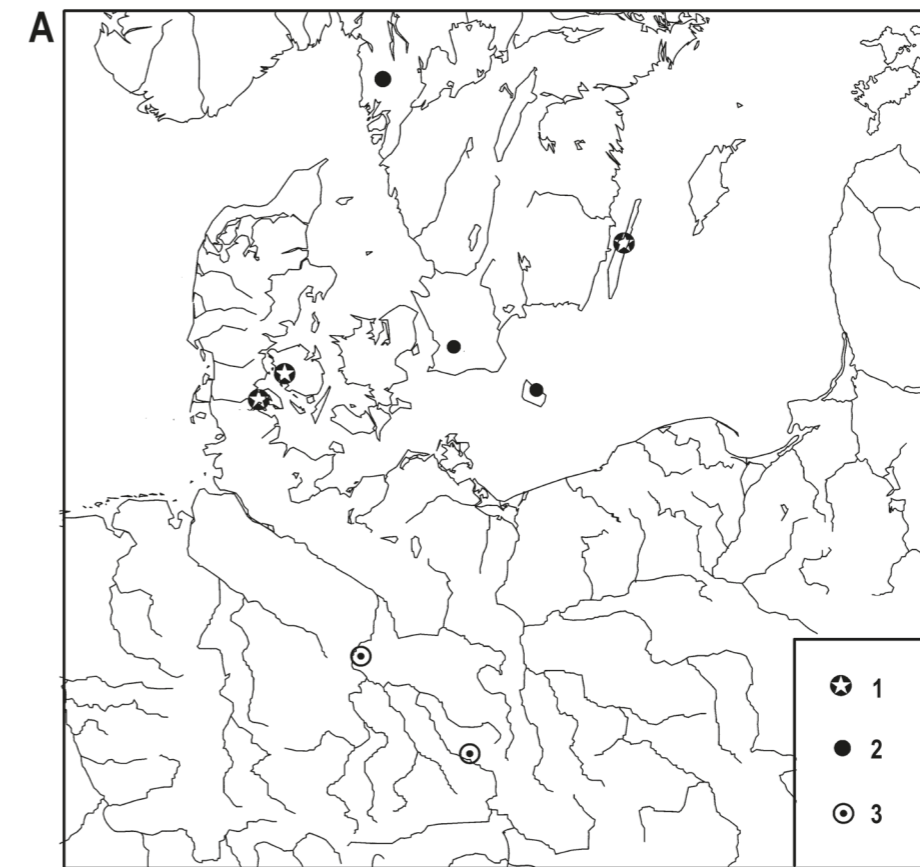
However, it should be taken into account that many artefacts previously identified as Northern European were not actually so. This way, buckles with a rectangular panel, rectangular frame, and two tongues (for recent studies see: J. Andrzejowski, R. Madyda-Legutko 2013; O. V. Šarov 2013, 137, 143, fig. 10, 11), often interpreted as originated from the *Barbaricum*, could in fact reflect a Roman influence, common for the Pontic area and for the Central European *Barbaricum* (cf. M. Sommer 1984, pl. 13:3). A brooch with ring decoration from Chersonese in Taurica (Fig. 1:2), although it has a 'northern' morphology, A. K. Ambroz 1966, 68; M. Levada 2012, fig. 1:2), finds no parallels in Scandinavia.

Generally, there are a few Scandinavian finds in the northern Black Sea area, as it has already been mentioned (M. Levada 2012). Among them are *Monstruoso* brooches (M. E. Levada 2006, 199, 200; 2012, 143, 144, fig. 2; U. Lund Hansen, M. J. Przybyła 2010; M. J. Przybyła 2011, fig. 17), particularly known in the Crimea, at the cemetery of Nezac/Heŭsau (Fig. 1:1). Especially demonstrative are brooches of Group 6, known in Bornholm, Gotland, in the Vistula estuary, in the Sambian Peninsula, and Kursh coast, as well as in the areas of the Wielbark and Chernyakhov cultures (U. Lund Hansen, M. J. Przybyła 2010, fig. 36)<sup>1</sup>.

Another northern element in the Pontic region are spears with a long 'sword-shaped' head, of diamond cross-section, and a relatively short,

often ribbed socket, of the *Dresden-Dobritz/Gübs* type (R. Birch Iversen 2010, 48–51, fig. 24) and their derivatives (Fig. 2:B/1–3, 5–7). These spears are known in Abkhazia, in graves from Stages II and III of the Abkhazian timeline, i.e. AD 320/330–440/450 (Šapka-Cerkovnyj Holm-4/Šapka-Cerковный Холм, grave 6; Šapka-Ah"ăcarahu/Šapka-Aхъяцараху, graves 6 and 20; Tsibilium/Цибиліум, graves 171, 190, 363, 383, 419, 420) (M. M. Kazanskij 2015, 46), and also in the Crimean cemeteries of Čatyr-Dag/Чатыр-Даз, graves 2 and 3 (G. A. Voznesenskaâ, M. E. Levada 1999, 254–256, fig. 3:2, 5:2; V. L. Myc *et alii* 2006, 119–121, fig. 6:3, 7:1), and Suvlu-Kaâ/Сувлу-Кая (A. A. Vološinov, V. V. Masâkin 2016, 121, fig. 2:1). The date of these burials could be within the Period C<sub>2</sub>–C<sub>3</sub>, that is from about AD 250/260 to 350/370. In the Late Roman Period and in the Early Great Migration Period, these spears were known in Southern Scandinavia, in Denmark, Southern Sweden, and in the Upper and Middle Elbe basin (Fig. 2:A). Analogous spears of the V. Kazakâvičius type 3 are also known in Eastern Lithuania, where they dated back from the fifth to seventh centuries (V. Kazakâvičius 1988, 41, 42, Map VII). Although close forms of spears rarely appear in Central Europe both in the Later Roman and Great Migration Periods, and in the British isles, at continental Saxons, their number in the Baltic area is the biggest (for details see: V. L. Myc *et alii* 2006, 121, 148; G. A. Voznesenskaâ, M. E. Levada 1999, 255, 256; M. M. Kazanskij 2015, 46).

Socketed lances of tetrahedral cross-section are perhaps also of north European origin (Fig. 2:B/4, 8, 9). These lance-heads are also well known in the cemeteries of the Tsibilium culture in Abkhazia, such as Tsibilium graves 77, 248, 50, 251, 362 Šapka-Ah"ăcarahu, grave 6, 25; Šapka-Abgydzrahu/Šapka-Абгьдзраху, grave 14, dated from Stages I/2 to IV/9 (i.e. from 290 to 550 AD) (M. M. Kazanskij 2015, 48, 50). In the Crimea, these lanc-



■ Fig. 2. Spears and lances of 'northern' origin from the southern Crimea and Abkhazia. A. Distribution map for the spears of the *Dresden-Dobritz/Gübs* type in southern Scandinavia and in the Elba basin. After: R. Birch Iversen. 1 – offering sites; 2 – settlements and hoards; 3 – graves. B. Weapons from the Crimea and Abkhazia. 1 – Čatyr-Dag/Чатыр-Даз, grave 3; 2 – Čatyr-Dag, grave 3; 3 – Čatyr-Dag, grave 20; 4 – Čatyr-Dag, grave 12; 5, 6 – Šapka-Cerkovnyj Holm-4/Šapka-Cerковный Холм-4, grave 67; 7 – Šapka/Шapka, outside a grave; 8 – Tsibilium, grave 362; 9 – Lar-1/Лар-1. After: V. L. Myc *et alii* 2006 (1–4); M. M. Kazanskij 2015 (5, 6, 8); Ū. N. Voronov, N. K. Šenkaio 1982 (7, 9).

<sup>1</sup> In my opinion, supposed relation between the finds of 'monstrous' brooch in the Chernyakhov culture area and the Heruli (M. B. Šukin 2005, 148) needs more arguments. These brooches were actually distributed mostly in Moldavia (M. B. Šukin 2005, fig. 50) and Right-Bank Ukraine (M. E. Levada 2006, 199, 200), or in the areas where the Heruli were not documented by written sources. Besides, these brooches are not known in the Don and Azov Sea basin, where it would be logical to expect archaeological finds related to the said people (see below).

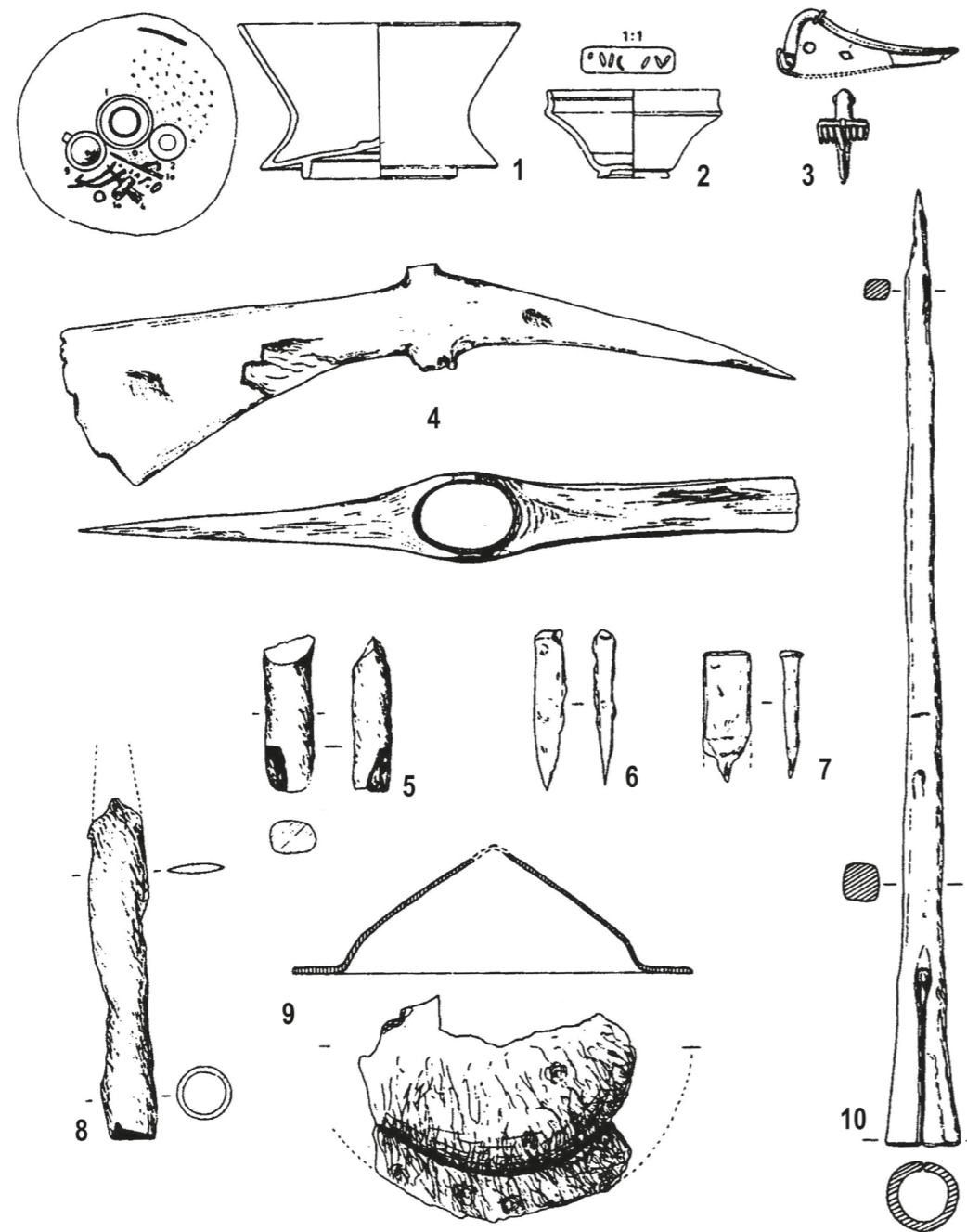
es occurred in the cemetery of Čatyr-Dag, grave 12, from Periods C<sub>2</sub>–C<sub>3</sub>, i.e. 250/260–350/370 AD (G. A. Voznesenskaâ, M. E. Levada 1999, 255, 256,

fig. 4:1; V. L. Myc *et alii* 2006, 121, fig. 7:6). Far to the east, in the Black Sea coast of the Northern Caucasus, there is a lancet from the materials





■ Fig. 3. Grave 697 of the cemetery of Wederath, on the Rhine.  
After: G. Waurick 1994.



of Raevskaâ/Raevskaja (RU) fortified settlement (G. A. Voznesenskaâ, M. E. Levada 1999, 255).

Similar lances are well-known at Scandinavian antiquities. There are Ilkjaer 5 and 11 types, from Period C<sub>3</sub>-D<sub>1</sub> (300/320-400/410 AD) or B<sub>2</sub>/C<sub>1</sub> (160-180 AD), if one considers the chronology of the bog finds at Illerup (J. Ilkjaer 1990, 53-59, 79-84; G. A. Voznesenskaâ, M. E. Levada 1999, 255; V. L. Myc *et alii* 2006, 121, 156). In Central and Eastern Europe, the finds of this type of

weapons from the Later Roman and Great Migration Periods are not very often. In the Chernyakhov culture area, there are isolated finds of such lances in the zone between the Dniester and Siret, where other artefacts of northern European origin concentrated. Simultaneously, these lancets are well known among the Roman auxiliaries on the Rhine (G. A. Voznesenskaâ, M. E. Levada 1999, 256). Researchers consider that these lancets found their way to the Pontic region primar-

ily accompanying the Roman army (V. L. Myc *et alii* 2006, 156), therefore the northern European origin of these weapons found in Abkhazia and the Crimea is disputable.

There is one more find of a 'northern' lance originating from the settlement of Rusâny/Ruсяны

(Moldova) of the Chernyakhov culture (Ė. A. Rikman 1975, fig. 20:17). This is a two-spiked head with a long socket (Fig. 1:5), certainly of the Ilkjaer 10/*Applerum* type, dating from Stage C<sub>2</sub> and C<sub>3</sub>, which was widespread in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden (J. Ilkjaer 1990, 230, 231).

#### ANCIENT WRITERS' ACCOUNTS OF THE NORTHERN BARBARIANS NEAR THE BLACK SEA

First and foremost, it is necessary to mention German place-names in the Pontic basin, which meets with parallels in Northern Europe. First, there is a well-known case of the *Heruli/Eruli*. This people broke through to the Black and Aegean Seas from the Maiotis in 267 AD (M. Shchukin *et alii* 2006, 31-34). Almost simultaneously, in 289, the panegyric of Mamertinus mentions the *Eruli* in the same list with the peoples of the Rhine, who acted at the Empire's western front, such as the *Alamanni*, *Burgundiones*, and certain *Chaibones* (cited through: A. Ellegård 1987, 19). The barbarian invasion mentioned by Mamertinus could certainly happen in the Upper Danube, for example in the Raetia and Noricum, which were in the western zone of imperial commandment (A. Ellegård 1987, 19), but this interpretation makes it unclear why the peoples of the Danube did not participate. Later on, Ammianus Marcellinus' account of the events of 360 AD in Gallia informed that the *Heruli* were recruited to the Gallic army somewhere behind the Rhine, together with the *Batavi*, a people of the North Sea; both peoples hired themselves with the condition that they will not be sent to the south of the Alps, that is outside Gallia (Ammianus Marcellinus, *Histoires*, XX.4.2-4). Danubian or Pontic barbarians could hardly lay down such conditions. Although *Laterculus Veronensis* (supposedly about 314 AD) (E. Demougeot 1979) placed the *Heruli* between the *Rugi* and the *Saxones*, i.e. between the Southern Baltic and the North Sea peoples, this list also mentioned them for the second time, together with the *Rugi*, between the *Uandali* and the *Sarmatae* on the

one hand and the *Sciri*, the *Carpi*, and the *Scitae* on the other hand, i.e. much far to the south, somewhere in the Carpathian-Danubian region.

Almost in the same time, in the age of Hermanarichus, i.e. in the second third of the fourth century, the Gothic tradition stated that some *Eluri* lived in the Maiotis (Jordanis, *Getica*, 117). Finally, in 454/455 AD, the same Gothic tradition informed that the *Heruli* fought in the famous battle of Nedao (Jordanis, *Getica*, 261), and, according to Hydatius' account, the *Heruli* made sea raids to the Atlantic coast of the Pyrenean Peninsula in 455 AD (400 warriors with seven ships) and in 459 (A. Ellegård 1987, 23). It is known from Procopius of Caesarea that in the early sixth century a group of the *Heruli* migrated from the Middle Danube to Scandinavia (Procopius, *Bel. Got.* II.15). Jordanes' famous account how the *Heruli* left Scandinavia (Jordanis, *Getica* 23) in very ancient times and because of the Danes' pressure is anachronistic: the Danes are a later union which appeared as late as the Great Migration Period, therefore the Roman and Greek writers do not know them (A. Ellegård 1987, 9,10). Although the problem of sameness or relationship of the *Heruli/Eruli* living on the Maiotis, in the Danube, and Northern Europe is certainly under discussion (see A. Ellegård 1987), the similarity of ethnic names is doubtless and, perhaps, reflects certain connections of these barbarian groups<sup>2</sup>. Be that as it may, all the researchers consider that the *Heruli* broke through to the Pontus independently, and most likely via the traditional transcontinental route from the Baltic to the Black Sea.

<sup>2</sup> One should also take into account the hypothesis that the appellative *Heruli/Eruli* was not an ethnonym but a name of professional groups of 'noble' warriors of most diverse origins (A. Ellegård 1987, 24, 25, 28-30).







The same is true for the northern people of the *Borani*, who plundered the Pontic coast together with the Ostrogoths in 253–256 AD. Their ambition on the sea testifies to that they were a settled people. The *Borani*'s ethnic identity has not been discovered yet. All the guesses of their Germanic, Sarmatian, or even Slavic origin are based on selectable interpretation of consonances of other ancient ethnonyms. However, it is worth mentioning that the given ethnic name resembles the name of a Germanic people of the *Varini* (I. S. Piore 1990, 39; M. E. Levada 2006, 217, 218), who lived somewhere at the stem of the Jutland Peninsula in the Roman Period (Tacite, *Germanie*, XL). Their appearance in the Black Sea with the Ostrogoths suggests that their migration, similarly to the Gothic one, followed the continental route.

More complicated is the question of the people of the *Eudosianoi* (Ἐυδοσιανοί), known from Pseudo-Arrian's *Periplus* (sixth century) as residents of the Black Sea coast of the Caucasus, most likely in the vicinity of modern Novorossiysk, speaking Gothic language (A. Baschmakoff 1948: *Codex Londinensis* 22). From the comparison with the account of Procopius (*Bel. Got.* IV.4,5) we have every reason to conclude that in the sixth century the *Eudosianoi* were known as the Tetraxitai Goths, who migrated from the Crimea<sup>3</sup> to the Caucasus because of the Hunnic pressure (M. Kazanski 1991, 498). There was a Germanic people bearing a very similar name of the *Eudoses*, who lived in Jutland in the first century AD (Tacite, *Germanie*, XL). Quite plausibly, Scandinavian and Pontic *Eudoses/Eudosianoi* were the same people. It is not clear how they found the way to the Black Sea, though they are supposed to come there with

the *Heruli* (H. Wolfram 1990, 34). Although it is still possible that their migration through Central Europe remained unnoticed to sources, there are also other possible interpretations.

In this connection interesting are the adventures of the Franks. About 280 AD, the Franks were defeated by Emperor Probus in the Lower Rhine area and deported whence to the other end of the empire, somewhere in the Pontus (*Panegyrique de Constance*, XVIII)<sup>4</sup>. It was rather a widespread practice in the Empire, suffice it to recall the relocation of the Sarmatians to Britain (I. Lebedynsky 2014, 106). However, in the case under analysis the barbarians rebelled and broke through to their homeland by the sea. Using numerous ships taken from the Romans, they defeated Greece, attacked the city of Syracuse in Sicily, and were repelled from the walls of Carthage in Africa (Zosime, *Histoire nouvelle*, I.LXXI.2; *Panegyrique de Constance*, XVIII) (E. Gibbon 1983, 248, 249; W. J. De Boone 1981, 10; P. Périn, L.-Ch. Feffer 1997, 44). From this story there are reasons to suppose another way in which the northern barbarians came from the European *Barbaricum* to the Black Sea: their deportation and settling there by Roman authorities in order to enhance the defensive capacity of the Pontic border.

Let us analyse now archaeological sites that could testify to such an action undertaken by Rome. From the late second to the fourth century AD, there were two areas in the Empire's Pontic borderland with increasing number of weapon graves, in addition to several definitely northern features: the southern coast of the Crimea, and Abkhazia.

<sup>3</sup> It is important to remember another name of the Tetraxitai Goths, the 'Trapezitai', which, in historians' opinion, was related to the name of a mountain of Trapezus in the southern Crimea, now known as Čatyr-Dag, perhaps the area where these Trapezitai initially lived (A. A. Vasil'ev 1921, 363–368).

<sup>4</sup> There is a hypothesis that the Franks were settled in the Black Sea coast of the Caucasus (see e.g.: T. Dundua, L. Tavazde 2007), but the panegyric does not support it, since it talks about the Pontus only: (...) *Recurabat quippe in animos illa sub diuo Probo paucorum ex Francis captiuorum incredibilis audacia et indigna felicitas, qui a Ponto usque correptis nauibus Graeciam Asiamque populati nec impune plerisque Libyae litoribus appulsi ipsas postremo naualibus quondam uictoriis nobiles ceperant Syracusas et immenso itinere peruerti oceanum, qua terras irrumpit, intrauerant atque ita euentu temeritatis ostenderant nihil esse clausum piraticae desperationi, quo nauigiis pateret accessus (...).*



#### SOUTHERN CRIMEA: SITES OF THE *AJ-TODOR/AЙ-ТОДОР* TYPE

Northern elements in barbaric population of the South-Western Crimea occurred in the materials of two cemeteries in the southern coast, *Aj-Todor/Aй-Тодор* and Čatyr-Dag, which make a particular group of sites called the *Aj-Todor* type (M. Kazanski 1991, 494–499; 2002, 409–414; M. M. Kazanskij 2006, 29–32; M. Shchukin *et alii* 2006, 81–83). According to O. V. Šarov, these cemeteries appeared about 200 AD, after the Marcomannic Wars (O. V. Šarov 2013, 144, 148). These monuments belonged to a population stationed in strategically important places, perhaps military settlers, allied to the Empire (M. Kazanski 1991, 494–499; M. B. Šukin 2005, 435, 437; V. L. Myc *et alii* 2006, 179).

Although funeral rite of the cemeteries in the southern coast of the Crimea is similar to East Germanic, the combination of elements in this area is not typical of the Wielbark, Przeworsk, and Chernyakhov cultures, which are usually compared to the sites of the *Aj-Todor* type. For example, weapons, particularly ritually kinked, rarely occurred in cemeteries of the Chernyakhov culture, and almost not known in graves of the Wielbark culture. Farming tools, horse bits, and axes also did not occur in the Wielbark cemeteries and appear as a very few pieces in the Chernyakhov cemeteries. Graves of the Przeworsk culture contained a great deal of weapons, including ritually broken pieces, though they missed stone constructions, horse bits and sickles, and a considerable number of axes occurred only in the cemetery of Chorula (PL). The same is valid for Germanic cemeteries located to the east of the Elbe, where there are cremations accompanied with sickles and axes, but no parallel stone constructions, as well as horse-bits and secondary fired (on a funeral pyre) ceramics (M. Kazanski 1991, 494–499; 2002, 409–414; M. M. Kazanskij 2006, 29–32; M. Shchukin *et alii* 2006, 81–83). Far smaller is the similarity of southern Crimean graves and cremations of Baltic cultures and Finnish cultures in the Baltic Sea area, despite they contained some fragments of military equipment, particularly intentionally damaged pieces,

and a few farming tools and horse bits (O. Sharov 2010, 126).

Quite unexpectedly, parallels to the cemeteries in the southern Crimean coast were found in the opposite corner of the *Barbaricum*, in the western area of the Scandinavian Peninsula, where cremations with stone structures and weapons were widely distributed through the Roman Period. Specific construction of urn and urnless cremations in cists or covered with accumulations of stones are in South and Middle Norway. There are well-known cremations with stone constructions (in cists, under stone pavements, heaps of stones, etc.), containing weapons, such as swords, spears, javelins, shields with metal bosses and grips, and rarely spurs. Often these weapons are intentionally broken. The inhumations in Norway contained sickles and axes. There also are cremations covered with an overturned vessel, like in *Aj-Todor*. In Later Roman Norway, there also were inhumations covered with stone heaps or in graves with the walls lined with slabs, like in *Aj-Todor* (M. Kazanski 1991, 494–499; 2002, 409–414; M. M. Kazanskij 2006, 29–32; M. Shchukin *et alii* 2006, 81–83).

Naturally there are also differences. This way, Norwegian graves are covered with barrows, their grave goods are more rich and varied, graves contained other types of goods, and inhumations were as popular as cremations. However, it would be naïve to expect a simple transplantation of all the features of Scandinavian Germans' archaeological culture to the other corner of Europe. In barbarian societies, material and spiritual culture of a group of migrants unavoidably changed, particularly due to the inclusion of foreign elements to this group (incorporation of warriors, mixed marriages, taking captives, hostages, etc.) (see B. Kontny 2013).

F.-A. Stylegar justly underlined that, although the listed features really existed in Norway, they never occurred in such a combination as in the Crimea within the same assemblages, and, besides, their distribution envelopes the entire Roman Period (F.-A. Stylegar 2011, 230–232).





Therefore, these parallels could not be evidence that certain groups of Germans migrated from Norway to the Crimea. Anyway, the appearance of the whole set of features in these two regions of Europe and only there could not be accidental.

#### ABKHAZIA

In Abkhazia, from the second century AD on, there was the so-called Tsibilium culture, typical of high militarization of the population and a visible concentration of Roman imports (a recent study: *Tsibilium* 2007). The researchers have also pointed out the appearance of some Germanic elements to relate it with Germanic expansion. However, some of these features were known in the Black Sea coast of the Caucasus long before historical Germans appeared there, and therefore they did not have any relation to them. All the features of the funeral rite of the Tsibilium culture, often understood as Germanic, actually have wider parallels, projecting outside the Germanic world, and what is more important, they appeared in the eastern Black Sea area long before the arrival of historical Germans. This concerns particularly the rite of cremation, which was documented in Abkhazia and Colchis as long as the Early Iron Age and was well represented in the Tsibilium culture cemeteries from its very beginning (Stage I/1: 170/200–260/270 AD). The rite of funeral weapons damaging occurred among the population of the Black Sea coast of the Caucasus from the first and second centuries AD. The placement of chain mail fragments in graves is also typical not only of the Germans, appearing in the Black Sea coast of the Caucasus in the second half of the second century AD, e.g. before the appearance of the Germans in the Pontus according to written sources' (M. M. Kazanskij 2015). Some types of weapons initially misinterpreted as Germanic were not so, and were widespread among different peoples, in no small measure in the Roman imperial territory. Among them were in particular axes of the types which occurred in Abkhazia, *scramasaxes*, several types of shield bosses and grips (M. M. Kazanskij 2015).

It is also important to note that barbarians living in the southern Crimean coast were included into the system of defence of the Pontic border of the Empire (M. Kazanski 1991).

Actually, doubtless Germanic features of the material culture of Abkhazia from the Roman Period and the Early Great Migration Period include several types of shield bosses, such as *Ko-rzeń* in 260/270–330/340 AD, or *Libenau* and *Zieling K2*, known in Abkhazian graves from 380/400–440/450 AD, as well as several types of shield grips from the Roman Period, and already mentioned spears and lances (see above). There also are specific types of woman's ornaments of Germanic origin (Fig. 4:1–3, 9), such as amber mushroom-shaped pendants (for them see: A. V. Mastykova 1999), amber beads with carved decoration (for them see: A. Mastykova 2001), metal bucket-shaped pendants, and, finally, particular daily life artefacts, such as fire lighters (Fig. 4:6) (Ju. Voronov 2007, fig. 91:21; cf. J. Schuster 2011). These types of goods are abundant in Eastern Germanic antiquities, such as the *Przeworsk*, *Chernyakhov*, and *Wielbark* cultures. No other particularly Germanic feature exists in the Tsibilium culture, though weapons and ornaments of Germanic appearance in this period widely distributed in the Later Roman Empire, especially in the military environment. Perhaps the appearance of 'western' cultural elements in Abkhazia was rather the influence from barbarized Roman army, which occupied the strongholds in the Black Sea coast of the Caucasus, or that from veterans of the Roman army, who settled in Abkhazia and were mentioned by Procopius (Procopius, *Bel. Got.*, IV.9). It is important to mention that the appearance of reliable Germanic elements in the culture of Abkhazian population was not a single event. The earliest goods of Germanic appearance date from 260/270–330/349 AD, when, following the Gothic Wars, the Roman Empire re-established control over the Pontic border.

The period of maximum distribution of the cultural features of Germanic appearance in Abkhazia corresponds to 380/400–440/450 AD. Simultaneously, in the late fourth and first half of the fifth century, more elements of foreign origin appeared in equipment of Abkhazian warriors, such as *scramasaxes*, Iranian daggers, and trilobate 'Hunnic' arrowheads. Most likely, this international arsenal developed due to a certain event or process which resulted in sending of new barbarian contingents to the Pontic border of the Eastern Roman Empire. Several types of shield bosses, rare in the Central and Eastern European *Barbaricum*, testify to the presence among these soldiers of the natives of Northern and Western Europe (for details concerning Germanic elements in Abkhazia see: M. M. Kazanskij 2015).



Hence, there were two groups of militarized populations that shaped up in the northern and eastern Black Sea coasts simultaneously, engaged in the military sphere of Rome, and possessed some Germanic features of their material culture. There are common elements of their military equipment underlining their relation, such as a few types of shield bosses and grips, which were distributed both among the barbarians and in the Roman army (e.g. shield bosses of the *Aj-Todor/Zieling H2* types, *Zieling K2*, and shield grips of the *Zieling X* type) (Fig. 5:1, 2, 7, 8, 11, 12) (M. Kazanski 1994, 438, 439, 440, 451, 452), tetrahedral lances (Fig. 5:5, 6), spears of the *Dresden-Dobritz/Gübs* type, and axes-picks (Fig. 5:9, 10) (for their Roman parallels see e.g.: M. C. Bishop, C. N. Coulston 1993, fig. 63:2–5) (Fig. 5:3, 4).

Autochthonous origin of the people of the Tsibilium culture is beyond any reasonable doubt, though the Germans who created the small-number sites of *Aj-Todor* type were clearly a newly arrived element. Taking into account their northern parallels, there are reasons to suggest a working hypothesis that at least some of these Germans were moved from the western part of

the Empire. The episode with the Franks mentioned above could serve as an example.

There are certain archaeological facts testifying to the probability of this suggestion. Southern Crimean cremations accompanied with shield bosses, lances, and picks resemble graves of the western allies of Rome (see for example Fig. 3).

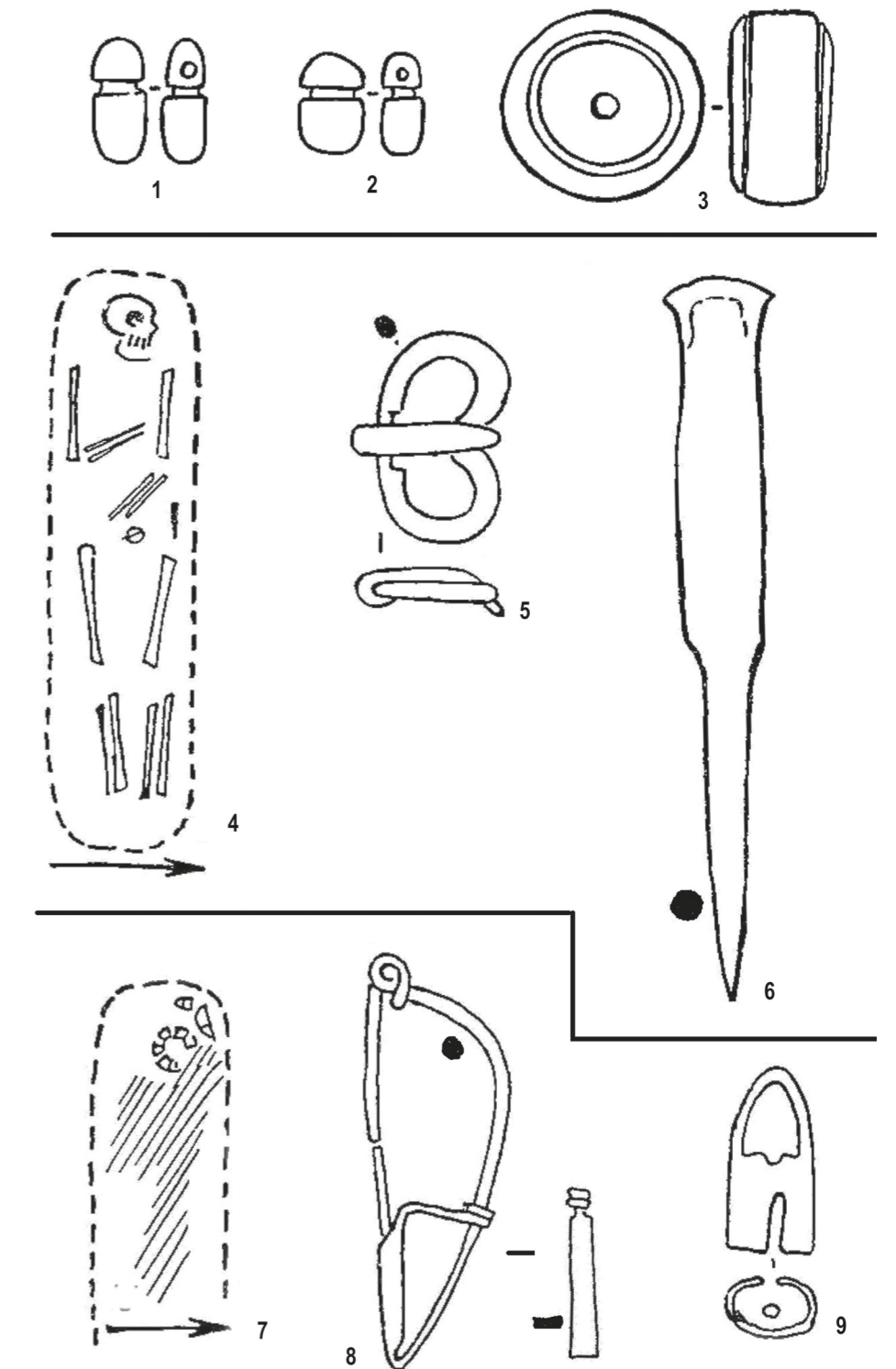


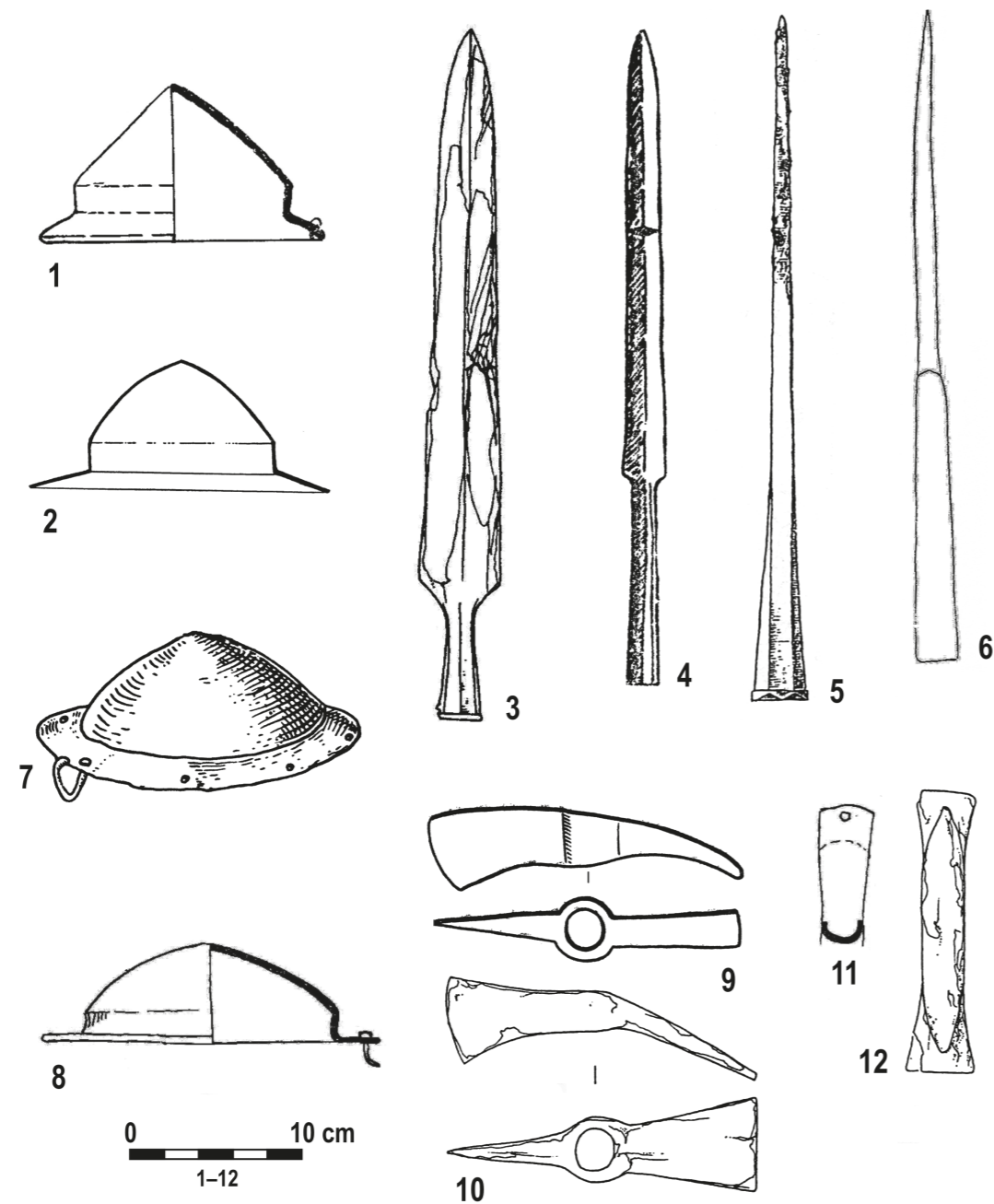
Fig. 4. Ornaments and daily life artefacts of Germanic origin from the graves in Abkhazia. 1, 2 – Tsibilium-1, grave 209; 3 – Tsibilium-2, grave 351; 4–6 – Tsibilium-1, grave 186; 7–9 – Tsibilium-1, grave 184. After: M. M. Kazanskij 2015.







■ Fig. 5. Weapons common for the southern coast of the Crimea and Abkhazia. 1 – Tsibilium-1, grave 61; 2, 10, 12 – Čatyr-Dag/Чатыр-Даг, grave 2; 3 – Čatyr-Dag, grave 2; 4 – Šapka-Cerkovnyj Holm-4/Шапка-Церковный Холм-4, grave 7; 5 – Čatyr-Dag, grave 12; 6 – Tsibilium-2, grave 362; 7 – Aj-Todor/Aj-Todor, grave 11; 8, 11 – Tsibilium-1, grave 127; 9 – Tsibilium-1, grave 54. After: Tsibilium 2007 (1, 4, 6, 8, 9, 11); V. L. Myc et alii 2006 (2, 3, 5, 10, 12); M Shchukin et alii 2006 (7).



In the southern Crimea (Chersonese, Aj-Todor, and Partenit/Партенит) there are coins of Gallic 'Emperors' Tetricus (270–271 AD) and Lollienus (268–269 AD) (V. A. Sidorenko 1987). Coins of Gallic usurpers also occurred in the Chernyakhov culture area (V. V. Kropotkin 2005, nos. 782, 905, 1115). These coins could hardly circulate in the Empire officially, though they appeared among the Germans who served to the usurpers in Gallia (M. B. Šukin 2005, 142, 143, 423; M. Shchukin et alii 2006, 30). It is worth mentioning Crime-

an finds of precious Roman imports, of Gallic origin, such as a third-century enamelled *pyxis* from the so-called Mesaksudi's Grave discovered in Kerch in 1918 (V. V. Kropotkin 1970, no. 832; F. Beck et alii 1988, 77–79), cauldron of *Westland* type from the Crimea, the main concentration of which is in Gallia, Northern Germany, and Jutland (M. E. Levada 2006, 212, 213, fig. 21), or bronze Gallo-Roman vessels from the cemeteries of Aj-Todor, Černaâ Rečka (River)/Черная Речка and Sovhoz-10/Совхоз-10 in Crimea (V. V. Kro-

potkin 1970, nos. 824, 834, 835), as well as a shape of a Roman sword from Chersonese, of the *Novaesum* type (middle or second half of the third century), which was widespread both in the Rhine limes and in the *Barbaricum*, between the Elbe and the Rheine, and in Jutland (M. E. Levada 2006, 211, 212), and finally horse trappings from Kazanskaâ/Казанская (RU) in the Kuban area, which meets with parallels in Illerup in modern Denmark (O. V. Šarov 2013, 143, 144, fig. 13–15). It is also worth mentioning an iron pin, measuring 27.6 cm in length, which originated from the Chernyakhov cemetery of Gavrilivka/Гаврилівка (UA), and was related to the Balts' pins by È. A. Symonovič (È. A. Symonovič 1973, 30, fig. 11:7) (Fig. 1:3). However, the pins of Northern Germans seems more similar, particularly the *Fécamp* type, which dates from the last third of the fourth and early fifth centuries and occurs in

northern Gallia and the *Barbaricum*, especially in between of the Weser and the Rhine, that is on the Franks' territory (H. W. Böhme 1974, 35, Fundliste 9, Karte 9; 2007, 10, fig. 4, liste n° 3)<sup>5</sup>. It is worth mentioning a unique for the Black Sea buckle form a Roman 'military' belt (Fig. 1:3), typical of Gallia and Roman Germany in the late fourth and first half of the fifth century, which originates from burial vault 173 of the cemetery of Lučistoe/Луцистое, in Crimea (A. I. Ajbabin, È. A. Hajredinova 2010, 514, fig. 2; cf. M. Sommer 1984, 25–27, pl. 6).

All these archaeological and numismatic accounts could testify to the appearance of Northern European barbarians in the Black Sea, via the western territory of the Roman Empire, most likely as military settlers on the Pontic border.

Translation: Nikita Khrapunov

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<sup>5</sup> However, pins of the type *Fécamp* are a bit smaller in size (on average, about 17 cm), and they all are of non-ferrous metals.







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## NOTA OD REDAKCJI

Przygotowując do druku dwutomową Księgę poświęconą Profesorowi Andrzejowi Kokowskiemu przyjęliśmy następujące zasady:

- łacińską transliterację cyrylicy zgodną z normą międzynarodową ISO 9 we wszystkich tekstach w językach polskim, angielskim i niemieckim
- w tekstach w językach polskim, angielskim i niemieckim nie transliterowano jedynie nazw własnych kultur, krain geograficznych i rzek pozostawiając zapis powszechnie stosowany w każdym z tych języków
- w tekstach w językach polskim, angielskim i niemieckim wszystkie cyryliczne pozycje bibliograficzne zapisano w postaci transliterowanej, umieszczając poniżej także zapis oryginalny
- w tekstach w językach polskim i rosyjskim nazwy jednostek administracyjnych Polski, Rosji i Ukrainy (np. powiatów, województw, rajonów, oblasti) zapisano w formie przymiotnikowej, obowiązującej w tych krajach
- w tekstach w językach angielskim i niemieckim, w tym w streszczeniach w tych językach, nazwy jednostek administracyjnych Polski, Rosji i Ukrainy zapisano w formie rzeczownikowej, podając także, najczęściej przy pierwszym użyciu, oryginalny zapis cyryliczny nazw rosyjskich i ukraińskich
- w tekstach w języku polskim nazwy jednostek administracyjnych Rosji i Ukrainy zapisano w formie rzeczownikowej, podając także, najczęściej przy pierwszym użyciu, oryginalny zapis cyryliczny
- w skróconym zapisie nazw państw, z małymi wyjątkami, zastosowano zalecany, dwuliterowy kod ISO (ISO 3166 alpha-2).

Oczywiście w uzasadnionych wypadkach pozwoliliśmy sobie na pewne odstępstwa od powyższych reguł.

*Redakcja*



## A NOTE FROM THE EDITORS

When preparing this two-volume Festschrift for Professor Andrzej Kokowski we have adopted the following rules:

- Latin transliteration of the Cyrillic script following the international norm ISO 9 in all the texts in Polish, English and German
- in the Polish, English and German texts, only the proper names of cultures, geographical places and rivers were not transliterated, leaving the commonly used notation in each of the languages in question
- in the Polish, English and German texts all the Cyrillic bibliographical entries were transliterated, leaving the original notation below
- in the Polish and Russian texts, the names of administrative units of Poland, Russia and Ukraine (e.g. districts, voivodships, regions and oblasts) were written in the adjectival form which is in force in the respective countries
- in the texts in English and German, including the summaries of the texts, the names of the administrative units of Poland, Russia and Ukraine are given in the nominal form, providing also, upon first use, the original Cyrillic notation of Russian and Ukrainian names
- in the texts in Polish, the names of administrative units of Russia and Ukraine are given in the nominal form, providing also, upon first use, the original Cyrillic notation
- in the contractions of country names, with small exceptions, the recommended two-letter ISO code (ISO 3166 alpha-2) was used.

In justified cases we allowed for certain deviations from the above rules

*The Editors*



## WYKAZ SKRÓTÓW ABBREVIATIONS

- AA ↗ Acta Archaeologica  
 AAC ↗ Acta Archaeologica Carpathica  
 AarbKøb ↗ Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie  
 AAustr ↗ Archaeologia Austriaca  
 ActaArchHung ↗ Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae  
 ActaPraehistA ↗ Acta Praehistorica et Archaeologica  
 AiBB ↗ Archäologie in Berlin und Brandenburg  
 AIHV ↗ Annales du Congrès de l'Association Internationale pour l'Histoire du Verre, Liège  
 AL ↗ Archaeologia Lituana  
 APolski ↗ Archeologia Polski  
 APŚ ↗ Archeologia Polski Środkowoschodniej, Lublin  
 Arbeitsber. Bodendenkmalpfl. Brandenburg ↗ Arbeitsberichte zur Bodendenkmalpflege in Brandenburg  
 ArbFBerSächs ↗ Arbeits- und Forschungsberichte zur Sächsischen Bodendenkmalpflege  
 Arch.Baltica ↗ Archaeologia Baltica  
 Arch. Korrbl. ↗ Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt  
 ARozhl ↗ Archeologické Rozhledy  
 BARIntSer ↗ British Archaeological Reports, International Series, Oxford  
 Beiträge zu römischer und barbarischer Bewaffnung ↗ C. von Carnap-Bornheim (ed.), Beiträge zu römischer und barbarischer Bewaffnung in den ersten vier nachchristlichen Jahrhunderten. Akten des 2. Internationalen Kolloquiums in Marburg a. d. Lahn, 20. bis 24. Februar 1994, Veröffentlichungen des Vorgesichtlichen Seminars Marburg, Sonderband 8, Marburg-Lublin 1994  
 BerRGK ↗ Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission  
 EAZ ↗ Ethnographisch-Archäologische Zeitschrift  
 Europa barbarica ↗ P. Łuczkiwicz, M. Gładysz-Juścińska, M. Juściński, B. Niezabitowska, S. Sadowski (eds.), *Europa barbarica. Ćwierć wieku archeologii w Masłomęczu*, Monumenta Studia Gothica IV, Lublin 2005  
 FPP ↗ Folia Praehistorica Posnaniensia  
 Goci i ich sąsiedzi ↗ W. Nowakowski (ed.), *Goci i ich sąsiedzi na Pomorzu. Materiały z konferencji „Goci na Pomorzu Środkowym”*, Koszalin 28–29 października 2005, Koszalińskie Zeszyty Muzealne, Seria A: Studia Archaeologica Pomeranica II, Koszalin 2006  
 HS ↗ Hersonesskij Sbornik / Херсонесский Сборник (=XC)  
 100 Jahre Fibelformen ↗ J. Kunov (ed.), *100 Jahre Fibelformen nach Oscar Almgren*, Internationale Arbeitstagung 25.–28. Mai 1997 Kleinmachnow, Land Brandenburg, Forschungen zur Archäologie im Land Brandenburg 5, Wünsdorf 1998  
 IAK ↗ Izvestiâ Imperatorskoj Arheologičeskoj Komissii / Известия Императорской Археологической Комиссии (=ИАК)  
 InvArch ↗ Inventaria Archaeologica, Pologne  
 JbRGZM ↗ Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz  
 Kontakt–Kooperation–Konflikt ↗ C. von Carnap-Bornheim (ed.), *Kontakt – Kooperation – Konflikt. Internationales Kolloquium des Vorgesichtlichen Seminars der Philipps-Universität Marburg*, 12.–16. Februar 1998, Neumünster 2003  
 Kontakty ponadregionalne... ↗ M. Fudziński, H. Paner (eds.), *Kontakty ponadregionalne kultury wielbarskiej. Przemiany kulturowe w okresie wpływów rzymskich na Pomorzu*, Gdańsk 2015  
 KSIA ↗ Kratkie soobšeniâ Instituta arheologii / Краткие сообщения Института археологии (=КСИА)  
 Kultura bogaczewska ↗ A. Bitner-Wróblewska (ed.), *Kultura bogaczewska w 20 lat później. Materiały z konferencji, Warszawa, 26–27 marca 2003*, Seminarium Bałtyjskie I, Warszawa 2007  
 Kultura wielbarska ↗ J. Gurba, A. Kokowski (eds.), *Kultura wielbarska w młodszym okresie rzymskim*, t. I 1988, II 1989, Lublin  
 KZM ↗ Koszalińskie Zeszyty Muzealne  
 LA ↗ Lietuvos archeologija  
 MAIET ↗ Materiały po arheologii, istorii i etnografii Tavrii / Материалы по археологии, истории и этнографии Таврии (=МАИЭТ), Simferopol'-Kerč / Симферополь-Керч  
 MANH ↗ Materiały Archeologiczne Nowej Huty  
 MatArch ↗ Materiały Archeologiczne  
 MIA ↗ Materiały i issledovaniâ po arheologii SSSR / Материалы и исследования по археологии СССР (=МИА), Moskva / Москва  
 Mon.Arch. Barbarica ↗ Monumenta Archaeologica Barbarica, Kraków-Warszawa  
 Mon. Stud. Gothica ↗ A. Kokowski (ed.), Monumenta Studia Gothica, Lublin  
 Monographien RGZM ↗ Monographien des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, Mainz  
 MSROA ↗ Materiały i Sprawozdania Rzeszowskiego Ośrodka Archeologicznego  
 MS ↗ Materiały Starożytne, Warszawa  
 MSiW ↗ Materiały Starożytne i Wczesnośredniowieczne, Warszawa  
 Nachrbl.Dt.Vorzeit ↗ Nachrichtenblatt für deutsche Vorzeit  
 Nowe materiały kultury wielbarskiej ↗ M. Fudziński, H. Paner (eds.), *Nowe materiały i interpretacje. Stan dyskusji na temat kultury wielbarskiej*, Gdańsk 2007  
 Officina archaeologica optima ↗ W. Nowakowski, A. Szela (eds.), *Officina archaeologica optima. Studia ofiarowane Jerzemu Okuliczowi-Kozarynowi w siedemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin*, Światowit Supplement Series P: Prehistory and Middle Ages VII, Warszawa 2001  
 Orbis Barbarorum ↗ J. Andrzejowski, C. von Carnap-Bornheim, A. Cieśliński, B. Kontny (eds.), *Orbis Barbarorum. Studia ad archaeologiam Germanorum et Baltorum temporibus Imperii Romani pertinentia* Adalberto Nowakowski dedicata, Mon.Arch. Barbarica, Series Gemina VI, Warszawa-Schleswig 2017  
 PamA ↗ Památky Archeologické  
 PArch ↗ Przegląd Archeologiczny  
 PMMAiE ↗ Prace i Materiały Muzeum Archeologicznego i Etnograficznego w Łodzi, Seria archeologiczna  
 Pogranicze trzech światów ↗ W. Nowakowski, A. Szela (eds.), *Pogranicze trzech światów. Kontakty kultur przeworskiej, wielbarskiej i bogaczewskiej w świetle materiałów z badań i poszukiwań archeologicznych*, Światowit Supplement Series P: Prehistory and Middle Ages XIV, Warszawa 2006  
 PomAnt ↗ Pomorania Antiqua  
 Prussia ↗ Sitzungsberichte der Altertumsgesellschaft Prussia (Prussia. Zeitschrift für Heimatkunde)  
 PZ ↗ Praehistorische Zeitschrift  
 RArch. ↗ Recherches Archéologiques  
 RA ↗ Rossijskaâ arheologiâ / Российская археология (=РА)  
 RB ↗ Rocznik Białostocki  
 RGA ↗ J. Hoops. I–IV (ed.), Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde, Straßburg 1911–1919; H. Beck, D. Geuenich, H. Steuer (eds.), Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde, Berlin, New York  
 RGF ↗ Römisch-Germanische Forschungen, Berlin-Leipzig-Mainz  
 SA ↗ Sovetskaâ arheologiâ / Советская археология (=СА)  
 SaalbJb ↗ Saalburg-Jahrbuch  
 SAI ↗ Arheologiâ SSSR, Svod Arheologičeskikh Istočnikov / Свод археологических источников (=САИ), Moskva / Москва  
 SCIVA ↗ Studii și cercetări de istorie veche și arheologie  
 SGD N.F. ↗ Schriften der naturforschenden Gesellschaft in Danzig N.F.  
 Sil.Ant. ↗ Silesia Antiqua  
 SloVA ↗ Slovenská Archeológia  
 Spisy Brno ↗ Spisy Archeologického Ústavu AV ČR Brno, Brno







SprArch. ➤ Sprawozdania Archeologiczne  
 StudArch ➤ Studia Archeologiczne, Wrocław  
*Studia Gothica* ➤ A. Kokowski (ed.), *Studia Gothica*, Lublin  
 Stud.Sachsenforsch. ➤ Studien zur Sachsenforschung  
 Štud. Zvěsti ➤ Študijné Zvěsti Archeologického Ústavu SAV (Slovenskej Akadémie Ved)

БГУ ➤ Брянский Государственный университет  
 ВГУ ➤ Воронежский Государственный университет  
 ГИМ ➤ Государственный Исторический музей, Москва  
 ИАК ➤ Известия Императорской Археологической Комиссии (=IAK)  
 ИА РАН ➤ Институт археологии Российской академии наук  
 ИИМК РАН ➤ Институт истории материальной культуры Российской академии наук  
 КВАЭ ➤ Камско-Вятская археологическая экспедиция  
 КСИА ➤ Краткие сообщения Института археологии (=KSIA)

*Terra Barbarica* ➤ A. Urbaniak, R. Prochowicz, I. Jakubczyk, M. Levada, J. Schuster (eds.), *Terra Barbarica. Studia ofiarowane Magdalenie Mączyńskiej w 65. rocznicę urodzin*, Monumenta Archaeologica Barbarica, Series Gemina, II, Łódź-Warszawa 2010  
 WA ➤ Wiadomości Archeologiczne  
 ZNUJ PA ➤ Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Prace Archeologiczne, Kraków

МАИЭТ ➤ Материалы по археологии, истории и этнографии Таврии (=МАИЕТ)  
 МЗКП ➤ Музей-заповедник «Куликово поле», Тула  
 МИА ➤ Материалы и исследования по археологии СССР, Москва (=MIA)  
 ММ ➤ Музей Москвы  
 МНИИЯЛИЭ ➤ Мордовский научно-исследовательский институт язык, литературы истории, экономики  
 РА ➤ Российская археология (=RA)  
 СА ➤ Советская археология (=SA)  
 САИ ➤ Свод археологических источников (=SAI)  
 ХС ➤ Херсонесский Сборник (=HS)

