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XXXI

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SUMAR – SOMMAIRE – CONTENTS – INHALT

STUDIES

- OCTAVIAN MUNTEANU, MIHAIL BĂȚ, AUREL ZANOCI
Following in the Celtic Trader's Footsteps: Early La Tène Iron Brooches in the Republic
of Moldova..... 7
- AUREL RUSTOIU
Commentaria archaeologica et historica (IV)..... 69
- MICHAIL LJUBIČEV, ERDMUTE SCHULTZE
Ein zweireihiger Dreilagenkamm aus dem Osten des Verbreitungsgebietes der Sântana
de Mureș-Černjachov-Kultur 91

ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND EPIGRAPHICAL NOTES

- GEORGETA EL SUSI
Analysis of a Dog Skeleton Deposited in a Scythian Tomb-91/2016 from Sâncraia (Alba
County)..... 113
- ANDREI GEORGESCU, ADRIAN C. ARDELEAN, ADRIANA SĂRĂȘAN,
DAN L. CIOBOTARU, IONELA RĂDAC, ȘTEFAN POPA, VICTOR BUNOIU,
IRENKA VĂSĂLIUȚ
Crivina-Leopoldsberg – A Newly Discovered Iron Age Hilltop Settlement from
Southwestern Romania..... 121
- BEATRICE CIUTĂ, MARIANA EGRI
Archaeobotanical Data from villa rustica at Oarda-Bulza (Alba County). The 2019
Campaign..... 139
- MARIUS-MIHAI CIUTA, RADU OTA
A Figurative Roman Period Monument Recently Recorded into the Collection of the
National Union Museum Alba Iulia. Considerations Regarding its Significance..... 151
- MARINA MUSTEAȚĂ, ADRIAN COSMIN BOLOG
Miniature Mirrors from Apulum-Dealul Furcilor Cemetery..... 165
- LIVIU PETCULESCU
Roman Military Equipment Found by Chance at Ocnița..... 187
- MAREK OLEĐZKI
From Poetovio to Diana Veteranorum, Career of Marcus Valerius Maximianus..... 205

SERGIU-TRAIAN SOCACIU Two Unpublished Gemes Discovered at Porolissum.....	213
SORIN COCIȘ, VLAD-ANDREI LĂZĂRESCU, SERGIU-TRAIAN SOCACIU An Overview of the Archaeological Research in the Roman Fort and Vicus at Sutor (Sălaj County).....	223
CORIOLAN HORAȚIU OPREANU Corrigenda Porolissensia (II). Authentic, or Forgery? Critical Analysis of Some Early Christian Evidence at Porolissum.....	259
ANTONIO JAKIMOVSKI, MAGDALENA MANASKOVA A Proposal for a New Dating of the Terracotta Reliefs from the Archaeological Site Viničko Kale.....	275
CĂLIN COSMA Fast Wheel Gravel-tempered Coarse Ware Found in 7 th –10 th -Century Cemeteries from Western Romania.....	283

REVIEWS

Mircea Babeș / Vasile Iarmulschi, <i>Așezarea și necropola de tip Poienеști-Lucașeuca de la Borosești (jud. Iași)</i> (Biblioteca “Tyragetia” XXXII), Chișinău, Muzeul Național de Istorie a Moldovei, 2020, 230p. ISBN 978–9975–80–903-0 (Aurel Rustoiu).....	303
M. Dizdar, <i>The Middle La Tène Women Costume of the Scordisci. The Identity of the Protohistoric Community in the Southern Carpathian Basin</i> . Monographiae Instituti Archaeologici 12. Zagreb, Institut za arheologiju 2020, 416 p. ISBN 978–953–6064–22–9 (Aurel Rustoiu).....	307
Peter C. Ramsel, <i>Diversity of Male Identities in Early and Middle La Tène Period Cemeteries in Central Europe</i> . With contributions from Friederike Novotny (Anthropology) and Joscha Gretzinger – Stephan Schiffels (DNA). Archaeologica Slovaca Monographiae Studia, Tomus XXXII. Nitra, Archaeologický ústav SAV 2020, 220 p. ISBN 978–80–8196-040–6 (Aurel Rustoiu).....	309
Peter Trebsche (Ed.), <i>Keltische Münzstätten und Heiligtümer. Die jüngere Eisenzeit im Osten Österreichs (ca. 450 bis 15 v. Chr.)</i> . Mit Beiträgen von: Jennifer M. Bagley, Maciej Karwowski, Marianne Kohler-Schneider, Jiří Militký, Erich Pucher, Peter C. Ramsel, Peter Trebsche, Karin Wiltshcke-Schrotta. Archäologie Niederösterreichs, Verlag der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Wien 2020, 592 p. ISBN 978–3–7001–8275–7 (Aurel Rustoiu).....	315
Guidelines for “Ephemeris Napocensis”	321
Reviste publicate la Editura Academiei Române.....	323



FOLLOWING IN THE CELTIC TRADER'S FOOTSTEPS: EARLY LA TÈNE IRON BROOCHES IN THE REPUBLIC OF MOLDOVA

Octavian Munteanu¹, Mihail Băţ², Aurel Zanoci³

Abstract: *The present study brings to the foreground of discussions a certain type of artefacts, the importance of which in the process of analysing archaeological finds is difficult to overestimate, but which, unfortunately, was not used by the researchers to the proper extent. Thus, in the specialised literature there is no single work on the Iron Age brooches that were discovered on the present-day territory of the Republic of Moldova. Moreover, even when some items were published, their description was very sketchy, often without a clear and precise presentation of the context, and the illustrations accompanying incomplete texts in most cases are not clear enough for detailed analysis. Based on this situation, we decided to fill this historiographic gap and at the first stage we devoted our research to the iron brooches of the Early La Tène scheme found on the territory of the Republic of Moldova. As a result of the investigation, a lot was allocated, consisting of 12 items, most of which were found on the territory of the Getic hillforts on the right bank of the Dniester. The degree of preservation of the items leaves much to be desired. The number of undamaged brooches is relatively small, and those preserved fragmentarily create sufficient impediments for the possibilities of classification. Despite these circumstances, a catalogue of Early La Tène scheme brooches was developed, on the basis of which the main analogies were identified both in the neighbouring areas (Romania and Ukraine), and in Central Europe. We focused on tracing the chronological landmarks for the existing analogies, as well as evaluating the chronological framework of the presented artefacts. At the same time, we set out to follow the ways and means by which these brooches reached the Prut-Dniester area and, where possible, to highlight probable phenomena and processes that were behind the respective distribution of this type of artefacts.*

Keywords: *brooches, Early La Tène types, Middle Dniester, Getic fortifications, “late Scythian” burials, Celts.*

Introduction

The present study⁴ focuses on a type of artefacts playing an important role in the analysis of the archaeological record belonging to the Late Iron Age, whose potential unfortunately remained unexploited at its true value. Thus, in the archaeological literature there are so far no comprehensive studies dedicated to the Iron Age brooches found on the present-day territory of the Republic of Moldova. Even more, in the case of the published items, the information is

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⁴ This study is an updated and improved version of an article published in *Tyragetia* s.n. XIV, 1, 2020, 23–69.

incomplete, most of the time missing a clear and precise presentation of their context, while the illustrations fail to compensate the sketchy texts, being insufficient for allowing a detailed analysis of the respective finds.

Thus, the present study should be seen as an attempt to rectify this situation, based on the presentation of an updated overview of the brooches found on the territory between rivers Prut and Dniester. In order to present the most complete and intelligible image, the authors decided to approach the finds taking into consideration as main criterion the raw material used for producing the items. During this stage of our research, 12 Early La Tène brooches made of iron have been identified, most of them found inside Getic fortifications along the Dniester River (Fig. 1).

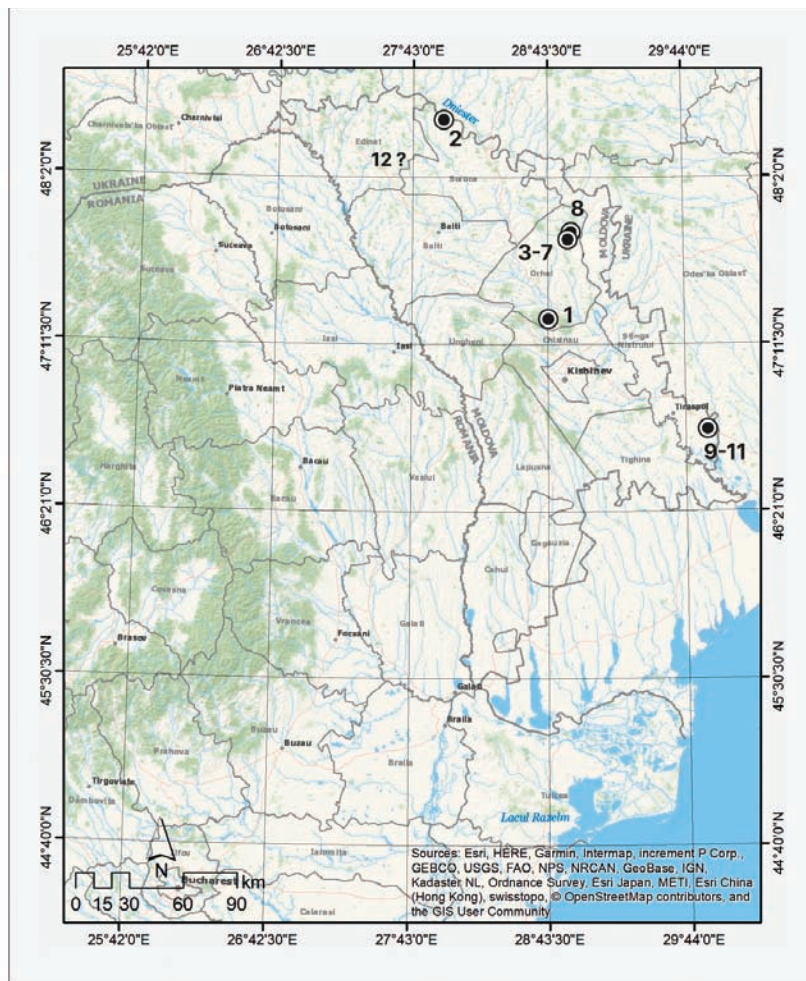














Fig. 1. Distribution of iron brooches of the Early La Tène scheme in the territory of the Republic of Moldova: 1 – Mana III; 2 – Rudi “La Şanţuri”; 3–7 – Saharna Mare; 8 – Saharna Mică; 9–11 – Hlinaia (Glinoe); 12 – probably the northern part of the Republic of Moldova (the numbers correspond to the catalogue) (after MUNTEANU/BĂŢ/ZANOCI 2020b).

As it is usually the case with this category of finds, the state of preservation of the analysed items is problematic. The number of complete items is relatively small, and those in a fragmentary state present classification issues. Despite these difficulties, a catalogue of the Early La Tène brooches was compiled (Fig. 2), serving as a basis for determining the main analogies for the finds, both in the neighbouring areas – Romania and Hungary – and in Central Europe,

No.	Site	Context	Depth	Illustration (different scales)
1.	Mana III	unauthorised intervention	at the ground surface (?)	 *
2.	Rudi "La Şanţuri"	Cultural layer	0.64 m	 *
3.	Saharna Mare	Structure 1/2012	0.40 m	 *
4.		Cultural layer (in the vicinity of Structure 1/2012)	0.58 m	 *
5.		Structure 3/2017-2019	0.76 m	 *
6.		Cultural layer (in the vicinity of Structure 3/2017-2019)	0.10 m	 *
7.		Bastion no. 2	0.40 m	 *
8.	Saharna Mică	Cultural layer	0.26 m	 *
9.	Hlinaia (Glinoe)	Grave 51/1	-	 **
10.		Grave 116/1	-	 **
11.		Grave 116/1	-	 **
12.	Republic of Moldova, probably the northern part	?	-	 ***

* - drawings after original; ** - after TEL'NOV/CHETVERIKOV/SINIKA 2016 and SINIKA/TEL'NOV 2018; *** - drawing after photo.

Fig. 2. Brooches of the Early La Tène scheme, found on the territory of the Republic of Moldova (after MUNTEANU/BĂŢ/ZANOCI 2020b).

the birthplace of the Celtic civilisation. The chronological landmarks were also taken into consideration for the existing analogies, as well as the chronological framework of the finds from the analysed area. As a matter of course, for specific items with less identification problems

the analyses were more extended and precise, while in the case of uncertain identifications the information was less consistent. Also, an attempt was made to determine the ways in which these brooches arrived in the area between Prut River and Dniester River and, where possible, to identify phenomena and processes behind the establishment of specific routes for the circulation of this category of items.

Early La Tène iron brooches: contexts and characteristics. Catalogue of finds

Mana III, raion Orhei

Fortification delimiting an area of approximately 0.18 ha, placed on a promontory, protected on the southern and northern sides by earth structures doubled by ditches⁵. As a result of unauthorised interventions at the archaeological site, the use of metal detectors⁶ brought to light the following finds: an iron bracelet, an iron circular brooch (*Ringfibel*), and a fragment belonging to a Dux type iron brooch (Fig. 3/1, 2). Later on, during archaeological surveys⁷ inside the fortification were found handmade pottery shards, attributed to the Getic communities inhabiting the area during the 4th – 3rd centuries BC, as well as Greek amphora shards⁸.



Fig. 3. Mana III. Iron brooch, cat. no. 1 (1 – after MUNTEANU/BĂŢ/
ZANOCI 2020a-b; 2 – after ZANOCI ET ALII 2015).

1. Iron brooch (Fig. 3), found by chance at the surface inside the fortification. There are still preserved the bow, the spring and a fragment of the pin. The catch plate, the stem and a part of the pin are missing. The item presents a bilateral spring with exterior cord. It is small, the maximum length of the surviving part being 3.8 cm. The bow is strongly arched (length 2.2 cm;

⁵ ZANOCI ET ALII 2015, 210, Fig. 3.

⁶ The person implicated in the unauthorised intervention informed the authors that the brooches were recovered from the surface inside the fortification, while the bracelet was found at the bottom of the canyon in the vicinity of the archaeological site. The donor mentions also an iron knife with curved blade which could not be recovered. Also, in the southern part of the fortification was found an incineration grave inside a bronze cauldron (*situla*), attributed to the Poieneşti-Lucaşeuca culture (TENTIUC/BUBULICI/SIMALCSIK 2015, 221–248).

⁷ The survey was conducted by A. Zanoci, O. Munteanu, I. Tentiuc, and V. Bubulici in 2015.

⁸ ZANOCI ET ALII 2015, 211, Fig. 4/1–7, Fig. 5.

height 1.7 cm), thickened and slightly widened in its central part, having a quasi-rectangular section (0.9 × 0.7 cm). It is possible that the bow originally presented slight longitudinal facets, but the degree of corrosion impedes drawing a clear conclusion. The bilateral spring is formed of 10 coils (five on each side) with the exterior cord (with an iron axle). The coils have a diameter of 1.0 cm and a thickness of approximately 0.2 cm. The pin is thin, being preserved only on a length of 1.3 cm.

Bibliography: ZANOCI ET ALII 2015, 212, Fig. 5/1, 2; MUNTEANU/BĂȚ/ZANOCI 2020a, 336, Fig. 3/3; MUNTEANU/BĂȚ/ZANOCI 2020b, 25, Fig. 3.

Rudi “La Șanțuri”, raion Soroca

Fortification⁹ covering approximately 15 ha, placed on a triangular promontory with a relative altitude of approximately 120–130 m, flanked by the abrupt slope towards the Dniester River at NNE, and by a gorge at SSE. On the western access slope four defensive rows of earthworks with adjacent ditches are present. In the NE part, in front of the exterior earthwork a semicircular bastion was erected. Another bastion was built close to the main gate. Several structures were excavated inside the precinct and dated to the 4th–3rd centuries BC and 2nd century BC – 1st century AD. The archaeological excavation brought to light also two Early La Tène brooches: one made of bronze¹⁰ and one made of iron.

2. Iron brooch¹¹ (Fig. 4), found in Trench no. 6, at a depth of 0.64 m. The brooch is almost complete, only the pin missing. The item has a bilateral spring with exterior cord and is relatively small (total length 4.3 cm). The bow presents a balanced arching, being almost semicircular (length 2 cm; height 2.15 cm). The body of the bow is slightly thickened and widened; the maximum wide being reached in its central area. The lower side of the bow is flattened, and the upper side is rounded, with a tendency of narrowing, resulting in a quasi-pyramidal section (0.5 × 0.6 cm). The bilateral spring presents four coils (two on each side), with exterior cord (no axle). The thin stem is relatively short and 0.3 cm thick. After forming a catch plate 0.8 cm long and 0.4 cm wide, it extends a little and then bends below the bow in a 45° angle, running free and getting close to the bow under its shoulder. The stem is decorated with a small sphere, slightly oblong (almost bi-truncated; 0.55 × 0.4 cm), preceded by a thickened area and succeeded by two knots with dimensions decreasing towards the slightly flattened end of the stem. The spring is 1.6 cm wide, and its coils are 0.8 cm in diameter and approximately 0.3 cm thick.

Bibliography: ROMANOVSKAYA ET ALII 1977, 460; MUNTEANU/BĂȚ/ZANOCI 2020b, 26, Fig. 4.

⁹ Archaeological excavations were conducted during 1969 by Gh. Fedorov, during 1970–1976 by M. Romanovskaia (ROMANOVSKAYA 1971b; LAPUSHNYAN/ROMANOVSKAYA 1972; ROMANOVSKAYA 1973; MASSLENIKOV/ROMANOVSKAYA/YUSHKO 1974; ROMANOVSKAYA 1975a; ROMANOVSKAYA 1975b, 29–31; ROMANOVSKAYA 1976; ROMANOVSKAYA ET ALII 1977; ROMANOVSKAYA/SHELOV-KOVEDIAEV/SHCHEGLOV 1981, 121–123) and during 1995–2002 by M. Tcacu (TCACIUC/ZASÂPCHIN 2000, 101–112).

¹⁰ ROMANOVSKAYA 1971a, 8–9, Fig. 41; ROMANOVSKAYA 1971b, 358–359; LAPUSHNYAN/NIKULITSE/ROMANOVSKAYA 1974, Fig. 34/1; TOPAL 2012, 169, Ris. 2/1; MUNTEANU/BĂȚ/ZANOCI 2020a, 337–338, Fig. 3/4

¹¹ The only known information regarding this find is found in a short technical report (ROMANOVSKAYA ET ALII 1977, 460), from which it can be implied that the brooch was found during the 1976 campaign, in Trench no. 6, and that it was made of iron, with a button at the end. Recently, during work on the archaeological record from this site, which is part of the collections of the National Museum of History of Moldova (Chișinău), dr. Denis Topal identified the item and offered it for publication to the authors of this paper, who take this opportunity to express their thanks to their colleague. Unfortunately, the archaeological report on the 1976 archaeological campaign from Rudi was not preserved in the museum archive, situation which impedes the identification of further details concerning the find context of this item.

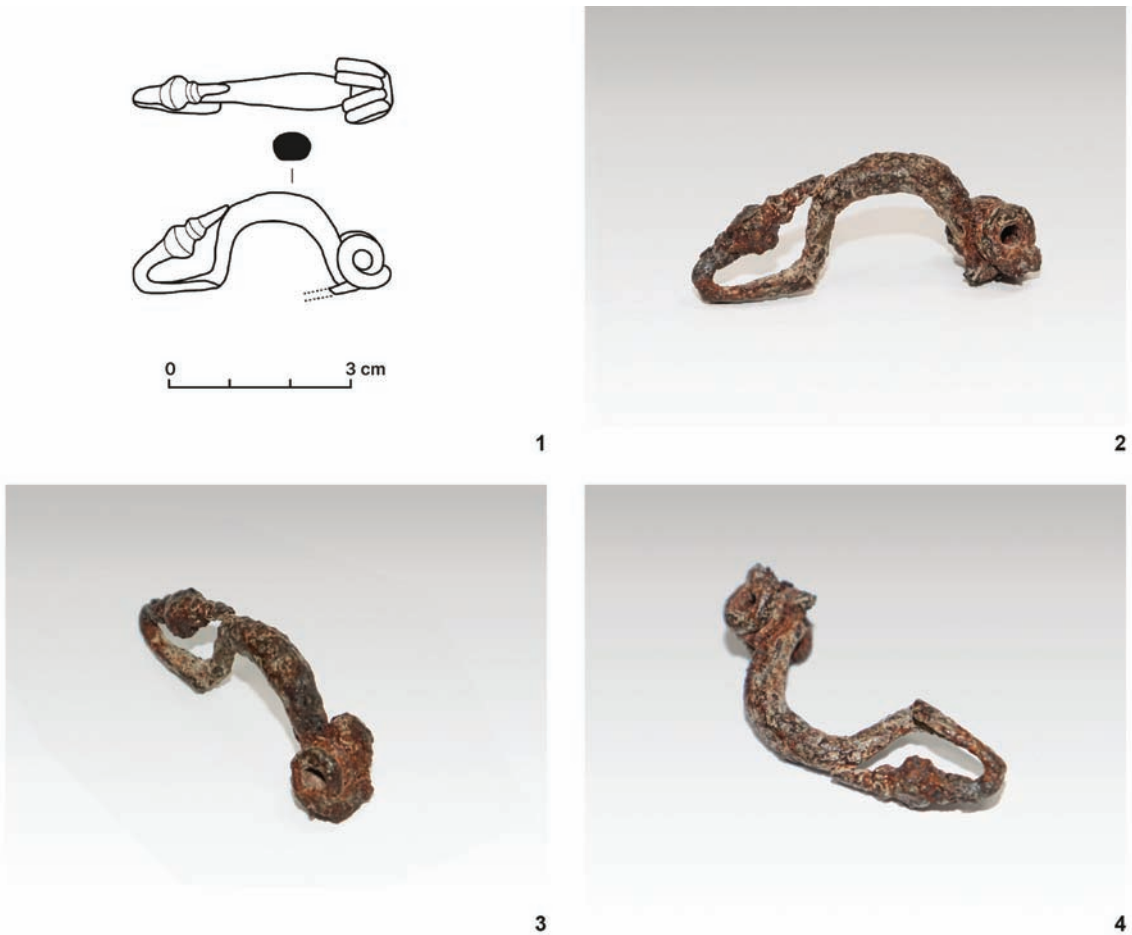


Fig. 4. Rudi “La Șanțuri”. Iron brooch, cat. no. 2 (after MUNTEANU/BĂȚ/ZANOCI 2020b).

Saharna Mare, raion Rezina

Fortification¹² placed on a promontory with an approximately trapezoidal shape, part of the high terrace (approximately 130 m altitude above the riverbed) on the right side of the Dniester River. The precinct, covering an area of approximately 6 ha, was protected by a defensive system, consisting of several components. On the western flank a wall, made wood, earth and stones, was erected and doubled by a ditch in front of which were placed three semicircular bastions. The northern, eastern and southern sides of the fortification were protected by similar walls, of more modest size. A similar bastion was identified on the northern side, close to the gate serving this part of the fortification. The defensive system was dated, based on the archaeological material, to the second half of the 4th century – 3rd century BC¹³.

The archaeological excavations led to the discovery of a series of structures including houses, dependencies, refuse pits, and a rich and varied archaeological material, of which five iron brooches – two complete and three fragmentary – are of special interest for the present discussion.

¹² The archaeological site was identified and researched during 1946 by G. Smirnov (SMIRNOV 1949a). New archaeological excavations were conducted during 2001–2019 by a team from the State University of Moldova (NICULIȚĂ/ZANOCI/ARNĂUT 2008, 69–150, Fig. 68–159; NICULIȚĂ/ZANOCI/BĂȚ 2016, 19–248; NICULIȚĂ ET ALII 2019).

¹³ NICULIȚĂ/ZANOCI/ARNĂUT 2008, 89–99, Pl. 5–7, Foto 13–26; NICULIȚĂ/ZANOCI/BĂȚ 2016, 155–171, Fig. 103–114.

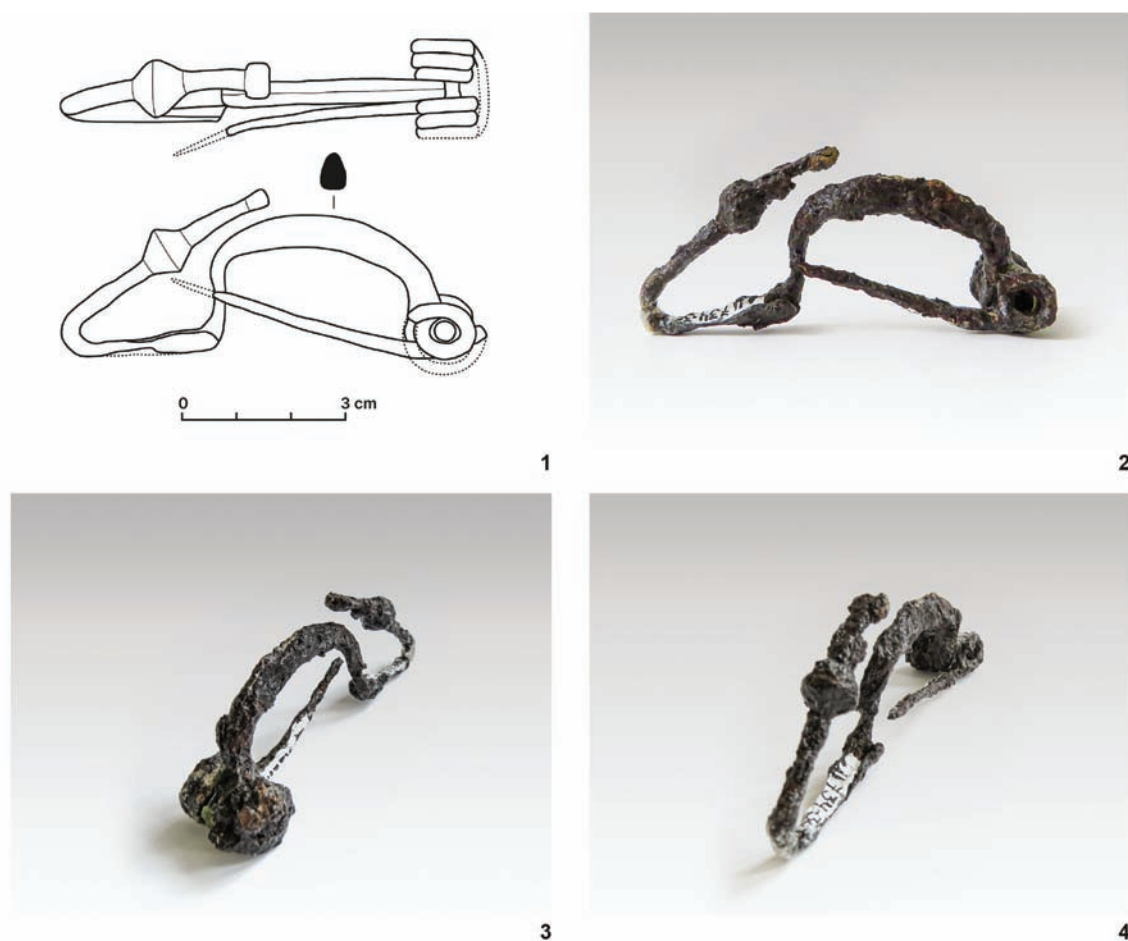


Fig. 5. Saharna Mare. Iron brooch, cat. no. 3 (after MUNTEANU/BĂȚ/ZANOCI 2020a-b).

3. Iron brooch (Fig. 5/1–4), found inside Structure 1/2012, at a depth of approx. 0.4 m (Fig. 10/1)¹⁴. It is preserved almost completely (missing only the tip of the pin, one coil, and almost its entire cord). The item presents a bilateral spring with exterior cord and it is of medium size, its maximum length being of 7.9 cm. The bow is strongly arched, semicircular in profile, slightly asymmetric (the part toward the catch plate descending in an angle of almost 90°; length 3.3 cm; height 2.5 cm). The body of the bow is slightly thickened, being quasi-pyramidal in section (the narrowest part toward the exterior), with dimensions of 0.5–0.75 cm. The bilateral spring consists of six coils (three on each side, one presently missing), with exterior cord now absent and iron axle. The thin stem is relatively long; after forming the catch plate (length 1.2 cm), it extends and then turns towards the bow in an angle of approx. 45°, left free and closing to the bow until passing its curvature (the stem goes beyond the bow on a length of approximately a quarter of its total length). Right in front of the most arched part of the bow the stem is decorated with a small, slightly oblong sphere (almost bitruncated in shape). The end of the stem is widened, with a bi-lobed shape. The bilateral spring consists of six coils (three on each side) with diameter of 1.1–1.2 cm and thickness of approx. 0.3 cm. The pin is thin, with its tip broken (preserved length 4.3 cm).

¹⁴ The older publications presented the find as consisting of fragments from two different brooches (NICULIȚĂ ET ALII 2013, 282, Fig. 51/6, 7; NICULIȚĂ/ZANOCI/BĂȚ 2016, 412, Fig. 151/7, 8). The restoration process and the verification of the find context led to the conclusion that the fragments belonged in fact to a single item, recovered from Structure 1/2012.

From the same context were recovered a spindle-whorl, a disc, a shell pendant, 364 shards from handmade pottery¹⁵ (Fig. 16/1–12), as well as none amphora shards, including one belonging to a Chersoneses container, dated to the last quarter of the 4th century – the first third of the 3rd century BC¹⁶.

Bibliography: NICULIȚĂ ET ALII 2013, 282, Fig. 51/6, 7; NICULIȚĂ/ZANOCI/BĂȚ 2016, 412, Fig. 151/7, 8; MUNTEANU/BĂȚ/ZANOCI 2020a, 338, Fig. 4/1; MUNTEANU/BĂȚ/ZANOCI 2020b, 27–28, Fig. 5; ZANOCI/BĂȚ 2020, Fig. 15/1; BĂȚ/ZANOCI 2021, 41, Abb. 9/2.



Fig. 6. Saharna Mare. Iron brooch, cat. no. 4 (after MUNTEANU/BĂȚ/ZANOCI 2020a-b).

4. Iron brooch (Fig. 6), found in the archaeological layer, in the vicinity of Structure 1/2012, at a depth of 0.58 m (Fig. 10/1). Only the strongly corroded stem was preserved. It is thin, free, unattached to the bow, and decorated with an oblong (bi-truncated) sphere. The end of the stem, being so deteriorated, offers only limited information. Based on this fragment alone it is impossible to attribute the find to a specific type/variant, but the similarities with Cat. no. 3, found in proximity, should be emphasised.

Bibliography: NICULIȚĂ ET ALII 2013, 282, Fig. 51/8; NICULIȚĂ/ZANOCI/BĂȚ 2016, 412, Fig. 151/9; MUNTEANU/BĂȚ/ZANOCI 2020a, 339, Fig. 4/4; MUNTEANU/BĂȚ/ZANOCI 2020b, 28, Fig. 6; BĂȚ/ZANOCI 2021, 41.

5. Iron brooch (Fig. 7/1–4), found inside Structure 3/2017–2019, at a depth of 0.76 m (Fig. 10/2). It is preserved almost completely (two coils and the decorative sphere on the stem are damaged). The item presents a bilateral spring with exterior cord, and it is of reduced size, its maximum length of 4.75 cm. The bow is strongly arched, with its profile as a slightly asymmetric semicircle (the part toward the catch plate descends in an angle closing 90°; length 2.3 cm; height 1.5 cm). The body of the bow is slightly thickened, ellipsoidal in section, with dimensions of 0.45–0.30 cm. The bilateral spring consists of six coils (three on each side, two of them presently missing), with exterior cord (the axle incorporated). The coils have a diameter of 0.6 cm and a thickness of approx. 0.15–0.20 cm. The thin stem is relatively short. After forming the catch plate (length 0.9 cm), it turns back under the bow in an angle of approx. 45°, then running free. The stem is decorated in the area corresponding to the maximum curvature of the bow with a small sphere, slightly deteriorated. The stem then gets closer to the bow, continuing

¹⁵ NICULIȚĂ/ZANOCI/BĂȚ 2016, 176–179, Fig. 120–122.

¹⁶ MATEEVICI 2016, 240, Fig. 167/11.

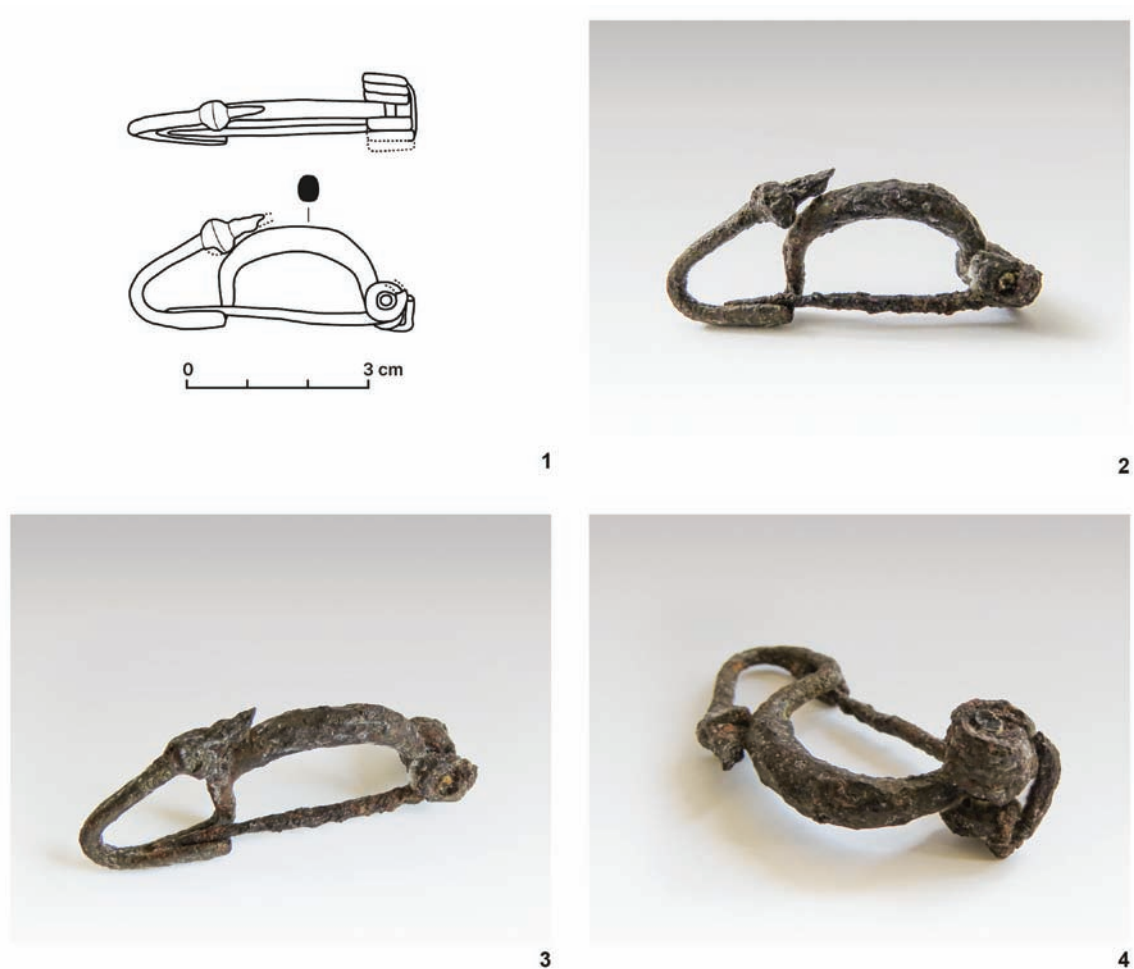


Fig. 7. Saharna Mare. Iron brooch, cat. no. 5 (after MUNTEANU/BĂȚ/ZANOCI 2020a-b).

beyond it on another quarter of its total length. The end of the stem narrows gradually on a length of 0.65 cm. The pin is thin and 3.4 cm long.

The material recovered from the remains of the building includes also a fragment from a circular brooch *Ringfibel* (Fig. 17/11), eight bronze arrowheads, 456 shards from handmade pottery, and various other items attributed to the Getic culture¹⁷ (Fig. 17/1–27).

Bibliography: NICULIȚĂ ET ALII 2019, 308, Fig. 29/14; MUNTEANU/BĂȚ/ZANOCI 2020a, 340, Fig. 4/2; MUNTEANU/BĂȚ/ZANOCI 2020b, 28, Fig. 7; ZANOCI/BĂȚ 2020, Fig. 15/1; BĂȚ/ZANOCI 2021, 41, Abb. 9/1.

6. Iron brooch (Fig. 8/1, 2), found in the archaeological layer, at a depth of 0.1 m. It is poorly preserved, only the bow and a stem fragment being recovered. The bow is shaped as a basket handle, quite arched (length 3.5 cm; height 2 cm), with an ellipsoidal section (0.55 × 0.65 cm). The shape of the bow towards the spring suggests that this must have been bilateral. The catch plate and the part of the stem in its vicinity are missing. Only the end of the stem is preserved, suggesting that initially would have run free, impression confirmed by the absence of any traces on the surface of the bow. The stem was originally decorated with a small, flattened sphere (0.9 × 0.4 cm), delimited on both sides by a sort of “collar” of reduced dimensions. The end of the stem was narrowing gradually towards its tip.

¹⁷ NICULIȚĂ ET ALII 2019, 280, Fig. 29–36.

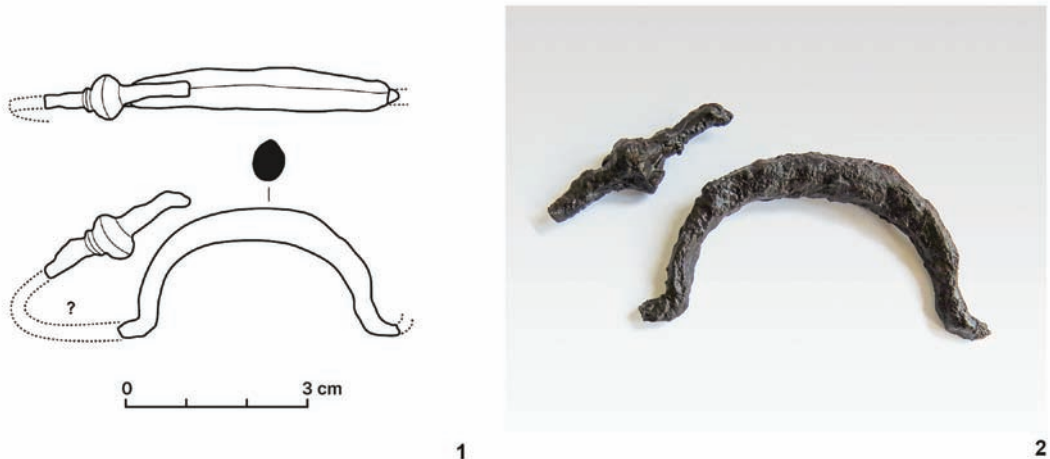


Fig. 8. Saharna Mare. Iron brooch, cat. no. 6 (after MUNTEANU/BAŢ/ZANOCI 2020a-b).

Bibliography: MUNTEANU/BĂŢ/ZANOCI 2020a, 340–341, Fig. 4/3; MUNTEANU/BĂŢ/ZANOCI 2020b, 29, Fig. 8; BĂŢ/ZANOCI 2021, 41.



Fig. 9. Saharna Mare Iron brooch, cat. no. 7 (after MUNTEANU/BĂŢ/ZANOCI 2020a-b).

7. Iron brooch (Fig. 9/1, 2), found inside Bastion no. 2, at a depth of 0.4 m. The bow and the catch plate are partially preserved. The spring, pin and the upper part of the stem are missing. The item was of medium size, the maximum length of the surviving fragment being 4.6 cm. The bow is strongly arched (length 1.7 cm; height 1.6 cm), thickened and widened in its central part, with a quasi-rectangular section (0.9×0.7 cm). The shape of the bow towards the spring suggests that this was bilateral. The catch plate is quite long, measuring 1.35 cm.

Other archaeological materials were recovered together with the brooch: five spindle-whorls, a three-bladed bronze arrowhead, a spatula, a crucible, an iron nail, a bronze nail and numerous Getic pottery shards (Fig. 18/1–14).

Bibliography: NICULIŢĂ ET ALII 2013, 226, Fig. 15/4; NICULIŢĂ/ZANOCI/BĂŢ 2016, 412, Fig. 106/4; MUNTEANU/BĂŢ/ZANOCI 2020a, 341, Fig. 4/5; MUNTEANU/BĂŢ/ZANOCI 2020b, 30, Fig. 9; BĂŢ/ZANOCI 2021, 41.

Sabarna Mică, raion Rezina

The fortification¹⁸, covering approximately 0.7 ha, is placed on a promontory with the altitude of approximately 125 m above the Dniester riverbed, shaped by the curving of the left side of the “Valea Crac” gorge. On the western, southern and eastern sides the fortification was naturally defended by the abrupt, almost inaccessible, slopes of the promontory. The only accessible part, the northern side, was artificially defended by a “wall” made of a combination of wood, earth and stones, its exterior being doubled by a ditch. The central part of the defensive line, outside the gate and in front of the ditch, was further strengthened by a semicircular bastion. Another bastion was built in front of the defensive system on the north-eastern part, the most exposed to the risk of attacks from north and east¹⁹.

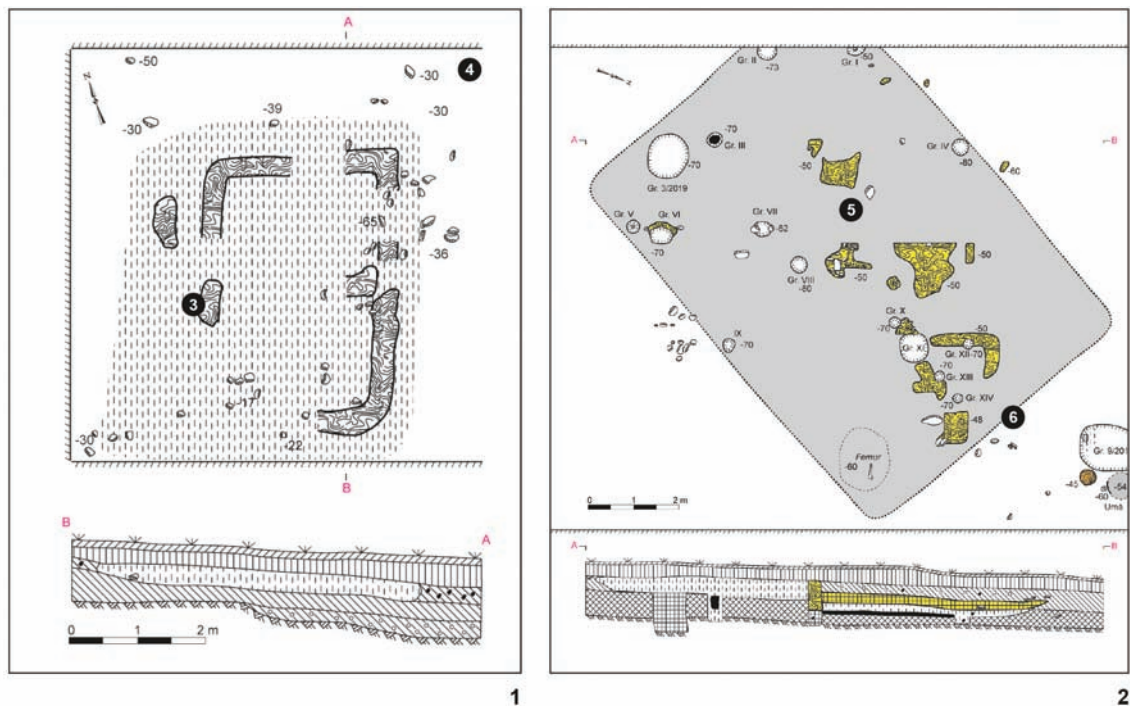


Fig. 10. Saharna Mare: 1 – Structure no. 1/2012 with the location of the brooches under cat. Nos. 3–4; 2 – Structure no. 3/2017–2019 with the location of the brooches under cat. Nos. 5–6 (1 – after NICULIȚĂ/ZANOCI/BĂȚ 2016; 2 – after NICULIȚĂ ET ALII 2019).

The archaeological excavations brought to light inside the fortification six above-ground structures, a pit-house, numerous refuse pits, and a rich and varied archaeological material²⁰. Among these finds of special interest for the present discussion are three Early La Tène brooches – two complete, made of bronze²¹, and one fragment surviving from an iron brooch.

¹⁸ Found by G. Smirnov in 1946 (SMIRNOV 1949b, 195), who conducted excavations here during 1946 and 1947. The archaeological research was continued during 2003–2009 and 2011–2013 by the “Tracologie” Laboratory team from the State University of Moldova (NICULIȚĂ/ZANOCI/ARNĂUT 2008, 13–50, Fig. 1–39; NICULIȚĂ ET ALII 2016, 268–304, Fig. 184–211).

¹⁹ NICULIȚĂ/ZANOCI/ARNĂUT 2008, 24–28, Fig. 2; NICULIȚĂ ET ALII 2016, 268–270, Fig. 169, 184.

²⁰ NICULIȚĂ/ZANOCI/ARNĂUT 2008, 28–46, Fig. 12–31; NICULIȚĂ ET ALII 2016, 270–299, Fig. 185–211.

²¹ The bronze brooches are not included in the topic of the present study. For details, see: MELYUKOVA 1958, 96, Ris. 30/22; NIKULITSE 1977, Ris. IX/4; KAŠUBA/HAHEU/LEVIȚKI 2000, 87, Pl. LVI/1; ARNĂUT 2003,

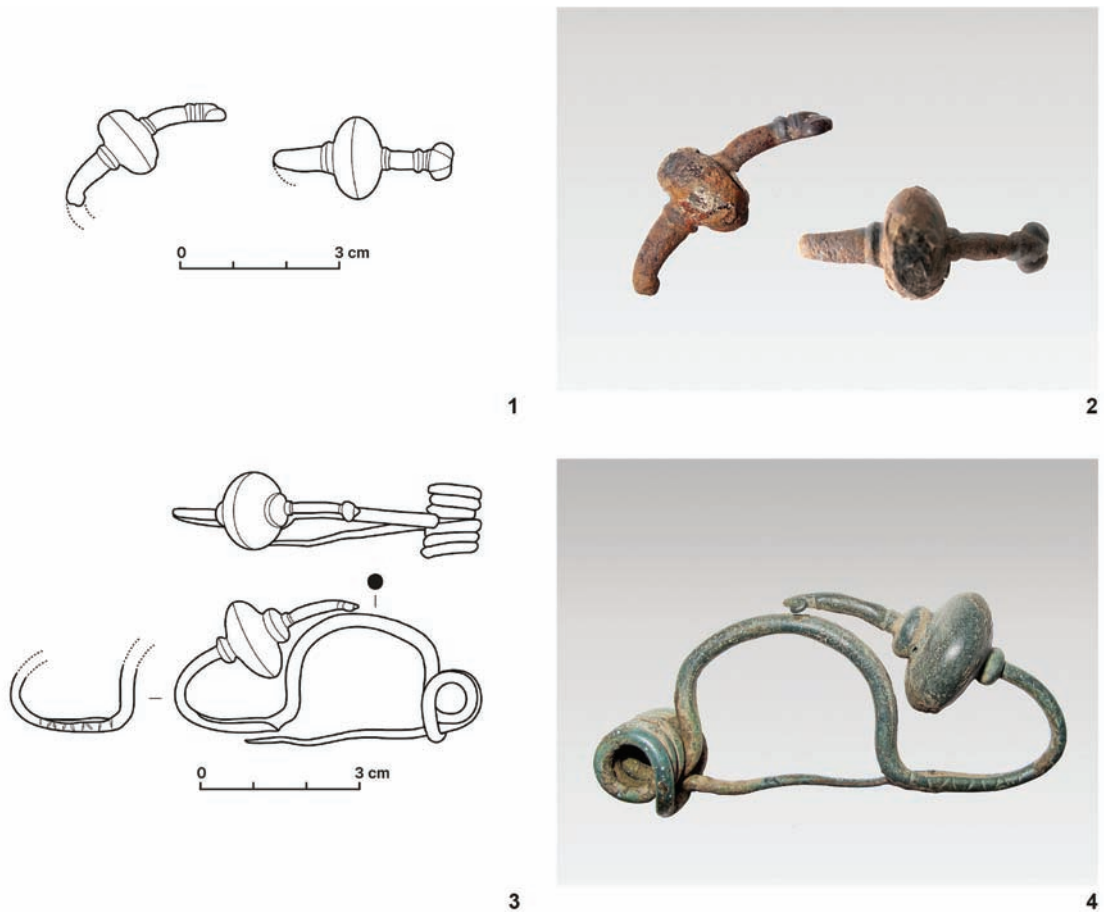


Fig. 11. Saharna Mică: 1, 2 – Iron brooch, cat. no. 8; 3, 4 – bronze brooches (1, 3 – after MUNTEANU/BĂȚ/ZANOCI 2020a-b; 2, 4 – after NICULIȚĂ ET ALII 2016).

8. Iron brooch, plated in bronze (?) (Fig. 11/1, 2), found in the archaeological layer, at a depth of 0.26 m. Only the end of its stem survived, which seems to be identical to the stem of the bronze brooch found on the same site (Fig. 11/3, 4) – a thin stem decorated with a large, flattened sphere (1.5 × 0.9 cm). The upper part of the stem in the case of these mentioned items is different, first of all based on the difference in their composition, as one is made of iron and the other of bronze. To these other particularities can be added. The sphere of the bronze brooch is delimited on both sides by a strongly flattened sphere of reduced dimensions, while the almost identical sphere of the iron brooch is delimited on both sides by “knots” (as a sort of “replica” in iron of the small bronze spheres?), whose dimensions are reversed – the smaller one placed towards the end of the stem (0.4 × 0.15 cm, 0.5 × 0.2 cm respectively). Some differences could be also noticed in the case of the stem’s decoration, the three lobes of the iron brooch being more marked and preceded by a small flattened “knot”.

Bibliography: NICULIȚĂ ET ALII 2016, 422, Fig. 202/6; MUNTEANU/BĂȚ/ZANOCI 2020a, 341, Fig. 5/3; MUNTEANU/BĂȚ/ZANOCI 2020b, 31–32, Fig. 11/1, 2; BĂȚ/ZANOCI 2021, 41.

130; TOPAL 2012, 169, Ris. 2/2; NICULIȚĂ ET ALII 2016, 422, Fig. 202/7; MUNTEANU/BĂȚ/ZANOCI 2020a, Fig. 5/1, 2.

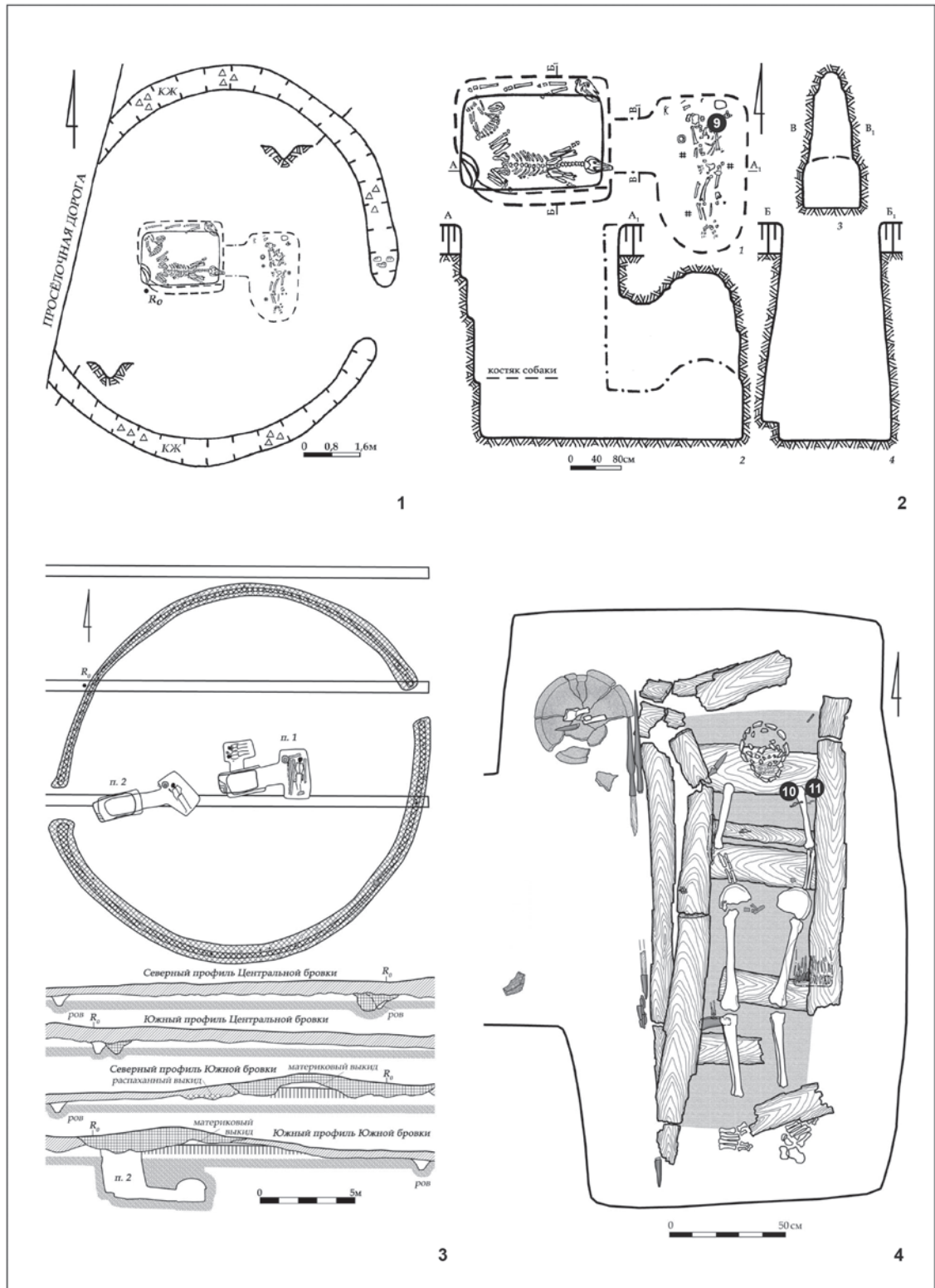


Fig. 12. Hlinaia (Glineo): 1 – Tumulus 51 plan; 2 – grave no. 51/1 with the location of the brooch under cat. no. 9; 3 – Tumulus 116 plan; 4 – grave no. 116/1 with the location of the brooches under cat. Nos. 10–11 (1, 2 – after TEL'NOV/CHEVTERIKOV/SINIKA 2016; 3, 4 – after SINIKA/TEL'NOV 2018).

Hlinaia/Glinoe, raion Slobozia

The tumulus necropolis is placed on the northern outskirts of the village of Hlinaia/Glinoe, between the rivers Turunciuc (left tributary of Dniester River) and Krasnaia. The estimated surface of the archaeological site is approximately 5.5 km², but due to interventions during the Soviet period the accessible area is restricted to approximately 4.6 km². So far 116 tumuli were excavated, two of them belonging to the Bronze Age (no. 1 and no. 110), and the rest of 114 were dated to Late Iron Age (the Scythian culture). The tumuli attributed to the Scythian culture contained 183 burials belonging, based on their grave goods, to a chronological framework comprising the transition between 4th and 3rd centuries BC and the end of the 2nd century BC²². Among the grave goods found in these graves 17 Early La Tène brooches were identified, 14 made of bronze and three made of iron²³.

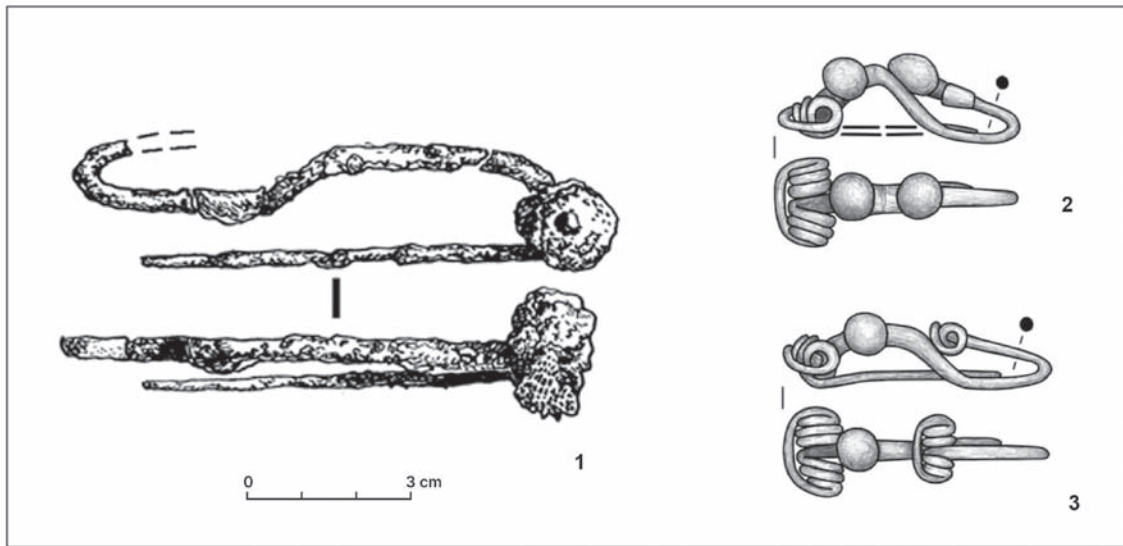


Fig. 13. Hlinaia (Glinoe). Iron brooches: 1 – cat. no. 9; 2 – cat. no. 10; 3 – cat. no. 11 (1 – after TEL'NOV/CHETVERIKOV/SINIKA 2016; 2, 3 – after SINIKA/TEL'NOV 2018).

9. Iron brooch (Fig. 13/1), found in Grave 51/1, on the left shoulder of the deceased (male, Fig. 12/1, 2). It should be mentioned from the beginning that the authors had no access to the item, situation impeding in a certain degree on the objectivity of the descriptions and the representations of the brooch. The description and used images are based on previously published information.

The brooch has bilateral spring, but its state of preservation makes impossible any determination of the number of coils or modality of placing the cord. The spring is 2.6 cm wide. The item is large, its maximum length being of 9.8 cm. The thin bow is relatively flattened, slightly asymmetric, the part toward the catch plate lowering in an obtuse angle, while the part toward the spring is more arched. The catch plate has reduced dimensions, presenting itself as a lateral prominence. The height of the item is 1.9 cm, the thickness of the wire 0.4 cm, the diameter of the coil 0.8 cm. The thin stem is relatively long; after forming the catch plate it extends in a straight line then turning below the bow in an angle of approximately 45°. Immediately after the curvature the stem is fragmented. Taking into consideration the fact that there are no attachment traces on the well-preserved bow, it can be considered that the stem was left originally free, indicating that the brooch can be safely included in the category of Early La Tène brooches.

²² TEL'NOV/CHETVERIKOV/SINIKA 2016, 36, Ris. 2, 965.

²³ TEL'NOV/CHETVERIKOV/SINIKA 2016, 887–889; SINIKA/TEL'NOV 2018, 240, Ris. 12/2, 3, 6.

Other grave goods: two iron cheek-pieces, nine three-bladed iron arrowheads, two iron knives, a clay lamp²⁴ (Fig. 20/1–14).

Bibliography: TEL'NOV/CHETVERIKOV/SINIKA 2016, 320, Ris. 176/12.

10. Iron brooch (Fig. 13/2), found in Grave 116/1, on the left shoulder of the deceased (Fig. 12/3, 4). The item has bilateral spring with six coils (3+3) and exterior cord. The bow is asymmetrical, triangular. The part toward the spring is thickened and starting from the curving point the bow narrows continuously and continues in the thin stem. The bow is decorated with a sphere placed close to the spring. Based on the published drawing, the dimensions of the sphere are 0.85 × 0.92 cm. The thin stem is relatively long; after forming the catch plate (0.65 cm long) it extends in a straight line and turns back below the bow in a sharp angle, free but touching the bow with its spherical end. The quality of the drawing makes difficult any further estimation of the shape and dimensions of the sphere. The authors mention in the text and include in the drawing a sort of conical “cuff” on the stem, very close to the sphere (based on the drawing the diameter of the stem varies between 0.28 and 0.45 cm, with a thickening toward its end). The maximum length of the brooch is given as 4.65 cm; height of the bow 1.4 cm, together with the decoration 1.8 cm; length of the spring 0.16 cm; thickness of the coil 0.8 cm; thickness of the pin 0.15 cm.

Bibliography: SINIKA/TEL'NOV 2018, 240, Ris. 12/3.

11. Iron brooch (Fig. 13/3), found in Grave 116/1, on the left shoulder of the deceased, together with brooch no. 10 (Fig. 12/3, 4). The brooch has bilateral spring, with six coils (3+3) and exterior cord. The bow is slightly arched, presenting itself in profile as a slightly asymmetric semicircle (the part toward the catch plate lowers in a large angle; length 2.3 cm, height 1.5 cm). The body of the bow is slightly thickened, especially close to the spring, ellipsoidal in section, with dimensions of 0.45–0.30 cm; after the curving point the bow narrows and continues in the thin stem. The bow is decorated with a sphere placed close to the spring. Based on the drawing, the diameter of the sphere is 0.8 cm. The thin stem is relatively long, turning under the bow at a 45° angle, running free but touching the bow with its end shaped as a spring. This spring is made of four coils (2+2) with exterior cord. The quality of the drawing does not allow further conclusions. The maximum length of the brooch is given as 5.0 cm (based on drawing 4.65 cm). The thin bow is 0.4 cm thick, 1.5 cm high (1.8 cm with the decoration). The length of the spring is 0.9 cm, that of the pseudo-spring 0.8 cm. The thickness of the pin is 0.15 cm. Another Early La Tène brooch, this time made of bronze, was found together with nos. 10–11 in the same grave, placed on the right side of the deceased's chest²⁵ (Fig. 21/3). The grave goods also contained: two spearheads, four bronze arrowheads, 40 iron arrowheads, an iron axe, a bracelet made of glass beads²⁶ (Fig. 21/4–17).

Bibliography: SINIKA/TEL'NOV 2018, 240, Ris. 12/6.

Republic of Moldova, northern part, passim

12. Iron brooch (Fig. 14/1, 2), identified by dr. D. Topal²⁷ on the site <http://oldstory.info/>, with the mention that it was found in the northern part of Republic of Moldova. The brooch has a very high bilateral spring, with exterior cord, recurved stem, touching the bow without being attached to it. The item is large, its maximum length being 7.9 cm. The bow is

²⁴ TEL'NOV/CHETVERIKOV/SINIKA 2016, 318–320, Ris. 176.

²⁵ SINIKA/TEL'NOV 2018, 240, Ris. 12/2.

²⁶ SINIKA/TEL'NOV 2018, 240, 243, Ris. 12–13.

²⁷ The authors would like to express their thanks to Dr. D. Topal for his kindness in sharing this information.



Fig. 14. Iron brooch, probably found in the northern part of the Republic of Moldova, cat. no. 12 (after MUNTEANU/BĂŢ/ZANOCI 2020b).

strongly arched, in the shape of a basket handle, semicircular in profile, slightly asymmetric. The body of the bow is thin. The photo does not allow drawing conclusions regarding the shape of its section, but it seems the wire used for creating the item had longitudinal facets, as indicated by the bow and especially the coils of the spring. The thin stem is relatively short; after forming the catch plate (shaped like a lateral prominence), it extends shortly in a straight line then turns in an angle of 45° , running free. Immediately after curving point the stem is decorated with a flattened sphere, delimited both sides by a thickening; its end is also decorated with a second smaller sphere which touches the bow in the proximity of its maximum height. The first sphere has dimensions of 1.8 cm, the second of 1.1 cm. The coils have diameters of 4.7 cm and thickness of 0.6 cm. The pin is thin, with a thickness of 0.5 cm and a length of 7 cm.

The iron brooches: typology, analogy, and chronology

Typology. All twelve iron brooches can be included in the category of Early La Tène brooches, as they share a recurrent set of characteristics: the bilateral spring with exterior cord, the raised stem, placed freely along the bow and decorated, in most cases, with a sphere of variable dimensions. The only exception is the brooch from Glinoe, which presents, instead of a sphere, a pseudo-spring as a termination for its stem (no. 11, Fig. 13/3). In those cases where the stem is presently missing, it can be safely presumed that originally those brooches also had a free stem, all the morphological parameters concurring to draw this conclusion (no. 1, Fig. 3/1 and no. 6, Fig. 8/1, 2). The only unknown details regard the precise position of the stem and its possible decoration. In those cases where the spring is missing (nos. 6–7), the Early La Tène brooch construction can be deduced based on the overall morphology of these items. Still, based on a series of particularities, the brooches should be further included in several “groups”²⁸.

²⁸ It would have been most desirable to include the brooches found on the territory of the Republic of Moldova in the same typological system as the items found on the Romanian territory. Unfortunately, none of the important attempts of creating a typology for the Early La Tène brooches from Romania is in our opinion useful enough for the present discussion. Taking this into consideration, from a wish of not complicating the present situation any further, the authors decided against creating a local typology; instead, the conventional notion of “typological group” will be used, while waiting for a more complex study which would offer a clearer picture of the finds from Romania. In the meantime, in order to include the brooches discussed here in a larger geographical frame, they will be considered



Fig. 15. Saharna Mare. Iron brooch, cat. no. 3 and no. 5 (after MUNTEANU/BĂȚ/ZANOCI 2020b).

“Typological group” I

The grouping of the items nos. 3–6, all from Saharna Mare (Figs. 5–6), is determined in the first place by the similarities in the bow’s morphology. The brooch no. 6 is fragmentary, but the tip of its stem being almost identical to that of the brooch no. 5 was considered an argument in favour of placing it in this group. True enough, a close examination offers a series of differences between these four items. Two of them (nos. 3 and 6) are closer to one another from the point of view of their dimensions and shape of the bow (still with some particularities), while in the same time some of their characteristics cannot be compared. For example, in the case of the brooch no. 6 the spring is missing, as well as most of its stem. An aspect which is certain is that the stem was free, while its more precise position remains only to be supposed. Several particularities can be noticed also in the case of the stem’s decoration. The brooch no. 3 has a bi-truncated sphere, while the brooch no. 6 has a flattened one. The supplementary decoration of these two brooches is also slightly different. In the case of the brooch no. 3 the smooth stem is slightly flattened at the end, forming a barely visible termination with two lobes, a situation not observed in the case of the other item. Still, it should be remarked that the degree of oxidation in the case of the last-mentioned brooch could suggest a break at the tip of the stem, and as such creating doubts regarding its original shape. Another difference lies in the supplementary decoration with small “knots” of the stem in the case of brooch no. 6, decoration does not present in the case of items nos. 3 and 5. Also, the brooch no. 3 is slightly larger; still, both can be included in the same group based on dimensions²⁹. It should be mentioned that the brooch no. 5, although substantially smaller than the other two, is very similar to brooch no. 3 from the point of view of the morphology of its bow. Both items have a slightly asymmetrical arching of their bow, forming an almost right angle with the catch plate, unlike the brooch no. 6, which is characterised by a symmetrically arched bow. In the case of the brooch no. 6 there are also other differences, concerning the way the decorative sphere is placed on the stem: the sphere is fixed further from the maximum arching of the bow, unlike the sphere of the brooch no. 5, which is placed higher and almost touching the bow.

based on already proposed systems (ZIRRA 2017, MĂNDESCU 2000b, and especially NÉMETI 1988; NÉMETI 1989; NÉMETI 1992; NÉMETI 1993 – the brooches from the Pișcolt necropolis representing the closest analogies for the Moldavian items).

²⁹ Larger than 6.2 cm, after BUJNA 2003, 46.

The brooch no. 2 is rather special, being different from the others discussed above from the point of view of its general structure, proportions and placement of the stem. The item from Rudi has a shorter stem which goes up only to the beginning of the bow's arch; also it should be remarked the reduced number of coils – only four. The bow is more sharply arched, the ratio between its length and its height being the smallest of all the members of this typological group. The decoration is also slightly different, the sphere being placed lower on the stem; immediately below the sphere the stem thickens, and the sphere is followed by two smaller “knots” – a unique situation for brooches of this type.

“Typological group” II

The brooch found in Grave M. 51/1 from Hlinaia (no. 9, Fig. 13/1) could be included into the same group with nos. 3–6 unless attention is given to the particularity of its bow, which is much more lengthened and also lower than in the case of the other items. Also its stem is longer, this representing another peculiarity. These characteristics are rather associated with Middle La Tène brooches, situation determining the inclusion of this item in a distinct group.

“Typological group” III

The brooches from Mana (no. 1, Fig. 3/1, 2) and Saharna Mare (no. 7, Fig. 9/1, 2) were placed in the same group based on their almost identical bow and their close dimensions: both are small items and present a strongly arched bow, thickened and widened, rectangular in section. The other parameters cannot be taken into discussion, as both brooches are fragmentary. In the case of the brooch from Saharna Mare only the catch plate was preserved besides its bow, while the brooch from Mana III preserves a fragment of its bow and an extended spring with 10 coils. All the other iron brooches still preserving their spring are characterised by six coils.

“Typological group” IV

This group contains one of the iron brooches found in Grave M. 116/1 from Hlinaia (no. 11, Fig. 13/3). Even if two items were part of the grave goods and share a series of morphological characteristics, such as almost identical dimensions, the same structure of the spring, the elongated stem, and the thickened bow decorated with a sphere, it seemed safer for them to be placed in two different groups. The decision was taken based firstly on their decorative particularities of the stem, especially on the fact that in the case of one item the stem ends in a pseudo-spring, including it in a well-defined and very much discussed type in the archaeological literature (no. 11, Fig. 13/3). This brooch has a bilateral spring with six coils (3+3) and exterior cord, while the bow is slightly arched and asymmetrical, the end towards the catch plate lowering in a wide angle. The ellipsoidal body of the bow, slightly thickened towards the spring, is differentiated from that of similar brooches by the sphere placed as decoration. The bow narrows gradually and becomes a thin long stem, turned back in a 45° angle and running free but practically touching the bow below its arching with its end in the shape of a spring. This pseudo-spring contains four coils (2+2) with exterior cord. Similar brooches were in the first place described as hybrid brooches³⁰, but a more recent study demonstrated that this notion cannot be justified³¹.

“Typological group” V

This group includes the second iron brooch found in grave M. 116/1 from Hlinaia (no. 10, Fig. 13/2), the defining characteristic being in this case the decoration shaped as a

³⁰ ZIRRA 1971, 226–227, Fig. 23/69; ALEXANDRESCU 1980, 50, nr. 98–100, 100, Fig. 49/1, 2; MĂNDESCU 2000b, 53; ZIRRA 2009, 82–84; ZIRRA 2011, 9.

³¹ SPĂNU 2013, 152.

sphere and place on the bow. It should be mentioned that this element is rarely met with in the case of Early La Tène brooches. Also, this item is differentiated from all the others by its asymmetrical bow, giving it an almost triangular shape, and the decoration of the stem, ending in a sphere, also by the presence of a conical “cuff” on the stem, near the sphere. The other characteristics, such as the bilateral spring, the number of coils, the exterior cord and the shape of the bow, keeps this item close to the other iron brooches found on the territory of Moldova.

“Typological group” VI

The fragment from Saharna Mică (no. 8, Fig. 11/1, 2) is not sufficient for determining a separate type. In the same time, there are strong similarities to be emphasised with another item from the same site, this one made of bronze³² (Fig. 11/3, 4). It is considered that these similarities could serve as basis in the use the parameters of the bronze artefact in order to determine the morphological and decorative characteristics of the fragmentary iron brooch. Evidently, from the perspective of both its morphology and its decoration, this item is very different from the other iron brooches, situation leading to its placing in another typological group.

“Typological group” VII

A remarkable type is determined by the chance find, with no clear context, coming from the northern part of the Republic of Moldova (no. 12, Fig. 14/1, 2). This item is set apart from the others firstly by the large dimensions of its bilateral spring with exterior cord and the reduced number of coils – only two. Secondly, there is a strong discrepancy between the large spring and the thin bow. Also, it should be emphasised the large dimension of the brooch in general, the stem decorated with a flattened sphere, flanked by a thickening, and the end decorated with a second smaller sphere, practically touching the bow close to its maximum height, without being attached to it.

In conclusion, the iron brooches found on the territory of the Republic of Moldova can be included in seven “typological groups”, one of them, based on the diversity of their details, being in its turn split into three variants. The main analogies for these items will be discussed below.

Analogies

“Typological group” I

The closest analogy from a morphological perspective for the iron brooches found at Saharna Mare (nos. 3–6) – especially for the brooch no. 6 (Fig. 8/1, 2) – is an item from Zimnicea. The brooch³³ was found, based on the inventory of the local museum in Alexandria, during archaeological excavations in 1970 conducted by A.D. Alexandrescu in the location called “Cimitirul 10”. The item was first published by D. Măndescu³⁴, then by D. Spănu³⁵. There are no other details regarding the find context. The archaeological site “Cimitirul 10” is located at a distance of 20–30 m from the archaeological site “Cetate”. Until present no supplementary data concerning a La Tène habitation in this area are available, but it should be mentioned that there were excavated graves with Thracian brooches and the majority of graves

³² MUNTEANU/ZANOCI/BĂȚ 2020a, 343, Fig. 5/2.

³³ The authors would like to express their thanks to Dr. Daniel Spănu, from the Institute of Archaeology “Vasile Pârvan” of the Romanian Academy, and to Dr. Pavel Mîrea, the general manager of the County Museum Teleorman from Alexandria, for their precious information regarding the location of the brooch and for the photo of the item. Also the authors express their thanks to Dr. Daniel Spănu for his suggestions for identifying analogies.

³⁴ MĂNDESCU 2010, 219, no. 7, Pl. 333/13.

³⁵ SPĂNU 2014, Pl. 16/10; SPĂNU 2016, Fig. 2/11.

with La Tène brooches from Zimnicea³⁶, situation allowing the supposition that the above-mentioned item came from a funerary context. A similar brooch comes also from Zimnicea, this time from a clear funerary context (C19M1), unfortunately in a very poor state of preservation, only a fragment of its bow and its stem surviving³⁷.

Other, not very numerous, analogies come from Transylvania. The closest parallels are to be found so far in the necropolis from Pişcolt. The closest analogy for brooch no. 3 is an item found in grave M. 180, attributed to the first horizon³⁸. Almost identical is the item from grave M. 134³⁹ and very similar the one from M. 120⁴⁰. Based on the typology proposed by I. Némethi, the specialist conducting the archaeological research in the necropolis from Pişcolt, the iron brooches from Saharna Mare could be included in type A2⁴¹, paralleled with early Dux brooches⁴². To these other iron brooches can be added, more or less like the finds from Saharna Mare. This is not to say that each of them does not present its own particularities. For example, the item from grave M. 36⁴³ is differentiated by its wider bow and its stem decorated with a larger sphere, placed near the bow's arching. The brooch found in grave M. 142⁴⁴ is very similar from a morphological perspective, but its decorative sphere is placed lower on the stem. The brooch from grave M. 187⁴⁵, preserved only in part, could also be possibly attributed to the same type.

Other finds could be taken into consideration as analogies. Firstly, there is a chance find from the area of the necropolis from Curtuişeni⁴⁶. This item is very similar to brooch no. 2. Secondly, there is an iron brooch found in the settlement from Fântânele, morphologically similar, but of smaller dimensions and preserved without its stem, situation making the attempt to analogy more difficult⁴⁷. In the typology proposed by D. Măndescu such brooches are included in type I.4⁴⁸, and in that proposed by V.V. Zirra in type 9(?)⁴⁹. Iron brooches were also found in graves from Aradul Nou, some of them very similar, while others, being fragmentary, cannot be used as analogies without doubt⁵⁰.

Another group of brooches presenting morphological similarities with the items from Saharna Mare are made of bronze. The first analogy is the brooch found in the settlement from Căbeşti which, with a length of 5.2 cm, is close to the items from Saharna Mare both from the point of view of its morphology and from the point of view of its dimensions⁵¹. The same closeness can be noted in the case of the brooches found in the settlement from Ciumeşti "Bostănărie"⁵², although they present various dimensions. Some of them have similar lengths⁵³, while others are smaller⁵⁴, and a third group includes items of larger size than the brooches from

³⁶ ALEXANDRESCU 1980, 100, Fig. 49/1–5.

³⁷ SPĂNU 2016, Fig. 2/12, after MĂNDESCU 2010.

³⁸ NÉMETHI 1988, Fig. 9/1-M. 180.

³⁹ NÉMETHI 1988, Fig. 5/1-M. 134.

⁴⁰ NÉMETHI 1988, Fig. 5/1-M. 120.

⁴¹ NÉMETHI 1988, 65, Fig. 9/1-M. 180.

⁴² Types 1 and 3 after ZIRRA 1997, Fig. 19/1–3 and Fig. 25/a–b.

⁴³ NÉMETHI 1988, Fig. 4/1–2.

⁴⁴ NÉMETHI 1988, Fig. 7/1.

⁴⁵ NÉMETHI 1988, Fig. 8/1-M. 187.

⁴⁶ TELEAGA 2007, 47, Abb. 2/EF1.

⁴⁷ DĂNILĂ 1978, 262, 263, Fig. 5/5; ZIRRA 2017, Pl. 46/2.

⁴⁸ MĂNDESCU 2000b, 49–50.

⁴⁹ ZIRRA 2017, 248.

⁵⁰ ZIRRA 1991, 181, Fig. 2/1; RUSTOIU/URSUȚIU 2013, Fig. 9A.

⁵¹ BUZDUGAN 1968, 97–98, Fig. 2/3; ZIRRA 2017, Pl. 27/1.

⁵² Type 7, according to ZIRRA 2017, 286.

⁵³ ZIRRA 1967, 62, Fig. 30; ZIRRA 2017, Fig. 37/2.

⁵⁴ ZIRRA 1967, 60, Fig. 28; ZIRRA 2017, Pl. 37/1.

Saharna⁵⁵. The category of similar brooches of smaller dimensions could be included items from Aradul Nou⁵⁶, Pecica⁵⁷, Foeni⁵⁸, Bâzdâna⁵⁹, Bunești⁶⁰, Cucuteni-Băiceni⁶¹ and Oradea-Salca⁶². Very similar is the brooch from Costâna (Todirești township, Suceava county), excepting the fact that was made of silver, slightly smaller, with a pearled bow, and a four-coiled spring with larger diameter. This item is remarkable because was found on the present-day territory of Bucovina, being one of the closest finds from the spatial perspective⁶³.

Also in the neighbouring areas, but on the territory of Ukraine, at Grigorovka, Vinnița region, it is known a similar item, but made of bronze and missing its stem⁶⁴. Also, on the territory of Ukraine were found brooches belonging to the Dux type at Tyra⁶⁵, Zalissja⁶⁶, Golovno⁶⁷, Lipljava⁶⁸; still, none of them is very similar to those from Saharna.

Similar brooches to those from Saharna Mare are frequently found in Celtic cultural milieus from Central Europe. From this perspective, it should be mentioned type EF-A, according to J. Bujna⁶⁹. Here should be especially mentioned the similarities with types EF-A2-Aa and Ab⁷⁰, closest to brooch no. 7, but different from our items due to their less prominent arching of the bow and more reduced number of coils in their spring (2+1 or 2+2). Type EF-A3-A⁷¹ is closer to brooch no. 5, but the dimensions of the spring and the number of coils is different (2+2 or 2+1). The brooches of type EF-C5⁷² are similar to brooch no. 7 from the point of view of their bow's shape but have better proportions. Morphological similarities (especially in their bow) can be noticed between our finds and bronze types, with the mention that these are considerably smaller (2–3 cm), such as type BF-A2-A⁷³, with the same decoration type of the stem (a sphere touching the lowering part of the bow), and type BF-A3-B⁷⁴, with a slightly more arched bow. The brooches belonging to the last-mentioned types are especially like the brooch no. 2 from Rudi, for which good analogies can be noticed at Maňa⁷⁵ and Pećine⁷⁶.

Almost identical items could be identified in the neighbouring regions also for the other variants of this typological group. Thus, on the territories of Serbia and Bosnia there are iron brooches such as those from Rospi Ćuprija⁷⁷, Karaburma⁷⁸, Kostolac-Repnjak⁷⁹, Pećine, in grave

⁵⁵ CRIȘAN 1966, 41, Fig. 18; ZIRRA 2017, Pl. 37/2.

⁵⁶ ZIRRA 1971, 179–180, Fig. 1/3; DÖRNER 1972, 152, Pl. 2/11.

⁵⁷ ZIRRA 1971, 180, Fig. 1/2; DÖRNER 1972, 151, 153, Pl. III/5; ZIRRA 2017, Pl. 58/8.

⁵⁸ GEORGESCU 2013, Pl. 2.

⁵⁹ TĂTULEA 1984, 94, Fig. 7/1; ZIRRA 2017, Pl. 13/2.

⁶⁰ BAZARCIUC 1986, 98, Fig. 9/8.

⁶¹ SCHMIDT 1932, 63, Pl. 30/18.

⁶² ZIRRA 1971, 195, 197, Fig. 15/1.

⁶³ TEODOR 1988, 49; ZIRRA 2017, Pl. 41/12.

⁶⁴ ARTAMONOV 1955, Ris. 41/2, 3; KAZAKEVICH 2015, 179, Ris. 9/8.

⁶⁵ SAVELEV 2013, 101, Ris. 1/1.

⁶⁶ KUKHARENKO 1959b, 27–28, AMBROZ 1966, T. 1/1; KAZAKEVICH 2015, Ris. 9/1.

⁶⁷ KUKHARENKO 1961, 62, 64, T. 5/13; AMBROZ 1966, T. 1/4; KAZAKEVICH 2015, Ris. 9/3.

⁶⁸ KUKHARENKO 1959a, Ris. 1/2; PETROV 1961, T. III/1; AMBROZ 1966, T. 1/3.

⁶⁹ BUJNA 2003, 61–65, Obr. 31.

⁷⁰ BUJNA 2003, 63, Obr. 33.

⁷¹ BUJNA 2003, 64–65, Obr. 34.

⁷² BUJNA 2003, 70, Obr. 44.

⁷³ BUJNA 2003, 47–48, Obr. 7.

⁷⁴ BUJNA 2003, 48, Obr. 8.

⁷⁵ BENADIK 1978, 207, Abb. 20.

⁷⁶ JOVANOVIĆ 2018, Pl. 4/4; 10/4.

⁷⁷ LJUŠTINA/SPASIĆ 2012, 371, Fig. 4/1; LJUŠTINA 2013, Fig. 7/8.

⁷⁸ LJUŠTINA 2013, Fig. 7/9.

⁷⁹ JAKANOVIC 1987, 7–17.

M20/(G3 993)⁸⁰, but also bronze brooches at Kamenjača u Brezi⁸¹. In Bulgaria, a similar item, but made of bronze, was found at Pistiros⁸², and a whole group of brooches were found in the tumuli 22 and 23 from Sborjanovo and Shumen region (Dragoevo, Cherencha)⁸³. A part of the brooches found in this region are preserved in the collections of the Museum of Shumen and published by J. Anastassov⁸⁴. In Hungary such brooches are found in greater numbers, some of them being practically identical, like for example some items from the Ludas-Varjú-dűlő necropolis, such as those from grave M. 683 Type Bujna EF-A2⁸⁵. Finds of the same type come from Austria, such as those from Neunkirchen⁸⁶, Moravia⁸⁷, and Croatia, such as the bronze and iron brooches from Kupinovo⁸⁸ and Zeleno polje in Osijek⁸⁹.

“Typological group” II

The brooch of large dimensions from grave M. 51/1 at Hlinaia (no. 9, Fig. 13/1) has no close analogies. The most similar seem to be some of the brooches found in the necropolis from Pişcolt included by I. Némethi in type A9, which is considered an advanced variant of the early Dux type (A2) – brooches with an elongated body and stem running free from the bow⁹⁰. Very similar are two iron brooches found in grave M. 38/(G1–3 1791) from Pećine⁹¹.

“Typological group” III

Taking into consideration the shape of the bow, there are few representatives of the group including in this case the brooches no. 1 (Fig. 3) and no. 7 (Fig. 9). Most of them were found in graves belonging to the Transylvanian necropolises. Here should be mentioned two iron brooches found in Necropolis 2 from Brateiu⁹², a bronze brooch from grave M. 6 from Ciumeşti⁹³ and possibly several items from the Pişcolt necropolis: one from grave M. 179⁹⁴, two from grave M. 34⁹⁵; one from grave M. 207⁹⁶; one from grave M. 14⁹⁷ and one from grave M. 144⁹⁸. Another possible analogy is the brooch found inside the settlement from Buneşti⁹⁹, made of bronze, but the available drawings leave a certain doubt regarding the shape of its bow.

Other analogies can be found in the Celtic Central European world, the brooches being similar from the point of view of their bow's shape to the Slovakian brooches belonging

⁸⁰ JOVANOVIĆ 2018, 51, Pl. 20/3.

⁸¹ Items found in later contexts: PAŠKVALIN 2002, 331, Tab. 4/2; PAŠKVALIN 2008, 120, Tab. 13/8; MARIĆ 2015, Tab. 2/2

⁸² BOUZEK 2005, 105, 244, Fig. 91/A3; KAZAKEVICH 2015, Ris. 7/7.

⁸³ VASILEVA 2012, 23.

⁸⁴ ANASTASSOV 2006, 13–15, Fig. 4/1; ANASTASSOV 2011, 229, Fig. 4/1–3.

⁸⁵ SZABÓ/TANKÓ/CZAJLIK 2012, Pl. V/5.

⁸⁶ SCHIEL 2015, Taf. XXV, Inv.-Nr. 11239, 11240, 11241; Taf. XVIII, Inv.-Nr. 11202.

⁸⁷ ČIŽMÁŘ 1975, 420, 422 with bibliography, Obr. 2/4.

⁸⁸ DRNIĆ 2015, 153, T. 34/5; T. 35/5.

⁸⁹ DIZDAR 2012, 13, Fig. 2.

⁹⁰ NÉMETHI 1989, 107, Fig. 9/1-M. 135; 16/1 and 22/1.

⁹¹ JOVANOVIĆ 2018, 83, Pl. 42/1.

⁹² ZIRRA 2017, Pl. 23/7, 8 – from which the item under no. 8 is larger and has a narrower bow, as such being included in this group with a certain degree of incertitude.

⁹³ ZIRRA 2017, Pl. 33/6; ZIRRA 1967, 24, 25, Fig. 11/II.

⁹⁴ NÉMETHI 1988, 58, 60, Fig. 8-M. 179, 1; ZIRRA 2017, Pl. 64/5.

⁹⁵ NÉMETHI 1988, 53, 54, Fig. 3-M. 34, 1, 2.

⁹⁶ NÉMETHI 1989, Fig. 22/2.

⁹⁷ NÉMETHI 1990, Fig. 2/3-M. 14.

⁹⁸ NÉMETHI 1989, Fig. 25/2-M. 144.

⁹⁹ BAZARCIUC 1983, 249, 268, Fig. 20/2; ZIRRA 2017, Pl. 26/1.

to types EF-C4 și EF-C7, after Bujna¹⁰⁰, with the main difference that the latter have their spring made of five coils and their bow is less thickened. Some similarities could be identified between our items and brooches ascribed by Bujna to types EF-C2¹⁰¹ and EF-C3¹⁰². In the same time, it should be taken into consideration that there are also dissimilarities, determined, on one hand, by the more accentuated thickening of the bow, especially in the case of type EF-C2, and, on another hand, by the number of coils in the spring of Central European items (8 coils). Sporadic analogies could be identified both to the west, in present day Moravia¹⁰³, and to the east – on the territory of Hungary. An item made of iron with a spring consisting of eight coils was found in grave M. 951 from the necropolis in Ludas¹⁰⁴, and another with a four-coils spring in grave M. 879 from the same necropolis¹⁰⁵. Similar items were found in Bosnia and Herzegovina at Donja Dolina¹⁰⁶, and in Northern Macedonia, as for example at Vratnica¹⁰⁷.

“Typological group” IV

The closest analogies for the brooches included in this typological group, containing the item with pseudo-spring from Hlinaia (no. 11, Fig. 13/3), are to be found in the same necropolis, but made of bronze (M. 38/1; M. 63/1; M. 69/2; M. 19/2; M. 48/1; M. 52/1 etc.). The same situation was noticed for the neighbouring tumulus necropolis from Parcani¹⁰⁸, and in the necropolises belonging to the Tiraspol group, also found in the vicinity¹⁰⁹. It should be mentioned that in the case of these necropolises the pseudo-spring brooches are associated with Brandenburg type brooches, with figure-of-eight decoration¹¹⁰. Another item comes from further south, inside a structure from ancient Nikonium¹¹¹, and a group of similar finds, all made of bronze, are connected to “late Scythian” tombs from the Lower Danube region¹¹². In the same time, the spread of the brooches belonging to this type, although not very numerous, was signalled on larger areas of present day Ukraine; one item in the area of the Middle Dniepr, at Biivcy¹¹³, other two items in the area of Lower Dniepr, exact find place unknown¹¹⁴, another item in the area of ancient Panticapaeum¹¹⁵.

The circulation of brooches with pseudo-spring was noticed also on the territory of present day Romania, with three items identified so far. One of them was found in the area close to the “late Scythian” necropolises from southern Basarabia, on the right side of Danube, at Tariverde¹¹⁶. Other two were found in the necropolis from Zimnicea: one in C10 M97¹¹⁷ and the other in C10 M55¹¹⁸.

¹⁰⁰ BUJNA 2003, 69, Obr. 42.

¹⁰¹ BUJNA 2003, 68, Obr. 40.

¹⁰² BUJNA 2003, 69, Obr. 41.

¹⁰³ ČIŽMÁŘ 1975, 420, 422, Obr. 2/4.

¹⁰⁴ SZABÓ/TANKÓ 2006, Fig. 4/3; SZABÓ/TANKÓ/CZAJLIK 2012, Fig. 184/3, Pl. XXXVII/5.

¹⁰⁵ SZABÓ/TANKÓ/CZAJLIK 2012, Pl. XXII/2.

¹⁰⁶ POPOVIĆ 1996, 113, Fig. 7/10.

¹⁰⁷ POPOVIĆ 1996, 112, Fig. 6/10.

¹⁰⁸ FABRITSIUS 1951, T. XXII, 3; EREMENKO 1997, 203.

¹⁰⁹ BRUYAKO 2005–2009, 333–336.

¹¹⁰ PACHKOVA 2006, 284, Ris. 141.

¹¹¹ Cf. BRUYAKO 2005–2009, 337, Ris. 2/12.

¹¹² REDINA 1993, 52.

¹¹³ BIDZILYA/SHCHUKIN 1993, 74, 82, T. XVIII/6; KAZAKEVICH 2015, 179, 181.

¹¹⁴ BIDZILYA/SHCHUKIN 1993, 74, 82, T. XVIII/10, 11; KAZAKEVICH 2015, 179, 181.

¹¹⁵ AMBROZ 1966, 12, 14, T. 1/8, 9; BIDZILYA/SHCHUKIN 1993, 82; KAZAKEVICH 2015, 179, 181.

¹¹⁶ CONDURACHI 1953, 134, 133, Fig. 23; ZIRRA 2017, Pl. 125/7.

¹¹⁷ ALEXANDRESCU 1980, 100, Fig. 49/2; MĂNDESCU 2010, 171, Fig. 25; SPÂNU 2013, Fig. 3/20.

¹¹⁸ ALEXANDRESCU 1980, 100, Fig. 49/1; SPÂNU 2013, Fig. 1/3.

It is interesting to mention that in the same grave was also found a brooch with Brandenburg decoration, a situation like those known from Moldova.

A quite large number of brooches with the stem decorated by a pseudo-spring come from Bulgaria. They were found both in necropolises and settlements, but there are also cases when their context is unknown. For example, three items exhibited in the Museum of Ruse can be attributed to the Early La Tène category of brooches, although only one of them still preserves its stem and can be undoubtedly included in this category¹¹⁹. Other finds with the original context unknown come from the Shumen region¹²⁰.

Regarding the finds belonging to grave goods, in tumulus no. 23 from Sbornyanovo were found four small Early La Tène brooches, three made of iron and one of silver, two of the iron brooches being characterised by a pseudo-spring¹²¹. A similar situation was noticed in the case of the burial of a young girl from the tumulus necropolis in Seuthopolis (tumulus no. 2/grave no. 2), with two small gold brooches of “Pestrup” type¹²². Alongside these aristocratic female burials, the archaeological excavations brought to light other La Tène tombs with rich grave goods, such as the rich burial of a warrior in the Hellenistic necropolis from Philippopolis. The cremation burial contained a La Tène sword with signs of deliberate deformation before deposition, in association with an Early La Tène brooch of “Pestrup” type¹²³, situation seemingly indicating the burial of a “Celtic” warrior, whose presence in the area could be explained based on the intensification of the use of mercenaries in the Hellenistic kingdoms¹²⁴.

A much larger number of pseudo-spring brooches belong to the Museum of Shumen, which hosts finds from approximately 16 archaeological sites (six of which necropolises) in the area of the Shumen plateau¹²⁵. Out of the total of 75 brooches, 12 items, some made of iron and some of bronze, present a stem decorated with a pseudo-spring. There are two variants identified so far: with thin bow (5a) and with widened bow, laurel leaf shaped (5b)¹²⁶. All the items can be attributed to type A2 Peschel, representing various variants of this type and are dated to La Tène B2¹²⁷.

Looking beyond the similarities noticed on relatively restricted areas from South-Eastern Europe, the pseudo-spring brooches circulated on much larger areas. Items with this type of decoration are found from Western France¹²⁸ to the Pontic regions¹²⁹, being considered markers of the Celtic migration¹³⁰. A special attention should be offered to the finds from the basins of rivers La Marne and Moselle, with ulterior spread towards the valley of river Weser, and from there to Hungary and Bulgaria.

“Typological group” V

The brooch belonging to this group, characterised by a spherical decoration on the bow (no. 10, Fig. 13/2), presents no certain analogies in the neighbouring areas. Some items show some similarities, but the images and very sketchy descriptions are not entirely reliable. Among

¹¹⁹ ANASTASSOV 2007, 166, Pl. 1.

¹²⁰ ANASTASSOV 2006, 14; ANASTASSOV 2011, 234.

¹²¹ Cf. ANASTASSOV 2011, 234, Fig. 22/1, 2.

¹²² DIMITROV, ČIČIKOVA 1978, 52–53; ATANASOV 2011, Fig. 23.

¹²³ BOSPATCHIEVA 1995.

¹²⁴ RUSTOIU 2006a, 53–63.

¹²⁵ ANASTASSOV 2006, 12.

¹²⁶ ANASTASSOV 2006, 14.

¹²⁷ PESCHEL 1972, 16, 17.

¹²⁸ PESCHEL 1972, 31, Abb. 10.

¹²⁹ ANASTASSOV 2006, Fig. 7.

¹³⁰ ANASTASSOV 2006, 16; LAZAROV 2001, 10.

these hypothetical analogies could be mentioned two finds from the Pişcolt necropolis¹³¹ and one item each from Orosfaia¹³², Curtuişeni¹³³, Ceparî¹³⁴ and Ciumeşti¹³⁵. Its type of bow also does not offer many chances for finding many analogies, one of the closest being that of a brooch from grave M. 125 at Pişcolt¹³⁶.

Brooches with a sphere decorating the bow and spheres on the recurved stem are known from Central Europe, being also dated to the Middle La Tène¹³⁷. It is true that those illustrated by J. Bujna have a different shape of their bow, and also different dimensions. Still, there is still an analogy in present day Serbia in an Early La Tène brooch: a thin brooch made of bronze, with a raised stem, placed freely along the bow, which is decorated with a small sphere; a second sphere decorated the stem. It was found in grave M. 19/G3 991 from the Pećine necropolis¹³⁸. It should be interesting to mention that from the same grave was recovered another bronze brooch, similar to the bronze brooch from Hlinaia (Fig. 21/3), present together with the two brooches with spherical decoration on the bow¹³⁹. Some items found in Bulgaria could be also taken into consideration as analogies, because the finds from Kolnovo, in a necropolis with structures similar to those from Hlinaia, include two iron brooches of which at least one seems to be similar to our item¹⁴⁰.

“Typological group” VI

Several analogies for the brooch from Saharna Mică (no. 8, Fig. 11/1, 2) were identified in the necropolis from Pişcolt. The closest in morphological terms seems to be the brooch from grave M. 138¹⁴¹, but also the one from grave M. 204¹⁴². Slightly different is the brooch from grave M. 36, with a widened bow¹⁴³. The brooches from grave M. 185¹⁴⁴ and grave M. 159¹⁴⁵ are similar in shape but different in size compared to our item (smaller than from grave M. 185 and larger than the one from grave M. 159). These brooches were ascribed by V.V. Zirra to type 9, being characterised by large or medium size, strongly arched bow, stem decorated with a sphere touching the bow at its highest point, spring with 4–6 coils and exterior cord. Even if they are described as *Fibeln mit großem kugeligem Schlußstück*, it can be noticed that the items included in this type do not necessarily have a decoration consisting of a large sphere on the stem; some of the brooches do not have this type of decoration and some are completely undecorated, such as the items from graves M. 14¹⁴⁶, M. 45¹⁴⁷ and M. 181¹⁴⁸ from Pişcolt, and those from Arad¹⁴⁹, Ciumeşti¹⁵⁰

¹³¹ NÉMETI 1992, Fig. 22/M126,1; NÉMETI 1989, Fig. 1/M1, 2; ZIRRA 2017, Pl. 73/2 and Pl. 62/4.

¹³² VAIDA 2000, Fig. 10/4; ZIRRA 2017, Pl. 57/9.

¹³³ NÁNÁSI 1973, Pl. IV/1; ZIRRA 2017, Pl. 44/3.

¹³⁴ CRIŞAN 1966, Fig. 25/4; ZIRRA 2017, Pl. 31/1.

¹³⁵ ZIRRA 2017, Pl. 37/5.

¹³⁶ NÉMETI 1988, Fig. 5/M125, 1a; ZIRRA 2017, Pl. 62/1.

¹³⁷ BUJNA 2003, Obr. 57.

¹³⁸ JOVANOVIĆ 2018, 51, Pl. 19/7.

¹³⁹ JOVANOVIĆ 2018, 49, Pl. 19/3.

¹⁴⁰ ANASTASSOV 2011, 236, Fig. 25/1, 2.

¹⁴¹ NÉMETI 1988, 54, Fig. 6/3; ZIRRA 2017, 300, Pl. 64/7.

¹⁴² NÉMETI 1988, 103, Fig. 21/1.

¹⁴³ NÉMETI 1988, 54, Fig. 4/1; ZIRRA 2017, 300, Pl. 64/3.

¹⁴⁴ NÉMETI 1989, 100, Fig. 19/1; ZIRRA 2017, 300, Pl. 64/9.

¹⁴⁵ NÉMETI 1989, 91, Fig. 11/2; ZIRRA 2017, 300, Pl. 64/8.

¹⁴⁶ NÉMETI 1992, Fig. 2/1a-M. 14; ZIRRA 2017, 300, Pl. 64/11.

¹⁴⁷ NÉMETI 1992, Fig. 4/3-M. 45; ZIRRA 2017, 300, Pl. 64/6.

¹⁴⁸ NÉMETI 1989, Fig. 18/3-M. 181; ZIRRA 2017, 300, Pl. 64/12.

¹⁴⁹ DÖRNER 1972, 150, Pl. 1/17; ZIRRA 2017, Pl. 12/1.

¹⁵⁰ ZIRRA 1967, Fig. 10/III; ZIRRA 2017, Pl. 33/6.

or Fântânele¹⁵¹. As such, here will be taken into consideration only those items similar to those discussed, and not all the items ascribed to this type.

Similar from the typological perspective is also the brooch from Buneşti¹⁵², considered as type 13 (?) by V.V. Zirra¹⁵³. V.V. Zirra describes the brooches belonging to type 13 as being in general of reduced dimensions, with bow strongly arched or sometimes straight, thin, stem decorated with a sphere of variable size, generally large compared to the bow, reaching at most to the middle of the bow¹⁵⁴. This description of the type will be prudently used, in as the dimensions of the sphere are not considered; generally speaking, it is to be doubted that type 13 could offer good analogies in its totality for the item from Saharna. Thus, many items ascribed by V.V. Zirra to type 13 do not present similarities with the brooch under discussion, such for example those from Ciumeşti¹⁵⁵, Cucuteni¹⁵⁶, Ichimeni¹⁵⁷, Poiana¹⁵⁸ and so on. Only several of the brooches from Pişcolt and assigned to this type present some similarities with the item from Saharna. First of all, there are the relatively well-preserved items from graves M. 117¹⁵⁹ and M. 7¹⁶⁰, but made of bronze and with a different number of coils (4 and 8). It could be added to these the items from graves M. 97¹⁶¹ and M. 47¹⁶², both made of iron, but from which only the decoration shaped as a large sphere on the stem was preserved. In grave M. 1 from Remetea Mare were found several iron brooches with large sphere, among those the item found next to the cinerary urn being very similar to the brooch from Saharna Mică¹⁶³.

Iron brooches decorated on the stem with a large sphere were found also in Hungary. Here should be mentioned the very similar item from the Kosd necropolis (found together with three other bronze brooches and a fragment of a stem from an iron brooch¹⁶⁴) and one from Dubnik/Csúz¹⁶⁵. From Ludas-Varjú-dűlő comes the largest number of analogies. The closest are represented by the fragments of an iron brooch from grave M. 703¹⁶⁶ and of another from grave M. 1288¹⁶⁷. From grave M. 879 comes a similar item, different only by its smaller size and the oval section of the bow¹⁶⁸. The item was ascribed to Type Bujna EF-C5, although its spring is of large size. Similar too is the brooch from grave M. 1003¹⁶⁹, with the same type of decoration, but the shape of the bow, with lozenge section and high spring make it different from the brooch from Saharna, the authors including it in Type Bujna EF-C4. Other three items were found in grave M. 1051¹⁷⁰. The same grave offered another find, a bronze brooch of Dux type, with a stem end very close to that of the item from Saharna¹⁷¹. Slightly more different is the end

¹⁵¹ DĂNILĂ 1978, Fig. 5/5; ZIRRA 2017, Pl. 46/2.

¹⁵² BAZARCIUC 1983, Fig. 3.

¹⁵³ ZIRRA 2017, Pl. 26/5.

¹⁵⁴ NÉMETI 1990, 87, Fig. 21/3; ZIRRA 2017, Pl. 43.

¹⁵⁵ ZIRRA 1967, Fig. 14/V; ZIRRA 2017, Pl. 33/8.

¹⁵⁶ SCHMIDT 1932, Pl. 30/17; ZIRRA 2017, Pl. 43/12, 13.

¹⁵⁷ TEODOR 1988, Fig. 4/4; ZIRRA 2017, Pl. 48/6.

¹⁵⁸ TEODOR/ȚAU 1996, Fig. 3/3; ZIRRA 2017, Pl. 81/1.

¹⁵⁹ NÉMETI 1992, Fig. 21/M117, 3; ZIRRA 2017, Pl. 68/6.

¹⁶⁰ NÉMETI 1989, Fig. 2/2; ZIRRA 2017, Pl. 67/10.

¹⁶¹ NÉMETI 1989, Fig. 7/4; ZIRRA 2017, Pl. 68/12.

¹⁶² NÉMETI 1992, 65, Fig. 5/7; ZIRRA 2017, Pl. 68/13.

¹⁶³ RUSTOIU 2008, Fig. 55; RUSTOIU 2017, 185, Fig. 7/10.

¹⁶⁴ SZABO/PETERS 1992, 92, Pl. 32.

¹⁶⁵ SZABO/PETERS 1992, 105, Pl. 87.

¹⁶⁶ SZABÓ/TANKÓ/CZAJLIK 2012, Pl. XVI/2.

¹⁶⁷ SZABÓ/TANKÓ/CZAJLIK 2012, Pl. LII/3.

¹⁶⁸ SZABÓ/TANKÓ/CZAJLIK 2012, 43–44, Pl. XXII/4.

¹⁶⁹ SZABÓ/TANKÓ/CZAJLIK 2012, Pl. XXXII/5.

¹⁷⁰ SZABÓ/TANKÓ/CZAJLIK 2012, Pl. XXXVIII/3 – EF-C7, 7, 8.

¹⁷¹ SZABÓ/TANKÓ/CZAJLIK 2012, Pl. XXXVIII/4.

of the stem in the case of the iron brooch from grave M. 951, but the item is in general close to the other analysed brooches. Two items from grave M. 1009 are similar from the morphological perspective, including the decoration of the stem with a large sphere, but differ from the point of view of the decoration of their bow¹⁷². There are also known similar finds from Serbia, including several items from the Čair in Stari Kostolac necropolis¹⁷³ and from Pećine, where grave 3/G 3–982 contained a pair of early Dux type brooches, with a large sphere on the stem, together with a similar larger brooch, all made of bronze¹⁷⁴. In grave M. 16/ (G1–3 281) were found two iron brooches, one of which very similar to our item, but with four coils on the spring¹⁷⁵, and in grave M. 1/ (G1–3 268) another similar item made of iron¹⁷⁶.

“Typological group” VII

It should be mentioned in the first place that the chance finds from Northern Moldova (no. 12, Fig. 14/1, 2) has no close analogies in this area. As far as it can be determined, the closest analogy can be found in the Pişcolt necropolis, part of the grave goods of M. 155¹⁷⁷. The description of the item is very succinct and the image far from expressive, leading to doubts regarding its interpretation. Still, based on the general accuracy of the publication, it can be safely presumed that the author is correct in considering the details of the brooch as characteristic for Middle La Tène. A further argument could be invoked by the presence of a string of similar finds on a narrow territory stretching from Danube to the Alps¹⁷⁸. It should be especially emphasised the fact that there are at least two types of brooches with high spring, dated to Early La Tène and Middle La Tène, respectively. The older items are concentrated in the same micro-region, between Traisen and Southern Slovakia¹⁷⁹, being included in a type of their own – Pottenbrunn-Horny Jatov¹⁸⁰. The necropolis from Pottenbrunn offered several finds, iron brooches belonging to the Dux type with high spring, those from graves M. 562 and M. 520 being morphologically closer to the artefact found in Moldova¹⁸¹. Among the finds included in this type those in list 1 – from Chotin 16 and Kamenin 7¹⁸² and list 2 – from Bajc 22 and Mana 15¹⁸³ represent the best analogies.

In the same time, sporadic finds are mentioned for the neighbouring areas. Thus, a similar brooch was found in Silesia, in an isolated grave of the necropolis covering several chronological spans from Żerniki Wielkie, pow. Wrocław¹⁸⁴. The brooch has parallels in the pre-Duchcov horizon¹⁸⁵ and it is possible to discern an influence from Moravia and Lower Austria¹⁸⁶. Similar finds, but presenting certain particularities, were found in Hungary. For example, in the necropolis from Sajopetri was found a close analogy in grave M. 9/55, ascribed by the authors to type Bujna EF-A3-A. It has only six coils (3+3), a supplementary decoration

¹⁷² SZABÓ/TANKÓ/CZAJLIK 2012, 61, Pl. XXXIV/9, 10 – EF-C7 și EF-C5.

¹⁷³ STOJIC/JAKANOVIC 2008, Fig. 138.

¹⁷⁴ JOVANOVIĆ 2018, Pl. 4/4, 6; RUSTOIU/EGRI 2011, Fig. 9/3a–b, 5.

¹⁷⁵ JOVANOVIĆ 2018, 45, Pl. 16/2.

¹⁷⁶ JOVANOVIĆ 2018, 26, Pl. 2/1.

¹⁷⁷ NÉMETI 1992, 97, Fig. 27/1.

¹⁷⁸ RAMSL 2003, Fig. 11.

¹⁷⁹ RAMSL 2003, 256, Fig. 11.

¹⁸⁰ RAMSL 2003, 255.

¹⁸¹ RAMSL 2003, 255, Fig. 10.

¹⁸² RAMSL 2003, 255, Fig. 10.

¹⁸³ RAMSL 2003, 255, Fig. 10.

¹⁸⁴ JAHN 1934, 116–119, Fig. 8–13, Pl. IX/2, cf. DULĘBA 2019, 378, Fig. 10/5.

¹⁸⁵ HOLODNÁK/WALDHAUSER 1984, 36, Fig. 2/15, 16.

¹⁸⁶ DULĘBA 2019, 384–385, Fig. 13.

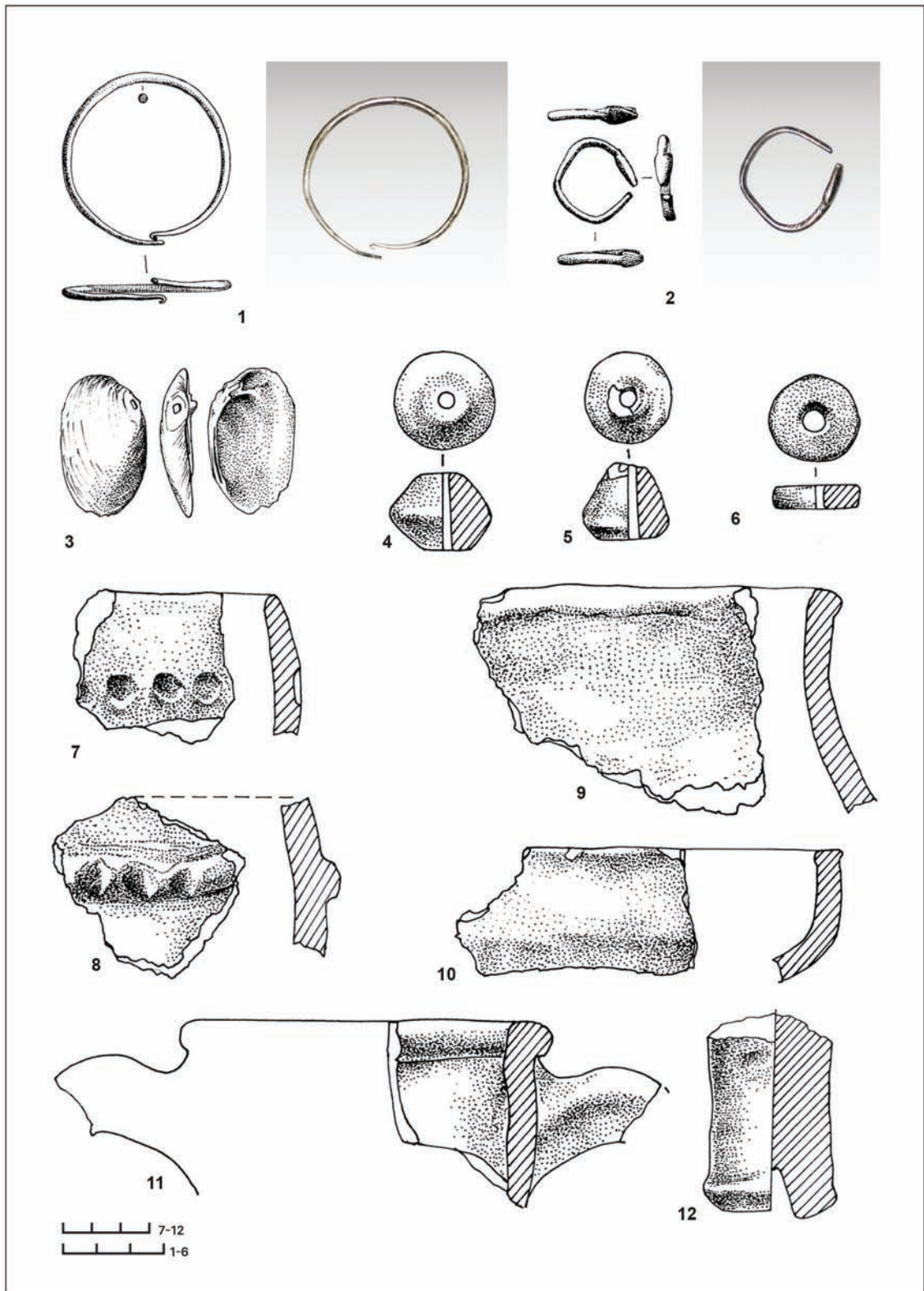


Fig. 16. Saharna Mare. Finds from structure no. 5 (1/2012), associated with the brooch under cat. no. 3 (after NICULIŢĂ/ZANOCI/BĂŢ 2016 and MUNTEANU/BĂŢ/ZANOCI 2020b).

on its stem and is slightly smaller (L – 8.5 cm, H – 3.3 cm) than the item from Moldova¹⁸⁷. Another item was found in grave M. 1003 of the necropolis from Ludas¹⁸⁸, attributed to Type Bujna EF-C4. A brooch from Kosd also has a high spring, with two coils, but with a different shape of the bow¹⁸⁹. Similar items seem to have been found in Serbia, in grave 38 (G1–3 1791) of the necropolis from Pećine¹⁹⁰.

Chronology

“Typological group” I

There are several chronological landmarks to be discussed concerning the brooches belonging to the first typological group. In the first place, the archaeological site from Saharna Mare offered the chance of associating in contexts Early La Tène brooches with other categories of objects with clear dating. Thus, the structure 1/2012 contained, together with the Early La Tène brooch (no. 3, Fig. 5), numerous finds attributed to the Getic chronological horizon (Fig. 16), such as nine amphora shards; among those, a shard belonging to a Chersoneses amphora (Fig. 16/11), dated to the interval between the last quarter of the 4th century and the first third of the 3rd century BC¹⁹¹, as well as a shard belonging to a Heracleea Pontica amphora (Fig. 16/12), dated to the end of the 4th – beginning of the 3rd century BC¹⁹². This time span is further confirmed by the finds from structure no. 3/2017–2019 (Fig. 17), which offered an association between the Dux type brooch (no. 5, Fig. 7), a circular brooch, eight bronze arrowheads and a shard belonging to a Thassos amphora¹⁹³ (Fig. 17/27), loosely dated to the 4th century BC. This association of artefacts suggests that the use of the structure and its content can be fixed in the interval between the end of the 4th century and the beginning of the 3rd century BC. Even more, the brooch no. 6 (Fig. 8) was found in the archaeological layer in close vicinity to structure no. 3 and could be assigned to the same time span, which is also confirmed by recent radiocarbon dating¹⁹⁴. Another argument in favour of this dating is based on the finds inside pit no. 1/2019. Alongside the well-known Getic pottery the pit provided a circular brooch (identical to that found in structure no. 3/2017–2019, mentioned above, which was found with the Dux type brooch no. 5, Fig. 7) and a fragment from a Sinope louterion vessel dated to the second half of the 4th century and the beginning of the 3rd century BC¹⁹⁵ (Fig. 19). This situation can be indirectly used in order to assign also the finds from structure no. 3/2017–2019, including brooch no. 4, to the same time span. Here should also be mentioned the amphora shards found in the remains of the defensive system. A rim belonging to a Heracleea Pontica amphora of type II-A–3, dated to the beginning of the 3rd century BC¹⁹⁶, was found in the remains of the earthwork, and the foot of a Heracleea Pontica amphora of type II-A, dated to the end of the 4th century and the beginning of the 3rd century BC¹⁹⁷, was found among the remains of the southern bastion. We consider that the presence of these amphora shards among the rests of the defensive system in the immediate vicinity of the burned structures inside the precinct, containing Early La Tène brooches, in their turn associated with amphoras dated to

¹⁸⁷ SZABÓ/CZAJLIK/TANKÓ 2018, Pl. VIII/1.

¹⁸⁸ SZABÓ/TANKÓ/CZAJLIK 2012, Pl. XXXII/5.

¹⁸⁹ SZABO/PETRES 1992, 91, Pl. 30.

¹⁹⁰ JOVANOVIĆ 2018, 92, Pl. 47/9.

¹⁹¹ MATEEVICI 2016, 240.

¹⁹² MATEEVICI 2016, 236.

¹⁹³ NICULIȚĂ ET ALII 2019, 307.

¹⁹⁴ BĂȚ/ZANOCI 2021, 26, 32–34, Tab. 1.

¹⁹⁵ NICULIȚĂ ET ALII 2019, 298, Fig. 42/10.

¹⁹⁶ MATEEVICI 2015, 50.

¹⁹⁷ MATEEVICI 2015, 51.

the same time span, represents a supplementary argument with sufficient weight for allowing the synchronicity between the destruction period (both of the defensive system and the nearby structures) and the interval indicated by the Greek imports¹⁹⁸. In conclusion, there are enough arguments for dating the brooches from Saharna Mare to the end of the 4th – beginning of the 3rd centuries BC.

The brooch of Rudi lacks the find context, situation leading to its dating based on the known analogies. As already mentioned above, these were included by D. Măndescu in type I.4¹⁹⁹, brooches which in the case of the Pişcolt necropolis constitute type A2²⁰⁰. In fact, the same type can be taken into consideration for the brooches from Saharna Mare, allowing for some particularities. The closest analogy for the first typological group is to be found in Zimnicea, with the mention that it represents rather an exception for that region. Even more, the item from Southern Muntenia was found with no clear context²⁰¹, situation providing supplementary difficulties to the attempt of determining its dating. Still, its being morphologically similar to the Dux type brooches²⁰² demonstrates the connections between the community living in Zimnicea area and Central Europe as early as La Tène B1 (400–320 BC), in other words before the arrival of the Celts in the Balkans²⁰³. The chronological interval of the Early La Tène brooch from Zimnicea was also discussed in the context of the association between Thracian brooches and the brooch with two functional bilateral springs from grave C10M97 in the same necropolis. Based on their association with Greek pottery or, at Buneşti, with Histrian drachmae the Thracian brooches can be dated to the 4th century BC and partly to the first half of the next century²⁰⁴. The synchronicity between the Thracian brooches and the La Tène B2 phase for Central Europe is suggested by the associations with La Tène brooches from Fântânele²⁰⁵ and Sborianovo²⁰⁶, in the same interval being possible the inclusion of the brooch with two springs from grave C10 M97425 from Zimnicea²⁰⁷. In the same time, the absence of known associations between Thracian brooches and La Tène C1 şi C2 brooches indicates the fact that the Thracian brooches went out of fashion beginning with the second half of the 3rd century BC²⁰⁸, and that a synchronisation between Thracian brooches and the phases B1 and especially B2 from the Central European chronology is to be taken seriously into consideration²⁰⁹. The same time span is to be considered for the Early La Tène brooch found at “Cetate”²¹⁰.

Even if the brooch from Zimnicea seems to be the closest analogy, the most important analogies for the iron brooches from Saharna Mare (nos. 2–5) come from the graves belonging to the Pişcolt necropolis. These items are to be included in type A 2 or early Dux and belong to horizon I²¹¹. Based on the data published three decades ago, the necropolis begins to be used during La Tène B1/B2, or shortly after the middle of the 4th century BC (around 350–330 BC)²¹². As discussed also below, the chronological landmarks proposed by I. Némethi are still

¹⁹⁸ BĂŢ/ZANOCI 2021, Tab. 2.

¹⁹⁹ MĂNDESCU 2000b, 49–50.

²⁰⁰ NÉMETHI 1993, 122, Fig. 7.

²⁰¹ SPĂNU 2014, 113.

²⁰² MAUTE 2000, 50.

²⁰³ SPĂNU 2016, 396.

²⁰⁴ MĂNDESCU 2010, 353–355, Fig. 68a–c; BAZARCIUC 1981, 566, no. 32, Fig. 4/5.

²⁰⁵ RUSTOIU 2008, 26, Fig. 2/25–26.

²⁰⁶ FÉHER 1934, 111–112, Fig. 97/1–2, 4; cf. MĂNDESCU 2010, 356.

²⁰⁷ ZIRRA 2000, 47; MĂNDESCU 2010, 95; SPĂNU 2014, 113.

²⁰⁸ SPĂNU 2014, 114.

²⁰⁹ VASIĆ 2000; RUSTOIU 2011.

²¹⁰ SPĂNU 2014, 113.

²¹¹ NÉMETHI 1993, 122, Fig. 7; ZIRRA 1997, Fig. 19/1–3 and Fig. 25/a–b.

²¹² NÉMETHI 1993, 128.

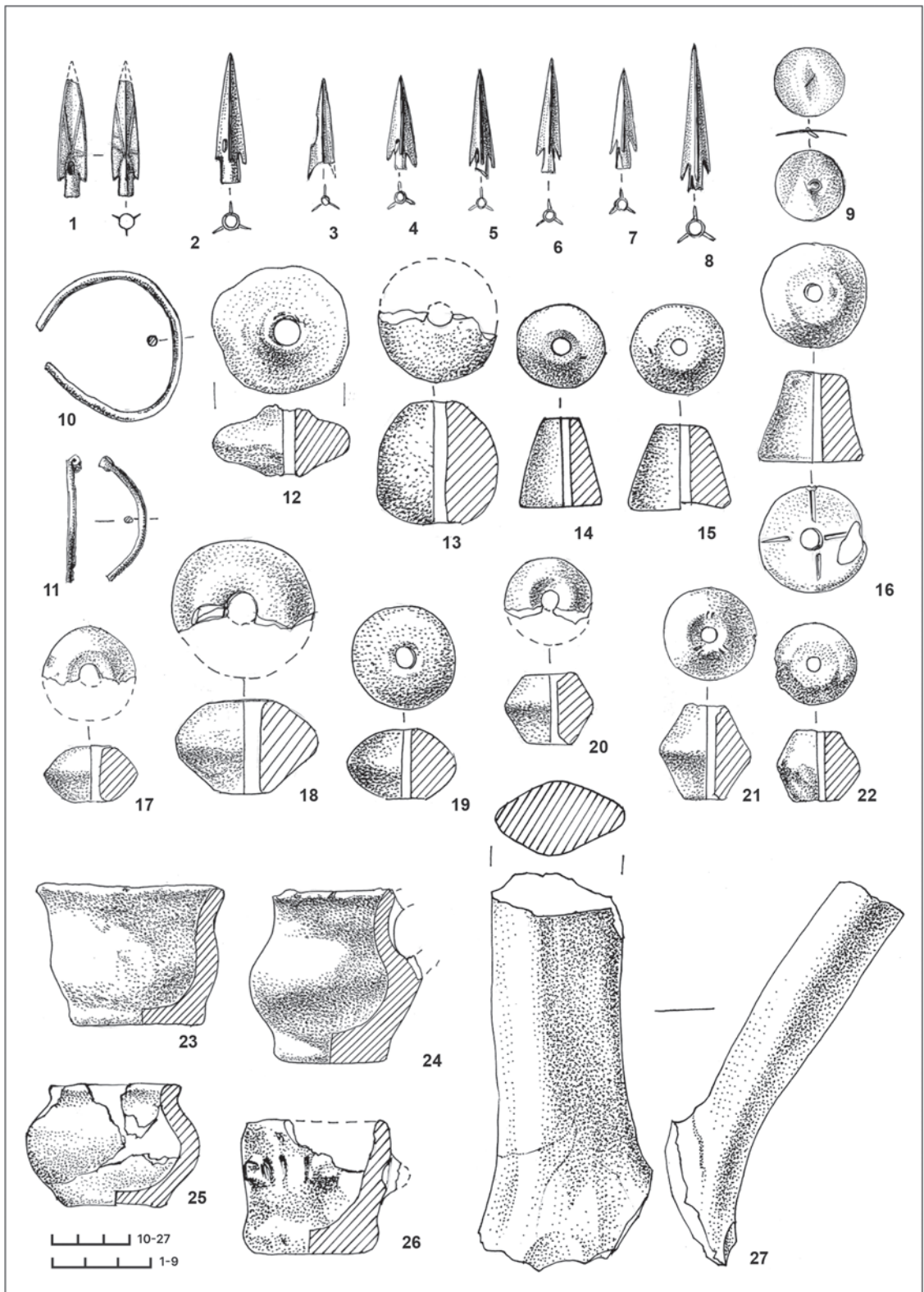


Fig. 17. Saharna Mare. Finds from structure no. 3/2017–2019, associated with the brooch under cat. no. 5 (after NICULIȚĂ ET ALII 2019).

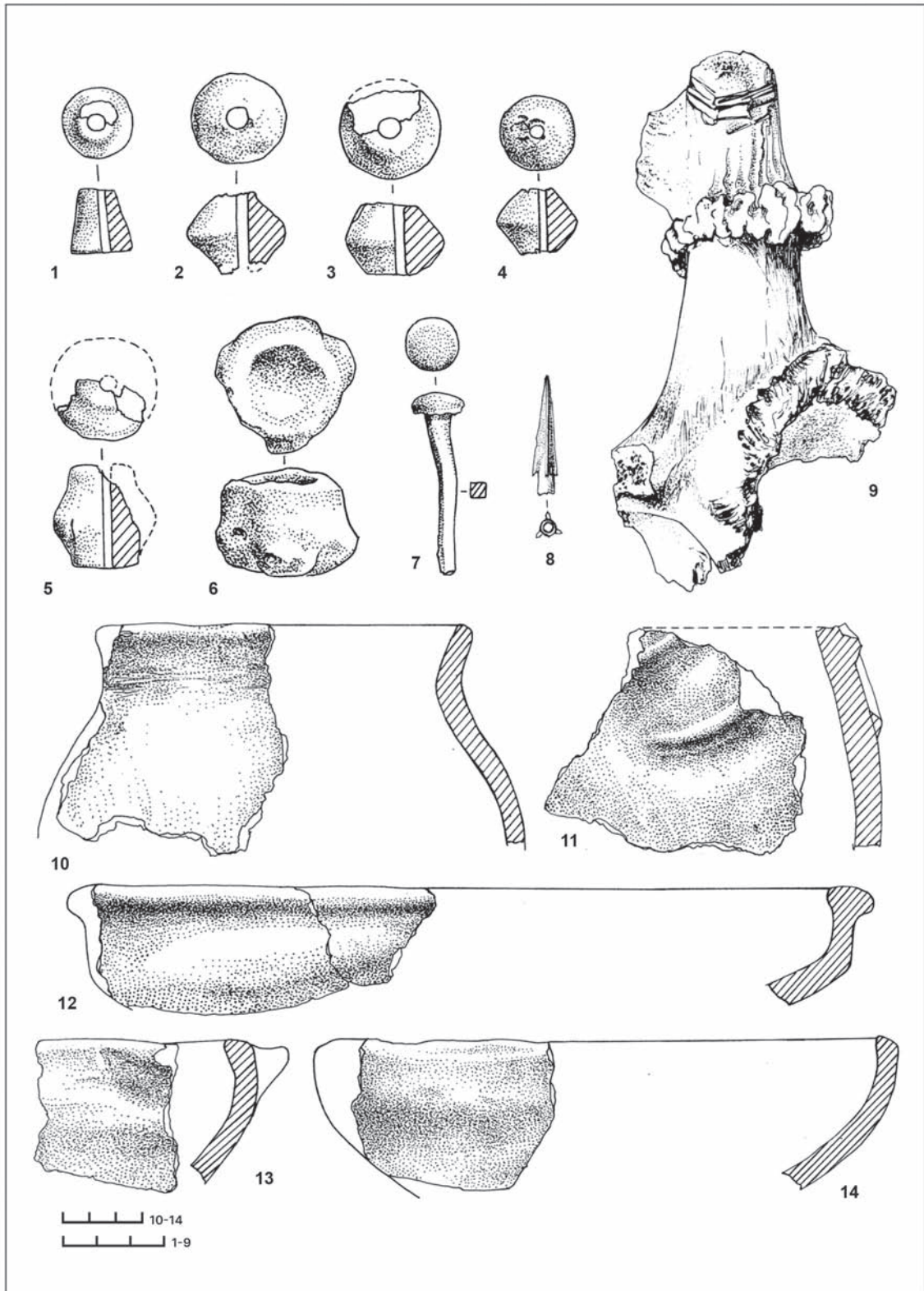


Fig. 18. Saharna Mare. Finds from the enclosure of bastion no. 2, associated a brooch under cat. no. 7 (after NICULIŢĂ/ZANOCI/BĂŢ 2016 and MUNTEANU/BĂŢ/ZANOCI 2020b).

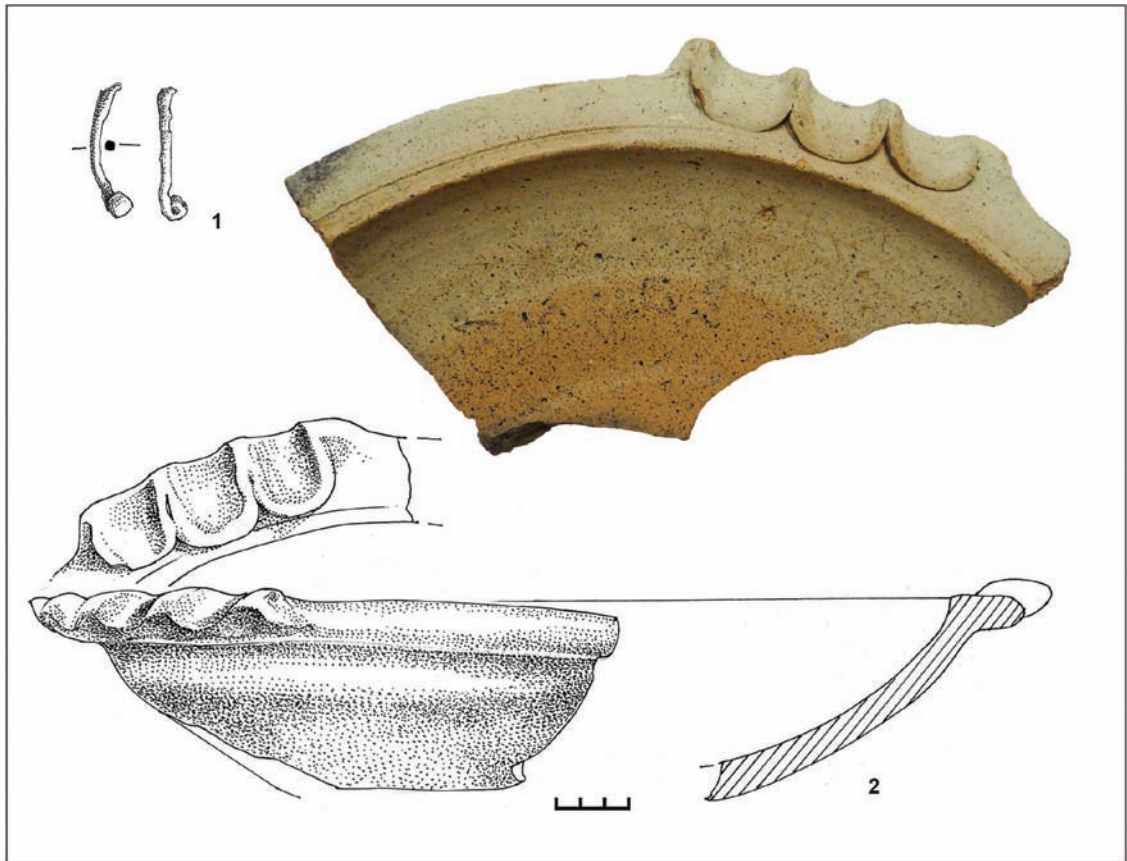


Fig. 19. Saharna Mare. Finds from pit no. 1/2019 (after IARMULSCHI ET ALII 2021).

valid today, with the mention that to the same horizon were attributed the iron brooch of type Dux EF 1 from the Curtuişeni necropolis²¹³, as well as an item from the Tărian necropolis²¹⁴. Brooches belonging to type A2 Néméti were also found in other Transylvanian necropolises, such as those from Oradea-Salca²¹⁵, Pecica²¹⁶ and Aradul Nou²¹⁷, the last one dated to La Tène B2a – 330/320–290/280 BC²¹⁸. It is easy to notice that the identified analogies mark a concentration of sites in North-Western Romania and represent an important asset for the discussion of those finds from a chronological perspective.

The chronological landmarks established for the necropolis excavated by I. Néméti were subject to various attempts of refining the chronology of the Late Iron Age, including its incipient phases. It should be mentioned here the three monographs of J. Bujna on various categories of objects²¹⁹, and the interpretations proposed by A. Rustoiu for the artefacts from the Carpathian Basin²²⁰. The research focused both on distinct micro-regions and on larger

²¹³ NÁNÁSI 1973, Pl. IV/1–2; ZIRRA 2017, Pl. 44/2.

²¹⁴ CHIDIOŞAN/IGNAT 1972, 562, Pl. 6/9.

²¹⁵ ZIRRA 1971, 195, 197, Fig. 15/1.

²¹⁶ ZIRRA 1971, 180, Fig. 1/2; DÖRNER 1972, 151, 153, Pl. III/5; ZIRRA 2017, Pl. 58/8.

²¹⁷ ZIRRA 1971, 179–180, Fig. 1/3; DÖRNER 1972, 152, Pl. 2/11.

²¹⁸ RUSTOIU 2017, 185; RUSTOIU/URSUŢIU 2013, 326.

²¹⁹ BUJNA 2003; BUJNA 2005; BUJNA 2011.

²²⁰ RUSTOIU 2015.

areas, such as for example the eastern part of Austria (Pottenbrunn²²¹; Mannersdorf²²²), the valley of the Ipoly river, on the border between Hungary and Slovakia (Malé Kosihy²²³), Northern Hungary (Ludas²²⁴; Mátraszőlős²²⁵) or Transylvania²²⁶. Evidently, in the context of the present discussion, of main interest is the necropolis from Pişcolt – the area with the best and most numerous analogies for the brooches from Saharna. It might seem surprising in the context of multiple readjustments, but the dating of the first phase was maintained to La Tène B1-B2²²⁷. On one hand, this situation can be explained by the professional approach to this excavation, on another hand, it is also a result of the fact that specific types of artefacts are common for the entire area covered by the Celtic migration – Lower Austria, Slovakia and Hungary²²⁸, allowing a sufficiently precise parallel to the Central European sites.

From this perspective, the parallelisation between the items from Pişcolt and the brooches from Slovakia, for which J. Bujna proposed a rigorous typology, with clear chronological landmarks, is more than desirable. It can be noticed that the items belonging to type A2 (after Németi) from the Transylvanian necropolises are similar to those belonging to type EF-A2-A, based on the chronology proposed by J. Bujna²²⁹, type which in its turn is dated to the end of La Tène B1, and the transition phase La Tène B1-B2, respectively²³⁰. Judging by the short stem of the Dux 7.4 brooch from Curtuişeni, with sharpened tip and the spring with six coils, this could belong to type EF-C4 or EF-C5, dated to interval between the transition phase La Tène B1-B2 and middle La Tène B2²³¹. The bronze brooch 3.1 from Curtuişeni is like type BF-C2-a from the Slovakian necropolises, dated from the middle to the end of La Tène B2²³². As it can be noticed, among the finds corresponding to La Tène B1 are to be found especially brooches belonging to the pre-Dux horizon²³³, which would mean that the first communities were established in the eastern part of the Carpathian Basin starting with the end of the 4th century BC and the beginning of the next century²³⁴.

Thus, the phases of the Pişcolt necropolis would correspond to phases 3–7, proposed by R. Gebhard for the entire Carpathian Basin²³⁵, of which phases 3 and 4 are parallel to horizons I and II from Pişcolt²³⁶. Here should be mentioned that three La Tène B2 phases of the Ludas necropolis correspond to horizons II-IV from Pişcolt²³⁷. The horizons 4 and 5 of Gerbhard were paralleled with La Tène B2, the beginning of that phase being placed toward 330–320 BC²³⁸. These data were corrected first by M. Szabó, who lowered the beginning of the La Tène B2 period toward the end of the 4th century BC²³⁹, delimiting in fact a larger phenomenon covering

²²¹ RAMSL 2002.

²²² RAMSL 2011.

²²³ BUJNA 1995.

²²⁴ SZABÓ/TANKÓ/CZAJLIK 2012.

²²⁵ ALMÁSSY 2012.

²²⁶ BERECKI 2008; BERECKI 2015.

²²⁷ RUSTOIU 2014, 147, 150.

²²⁸ RUSTOIU 2016, 238 with bibliography.

²²⁹ BUJNA 2003, 63, Obr. 33.

²³⁰ BUJNA 2003, 63, Obr. 31, 33, 64.

²³¹ BUJNA 2003, 69–70, Obr. 38, 42, 44

²³² BUJNA 2003, 50, Obr. 9, 11

²³³ RUSTOIU/URSUŢIU 2013, 323; DIZDAR 2015, 326.

²³⁴ RUSTOIU 2008, 37; RUSTOIU/URSUŢIU 2013, 323.

²³⁵ GEBHARD 1989, 74–127.

²³⁶ RUSTOIU 2016, table 1.

²³⁷ SZABÓ/CZAJLIK/TANKÓ 2018, 141–149.

²³⁸ GERBARD 1989, 83–88, 118–120.

²³⁹ SZABÓ 1996, 525, 526.

Slovakia, part of Hungary, the western part of Romania, the northern part of Serbia and the north-eastern part of Croatia²⁴⁰. It is true that the results of the research conducted on the necropolis from Ludas, recently published as a monograph, did not offer to M. Szabó and his co-workers' new chronological landmarks for the absolute dating of the discussed horizons. Even more, the authors considered useful a return to the schema development previously by R. Gebhard, based on which the beginning of La Tène B2 should be dated to 330/320 BC, while its end would correspond to the years 260/50 BC²⁴¹. This leads to a demarcation between B2a and B2b around year 290 BC²⁴². It should be also emphasized the fact that the authors admit the possibility of being forced to correct the date 330/320, and bring it back to 310, meaning that the phase La Tène B2b would not begin before 280 BC²⁴³ and would end around 260 BC, or maybe around 250 BC²⁴⁴. M. Guštin also recently proposed the hypothesis that the earliest arrival of the Celtic populations in Lower Austria should be dated to 340–320 BC²⁴⁵. This proposal was suggested by an actualized dating of La Tène B2 in the region at the feet of the Eastern Alps, sustained by radiocarbon dating of the La Tène necropolis from Pottenbrunn, Lower Austria. The grave no. 1005, dated to the end of La Tène B1b, produced absolute data between 380 and 350 BC²⁴⁶. Toward the same chronological landmarks incline other finds from the area between the southern part of the Eastern Alps and the Pannonian plain²⁴⁷, from the north-western part of the Balkan Peninsula²⁴⁸, and from the Danube valley in Croatia and Serbia²⁴⁹.

In order to conclude this incursion in the chronological aspects of this category of finds, we turn back to the Transylvanian necropolises in which were found brooches presenting analogies to those from the Dniester valley. From this perspective of great interest is the study by A. Rustoiu, who extended the research on these artefacts, drawing attention on the fact that some of them begin to be used from the end of the phase La Tène B1 – beginning of phase La Tène B2, while others enter in use during La Tène B2²⁵⁰. It should be emphasised the fact that the grave goods from the Banat necropolises, for example those from Aradu Nou and Remetea Mare, but also various stray finds, could be attributed to horizon 4 from the Carpathian Basin, after R. Gebhard²⁵¹, horizon corresponding to phase La Tène B2a²⁵². Similarities can be found also for the early phases of necropolises from the northern part of the Carpathian Basin, such as those from Maňa²⁵³, Chotin²⁵⁴ and Ludas²⁵⁵. A similar situation is attested south of Danube, as for example the necropolises from Kostolać-Pećine²⁵⁶, Kostolac-*Repnjak*²⁵⁷, Požarevac²⁵⁸ and

²⁴⁰ SZABÓ 1996, 526.

²⁴¹ SZABÓ 2012, 150.

²⁴² SZABÓ 2012, 150.

²⁴³ SZABÓ 2012, 150; cf. SZABÓ 1994, 46–48.

²⁴⁴ BARRAL/FICHTL/GUICHARD 2012, 16.

²⁴⁵ GUŠTIN/KAVUR 2016, 69.

²⁴⁶ RAMSL 2002b, 359–361.

²⁴⁷ GUŠTIN 2011, 129.

²⁴⁸ POPOVIĆ 1996, 120.

²⁴⁹ POPOVIĆ 1991, 346; DRNIĆ 2015, 77–78.

²⁵⁰ RUSTOIU 2008, 37, RUSTOIU/EGRI 2011, 13; RUSTOIU 2014, 147; RUSTOIU 2015, 14; RUSTOIU 2016, 236.

²⁵¹ RUSTOIU/URSUȚIU 2013, 326.

²⁵² GEBHARD 1989, 74–127.

²⁵³ BENADIK 1983.

²⁵⁴ RATIMORSKÁ 1981.

²⁵⁵ SZABÓ/TANKÓ/CZAJLIK 2012.

²⁵⁶ JOVANOVIĆ 2018; POPOVIĆ/JOVANOVIĆ 2004; JOVANOVIĆ 1992; JOVANOVIĆ 1984.

²⁵⁷ JACANOVIĆ 1987.

²⁵⁸ BOŽIĆ 1981, 327, Pl. 6/5–10.

Belgrad-Karaburma²⁵⁹. The research in these necropolises led to the conclusion that both the sites from Banat and those from the confluence between Morava and Danube define a unitary horizon belonging to phase La Tène B2a and marking a route along which small groups of Celts advanced from north to south in the interval between the end of the 4th century and the beginning of the 3rd century BC²⁶⁰.

From this point of view, the observations made on the archaeological record from the Saharna Mare fortification are in concordance with the chronological landmarks determined in the case of the identified analogies: the Early La Tène brooches are dated to La Tène B1-B2 or La Tène B2a, this type of brooches found in the area of Middle Dniester being synchronised with their general circulation in South-Eastern Europe.

“Typological group” II

The archaeologists conducting the excavations at Hlinaia admitted in the case of the large brooch from grave M. 51/1 (no. 9, Fig. 13/1) its inclusion in the type with pseudo-spring and its dating to the first half of the 3rd century BC²⁶¹. They based their conclusions on the observations made by I. Brujako regarding the circulation of pseudo-spring brooches in Southern Basarabia and his stratigraphical observations regarding the brooch from Nikonium²⁶². In fact, the entire structure of grave M. 51/1 was dated to an interval before the middle of the 3rd century BC²⁶³. Even in the case in which this time span is to be considered acceptable, assigning the brooch from grave M. 51/1 to the pseudo-spring type seems forced. It should be mentioned the fact that the brooch misses the end of its stem and the rest of its characteristics bring it closer to the four items included in “typological group” I (nos. 3–6). In the same time, it presents a significant difference of its bow, which is more elongated and lower, and of its stem, which is longer. Even if these elements tend to approach this item to the Middle La Tène traditions, its basic characteristics belong to the Early La Tène brooches, sending to similarities with brooches of type 9 from the Pişcolt necropolis, considered by the author of the excavations as an evolved phase of the type Dux brooches. As a rule, these brooches are associated with other metal objects specific for La Tène B2²⁶⁴, with good analogies in Central Europe²⁶⁵, situation leading to the same chronological framework for the finds from the north-western part of Romania. The finds from Pećine lead to the same conclusion, as they are dated also to La Tène B2²⁶⁶.

“Typological group” III

The brooches belonging to this typological group (no. 1 and no. 7, Fig. 3; Fig. 9) do not offer internal chronological landmarks. Thus, the find of the brooch in the archaeological layer inside the bastion from Saharna Mare does not offer any certainty from this perspective. Neither is the archaeological record from Mana much clearer, as the site provided archaeological record covering various periods and the brooch was found outside the identified archaeological complexes. In the same time, given the fact that we deal with a Getic fortification in which a circular brooch was also found, same as in the case of pit no. 1/2019 from Saharna Mare (a circular brooch associated with an Early La Tène brooch and a fragment of louterion from Sinope, dated to the second half of the 4th century – the beginning of the 3rd century BC), it could be accepted

²⁵⁹ TODOROVIĆ 1972.

²⁶⁰ RUSTOIU 2012, Fig. 3; RUSTOIU/URSUŢIU 2013, 327; LJUŠTINA 2014, 139.

²⁶¹ TEL'NOV/CHETVERIKOV/SINIKA 2016, 965.

²⁶² BRUYAKO 2005–2009, 333, 336, Ris. 1/10–12, 2/12.

²⁶³ TEL'NOV/CHETVERIKOV/SINIKA 2016, 965.

²⁶⁴ NÉMETI 1989, 107.

²⁶⁵ BENADIK 1978, 412, Fig. 22.

²⁶⁶ JOVANOVIĆ 2018, 83, Pl. 42/1.

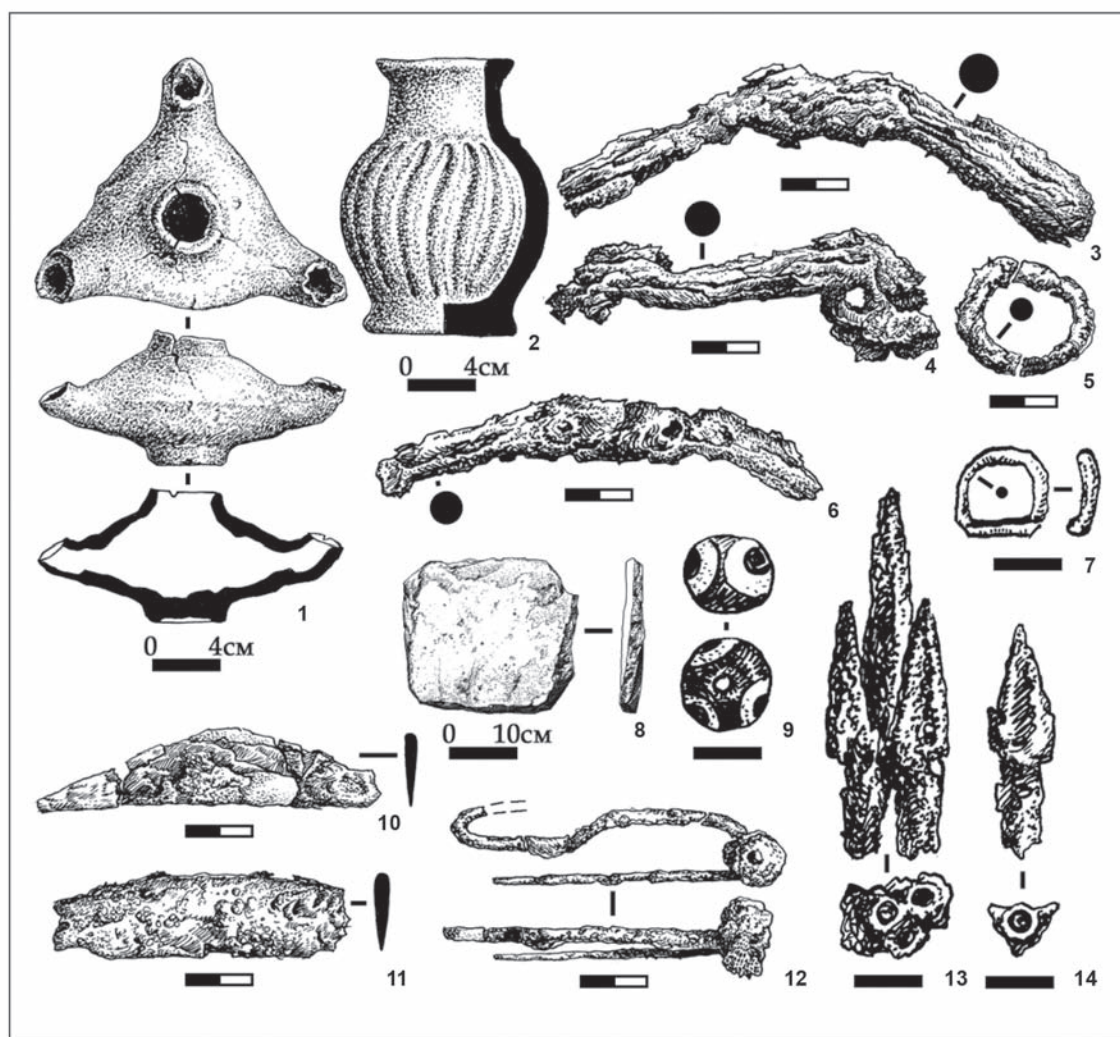


Fig. 20. Hlinaia (Glinoe). Grave goods from burial no. 51/1, associated with the brooch under cat. no. 9 (after TEL'NOV/CHETVÉRIKOV/SINIKA 2016).

the same circulation interval for the brooch from Mana. In order to avoid any incertitude, there will be taken into consideration the dating proposed in the case of the established analogies. It should be reminded that the brooches belonging to this typological group have their main analogies in the necropolises from the north-western part of Transylvania. The analogies from the Pişcolt necropolis are to be found in all its phases of existence (unfortunately, the quality of the illustration creates some doubts regarding the precision of their determination). Thus, the iron brooch from grave M. 179²⁶⁷ and the two items from grave M. 34²⁶⁸ belong to the first horizon. The grave M. 207, in which an iron brooch was found²⁶⁹, belongs to horizon II, and graves M. 14²⁷⁰ and M. 144²⁷¹ belong to horizons III-IV. Equally loose is the time span covered by the brooch from Buneşti, which presents some similarities with the brooches from Mana and

²⁶⁷ NÉMETI 1988, 58, 60, Fig. 8/M179, 1; Zirra 2017, Pl. 64/5.

²⁶⁸ NÉMETI 1988, 54, 53, Fig. 3/M34/1, 2.

²⁶⁹ NÉMETI 1989, Fig. 22/2.

²⁷⁰ NÉMETI 1990, Fig. 2/3-M14.

²⁷¹ NÉMETI 1990, Fig. 25/2-M144.

Saharna Mare. In the case of Buneşti it was admitted that the archaeological layer in which the brooch was found could be dated between the end of the 4th century and the beginning of the 3rd century BC. V.V. Zirra seems to have been right in noticing that none of the published or illustrated materials do not force a dating to the 2nd century, and that this type of brooch does not prolong its existence beyond the 3rd century BC²⁷². Somewhat clearer might be the chronological framework for the bronze brooch found in grave M. 6 from Ciumeşti, which could be dated to La Tène B2 or even the beginning of La Tène C1²⁷³.

The observations made based on the finds from Romania are further confirmed by the data from Central Europe. In the case of Slovakia, where the main analogies are included in types EF-C2 and EF-C3, these items are considered representative for La Tène B1²⁷⁴, and the items included in types EF-C4 and EF-C7 are dated to La Tène B2²⁷⁵. The finds from Moravia are dated to La Tène B1²⁷⁶, and a similar situation is noticed in the case of Hungary: the brooch found at Ludas in grave M. 879²⁷⁷, slightly different from the bronze item from Saharna Mică, was found together with another brooch characterised by a decoration in shape of a large sphere on its stem (similar to the brooches belonging to “group” VI). Although the spring of this artefact is large, the item was assigned by the author to type Bujna EF-C5²⁷⁸, and included in horizon V, dated to La Tène B2b²⁷⁹. Also, from Ludas is known another iron brooch, with an eight-coils spring²⁸⁰. This item was found in grave M. 951, attributed to horizon IV of the necropolis, and dated to La Tène B2a. The items from Bosnia were dated to the 4th century BC²⁸¹, and those from Macedonia at the transition between LT B1 and B2, in other words the end of the 4th century and the beginning of the 3rd century BC²⁸².

“Typological group” IV

The brooches found in grave M. 116/1 from Hlinaia were dated by the authors to the first half of the 3rd century BC²⁸³. In the same time, taking into consideration the fact that in the ditch surrounding the tumulus was found the lower part of a Heraclea Pontica amphora (fig. 21/14), identical to a complete amphora from grave M. 71/1, dated based on its stamp to the end of the 4th century – the beginning of the 3rd century BC²⁸⁴, the authors admitted for the entire group of finds inside the funerary structure (Fig. 21), including the brooches, a chronological framework between the end of the second quarter and the beginning of the third quarter of the 3rd century BC²⁸⁵. This leaves the question regarding the fact that brooches dated to the first half of the 3rd century BC, associated with an amphora shard dated to the end of the 4th – beginning of the 3rd century BC, would date the entire structure to the second half of the 3rd century BC. In order to solve this problem, there will be a discussion on the analogies identified

²⁷² ZIRRA 2017, 39.

²⁷³ ZIRRA 2017, Pl. 33/6; ZIRRA 1967, 24, 25, Fig. 11/II.

²⁷⁴ BUJNA 2003, 84.

²⁷⁵ BUJNA 2003, 85.

²⁷⁶ ČIŽMÁŘ 1975, 420, 422, Obr. 2/4.

²⁷⁷ SZABÓ/TANKÓ/CZAJLIK 2012, 43–44, Pl. XXII/2.

²⁷⁸ SZABÓ/TANKÓ/CZAJLIK 2012, 44, Pl. XXII/2.

²⁷⁹ SZABÓ/TANKÓ/CZAJLIK 2012, Fig. 187.

²⁸⁰ SZABÓ/TANKÓ 2006, Fig. 4/3; SZABÓ/TANKÓ/CZAJLIK 2012, 48, Pl. XXVII/5.

²⁸¹ POPOVIĆ 1996, 113, Fig. 7/10.

²⁸² POPOVIĆ 1996, 112, Fig. 6/10.

²⁸³ SINIKA/TEL'NOV 2018, 259.

²⁸⁴ KATS 2007, 244, App. V: 7; TEL'NOV/CHETVERIKOV/SINIKA 2016, 436, 826, 945–946, 988, T. 21/10; Ris. 244/5, 6.

²⁸⁵ SINIKA/TEL'NOV 2018, 260.

for this type of brooches, taking into consideration also brooch no. 9 which, although belonging to another type, was found in the same grave.

The brooches included in “group” IV are attributed to type A1-A2, after K. Peschel (*Fibeln mit Spiralfuß*), which are widely spread across Europe. They are known from Eastern France to the Pontic plains and are dated to Central European LT B2²⁸⁶. It seems that the same chronological landmarks are available in the case of the necropolis from Hlinaia. The brooches with pseudo-spring from the Tiraspol tumuli and the bronze brooches from Hlinaia have perfect analogies in the necropolis from Sborjanovo in Bulgaria, dated to an interval which does not prolong beyond La Tène B2²⁸⁷. The pseudo-spring brooches from the Ukraine part of the Lower Danube, characterised by a thin bow, slightly thickened in the central area (possible influences from the Thracian type), do not survive beyond the middle of the 3rd century BC²⁸⁸, without any possibility of determining a clearer starting point for their circulation. Their association with items characterised by a Brandenburg type decoration partially confirm these data, these brooches being in circulation in the Carpathian and Black Sea area during La Tène B2-C1²⁸⁹, and possibly even being the prototype of the eight-figure decoration type of brooches²⁹⁰.

Also, the items from Romania included in types A1-A2 after K. Peschel, as for example the brooches from Zimnicea, are to be dated to LT B2, reflecting the debut of the adoption of the La Tène cultural trends in the Lower Danube area²⁹¹. Regarding the variant found at Tariverde, it was expressed the opinion that the item could be dated to the end of the phase La Tène B2, as one of the brooches marking the change towards Middle La Tène types²⁹².

The significant number of brooches found on the territory of the present-day Bulgaria respects the same tendency of being dated to La Tène B2. Very suggestive from this perspective are the funerary finds from Sborjanovo²⁹³ and from the tumulus necropolis from Seuthopolis²⁹⁴. Most of the “feminine” finds can be dated to the interval between the end of the 4th/beginning of the 3rd century BC and the beginning of the “Great Expedition”, maybe before the founding of the Tyllis kingdom²⁹⁵. The Early La Tène brooches in the collections of the Regional Museum in Russe²⁹⁶ are dated to the transition period La Tène B2-C1²⁹⁷. Together with the female aristocratic burials the warrior burials, such is the case of the Philippopolis grave, show a real Celtic presence in Thracia around the beginning of the 3rd century BC, even if in small numbers, reflecting the development of the mercenary presence in the Hellenistic kingdoms²⁹⁸. Based on the La Tène type artefacts, found in Bulgaria, it is possible to be distinguished the origin of some of the individual taking part in the “Great Expedition” and establishing themselves in Thracia during the 3rd century BC. Certainly, such individuals come from the territories of Moravia, Bohemia and Carpathian Basin, which present the closest parallels, being placed among the main sources of the migratory groups, extending toward east the border of the Celtic world²⁹⁹.

²⁸⁶ PESCHEL 1972, 3–19.

²⁸⁷ ANASTASSOV 2006, 17.

²⁸⁸ BRUYAKO 2005–2009, 333.

²⁸⁹ EREMENKO/SHCHUKIN 1998, 73.

²⁹⁰ SHCHUKIN 1993, 104.

²⁹¹ SPĂNU 2016, 397, Fig. 2/13, 14.

²⁹² MĂNDESCU 2000b, 58; SHCHUKIN 1995, 304, Fig. 7/14; AMBROZ 1966, 12, T. 1/8.

²⁹³ ANASTASSOV 2011, 234, Fig. 22.

²⁹⁴ DIMITROV/ČIČIKOVA 1978, 52–53; ANASTASSOV 2011, Fig. 23.

²⁹⁵ ANASTASSOV 2011, 234.

²⁹⁶ ANASTASSOV 2007, 166, Pl. 1.

²⁹⁷ ANASTASSOV 2007, 173.

²⁹⁸ RUSTOIU 2006a, 53–63.

²⁹⁹ SZABÓ 2006.

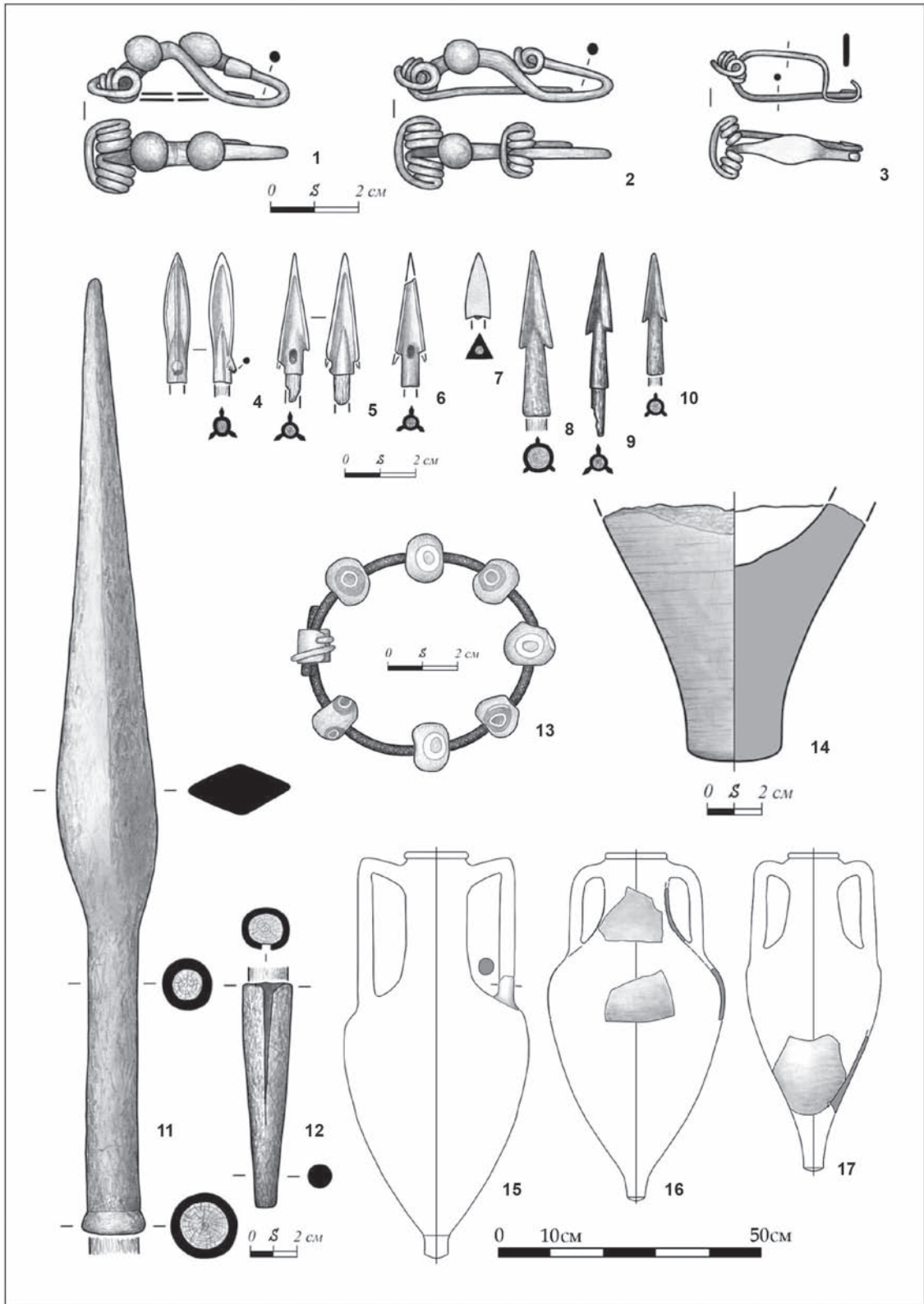


Fig. 21. Hlinaia (Glinoe). Grave goods from burial no. 116/1, associated with brooches under cat. Nos. 10–11 (after SINIKA/TEL'NOV 2018).

“Typological group” V

It should be reminded that for the brooches with spherical decoration on the bow (no. 10, Fig. 13/2) were found no certain analogies in the neighbouring territories. The only brooch which could be associated to that from Hlinaia was found in Serbia, in the necropolis from Pećine, and dated to La Tène B2³⁰⁰. It should be interesting to notice that in the same grave was found another brooch (Fig. 21/3) which, made of bronze, is very similar to the bronze item from Hlinaia, found in grave M. 116/1, together with the two with spherical decoration on the bow³⁰¹. This item resembles the brooches of type I.16, based on the classification proposed by D. Măndescu³⁰². Only three representatives of this type are known, being found on two sites: Satu Nou³⁰³ and two at Poiana³⁰⁴. The brooches of this type were dated to the second half/end of the phase La Tène B2³⁰⁵. The brooches from Bulgaria, found in the necropolis from Kolnova, in burials similar to those from Hlinaia, are relatively similar, especially the artefact numbered 2 in the illustration³⁰⁶, and are dated to La Tène C1³⁰⁷. The uncertain finds were instead dated to La Tène B2c, as is the case with those from Central Europe³⁰⁸.

Correlating the information regarding the three types of brooches from grave M. 116/1 from Hlinaia, their circulation can be assigned to La Tène B2, with a possible extension towards the transition period La Tène B2-C1.

“Typological group” VI

The earliest chronological framework for the brooches belonging to this group (Fig. 11) is known for the necropolis from Remetea Mare-Gomila lui Pituț, in M. 1³⁰⁹, where there found several iron brooches with the stem decorated by a large sphere. They were dated to La Tène B2a – 330/320–290/280 BC³¹⁰. The time span determined in the case of the brooches from Pișcolt need a more prudent approach. As mentioned above, the items from Pișcolt presenting similarities with the brooch from Saharna were included by V.V. Zirra in types 9 and 13. The fact itself that similar brooches were included in different types, together with several discrepancies, call for a certain degree of prudence regarding the proposed chronology. From this perspective, it should be reminded that the type 9 brooches, according to Zirra, are specific for horizon II³¹¹, but the graves from Pișcolt, in which were found brooches similar to those analysed here (M. 138 and M. 36), were assigned to horizon I by the author of the research³¹², and only similar but smaller items were found in graves belonging to horizon II (M. 185 and M 159). The necropolis starts to be in use during LT B1/B2, meaning shortly after the middle of the 4th century BC (around 350–330 BC)³¹³. In the necropolis from Sanislău, brooches of type 9 are dated to La Tène B2, the dating of the graves themselves being established based on

³⁰⁰ JOVANOVIĆ 2018, 203.

³⁰¹ JOVANOVIĆ 2018, 49, Pl. 19/3.

³⁰² MĂNDESCU 2000b, 57–58.

³⁰³ IRIMIA/CONOVICI 1989, 123, 148, Fig. 31/8.

³⁰⁴ VULPE ET ALII 1952, 202, Fig. 25/2.

³⁰⁵ MĂNDESCU 2000b, 58.

³⁰⁶ ANASTASSOV 2011, Fig. 25/1, 2.

³⁰⁷ ANASTASSOV 2011, 236.

³⁰⁸ BUJNA 2003, Obr. 57.

³⁰⁹ RUSTOIU 2017, 190, Fig. 7/2, 10.

³¹⁰ RUSTOIU 2017, 190; RUSTOIU 2008, 111115, Fig. 55, 57/2.

³¹¹ ZIRRA 2017, 41, Fig. 22.

³¹² NÉMETI 1988, 54.

³¹³ NÉMETI 1993, 128.

these brooches³¹⁴. Regarding the brooches of type 13 from Pişcolt, it should be emphasised that they were found both in graves assigned to horizon II (M. 7³¹⁵; M. 97³¹⁶) and to horizon III (M. 47³¹⁷; M. 117³¹⁸). V.V. Zirra, based on the grave goods seriation, but especially on the distribution of the brooches inside the necropolis, placed these finds at the end of the second and the beginning of the third horizon³¹⁹. The general chronological framework for this type can be considered the end of Early La Tène and the beginning of Middle La Tène (B2/C1)³²⁰. Even more, two of the items are known only as fragments, and the complete brooches present some particularities in comparison with the items from Saharna.

Regarding the finds from Central Europe constituting analogies for the discussed brooches, those from Ludas are split between two horizons. The brooches of type EF-C7 after J. Bujna from graves M. 951, M. 1051 and M. 1282 are attributed to horizon IV³²¹. Still, brooches of the same type were also found in three other graves dated to horizon V – M. 703, 879 and 1009³²². It must be taken into account the fact that the graves M. 1051 and M. 1282, both belonging to horizon IV, also contained brooches of type BF-Hy1-A. the same combination can be noticed for grave M. 1009, belonging to horizon V, situation confirming the authors' observation that it is difficult to clearly differentiate between horizons IV and V – LT B2a and LT B2b³²³. Besides the already mentioned aspects, brooches with their stem decorated with a large sphere were also found in graves M. 703 and M. 879, belonging to horizon V³²⁴. The item found in grave M. 879³²⁵, slightly different from that found in Saharna Mică, is included by the authors in type Bujna EF-C5³²⁶, although its spring is large, and dated to La Tène B2b³²⁷. Two other similar finds are dated to La Tène B2. One of them is a fragment, the stem of an iron brooch, found together with three bronze brooches in the necropolis from Kosd³²⁸, and the other is a very similar brooch from Dubnik/Csúz³²⁹.

Several finds are known from Pećine, in Serbia: a pair of early Dux type brooches with a large sphere decorating the stem and a larger item of the same type, all made of bronze, with a large spread in the Carpathian Basin³³⁰, as well as iron items from graves M. 1/ (G1–3 268)³³¹ and M. 16/ (G1–3 281)³³². Similar items, made either of iron or bronze, were found in funerary context dated in general to La Tène B2a³³³.

It can be noticed that the closest analogies for the brooch from Saharna belong to the same chronological framework characteristic for the beginning of the Pişcolt necropolis. Based

³¹⁴ ZIRRA 1972, 174, 155, Fig. 3/1–2; ZIRRA 2017, 41.

³¹⁵ NÉMETHI 1989, 75.

³¹⁶ NÉMETHI 1989, 82, 86.

³¹⁷ NÉMETHI 1992, 65.

³¹⁸ NÉMETHI 1992, 87.

³¹⁹ ZIRRA 2017, 43, note 4.

³²⁰ ZIRRA 2017, 44, Pl. 2/13; Map 6, Fig. 22 and list.

³²¹ SZABÓ/TANKÓ/CZAJLIK 2012, Fig. 187.

³²² SZABÓ/TANKÓ/CZAJLIK 2012, Fig. 187.

³²³ SZABÓ/TANKÓ/CZAJLIK 2012, Fig. 184–185.

³²⁴ SZABÓ/TANKÓ/CZAJLIK 2012, Fig. 187.

³²⁵ SZABÓ/TANKÓ/CZAJLIK 2012, 43–44, Pl. XXII/4.

³²⁶ SZABÓ/TANKÓ/CZAJLIK 2012, 44.

³²⁷ SZABÓ/TANKÓ/CZAJLIK 2012, Fig. 187.

³²⁸ SZABO/PETERS 1992, Pl. 32.

³²⁹ SZABO/PETERS 1992, 105, Pl. 87.

³³⁰ JOVANOVIĆ 2018, Pl. 4/4,6; RUSTOIU/EGRI 2011, 29, Fig. 9/3a–b, 5.

³³¹ JOVANOVIĆ 2018, 26, Pl. 2/1.

³³² JOVANOVIĆ 2018, 45, Pl. 16/2.

³³³ GEBHARD 1989, 74–117; BUJNA 2003, 48–50, Fig. 9/C1-Bac, 10/Bac; SZABÓ/TANKÓ 2006, 331, Fig. 4/7; NÉMETHI 1988, 103–107, type 8; etc.

on the data offered by the author of the research three decades ago, the necropolis is used starting with La Tène B1/B2, or shortly after the middle of the 4th century BC (around 350–330 BC)³³⁴, observations confirmed over time, as the finds continue to be dated to La Tène B1–B2³³⁵. These data are further sustained by the chronological framework available for the finds from Remetea Mare, dated to La Tène B2a (330/320–290/280 BC)³³⁶. At the same time, there are finds which, without being identical to the brooch from Saharna, are still similar enough and survive longer, prolonging their existence also during La Tène B2 and even during the end of La Tène B2 and the beginning of La Tène C1. The same general picture is offered by the similar finds from Hungary and Slovakia.

“Typological group” VII

Taking into consideration the limited number of analogies for this type, there is not a large range of available data. Still, there are several landmarks which could be used in order to sketch a reasonably clear image. The discussion should begin with the data used by the compact group of finds of type Pottenbrunn-Horny Jatov. The horizon identified at Pottenbrunn, with large iron brooches characterised by a high spring with two coils, was dated to a period starting with La Tène B2 and prolonged into La Tène C1³³⁷. Several finds from the north-eastern part of Hungary can be assigned to the same chronological framework. Thus, the item from Sajopetri, found in grave M 9/55³³⁸, together with a brooch of type EF-A2 after Bujna³³⁹, belongs to horizon IV of the necropolis, dated to LT B2b³⁴⁰. Another find, almost identical to that from Sajopetri, was found in grave M. 1003 from Ludas and most probably belongs to the same horizon³⁴¹. In Silesia, grave M. 8 of the necropolis from Żerniki Wielkie, pow. Wrocław, produced an Early La Tène brooch with large spring, made of two coils³⁴². Based on the associated finds, it seems that the brooch can be dated to last phase of La Tène B1 or more probably to La Tène B2, representing an early influence coming from Moravia and Lower Austria, influence which became stronger during the ulterior phases³⁴³. In conclusion, the circulation of this type of brooches can be assigned to the period beginning with La Tène B2 and lasting toward the beginning of La Tène C1.

Conclusions

There are 12 items belonging to the category of Early La Tène brooches found so far in archaeological sites from the Republic of Moldova. Most of them (10 brooches) were found in sites along Dniester (Fig. 1). Out of the total, there are seven from the region of Middle Dniester: one brooch from Rudi “La Şanţuri” and six brooches from Saharna microregion. Another three brooches were found in the region of Lower Dniester, approximately 100 km downstream, in the necropolis from Hlinaia. Only one item, the brooch from Mana, was found farther from Dniester, approximately 30 km westward, in the basin of river Vatici. The last brooch has no clear context, being only presumed that it comes from the northern part of the

³³⁴ NÉMETI 1993, 128.

³³⁵ RUSTOIU 2014, 147, 150.

³³⁶ RUSTOIU 2017, 190.

³³⁷ RAMSL 2003, 256.

³³⁸ SZABÓ/CZAJLIK/TANKÓ 2018, 31, Pl. VIII/1.

³³⁹ SZABÓ/CZAJLIK/TANKÓ 2018, 31, Pl. VIII/2.

³⁴⁰ SZABÓ/CZAJLIK/TANKÓ 2018, 216.

³⁴¹ SZABÓ/TANKÓ/CZAJLIK 2012, Pl. XXXII/5.

³⁴² Cf. DULĘBA 2019, 378, Fig. 10/5.

³⁴³ DULĘBA 2019, 378, 384–385, Fig. 13.

country. All the brooches with clear context were found inside fortifications, except for the three brooches which belonged to funerary contexts.

The Early La Tène iron brooches share a set of traits: the bilateral spring with exterior cord, the raised stem, placed freely along the bow, and decorated with a larger or smaller sphere. Even in the case of the items missing their stem (no. 3 and no. 9), there is the certainty that the stem was free, all the identifiable morphological parameters sustaining this supposition. The only unknown details are those concerning the exact position of the stem and its decoration, essential elements in determining the exact type of the artefact. In those cases where the spring is missing (no. 8 and no. 9), the specific construction common to Early La Tène brooches can be deduced based on the general morphology of the items. Based on their particularities, the 12 discussed items were placed into seven “typological groups”, of which one in its turn comprising several variants.

The identified groups have a series of analogies in the neighbouring areas. Brooches similar to those from Moldova are known from Ukraine, both from the steppe³⁴⁴, and from forested steppe, especially from Transcarpathia³⁴⁵. Close analogies were also determined in Romania³⁴⁶, the most similar finds coming from the Celtic cultural milieu in the north-western region³⁴⁷. At the same time, it can be noticed that the area offering analogies spreads towards west, to Hungary and Slovakia³⁴⁸, and also towards south, in Serbia and Bosnia³⁴⁹.

The identification, in the territory between Prut and Dniester, of a type of brooches characteristic for the Celtic communities of Central Europe, which began a migration process towards east during the second half of the 4th century BC³⁵⁰, raises a series of questions, of which some could be tentatively answered even in this early stage of research.

A first essential question concerns the period of circulation of these clothing accessories. It was already discussed above that these brooches can be loosely included in the chronological framework between the transition phase La Tène B1/B2 and the end of the period La Tène B2, with possible survivals during La Tène C1. Based on the proposed typological groups, better defined time spans were determined for each of them. The earliest items are those belonging to the first typological group (all found on the site from Saharna Mare). These brooches have the best analogies in horizon I from Pişcolt, but also in other necropolises dated to the transition phase La Tène B1/B2 from the north-western part of Romania, Hungary and Slovakia. It should also be mentioned here that the internal periodisation, based on Greek imports, sustains this chronological framework. The brooches belonging to “typological group” VI have in general the same dating, based on a series of analogies including finds from the first horizon of the Pişcolt necropolis and from Remetea Mare. Also, other analogies should be taken into consideration, such as finds from Sanislău, dated to La Tène B2, and from the Ludas necropolis, in Hungary, found in graves belonging to horizons IV and V, dated to La Tène B2a and La Tène

³⁴⁴ SAVELEV 2013, 101, Ris. 1/1; AMBROZ 1966, 82.

³⁴⁵ ARTAMONOV 1955, Ris. 41/2, 3; KUKHARENKO 1959, 45; KUKHARENKO 1961, 62, 64, T. 5/13; PETROV 1961, 63, T. III/8; AMBROZ 1966, 12, T. 2/1; BIDZILYA/SHCHUKIN 1993, 74, 82; KAZAKEVICH 2012, with catalogue of finds; KAZAKEVICH 2015, 179, with bibliography.

³⁴⁶ ZIRRA 2017, 38–48; MÂNDESCU 2010, 219, no. 7, Pl. 333/13; SPĂNU 2016, Pl. 2/11; BAZARCIUC 1983, Fig. 3; CRIŞAN 1966, 41, Fig. 18; TEODOR 1988, 49.

³⁴⁷ NĚMETI 1988, Fig. 5/1, Fig. 9/1-M. 180; TELEAGĂ 2007, 47, Abb. 2/EF 1; ZIRRA 1967, 23, 24, Fig. 10.

³⁴⁸ SZABÓ/TANKÓ/CZAJLIK 2012, Pl. V/5, Pl. XXII/4; SZABÓ/PETRES 1992, 92, Pl. 34; ČIŽMÁŘ 1975, 420, 422, with bibliography, Obr. 2/4; BUJNA 2003, 61–65, Obr. 31, 33.

³⁴⁹ LJUŠTINA 2012, Fig. 4/1; LJUŠTINA 2013, Fig. 7/8; JOVANOVIĆ 2018, 45, 51, Pl. 20/3, Pl. 16/2; POPOVIĆ 1996, 106, 107, 113, Fig. 2/10, 11, Fig. 7/10.

³⁵⁰ BOŽIĆ 1981, 322; SZABÓ/TANKÓ 2006, 330; KAVUR/LUBŠINA TUŠEK 2016, 117–119; RUSTOIU 2008, 37; RUSTOIU/URSUŢIU 2013, 323; RUSTOIU 2014, 147; RUSTOIU 2015, 14; RUSTOIU 2016, 236; BERECKI 2008, 52.

B2b³⁵¹. Chronologically close to them are the brooches included in “typological group” II, with analogies in the early phase of the necropolis from Pișcolt – La Tène B1/B2³⁵². These data are confirmed by finds from Remetea Mare, dated to La Tène B2a (330/320–290/280 BC)³⁵³. In the same time, it should be emphasised the fact that some items, also not identical with the Moldavian finds, are still similar enough to be taken in consideration, and these have a longer existence, being still in use during La Tène B2 and maybe even during the end of La Tène B2 and the beginning of La Tène C1. The brooches included in groups III, IV, V and VII were placed in use at a later date and have as well a significant span of circulation: the whole period La Tène B2, and possibly still surviving at the beginning of La Tène C1.

In other words, it can be safely presumed that the Early La Tène brooches make their appearance on the territory of present-day Moldova quite early, during a time span similar to that determined in the neighbouring areas: the north-western part of Romania, Eastern Hungary and Eastern Serbia. It should also be taken into consideration the fact that the territories west of Prut offered practically no similar finds. Even more, there are no other finds attested for the area between Prut and Dniester with the exception of the brooch from Mana. Practically all Early La Tène brooches known so far in the discussed region were found in sites along the Dniester, on both sides (on the right bank all the brooches were found in fortified settlements, on the left bank there are the items found in the necropolis from Hlinaia). An important aspect to be emphasised here is that the items from the northern areas, found inside fortifications, are earlier than those from the southern areas, found in funerary context.

This compact presence along the main river around such items with clear analogies in archaeological sites dated to La Tène B1/B2 from the Carpathian Basin and good correspondences in the Central European Celtic world requires an explanation, especially when compared with a quasi-total absence of similar finds in the territories placed more to the west. The observations discussed above will be summarised below, to identify a possible explanation for this situation.

1. The movement of populations during La Tène A and B1 from Central Europe towards east was already known, as there is proof of colonisation in Transdanubia, especially the northern regions, and most probably spreading along Danube.

2. Later on, during the second half of the 4th century BC, a part of those populations moved further towards east, occupying new territories in the northern part of the Great Hungarian Plain and Upper Tisza, where appear necropolises providing the closest analogies for the brooches discussed in this study.

3. From there another movement is oriented towards south, in a clear chronological succession, the earliest sites being those found in North-Western Romania and Eastern Hungary.

4. It is established the existence of a relatively stable early Celtic horizon in Transcarpathian Ukraine and on the Upper Dniester, irradiating towards east on quite large areas.

5. It can be noticed that the closest analogies for the Moldavian brooches are the items found in the necropolises from North-Western Romania, Eastern Hungary, Croatia, Serbia and Bosnia, which in their turn present correspondences inside the Celtic world of Central Europe, both morphologically and chronologically.

6. It can also be noticed that the closest analogies for the brooches found inside the Getic fortifications along Dniester belong the earliest horizon of the necropolises from the above-mentioned territories.

To these observations should be added the previous discussion concerning the existence in the Carpathian Basin and in the region of Upper Tisza of a series of Greek imports

³⁵¹ SZABÓ/TANKÓ/CZAJLIK 2012, Fig. 184–185.

³⁵² NÉMETI 1993, 128; RUSTOIU 2014, 147, 150.

³⁵³ RUSTOIU 2017, 190.



Legend: **I. Iron brooches presented in the catalogue (★)** – 1. Mana III; 2. Rudi "La Şanţuri"; 3-7. Saharna Mare; 8. Saharna Mică; 9-11. Hlinaia (Glinoe); 12. probably the northern part of the Republic of Moldova; **II. Closest analogies for iron brooches, except those with pseudo-spring (●)** – 13. Aradul Nou; 14. Brateiu; 15. Čair, Stari Kostolac; 16. Cepari; 17. Chotín; 18. Ciumeşti; 19. Curtuişeni; 20. Donja Dolina; 21. Dubnik/Csúz; 22. Fântânele; 23. Horny Jatov; 24. Kamenin; 25. Karaburma; 26. Kosd; 27. Kostolac-Repnjak; 28. Kupinovo; 29. Ludas-Varjúdülő; 30. Malé Kosiň; 31. Maňa; 32. Mannersdorf; 33. Neunkirchen; 34. Oradea-Salca; 35. Orosfaia; 36. Pecica; 37. Pečine; 38. Pişcolt; 39. Pottenbrunn; 40. Požarevac; 41. Remetea Mare; 42. Rospi Čuprija; 43. Sajopetri; 44. Sanislău; 45. Tărian; 46. Zeleno Polje, Osijek; 47. Żerniki Wielkie; 48. Zimnicea; **III. Closest analogies for iron brooches with pseudo-spring (○)** – 49. Asparuhovo (Varna); 50. Biivcy; 51. Cugurlui; 52. Dalgopol; 53. Dervent; 54. Dobric; 55. The Tiraspol group; 56. Hlinaia; 57. Kalnovo; 58. Mresnota Mogila; 59. Nesebar; 60. Nikonion; 61. Lower Dniepr; 62. Panticapaeum; 63. Parcani; 64. Philipopolis; 65. Plovdiv; 66. Russe; 67. Sborjanovo; 68. Seuthopolis; 69. Shumen; 70. Stoikite; 71. Sveshtary; 72. Tabaki; 73. Tariverdi; 74. Varna; 75. Veliko Tarnovo; 76. Vládicieni; **IV. Other analogies for brooches presented in the catalogue (□)**; **V. Danubian Kantharoi (▲)** (after RUSTOIU/EGRI 2011); **VI. Greek vessels (◆)** (after RUSTOIU/EGRI 2011 and authors); **VII. Spreading of Greek vessels (↔)** (after RUSTOIU/EGRI 2011).

Fig. 22. Distribution of brooches of the early La Tène scheme in South-eastern Europe (after MUNTEANU/BĂŢ/ZANOCI 2020b).

and imitations, dated to the end of the 4th century and the beginning of the 3rd century BC³⁵⁴. Similar finds are attested further west, in Lower Austria³⁵⁵, and further south, in Serbia³⁵⁶. These finds were interpreted as reflecting a connection of the newly created communities to the Eastern

³⁵⁴ KRUTA/SZABÓ 1982, 53–61; SZABÓ 2006, 97–117.

³⁵⁵ RUSTOIU/EGRI 2011, Fig. 5; RUSTOIU/EGRI 2014, Fig. 2, 4, 7.

³⁵⁶ KRUTA/SZABÓ 1982, 53–61; SZABÓ 2006, 104–106, Fig. 9–10; KAVUR/BLEČIĆ KAVUR 2014, Fig. 4; RUSTOIU/EGRI 2011, 20–37, Fig. 5; RUSTOIU/EGRI 2014, Fig. 2, 4, 7.

Mediterranean, in various forms, from raids or military campaigns to peaceful commercial, diplomatic, “professional” relations, implying ideological and material exchanges³⁵⁷. This connection was established either through the Balkans, from Greece and Eastern Mediterranean, or through the Greek colonies from the Black Sea coast³⁵⁸. Based on these observations, the hypothesis of the existence of several commercial routes was already discussed. Outside those coming directly from the south, using the Balkans³⁵⁹, there are two other routes taken into consideration, which would have linked the Greek colonies on the northern and western coasts of the Black Sea with the Carpathian Basin: one crossing the Carpathians through the northern mountain passes and reaching Upper Tisza, and the other from Moldova to eastern Transylvania³⁶⁰.

It is considered that the Early La Tène brooches found on the territory of present-day Republic of Moldova represent part of the constitutive elements of this phenomenon, marking one of the two main routes serving commerce between Greeks and Celts/Celts and local populations. More precisely, the itinerary would have connected the northern mountain passes in the Carpathians to the Upper Tisza valley, crossing the territory of present-day Republic of Moldova. The river Dniester offered probably the best route, opinion confirmed by the presence of Hellenistic merchandise inside the Getic fortifications, inclusively in Saharna, the place where the largest number of brooches was found. Looking at the resulting picture, it is tempting to consider the Early La Tène brooches as a possible result of this circulation of goods, implicating Greek and Celtic elites, during an early phase of intrusion of this type of items in the barbarian world of the north-western coasts of the Black Sea, and co-interesting the local Getic elites. Thus, the contacts between the elites of the communities inhabiting the Middle Dniester valley and the Central European and Balkan ones, intermediated by goods and gift exchange, played an important role in the dissemination of specific “fashion” items, as it is the case here with the iron brooches.

During an ulterior phase, such contacts could have been extended towards closing deals proving to be reciprocally advantageous, gift exchange, matrimonial alliances and so on, contributing on a larger scale to the individual mobility, leading in its turn to the circulation of various goods and ideas³⁶¹. Such objects were adopted and adapted to the local fashion trends, specific to particular social groups or communities, most probably this being the case of the pseudo-spring brooches, originating from the Central European cultural milieu and circulating as far as Bulgaria, Budgeac and the left bank of river Dniester.

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³⁵⁷ RUSTOIU/EGRI 2011, 15.

³⁵⁸ RUSTOIU/EGRI 2011, 15.

³⁵⁹ SZABÓ 2006, 104–106, fig. 9–10; KRUTA/SZABÓ 1982.

³⁶⁰ RUSTOIU/EGRI 2011, 38, 115, Fig. 14.

³⁶¹ RUSTOIU 2017, 201.

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ABBREVIATIONS THAT CAN NOT BE FOUND IN BERICHT DER RÖMISCH-GERMANISCHE KOMMISSION

Abhandlungen der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin	= AKAWB
Acta Classica Universitatis Scientiarum Debrecensis, Debrecen	= ACD
Acta Ethnographica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae (Budapesta)	= Acta Ethnogr Acad Scien Hungaricae
Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile secțiunii istorice	= An. Acad. Române. Mem. Sec. Istor.
Analele Banatului (Timișoara)	= An. Banatului
Analele Dobrogei (Constanța)	= An. Dobrogei
Muzeul Județean Vaslui (Vaslui)	= Acta Moldaviae Meridionalis
Muzeul “Vasile Pârvan” (Bârlad)	= Acta Musei Tutovens
Analele Universității București	= An. Univ. București
Analele Universității Iași	= An. Univ. Iași
Analele Universității „Dimitrie Cantemir” (Constanța)	= An. Univ. Constanța
Annales: économies, sociétés, civilisations (Paris)	= Ann. Écon. Soc. Civil.
Arheologia Moldovei, Institutul de Arheologie (Iași)	= ArhMold
Arkheologiya, Natsional’na akademiya nauk Ukraini. Institut Arkheologii (Kyiv)	= Arkheologiya
Annales Universitatis Apulensis (Alba Iulia)	= AUA
Annali di scienze religiose, Milano	= Annali di scienze religiose
Anuarul Institutului pentru Studii Politice, de Apărare și Istorie Militară	= Anu. Instit. Stud. Pol. Apăr. și Istor. Milit.
Archaeologisch-epigraphische Mitteilungen aus Österreich (-Ungarn), Wien	= AEM
Archiv des Vereines für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde, Hermannstadt – Kronstadt (Sibiu – Brașov)	= AVSL
Archaeologia Baltica Polonia = Peregrinatio Gotica (Łódź)	= Arh Baltica
Arheologia Medievală (Iași)	= Arh. Medievală
Antigüedad, religiones y sociedades, Huelva	= ARYS
Az alsóféhérmegyei történelmi régészeti és természettudomány évkönyve (Alba Iulia)	= AlsóTermÉvkönyve
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