

Swords and daggers of early nomads from Transylvania and Southern Carpathians: Local varieties and continental trends

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Abstract

Transylvania and Wallachia, like the Caucasus and the Middle Dnieper, can be considered the centres of the genesis of Scythian bladed weapons, especially in the Early Scythian period. Furthermore, the early Scythian time was the period of the creative reinvention of the Gudermes and Kelermes traditions, which led to the appearance in Transylvania of the Posmuş and Deleni types of akinakai, and in Wallachia – of the Ferigile type of the second half of the 7th – the turn of the 7th-6th centuries BC. The distribution of the early Scythian swords and daggers allows us to conclude that their penetration into the Carpathian-Danube region took place on two main routes: along the northern border of the forest-steppe to Transylvania at the initial stage, and later – along the southern border between steppe and forest-steppe, through the Bărăgan plain to the South Carpathians. Moreover, one of the earliest finds of an akinakes with an antenna pommel (Frata type of the second half of the 7th century BC) was also found in Transylvania. The Carpathian-Danube region is also characterized by an isolated series of single-edged swords of the Nógrád type, which area does not extend beyond the Middle Danube, Transylvania and South Carpathians. The ground of this type, apparently, was the Shumeyko type of the Early and Middle Scythian period and some Illyrian traditions. At the end of the Middle Scythian time, Scythian swords and daggers were characteristic only of the periphery of the region, which may indicate the gradual withdrawal of Transylvania and the Southern Carpathian region from under the Scythian influence. And the absence of akinakai in the region of interest for the Classical period allows us to attribute the final phase of this process to the framework no later than the last quarter of the 5th century BC.

Keywords: Swords, daggers, akinakes, nomads, Transylvania, Southern Carpathians

“There is a reason why all things are as they are.”

– Bram Stoker, *Dracula*

Introduction

Transylvania is an extraordinary region in many ways, but especially in terms of migratory flows of nomads. Nevertheless, the Scythians were the first nomadic people who linked their fate with this region for several centuries. And the originality of Transylvania is manifested in connection with the evolution

and spread of bladed weapons – the calling card of the early nomads. It is surprising that in this region which lies on the way from the Black Sea to Pannonia, there are practically no traces of the presence of pre-Scythian nomadic tribes. There are about twenty locations of pre-Scythian swords, daggers, scabbards known in hoards and burials on the Middle Danube in the 9th-8th centuries BC (Podkowińska 1933, tab. 1; fig. 2; Podborský 1970, Abb. 25: 1, 10; 26: 2; Taf. 76: 6a-b; Strohschneider and Vahlkampff 1980, tab. 55: 1-4, Stegmann-Rajtár 1986, Taf. 2: 6, Metzner-Nebelsick 2001, Abb. 2: 1, 2002, Taf. 144: 2, Bátora 2006, obr. 176; Čambal 2017, obr. 2-4; Szabó et al. 2018, áb. 5: 2; Parma and Stegmann-Rajtár 2019, obr. 2: 1), while only one Cimmerian dagger was found since the late 19th century in Transylvania, in Pánade from Alba County (Herepey 1897, ab. 7). Transylvania (and Wallachia, as well), remains a white spot on the map of the distribution of pre-Scythian blades, even in comparison with Bulgaria or Bessarabia (Popov 1932, fig. 95; Chernyakov 1977, fig. 3: 1; Lapushnyan 1979, fig. 46; Tončeva 1980, pl. 12: 1-4; Radoslavova 2006, fig. 1; Topal and Bruyako 2012, fig. 1: 1).

And now a little something from statistics. Generally, the data on the chronology of the bladed weapons of the Scythian epoch of Eurasia approaches a normal distribution (or, rather, a log-normal one, given the shift to the beginning of the axis). Most of the swords and daggers of the Scythian period (44%) belong to the late Middle (or Middle-II) Scythian period or the first three-quarters of the 5th century BC, and this is equally true for both Europe (43%) and Asia (48%). Judging by the percentage, they are followed both in Europe and in Asia by swords of the Classical period of the last quarter of the 5th – the late 4th centuries BC (Europe: 26.4%; Asia: 37.9%). 30.4% of swords and daggers in Europe and 14.1% in Asia belong to the Early Scythian period (early 7th – early 6th centuries BC) and the Early Middle Scythian (or Middle-I) period of the second half of the 6th century BC (Topal 2021, 58-59, tab. 1). The westernmost area, the Danube region includes 11% (241 items) of all known swords and daggers of the Scythian time of Eurasia, while within the region the Transylvanian and Wallachian groups are consisting of 42 (17.4%) and 14 (5.8%) finds, respectively (tab. 1).

Despite the territorial and chronological proximity, Transylvania and Wallachia differ diametrically in terms of the composition of the panoply of the Scythian time, as well as its context. The calculation of the degree of similarity between the local groups of the Danube region made it possible to identify cultural enclaves or communities that preferred similar types of weapons (Topal 2019, fig. 3: 4). For the “western” enclave, which united the Hungarian and Polish groups, axes and spearheads are more characteristic. The next, “steppe” community, in addition to the South Carpathians, included the Lower Danubian, Lower Dni-

	Early	Mid-I	Mid-II	Classical	Total	%
Transylvania	27	4	11	–	42	17,4
Wallachia	9	1	4	–	14	5,8
Hungary	1	4	15	–	20	8,3
Neamț	–	6	2	–	8	3,3
Bukovina	6	4	8	–	18	7,5
Moldova	5	20	42	–	67	27,8
Poland	–	2	4	–	6	2,5
West Ukraine	–	1	3	3	7	2,9
Bulgaria	3	2	8	5	18	7,5
Lower Dniester	–	1	3	9	13	5,4
Lower Danube	2	–	6	20	28	11,6
Total	53	45	106	37	241	100
%	22,0	18,7	44,0	15,4	100	

Tab. 1. Chronological and geographical distribution of akinakai of the Danube region

ester and South Danubian (Bulgarian) groups, in which spearheads and average or long swords are widespread. Another enclave can be conditionally called “Carpathian”, the greatest degree of similarity was manifested between the Bukovina and Transylvania (to which the Moldavian group adjoins), for which the dagger or short sword and axe are the main types (Topal 2019, 96). As for the burial context, without exception, all the Transylvanian akinakai of the Scythian time come from inhumations in flat burial grounds, while the Wallachian akinakai are known exclusively from cremations, both barrows and flat cemeteries. Anyway, the feature that unites both regions is the complete absence of akinakai of the Classical period, i.e. after the middle - third quarter of the 5th century BC (fig. 1).

Early Scythian period. Carpathian localization of Caucasian traditions

Half of all known akinakai of the Wallachian group date back to the early Scythian time and are associated with the southern foothills of the Carpathians – burials of the Ferigile type. However, the oldest of the swords found south of the Carpathians is a stray find near the hill fort of Orbeasca de Sus (Vulpe 1990, 36, Taf. 5: 25), on the Lower Danube Plain. The bimetallic sword from Orbyaska belongs to the Gudermes (Topal 2021, 79) or Orbyaska type or Orbeasca-Stepnoy, after A. Vulpe (1987, 84-85, 88), the upper limit of which

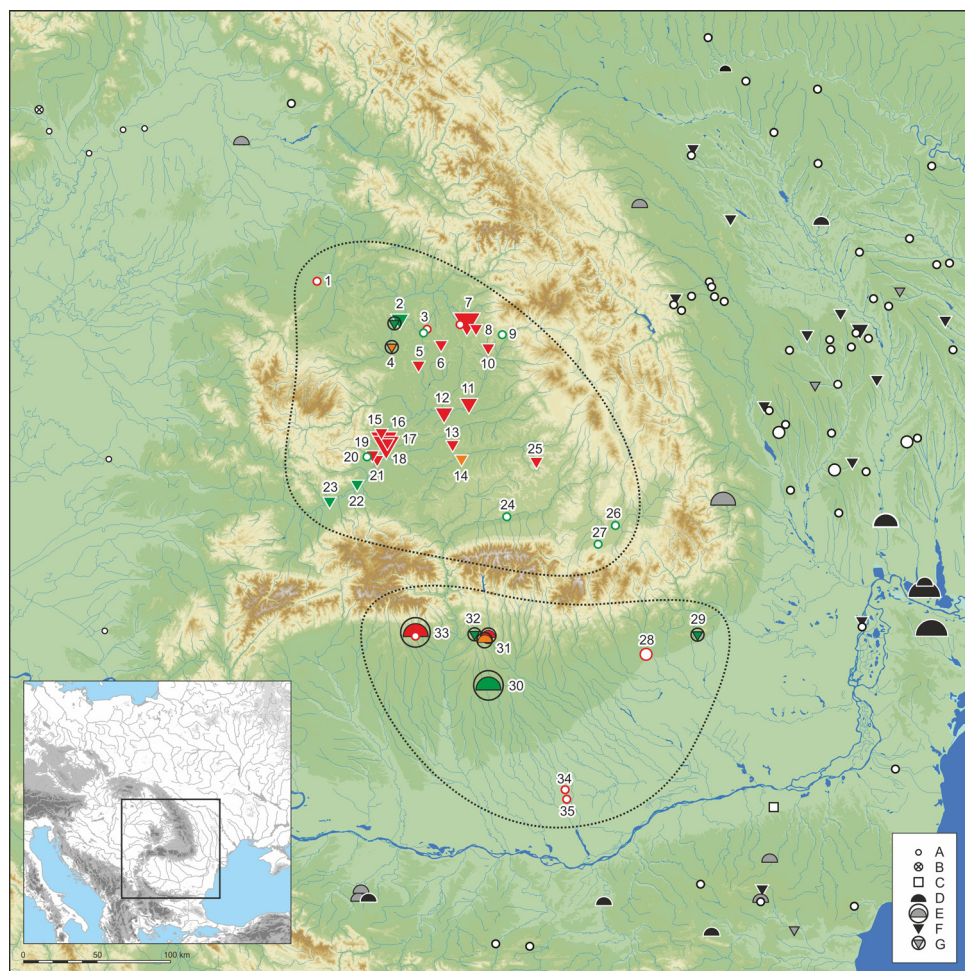


Fig. 1. Distribution of Scythian swords and daggers in Transylvania and Wallachia (A – stray find; B – doubtful localization; C – settlement; D – barrow inhumation; E – barrow cremation; F – burial ground inhumation; G – burial ground cremation; H – hoard): 1 – Firminiș, 2 – Băița, 3 – Năsal, 4 – Gădălin, 5 – Frata, 6 – Budești-Fânațe, 7 – Mărișelu, 8 – Posmuș, 9 – Dumbrava, 10 – Batoș, 11 – Cristești, 12 – Cipău, 13 – Deleni, 14 – Brateiu, 15 – Mirăslău (Miriszló), 16 – Aiud, 17 – Ciumbud, 18 – Sâncraia, 19 – Stremț, 20 – Benic, 21 – Teiuș, 22 – Păclișa, 23 – Băcăinți, 24 – Cincșor, 25 – Archita, 26 – Dobolii de Jos (Aldoboly), 27 – Brașov, 28 – Ploiești, 29 – Năeni, 30 – Cepari, 31 – Curtea de Argeș, 32 – Tigveni, 33 – Ferigile, 34 – Orbeasca de Sus, 35 – Lăceni (red – Early Scythian (700–575 BC), orange – Middle Scythian-I (575–500 BC), green – Middle Scythian-II (500–425 BC)).

covers the mid. 7th century BC. It is assumed that it was discovered on the right bank of the Teleorman river near the Orbeasca de Sus hillfort in Teleorman County (fig. 4: 1). As a result of the excavations, several layers were revealed: the Bronze Age, the early Hallstatt, the Basarabi culture and the layer of the



second half of the 4th – the first half of the 3rd centuries BC (Vulpe 1990, 36), where the fortifications were erected in the early Hallstatt period (Moscalu and Beda 1979, 368). Based on the Caucasian analogies from the Tlia burial ground and the find from Stepnoy, A. Vulpe (1990, 37) attributed this item and the entire type to the first half of the 7th century BC. One of the burials with such a bimetallic sword comes from Transylvania, from a destroyed burial near the Stremț village (Vasiliev 1980, pl. 10: 2) (fig. 4: 4). Arrowheads and pottery sherds were mentioned in the connection with this burial, however, only a fragmented akinakes (Vulpe 1990, 36) was received by the Sebeș Museum. The Gudermes type is distinguished by high standardization: the length of the blade of most items varies from 25 to 35 cm, i.e. akinakai of this type mainly belong to the group of short and average swords. This distinguishes them both from pre-Scythian bimetallic (Kabardino-Pyatigorsk) swords, and later Kelermes type. Burials with Gudermes akinakai are known only in the Caucasus and the Danube region (including Transylvania), and the wide space between them is filled with stray finds, which gravitate mainly to the forest-steppe between the Volga and the Don rivers. At the same time, “frame” bronze handles in combination with an iron blade are occasionally found far to the east of the main area, including as part of grave goods (Topal 2021, fig. 26).

In the Carpathian basin, other early Scythian akinakai made partially or completely of bronze are also known – as a series of swords of Posmuș type (Marinescu 1984, 71-72; Vulpe 1990, 23). An eponymous dagger from the Posmuș village was made entirely of bronze and found in the Dealul Mortilei burial mound (Buzdugan 1976, fig. 2: 3) (fig. 4: 6; 9: D). This artefact A. Vulpe (1990, 23) considers the starting point of evolution for the type. A similar dagger, though with a bronze hilt, is known from burial 4 of the Mărișelu burial ground (Marinescu 1984, Abb. 9: 6) (fig. 4: 8; 13: C). Other daggers from this burial ground are made of iron – e.g. from burial 6, 7 and a stray find from a disturbed burial near the burial 7 (Marinescu 1984, Abb. 9: 6; 11: 1; 13: 1) (fig. 4: 9). An item, which has a bronze hilt and a pommel with longitudinal ribs was recently discovered near Sâncraia burial ground, in the burial 60 (Balteș 2019, 8-9, pl. 3: 4a-b, 5b) (fig. 5: 13). The burial also contained a handmade biconical pot, ladle, iron spearhead and axe, as well as a quiver set of 55 bronze arrowheads (fig. 14: C). Probably these trilobate arrowheads with a spike determined the lower date of the burial within the framework of the “second half of the 7th century BC” (Baltes 2019, 14).

A bronze handle of a dagger of the Posmuș type was discovered in 1895 by locals in the park of Aiud city, in burial 6 (according to V. Vasiliev) or 8 (according to A. Vulpe) (Herepey 1898, 267, tab. B: 2) (fig. 4: 2). In addition to the dagger, among the grave goods 20 arrowheads were found (13 bronze arrowheads

with spikes and 7 made from bone or horn), a double-edged iron axe, bronze plaques, and a bronze ring with four eyelets (Vulpe 1990, 24) (fig. 13: B). Such rings of horse harnesses are also known in other burials of the early phase of the Ciumbrud group: burial 3 from Budești-Fânațe, burial 4 from Mărișelu, Blaj, Simeria, Firminiș (Vasiliev 1980, 96; 1990, Taf. 42: B, C5-7, D7), Curtea de Arges burial mound (Vulpe 1967, pl. 16: 5), as well as in the burials of the Vekerzug culture (Chochorowski 1985, 113; Bruyako 2005, 276, 277; Kemenczei 2009, 54) and West Podolian group (Bandrivsky 2005, 90). The earliest rings with lugs (or the Podolian-Carpathian type by M. S. Bandrivsky) are known from HaC₂ (mid.-7th century BC), their later belong to the end of HaD (Čižmář 2012, 74) or the late 6th – early 5th century BC (Bandrivsky 2005, 92; Kemenczei 2009, 54). Despite the presence of a bronze plaque typical for the second half of the 8th – the first half of the 7th centuries BC, trilobate bronze arrowheads with a spike indicate allow to date back this burial to the period no earlier than the second half of the 7th century BC (Kozubová, Skakov 2016, 91).

A butterfly-shaped hilt and the pommel of an iron dagger from burial 6 of the Budești-Fânațe burial ground were made of bronze (Marinescu 1984, 49, Abb. 5: 6) (fig. 4: 7). G. Marinescu (1984, 81) attributed both the burial ground and burial 6 to the mid. – late 7th century BC. Among the finds from burial 6 are an iron spearhead, a bronze openwork case, a handmade pot and a ladle, spiked arrowheads, and *Cypreaeidae* shells. These shells were considered by I. V. Bruyako (2007, 231, 232) as a chronological indicator of the Early Scythian culture, in particular, he argued their North Caucasian origin, as well as the time of their penetration into Transylvania: no earlier than the middle of the 7th century BC. Although the openwork case is close to the scabbards of the pre-Scythian period (Marinescu 1984, 75; Gawlik 1998, 57), this object belongs to a completely different type of product (most likely, part of a spear). Therefore, it can also hardly indicate a time earlier than the middle of the 7th century BC (Bruyako 2005, 249). In addition, the dagger from grave 6 of the Budești-Fânațe burial ground and grave 7 at Mărișelu (fig. 4: 16; fig. 10: B) is distinguished by the absence of longitudinal grooves on the shaft, characteristic of the Posmuș type.

A bronze sword in a scabbard (fig. 2: 1; 3: 5; 4: 5) from the supposed burial near the Firminiș village in the northwest of Transylvania (Matei 1977, pl. 1, 2) was also attributed by A. Vulpe to the Posmuș type. According to the finders, three-blade bronze arrows, several bronze rings and an iron object were also found near the inhumation. In the process of ploughing, several more burials without any grave goods were disturbed, so the burial from Firminiș was hardly the only one in the La Temeteu locality (Matei 1977, 63). A bronze ring with lugs, similar to those found in Aiud, Budești-Fânațe and Mărișelu, belongs to

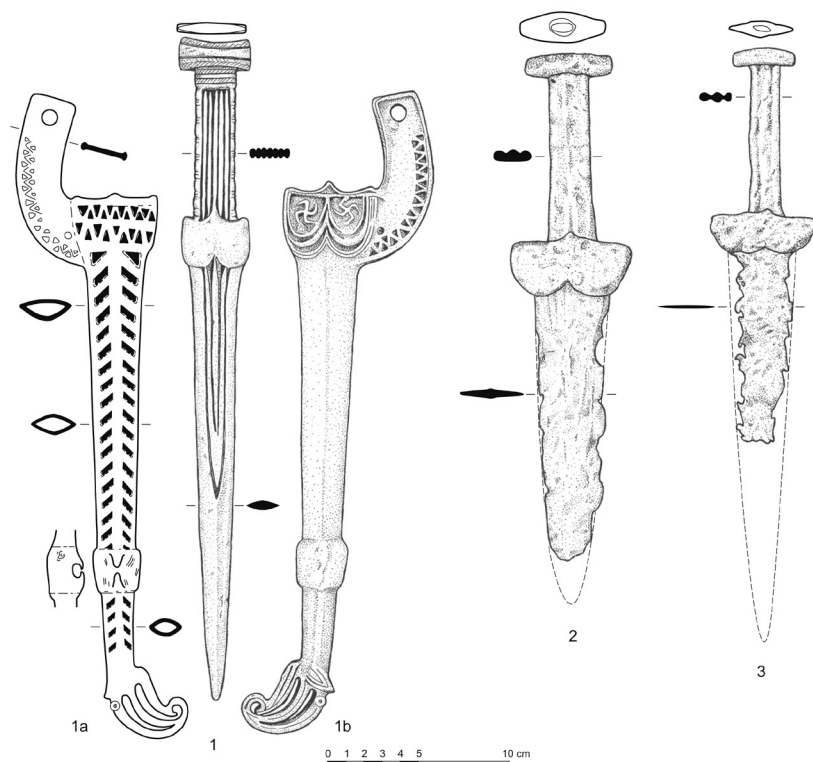


Fig. 2. Early Scythian akinakai of Transylvania: 1 – Firminiș-*La Temeteu*, bar.?. 2 – Năsal-*Gospodar*, strayfind; 3 – Aiud-*Gâmbaș*, gr. 2 1911.

the same assemblage (Matei 1977, 63, pl. 2: 5). The sword from Firminiș-*La Temeteu* was cast entirely from a good quality bronze and decorated with chased ornaments (Matei 1977, 64). The design of the handle with grooves and hilt is typical for daggers of the Posmuș type, and the original scabbard (Matei 1977, pl. 2: 3; 3: 1-4), cast in bronze, was ornamented in a reminiscent manner like the openwork case from Budești-Fânațe. The hilt was decorated with two symmetrically located swastikas are – a quite unusual ornament for Scythian weapons. The end of the scabbard is bent in the form of a beak, the circle shows the eye. This design of the scabbard's chape brings the sword from Firminiș closer to the Caucasian bouterolles in the shape of bird's head. In general, there are several varieties of the bird-headed bouterolles: *Digorian* or *Faskau* type, *Koban* type and *Pontic* or *Matusov* type (Topal 2021, fig. 45-47). The first, conditionally united in the Digorian type, is characteristic of the North Caucasus and is a bronze case with an openwork round ledge, inside of which a tongue is high-



Fig. 3. Early and Middle Scythian swords and daggers of Transylvania and Wallachia: 1, 2 – Lăceni-*La Solare*, strayfind (Teleorman County Museum); 3, 4 – Pâclișa, gr. (photo by C. Borangic; Borangic, Anghel 2018, fig. 2); 5 – Firminiș-*La Temeteu*, bar.? (Zalău County Museum of History and Art); 6 – Dumbrava-Vârful *Muncelului*, strayfind (photo by B. Rezi; Rezi, Cioată 2014, pl. 2, 3); 7, 8 – Băcăinți-*Obreja*, gr. 1 (photo by C. Borangic; Balteș, Borangic, Fetcu 2017, fig. 3) 9 – Dobolii de Jos (Aldoboly), strayfind in Olt river, 1869 (Goldhelm 1994, cat. 42).

lighted. The Transcaucasian items and partly North Caucasian (Koban type) are decorated similarly, although not so realistic: the bird's beak is rendered with a certain degree of stylization. The next version is represented by finds from the Kuban region and in fact continues to develop in the direction of increasing realism. The beaks of bird heads of the Black Sea type are less curved and more elongated, which brings them closer to the scabbard's chape from the Pashkovskoe settlement. In Crimea a sort of "hybrid" variant appears, where the Caucasian shape (rounded beak) is preserved in combination with stylistic Black Sea techniques (shape of the head). The items themselves are elongated oval cases with the outlines of the head of a bird of prey. A series of finds that are distinguished by openwork beaks, not round, but elongated, spiral-shaped of the *Firminiş* type, can be considered a kind of intermediate link between the Koban and Pontic bouterolles. In addition, the *Firminiş* scabbard is similar to the Caucasian samples by triangular cutouts, reminiscent of the decoration, for example, of bouterolles from the Koban burial ground. The most preferable dating of the type to which the *Firminiş* sword belongs (*Posmuş* type) based on the analyzed burials is the second half of the 7th century BC. In addition, this date is in perfect agreement with the lower limit of the existence of ornithomorphic bouterolles in the late Koban period (Koban-IV, according to V.I. Kozenkova) from the middle of the 7th century BC (Volnaya 2015, 26).

Archaic bimetallic akinakai are a product of the further evolution of bladed weapons produced by the "Caucasian laboratory". It can be assumed that for some time they coexisted with the pre-Scythian daggers of the Kabardino-Pyatigorsk type, probably in the first half of the 7th century BC. The further development of the Scythian akinakes and its wide distribution in the Black Sea region could provoke the abandonment of the use of bronze due to the unjustified complexity of the technology. However, the morphology of the new product turned out to be more stable, which subsequently led to the emergence of new types of items. In the Carpathian-Balkan area, swords that can be attributed to the Kelermes type are also known, despite the absence of such an important feature for identification as a loop on the hilt. For example, an akinakes found in *Ploieşti-Triaj* (fig. 5: 8) in Prahova County during construction work near the Bronze Age barrow group and Ferigile-type barrows (Vulpe 1987, 177, fig. 2: 1). A. Vulpe (1990, 33) attributed the find to the Ferigile-Lăceni type, which also included other swords from the early phase of the Ferigile burial ground (including those from barrow 41) and, based on "typological considerations and comparison with ceremonial swords from the Litoy (Melgunov) barrow" dated to "the first half of the 6th century BC". And, indeed, the sword from Ploieşti (fig. 5: 8), despite the absence of a hilt, based on the shape of the handle and pommel, decorated with parallel lines,

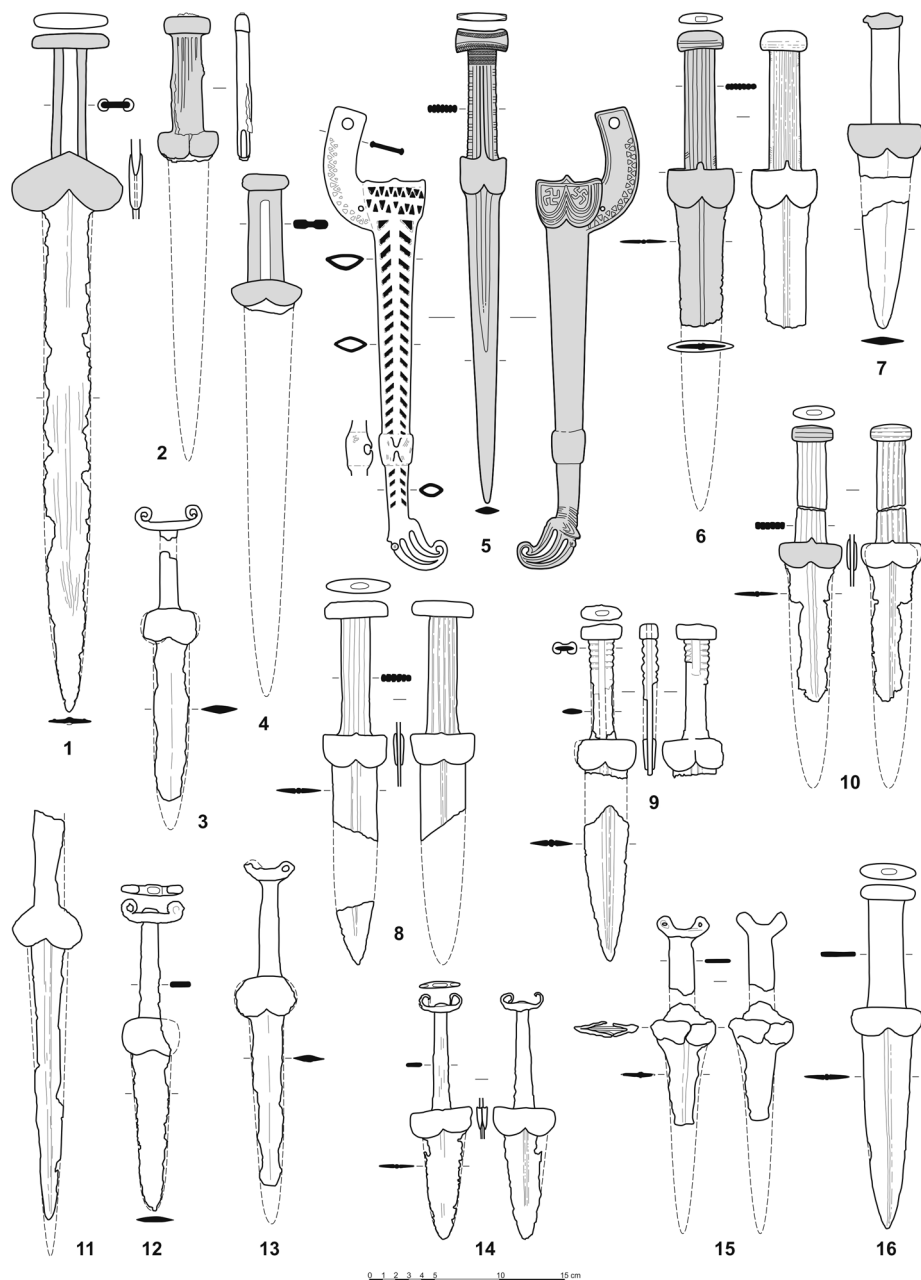


Fig. 4. Early Scythian swords and daggers of Transylvania: 1 – Orbeasca de Sus, strayfind; 2 – Aiud-Park (Nagyenyed), gr. 8 1895; 3 – Batoș, gr. 3 1964; 4 – Stremț-După VII, destr. gr.; 5 – Firminiș-La Temeteu, bar.?; 6 – Posmuș-Dealul Mortilei, destr. gr.; 7 – Budești-Fânațe, gr. 6; 8–10, 16 – Mărișelu (8 – gr. 4, 9 – strayfind, 10 – gr. 6, 16 – gr. 7); 11 – Archita, gr. 1871; 12 – Frata, gr.; 13 – Cristești-Lutărie, gr. 9; 14 – Cipău, destr. gr. 1913; 15 – Teiuș, gr. 2 1969.

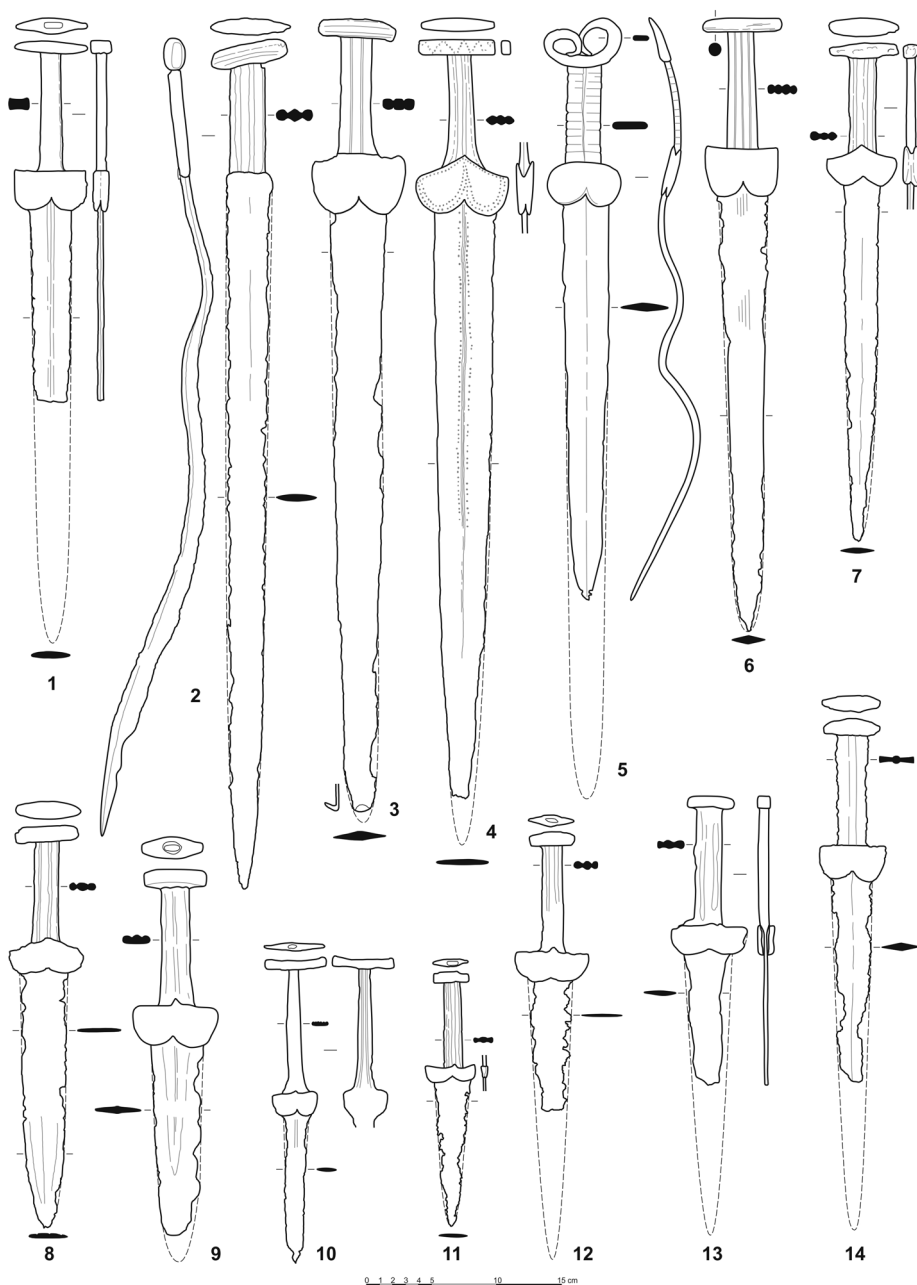


Fig. 5. Early Scythian swords and daggers of Transylvania and Wallachia: 1, 4–6 – Ferigile (1 – strayfind, 4 – bar. 41, 5 – bar. 44, 6 – bar. 1, gr. 1; 2, 8 – Ploiești-*Triaș*, strayfind; 3 – Curtea de Argeș-*Radovanu*, bar. 18, gr. 26; 7 – Lăceni-*La Solare*, strayfind; 9 – Năsal-*Gospodar*, strayfind; 10 – Aiud (Nagyenyed) (10 – *Dâmbul Cocoșului*, gr. 1912, 12 – *Gâmbaș*, gr. 2 1911); 11 – Deleni, gr.; 13 – Sâncrai, gr. 60; 14 – Cipău-*Gara*, gr. 6 1955.

is close to the Kelermes akinakai from Tugolukovo and Nikolsko. Along with this long sword, a similar dagger was found (Vulpe 1987, 179, fig. 2: 2).

Among the *Ferigile-Lăceni* type swords, by A. Vulpe, one can note items of the Lăceni variant with a pronounced three-part handle, however, with a not so massive pommel like the eponymous stray find from Lăceni (Vulpe 1990, 31-32, Taf. 4: 14) (fig. 3: 1, 2; 5: 7) and a sword from mound 41 of the Ferigile burial ground (Vulpe 1967, 131, pl. 15: 2) (fig. 5: 4; fig. 15: C). The swords of the Ferigile variant show a less obvious resemblance, although the sword from the mound 18 near Curtea de Argeș has a three-part hilt and pommel decorated with horizontal stripes (Vulpe 1967, pl. 16: 1) (fig. 5: 3). Burial 26 of barrow 18 from Curtea de Argeș-Radovanu contained a double-edged axe, a spearhead (Măndescu 2004, 143) and a Vekerzug-type snaffle which ends with the horse heads (variant 4, according to T. Kemenczei). The lower date of snaffles of this type, based on the Ártánd assemblage, is the last decades of the 7th century BC (Kemenczei 2009, 51), moreover, snaffles of this type appeared in the Carpathian basin at the turn of the 7th-6th centuries BC (Bruyako 2005, 273). Barrow 41 from Ferigile and mound 18 from Curtea de Argeș A. Vulpe (1977, 91) attributed to the Ferigile-4 stage of the first half of the 6th century BC, although in a later paper he extended the fourth phase to the entire 6th century BC, and moved the lower date to the end of the 7th century BC (Vulpe 1990, 125-126).

In the early group of Romanian akinakai, A. Vulpe (1990, 34) distinguishes the *Delenii* type, which is distinguished by a three-part handle with a pronounced central shaft, a straight pommel and a truncated butterfly-shaped hilt. This type includes finds from Transylvania like the daggers from the burials near the Deleni (Crișan 1956, pl. 1: 24) (fig. 5: 11; fig. 13: A), burial 6 1955 in Cipău-Gara (Vlassa 1961, fig. 8: 1) (fig. 5: 14; fig. 11: B), burial 2 1911 from Aiud-Gâmbaș (Roska 1937, Abb. 2) (fig. 2: 3; 5: 12), burial of 1912 from Aiud – from Dâmbul Cicoșului (Roska 1942, kép. 228: 3) (fig. 5: 10), burial 9 near Cristești-Lutărie (Vasiliev 1980, pl. 10: 5) (fig. 4: 13; fig. 10: A) a stray find near the Năsal-Gospodar (Marinescu, Zăgreanu 2011, pl. 3) (fig. 2: 2; 5: 9; 8: 5). The design features of this series (three-part handle, truncated hilt) make it possible to associate it with Posmuș or Ferigile akinakai. At least two of them (from Deleni and Cristești) contained archaic spiked arrows of the late 7th century BC. e. In addition, in the burial 9 near Cristești-Lutărie, iron cheek-pieces with three holes were found, similar to items from the Fügöd hoard (Kemenczei 1994, 81; Bruyako 2005, 249), which can also be dated to the second half of the 7th century BC. Also, there were recently discovered akinakai of the Delenii type in the Sâncrai burial ground: from the burials 82 (fig. 14: E) and 84 (fig. 14: F) and, possibly, from the burial 10 (Annex 1: 6G) (Balteș 2019, 11, pl. 3: 2a-b; 4: 2a-b, 3a-b, 5a-b; 5: a, c, d) (fig. 6: 2-4).

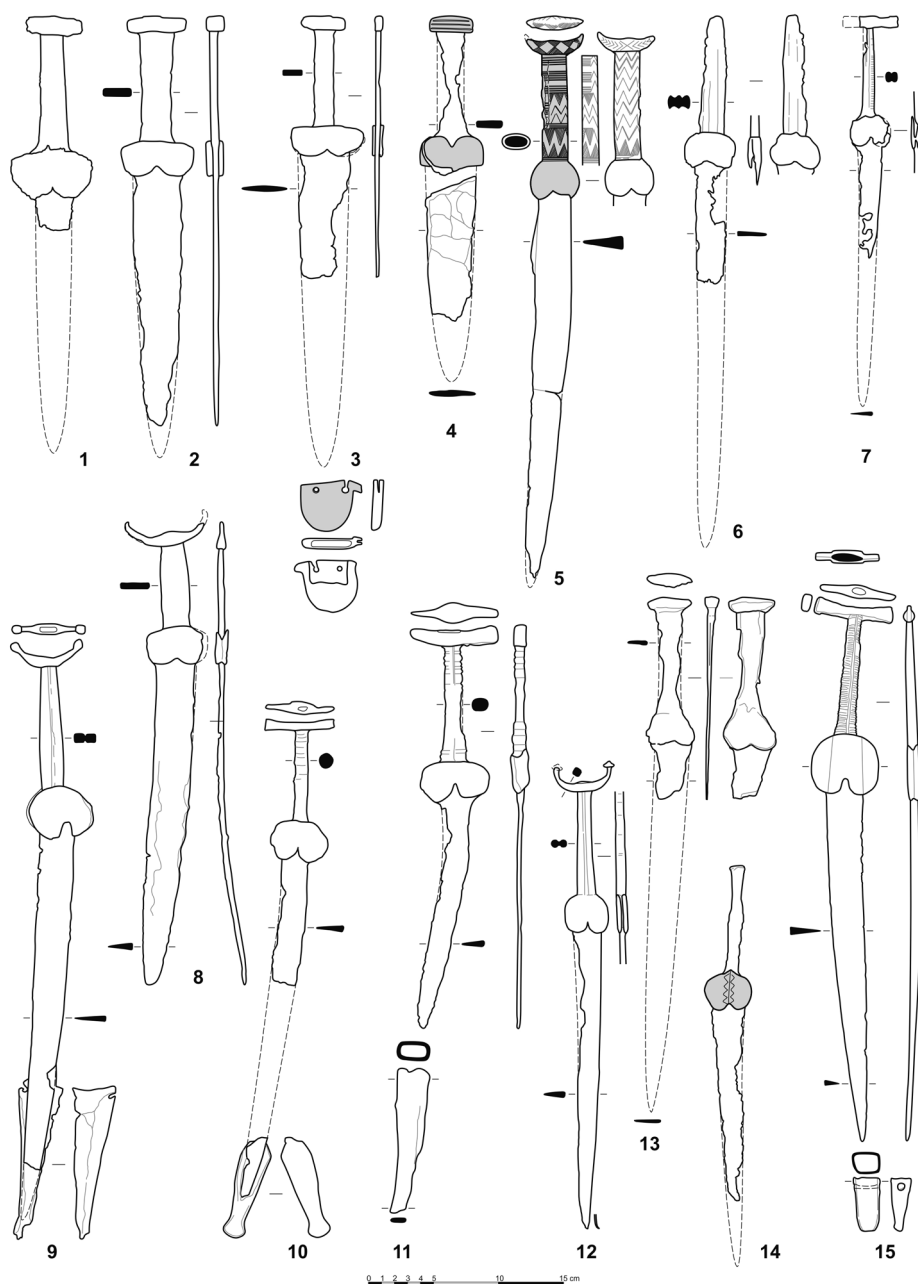


Fig. 6. Early and Middle Scythian swords and daggers of Transylvania and Wallachia: 1 – Cristești-Lutărie, gr. 9; 2–4 – Sâncrai (2 – gr. 10, 3 – gr. 84, 4 – gr. 82); 5 – Curtea de Argeș-Radovanu, bar. 14, gr. 10; 6, 13 – Aiud- (Nagyenyed) (6 – Hellos, gr. 13, 13 – Park, gr. 1 1886); 7 – Ciumbrud, gr. 2; 8 – Cincșor, strayfind; 9 – Băița, gr. 10; 10 – Mirăslău (Miriszló), gr.; 11 – Păclișa, gr.; 12 – Cepari, bar. 5; 14 – Benic-Dealul de Vii (Borosbenedek), strayfind; 15 – Dumbrava-Vârful Muncelului, strayfind.

Transylvania is a region where the oldest daggers with antenna pommel are known: they were found in burial 2 of 1969 at the Teiuș burial ground (Buzdugan 1976, fig. 2: 6) and 9 at the Christesti burial ground (Vasiliev 1980, pl. 10: 5) – the oldest in the Ciumbrud group. Iron long-tipped arrowheads, reminiscent of Novocherkassk bronze prototypes, make it possible to attribute the Teiuș burial almost to pre-Scythian times (Chochorowski 1998, 480). Nevertheless, according to the Kelermes arrowheads, burial 2 near the Teiuș village, most likely, dates back to the middle of the 7th century BC (Bruyako 2005, 248) (fig. 9: A). A. Vulpe (1990, 50-52) combined the daggers from Teiuș (fig. 4: 15) and Cristești (the second specimen, Annex 1: 2A) in a separate type, adding the finds from the burials near Frata in 1944 (fig. 4: 12; fig. 11: C), Batoș in 1964 (fig. 4: 3; fig. 9: C), Cipău-Gara in 1913 (fig. 4: 14) and, possibly, the dagger from the burial near Archita in 1871 (the dagger lost its pommel). This *Frata type*, in his opinion, belongs to the second half of the 7th century BC.

Early Middle Scythian period. Between the Balkans and the Black Sea

One of the most vivid ancient weaponry traditions of the Mediterranean like single-edged swords and daggers, almost always has an imported character, while remaining the “calling card” of the region where it appears. The few single-edged weapons found on the Black Sea coast are mainly associated with the Greek population of the coastal zone. The appearance of the Greek makhaira in the Black Sea region dates back to the third quarter – the late 6th century BC, and the earliest findings are associated with the settlements. At the same time, in the Archaic period, single-edged weapons of the Northern Black Sea region reveal themselves exclusively on Borysthenes (Berezan island) in the form of combat knives of the Thracian-Illyrian circle. An abundance of single-edged swords of hybrid forms like *Chaush type*, including ceremonial ones like *Shulgovka type* (Topal 2014, 143-148), occurs under the influence of the Greek or Thracian traditions of the Scythians at the end of the Classical Scythian culture. *However, attempts to hybridize such Scythian weapons occurred earlier. One of these experiments probably took shape in the form of an original group of single-edged akinakai and their area does not extend beyond the limits of the Middle Danube, Transylvania and the Southern Carpathians* (Topal 2021, fig. 84).

Apparently, by the time of penetration of the Scythians into the region, part of the bearers of the Basarabi culture was moving north, to the South Carpathian and Transylvania. Perhaps that can explain the appearance of single-edged akinakai with a T-shaped handle of the *Nógrád type* precisely in the foothills of



the Southern Carpathians and the Apuseni Mountains in southwestern Transylvania. Despite the statement by I. V. Bruyako (2005, 283) that most of the Hungarian and Transylvanian single-edged akinakai are stray finds, more than half of all items now are attributed to the assemblages (12 out of 20). The highest concentration of burials with Nógrád swords is located in the eastern part of the Western Romanian Carpathians (Apuseni Mountains): e.g. Mirăslău, Ciumbrud, Aiud and Băița. In addition to a hand-made vessel and iron axe, there was a fragment of the handle of the single-edged dagger in burial 2 from Ciumbrud (Ferenczi 1965: 91; Vasiliev 1980, pl. 10: 6; Vulpe 1990, Taf. 29: 192) (fig. 6: 7; fig. 14: D). The burial ground near Ciumbrud V. Vasiliev (1980, 131) attributed to the early, archaic phase, although the late assemblages are synchronous to the burials from Cristești, Delenii, Frata etc. A single-edged sword with a preserved iron fragment from the scabbard was presumably found in a burial near Mirăslău (Herepey 1897, 66, *áb.* 6) (fig. 6: 10; 7: 2), but unfortunately, nothing is known about other finds from this disturbed assemblage.

An inhumation with a fragment of the hilt and blade of a single-edged sword (Roska 1914, 13, *áb.* 1: 1) was discovered on the southern outskirts of Aiud city ("Hello's" locality), on the terrace of the Mureș river in 1913 (fig. 6: 6). The shape of the hilt is of particular interest and is massive, three-part in section, characteristic of Early Scythian swords like Kelermes type of the second half of the 7th century BC (Topal 2014, 14). An unusual sign is the lack of a pommel, which was absent in the original design of the sword. A. Vulpe (1984, 54, 59; 1990, 93) considers this assemblage one of the latest, which based on arrowheads refers to the second half of the 6th or even the first half of the 5th century BC (fig. 9: B). According to S. V. Makhortykh and S. A. Skoryi (1986, 74), who have a special study on Scythian swords without pommels, the burial from Aiud could be dated back to the first half of the 6th century BC. In another burial near Aiud (1st of 1886 or Aiud-Park) was discovered another single-edged akinakes (Herepey 1897, *áb.* 3; 4) (fig. 6: 13) which A. Vulpe determines as an "indefinite type" (Vulpe 1990, 97, Taf. 30: 203), but anyway could also be considered as Nógrád type. It is distinguished by a high kidney-shaped hilt and a narrow rectangular pommel, it is likely T-shaped (it is difficult to say more precisely because of the safety of the item). In addition to the hilt of a sword with a fragment of a blade from this burial, a double-blade iron axe, a gold earring and bronze arrowheads were found (Herepey 1897, 65, 66). Judging by the quiver set, consisting of bi- and trilobate spiked arrows (Herepey 1897, *áb.* 3: 4-9, 4: 1-7), this grave can be attributed to one of the earliest in Transylvania. Burial 1 of 1886 from Aiud can be synchronous to burial 9 from Cristești, burial 3 from Budești-Fânațe, 1, 4 and 5 from Mărișelu, *i. e.* refers to the second half of the 7th century BC.

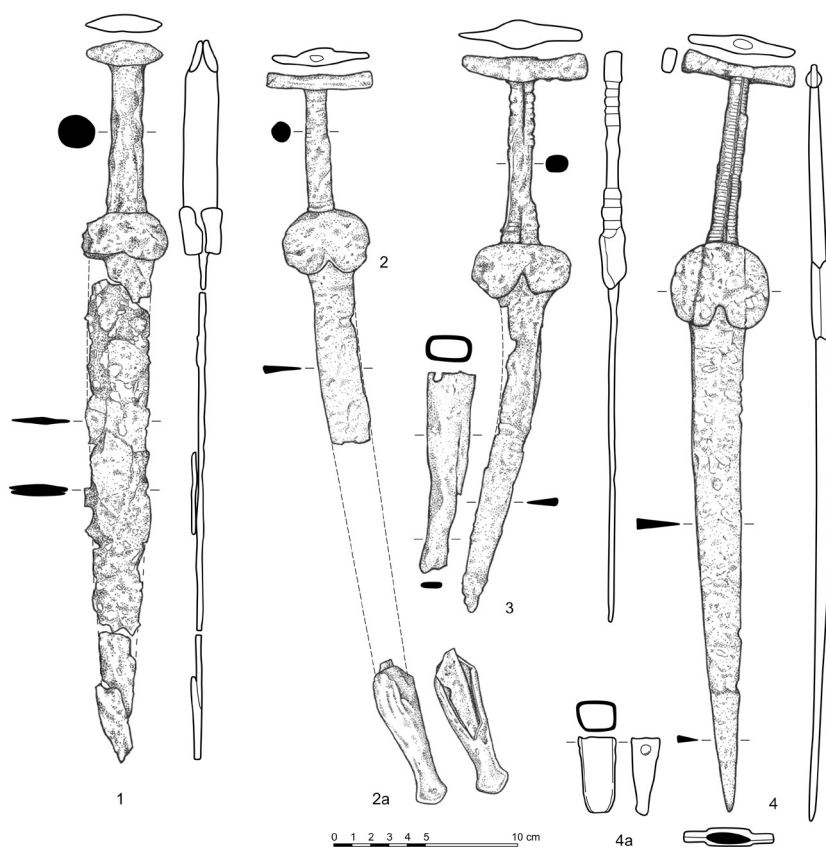


Fig. 7. Middle Scythian swords and daggers of Transylvania: 1 – Băcăinți-Obreje, gr. 1; 2 – Mirăslău (Miriszló), gr.; 3 – Păclișa, gr.; 4 – Dumbrava-Vârful Muncelului, strayfind.

One of the most recent discovered assemblages from Transylvania with an Nógrád sword was accidentally discovered near Păclișa village and then transferred to the Alba Julia Museum in 2014 (Borangic and Anghel 2018, 18-19, fig. 2) (fig. 3: 3, 4; 6: 11; 7: 3). According to the authors of the discovery, along with an iron sword four arrowheads were discovered (fig. 10: C). The shape of the arrowheads, widespread in the late Middle Scythian period, does not allow dating this complex more exactly than in the framework of the second half of the 6th century BC. Swords from burial 10 at Băița (Trohani 1984, fig. 3) (fig. 6: 9) in the northwest of Transylvania and barrow 5 at Cepari (Vulpe 1990, Taf. 30: 196) (fig. 6: 12; 8: 10) in Wallachia are distinguished by the original antenna-shaped (or sickle-shaped) pommels with bulges at the finials. The burial near Cepari village (fig. 16: B) was performed according to the ritual of burning



in a stone box and, in addition to a single-edged sword, was equipped with a dagger with a zoomorphic pommel (of *Găiceana* type, according to A. Vulpe), a spearhead, a two-blade axe and a vessel characteristic for Ferigile-Nord phase (4th type of grave goods). All this, according to A. Vulpe (1984, 54; 1990, 60), indicates the end of the 6th or even the beginning of the 5th century BC. The cremation in a rectangular pit near the Băița village, in addition to a single-edged sword with a high hilt and an antenna pommel, contained a spearhead, and two ladles with a high handle and a vessel with plaits. The sword from this burial was discovered with an iron sheath and A. Vulpe (1990, 95) believes that the dating of the Cepari burial (late 6th – early 5th century BC) can also be transferred to the Băița burial, although V. Vasiliev (1980, 86) insisted on the dating within the first half of the 5th century BC. Of particular interest is a strongly deformed cross-shaped (quiver?) plaque, ornamented with carved lines, similar to the plaque from burial 7 of the same burial ground (Vasiliev 1980, 77, pl. 22: 3). The appearance of this category of objects is associated with the migration wave of the second half – the late 6th century BC (Fettich 1929: 86; Kemenczei 1986, 131; Polidovich 2009, 483), even though Băița plaques belong to the third group of items of this type, dating slightly earlier than the zoomorphic plaques (Polidovich 2000, 36). As a rule, the cruciform plaque of “Olbia type” is dated back to the second half of the 6th century BC, and the earliest is from the burial 12 of 1910 in Olbia and the burial 3 of barrow 3 of Aksay-I burial ground. Olbia burial refers to the second or even the third quarter of the 6th century BC (Alekseev 2003, 155), while the Aksay burial is reliably dated along with the North Ionian amphora within the middle – second half of the 6th century BC (Dyachenko et al. 1999, 108; Alekseev 2003, 202) or even more precise: the late second – the early third quarter of the 6th century BC (Grechko 2012, 82). Other northern Black Sea burials with cruciform plaques (like Opishlyanka and Gusarka) are also the oldest burials of the Middle Scythian phase. They are even placed in the so-called *transitional period* between the Early Scythian-3 and Middle Scythian-1 phases (second-third quarter of the 6th century BC) or Middle Scythian-1a period, according to D. S. Grechko (2012, 93-95, tab. 1).

The sickle-shaped pommel is also characteristic of the one-edged sword from Curtea de Argeș. Besides, the bronze hilt is originally ornamented with engraving: the top with a chess ornament, the hilt with parallel zigzags and transverse lines (Vulpe 1967, pl. 16: 2, fig. 19). The burial with a single-edged akinakes with an antenna pommel from Curtea de Argeș A. Vulpe (1984, 54) dated back to the second half of the 6th century BC. The pottery from this burial is identical to the vessels from burials with akinakai of the Ferigile burial ground (Vulpe 1967, 58), which belong to the Ferigile-Nord phase of the late 7th – 6th centuries BC (Vulpe

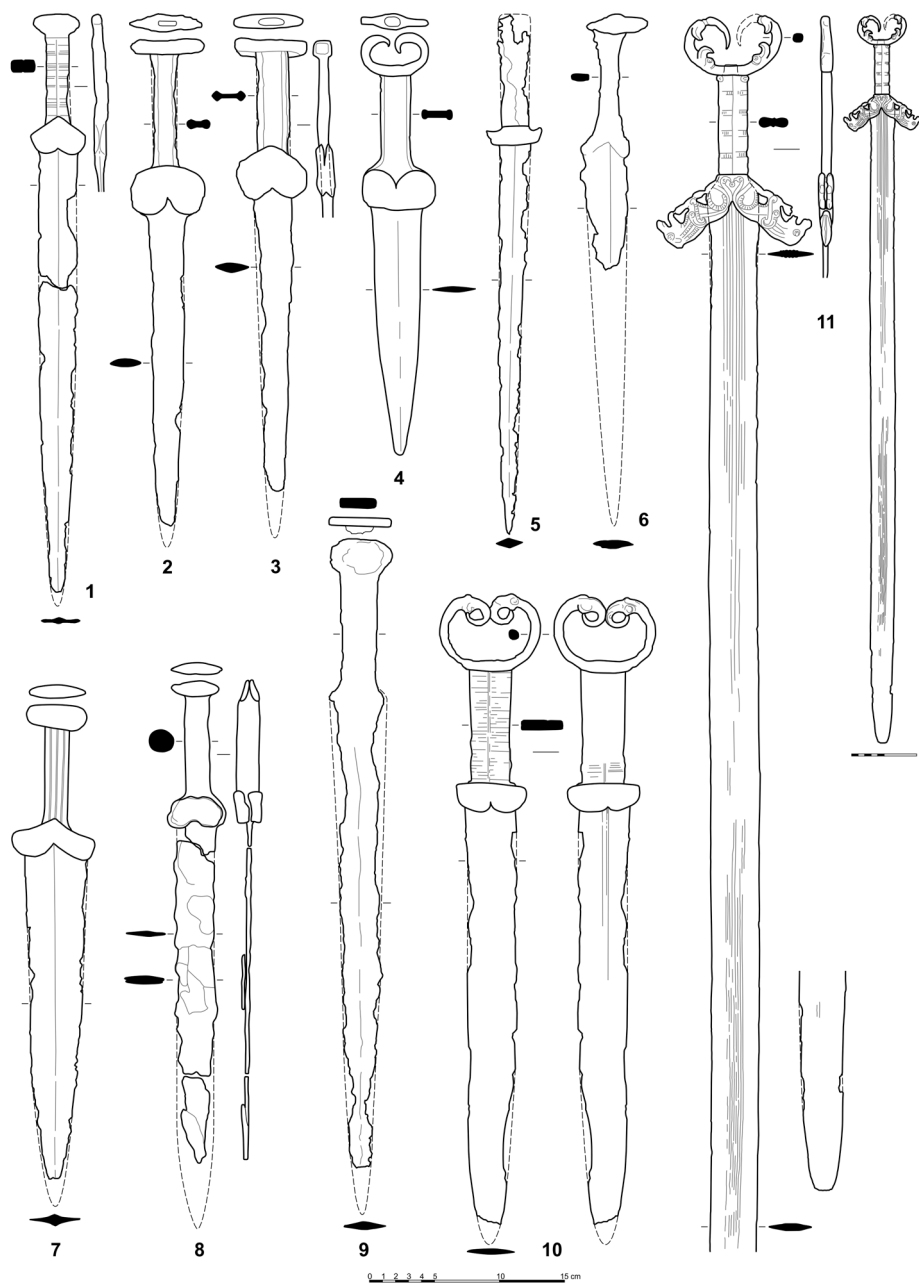


Fig. 8. Middle Scythian swords and daggers of Transylvania and Wallachia: 1 – Tigveni, bar. 9, gr. 5; 2 – Brateiu-Zăvoi, gr.; 3 – Gădălin-Dealul Crucii, bar.?: 4 – Băița-Turnul Băiței, gr. 7; 5 – Năsal-Gospodar, strayfind of 1907; 6 – Băița, gr. 1; 7 – Brașov-Țara Bârsei, strayfind; 8 – Băcăinți-Obreje, gr. 1; 9 – Năeni-Colarea, gr.; 10 – Cepari, bar. 5; 11 – Dobolii de Jos (Aldoboly), strayfind in Olt river, 1869.

1990, 126). Two stray finds are known in Transylvania, e.g. items from Benic and Dumbrava. In 1897, near Benic village was discovered an iron dagger with a bronze hilt decorated with vertical zigzags in the centre (Ginters 1928, Taf. 13: c) (fig. 6: 14). Recently, a stray find of a single-edged akinakes of the Nógrád type in the northeast of the region was introduced into scientific circuit. Between the Vătava and Dumbrava villages (Mureş county), an iron sword of excellent preservation was found with a massive kidney-shaped hilt, a ribbed handle and a rectangular pommel riveted at the edges (Rezi and Cioată 2013, 33, 34, pl. 2: 1; 3: 1-5) (fig. 3: 6; 6: 15; 7: 4). Also, this is the most eastern item and it has a small iron ending, probably remaining from the scabbard (Rezi and Cioată 2013: 37, pl. 2: 2; 3: 6). By the analogies, the authors of the publication dated back the sword from Dumbrava to the late 6th – early 5th century BC (Rezi and Cioată 2013: 36).

Akinakai of the *Shumeyko type* (or *Piliny type*, according to A. Vulpe), which spread at the turn of the Early and Middle Scythian period (Topal 2022, fig. 4), served as the basis for the akinakai of the Nógrád type. This is indicated by the features of the single-edged akinakai of the Nógrád type, characteristic of the Shumeyko type such as a narrow elongated blade (often triangular), a massive kidney-shaped hilt, two-part handle and decoration with transverse notches, a narrow elongated pommel. Akinakai of the Shumeyko type are well known in Transylvania for the complex of finds of the late 7th – first half of the 6th century BC from Brateiu (Vasiliev 1979, 21) (fig. 8: 2; fig. 13: D) and a sword from Gădălin (Wollman 1970, 245, fig. 2: 4) (fig. 8: 3), possibly from a destroyed burial. This cremation was accompanied by handmade vessels – a ladle and a big biconical pot with cannelures (Vulpe 1990, 40, Taf. 45B). Although the big pot is close to the vessel from burial 6 near Budeşti-Fânaţe dated back to the 7th century BC, A. Vulpe (1990, 41) does not exclude the first half of the 6th century BC. Another poorly documented find of an akinakes of the Shumeyko type comes from Transylvania. The sword from Gădălin in Cluj County (Wollman 1970, fig. 1) may have belonged to a destroyed burial in the Dealul Crucii tract, where it was found by locals in 1968 with a biconical urn and a ladle (Wollman 1970, 245, Fig. 2: 4). The Shumeyko type also includes items with antenna pommels like the artefact from burial 7 near the Băiţa village (Vasiliev 1976, pl. 21: 1) (fig. 8: 4). In addition to the sword, the burial contained a big pot, arrowheads and a cruciform plaque decorated with an incised ornament of the late 6th – the first half of the 5th century BC (Vulpe 1990, 56-57). Judging by the quiver set, consisting of arrowheads with internal sleeves and bronze plaques with a circular ornament, burial 1 from Băiţa (Vulpe 1990, Taf. 47e) (fig. 8: 6) can also be attributed to the first half of the 5th century BC. The poorly preserved akinakes from this assemblage is more difficult to identify (Vulpe 1990, Taf. 17: 82). However, the oval pommel

and flat handle of the product suggest similarities with swords of the Cozia type, by A. Vulpe. Summing up the chronological observations, we can conclude that, despite a certain probability of the appearance of this type of daggers at the end of the 7th – early 6th century BC, the main period of its usage refers to the second or third quarter of the 6th century BC.

Late Middle Scythian period. The end of local history?

At the end of the Middle Scythian culture, many features are formed that will determine the appearance of swords and daggers of the Classical period. These features include an oval pommel, transverse notches on the handle and longitudinal grooves on the blade and hilt. However, if the Classical period swords and daggers become “lighter” due to the thinning of the handle (often forged together with pommel and hilt), then in the Middle Scythian period, akinakai still retain their massiveness. Features such as an oval pommel, a flat hilt and a butterfly-like hilt allowed A. Vulpe (1990, 43) to distinguish the Cozia type. The researcher attributed to this type stray finds from Romanian Moldova and Transylvania, e.g. a dagger presumably found on the territory of Braşov city (Crişan 1960, 118, fig. 1) (fig. 8: 7). Another akinakes of the Cozia type was recently discovered in the burial from Băcăinţi-Obreje (Balteş, Borangic and Fetcu 2017, 71, fig. 3) (fig. 3: 7, 8; 7: 1; 8: 8; 14: A), dated by the authors of the publication within “the second half of the 6th – early 5th century BC” (Balteş, Borangic and Fetcu 2017, 79). Indeed, the bowl, characteristic of the late Basarabi culture, finds analogies in mounds 41 (fig. 15: E) and 44 (fig. 15: D) of the Ferigile burial ground of the Ferigile-Nord phase, which covers the entire 6th century BC. However, these burials belong, rather, to the first half of the 6th century BC. On the other hand, such a bowl was found in burial 5 of barrow 9 near Tigveni of the first half of the 5th century BC (Vulpe 1990, 50), moreover, together with a sword of Cozia type (fig. 8: 1; 15: B). Therefore, the burial at Băcăinţi most likely refers to the late 6th – the early 5th century BC, which is not contradicted by the arrowheads with the internal sleeves. Akinakai of the Cozia type constitute, perhaps, the most representative and widespread group of artefacts in the European part of the area (Topal 2021, fig. 66). In addition, we have many well-dated assemblages at our disposal. The type is mainly concentrated in the east of the Danube region, covers the steppe part of the Black Sea region and the Crimea, the Ciscaucasia, the Southern Urals and the Trans-Urals. Even though this type appears in the 6th century BC and is known until the turn of the 5th-4th centuries BC, the bulk of the burials belongs to the first half of the 5th



century BC, closer to the first quarter of the century. At the same time, most of the early complexes of the 6th century BC were found in the Caucasus.

The end of the Middle Scythian period includes an akinakes with a semicircular hilt of the second half of the 6th – first half of the 5th century BC: a stray find near the Năsal village (Roska 1942, kép. 245). Such an original hilt in the form of a Thracian shield *πέλτη*, according to A. Vulpe (1990, 58) is typical for akinakai in the Animal style of the Găiceana type. The relative rarity of akinakai with *pelte*-hilts in the 1950s did not allow A. I. Melyukova (1964, 55) to establish their chronology accurately. However, over time, the time of existence of this type of hilts was determined within the framework of the 6th-5th (Fodor 1969, 253) or 5th century BC (Evdokimov and Murzin 1984, 78). An impressive series of swords and daggers with a semicircular hilt (55 items) was recently examined by Ukrainian scholars, specifying its dating to “the second half of the 6th – the first half of the 5th century BC” (Babenko and Shelekhan 2015, 83, 88). At the same time, it is characteristic that akinakai with a semicircular hilt of the *Mircești type* from the burials are characteristic of the Pontic steppe and Crimea (Babenko and Shelekhan 2015, 79-83), while stray finds coming mainly from the forest-steppe of the Donets-Bug interfluvium and the Eastern Carpathians (Topal 2017, 125).

One of the latest Transylvanian akinakai is the stray find from Dobolii de Jos (earlier Aldoboly), discovered in 1869 in the Olt river in Covasna County (Hampel 1893, áb. 7, 8, 9). A distinctive feature of this item is its outstanding dimensions: the total length is 112.5 cm with a blade length of 97.5 cm (fig. 3: 9; 8: 11). In addition, not only the pommel but also the crosshairs were decorated in the Animal style, in the form of two open-mouthed predators, e.g. lions. And if the interpretation of the images on the hilt did not cause discussions, then the pommel was interpreted as a pair of dolphins (Pârvan 1926, 387; Ginters 1928, 42), birds (Fettich 1928, 144; Nestor 1933, 145) or gryphon heads (Rostovtsev 1925, 607). A. Vulpe (1990, 63; 2000, 229), based on analogies from mound 401 near Zhurovka, proposed dating the specimen from Dobolii de Jos within the first half of the 5th century BC. Nevertheless, the design of the pommel in the form of curved claws of a bird of prey with “eyes” at the base brings this sword closer to the akinakai of the Grishentsy type of the mid. – the third quarter of the 5th century BC. The burials with Grishchentsy akinakai are mainly concentrated in two main regions: the forest-steppe part of the middle Dnieper river, particularly along the left bank, and the northern Caucasus (Topal 2020, fig. 6). Judging by the dating of these monuments, the Grishchentsy type does not extend beyond the 5th century BC and most likely dates back only to the second and third quarters of the century. Another important feature to be noted is that steppe burials are usually later than those of the forest-steppe, except for the Caucasus. Stray

finds are also characteristic of the forest-steppe. They form a traditional cluster in the interfluvium between the Desna and Volga rivers and extend eastward to the Kama and Volga-Ural regions. The western distribution is less representative, the most westerly finds being discovered in northern Bulgaria and southern Transylvania. It should be noted that some stray finds enter the steppe but this trend only becomes common in the Classical Scythian period (Topal 2020, 634-635).

Conclusions

So, most of the swords and daggers of the Ciombrud group in Transylvania belong to the early Scythian period, while in Wallachia there are about half of such items. This turns Transylvania and the Southern Carpathians into the westernmost range of the archaic akinakai. Other items from Hungary and Poland, traditionally considered early Scythian, either are not early (like finds from Płó and Bodzanowo) or were not discovered at all in the Danube region (Siberian dagger from Borsod) (Topal 2021, 355). As for Transylvania, the Early Scythian burials are concentrated mainly in the central part of the area, while the Middle Scythian, especially the late Middle Scythian, tend to the periphery – both in the southwest, northwest, and the southeast, represented by stray finds. Furthermore, the early Scythian time was the period of the creative reinvention of the Gudermes and Kelermes traditions, which led to the appearance in Transylvania of the Posmuş and Deleni types of akinakai, and in Wallachia – of the Ferigile type of the second half of the 7th – the turn of the 7th-6th centuries BC. The distribution of the early Scythian swords and daggers allows us to conclude that their penetration into the Carpathian-Danube region took place on two main routes: along the northern border of the forest-steppe to Transylvania at the initial stage, and later – along the southern border between steppe and forest-steppe, through the Bărăgan plain to the South Carpathians. Moreover, one of the earliest finds of an akinakes with an antenna pommel (Frata type of the second half of the 7th century BC) was also found in Transylvania (fig. 4: 12; 11:3C). The Carpathian-Danube region is also characterized by an isolated series of single-edged swords of the Nógrád type, which area does not extend beyond the Middle Danube, Transylvania and South Carpathians. The ground of this type was the Shumeyko type of the Early and Middle Scythian period and some Illyrian traditions. At the end of the Middle Scythian time, Scythian swords and daggers were characteristic only of the periphery of the region, which may indicate the gradual withdrawal of Transylvania and the Southern Carpathian region from under the Scythian influence. And the absence of akinakai in the region of interest for the Classical period allows us to attribute the final phase of this process to the framework no later than the last quarter of the 5th century BC.

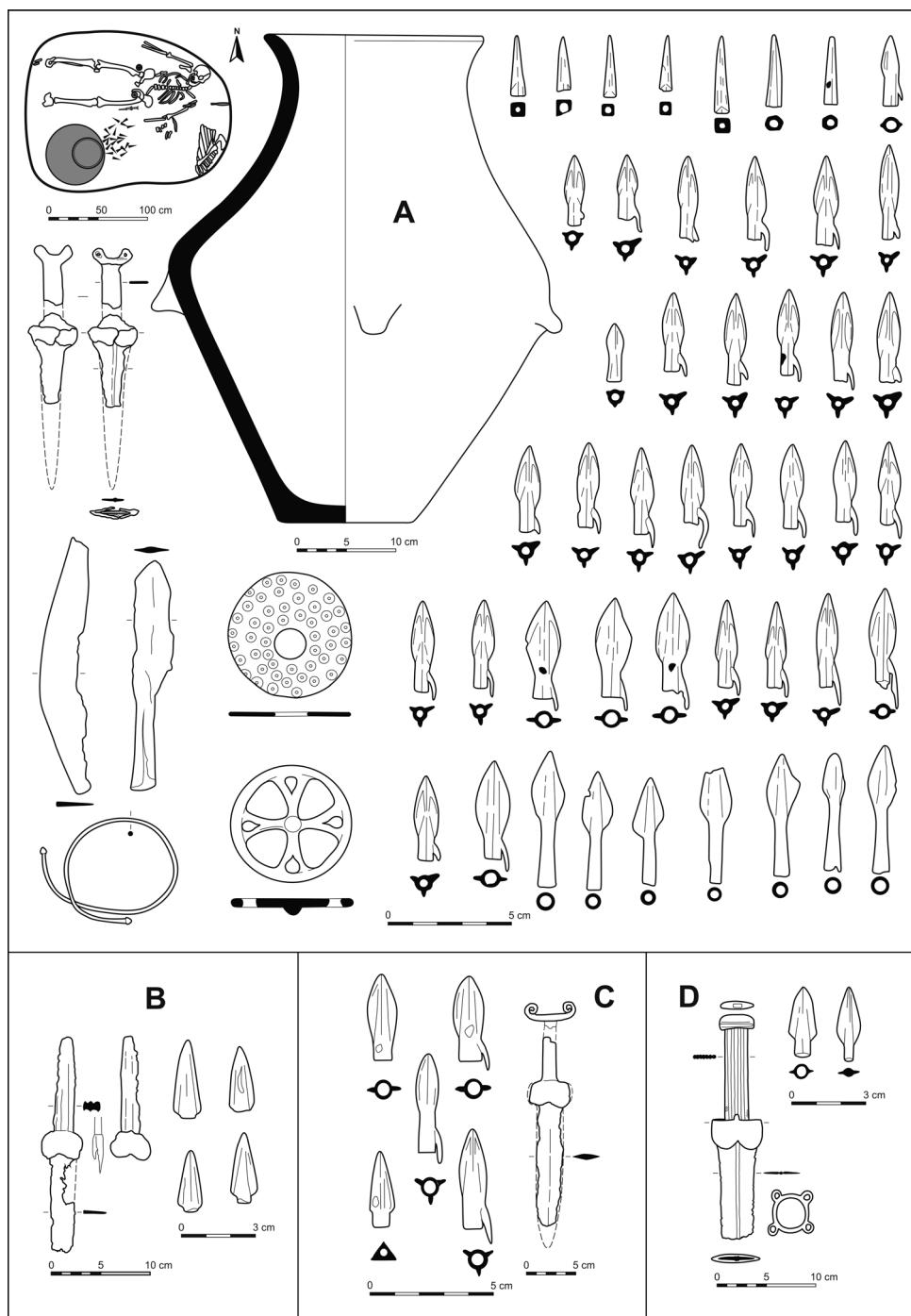


Fig. 9. Burials with bladed weapons of Transylvanian group: A – Teiuș, burial 2 of 1969; B – Aiud-Hellos, burial 13; C – Batoș, burial 3, 1964; D – Posmuș, destroyed burial.

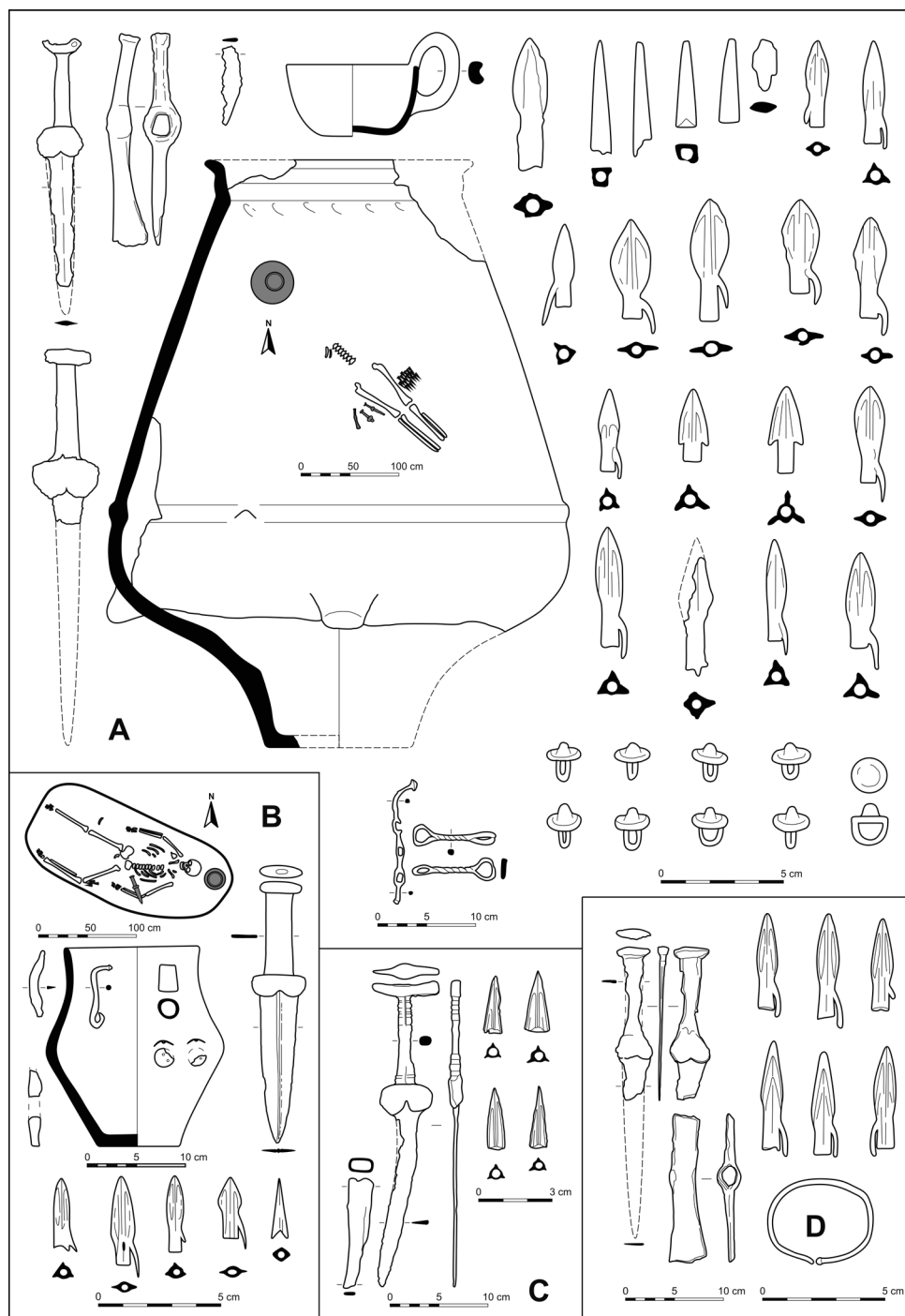


Fig. 10. Burials with bladed weapons of the Transylvanian group: A – Cristești, burial 9; B – Mărișelu, burial 7; C – Păclișa (Alba Iulia), burial; D – Aiud-Park, burial 1 of 1886.

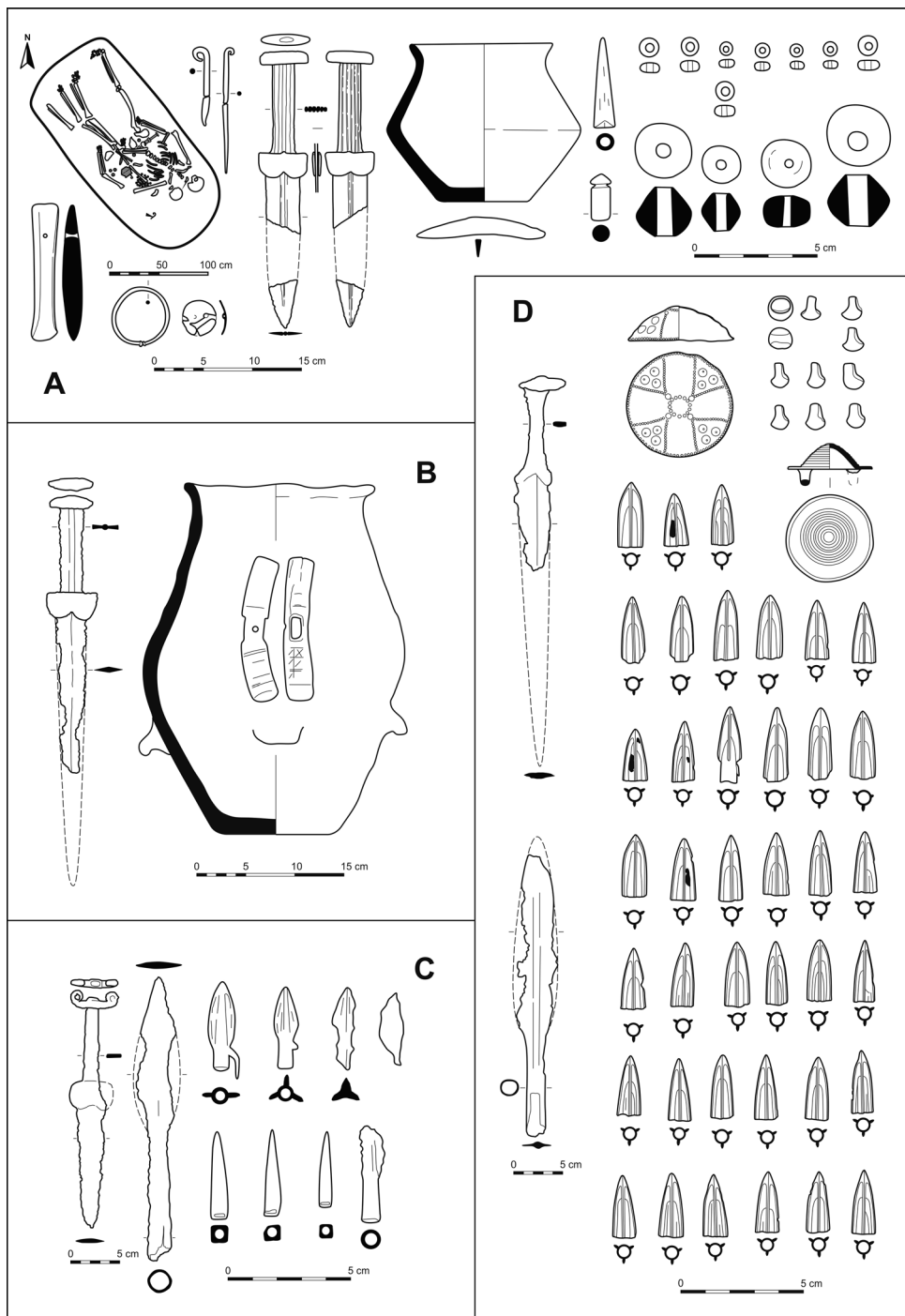


Fig. 11. Burials with bladed weapons of the Transylvanian group: A – Mărișelu, burial 6; B – Cipău-Gara, burial 6 1955; C – Frata, burial; D – Băița, burial 1.

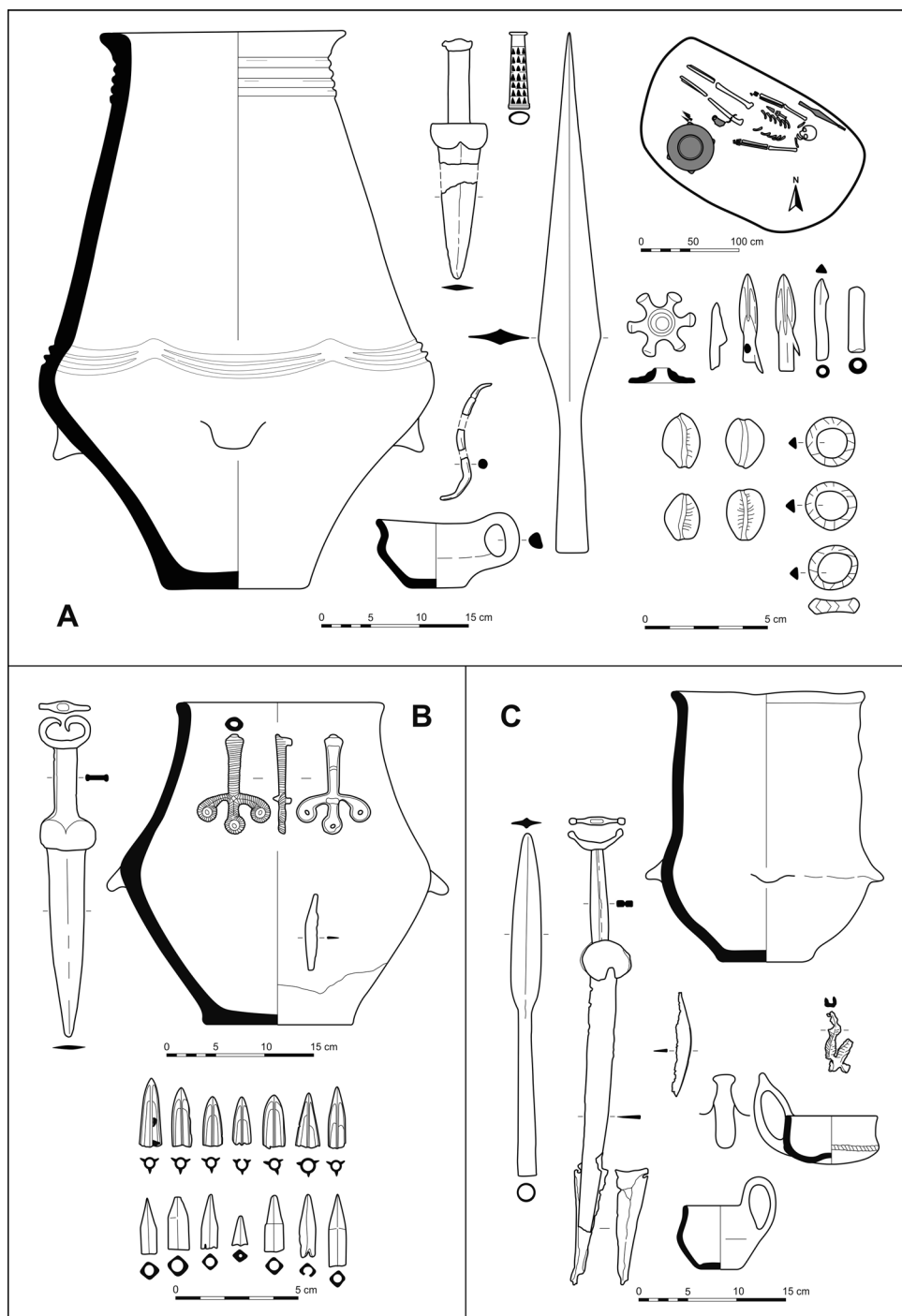


Fig. 12. Burials with bladed weapons of the Transylvanian group: A – Budești-Fănațe, burial 6; B – Băița, burial 7; C – Băița, burial 10.

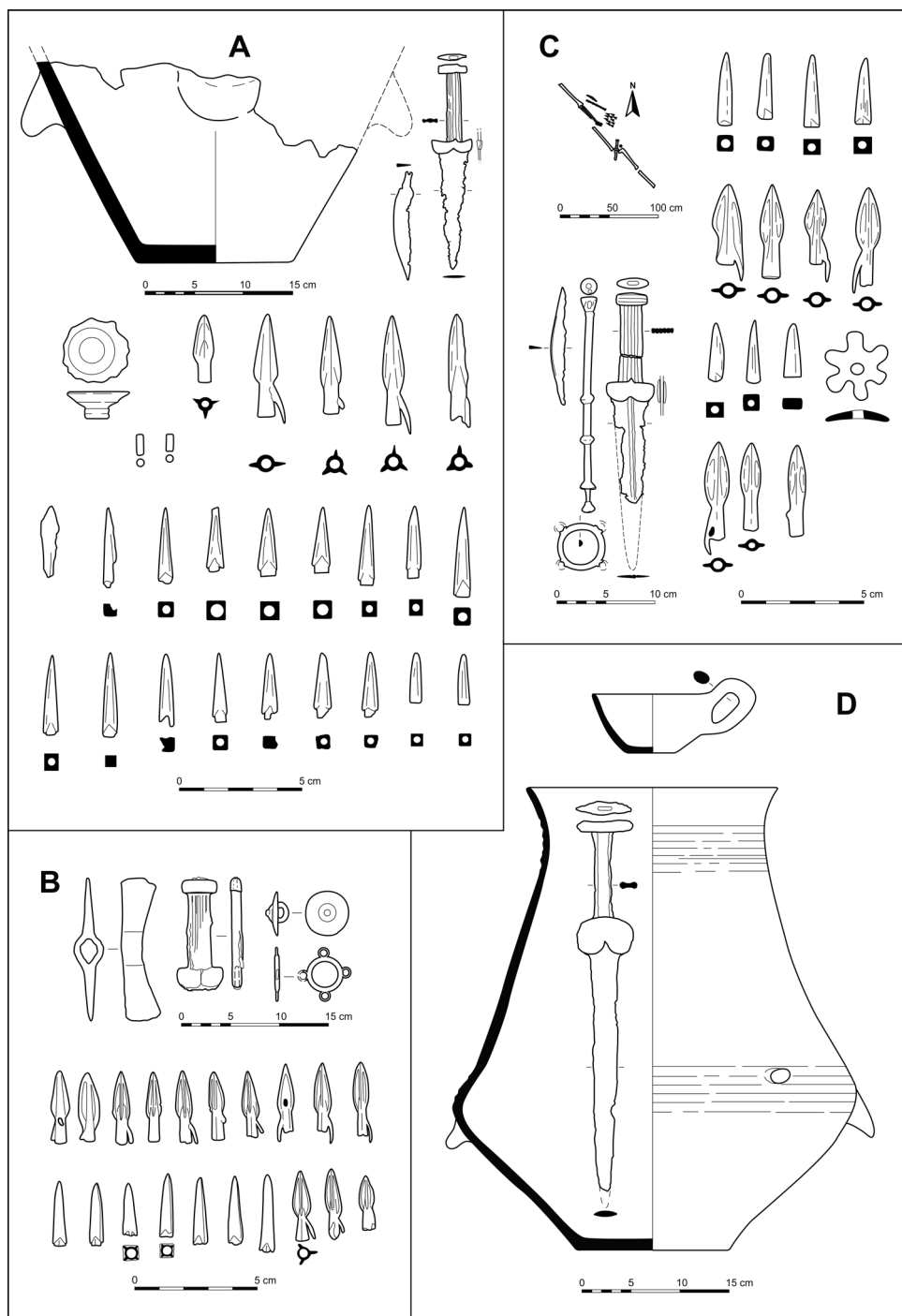


Fig. 13. Burials with the bladed weapons of the Transylvanian group: A – Deleni, burial; B – Aiud-Park, burial 8 of 1895; C – Mărișelu, burial 4; D – Brateiu, burial.

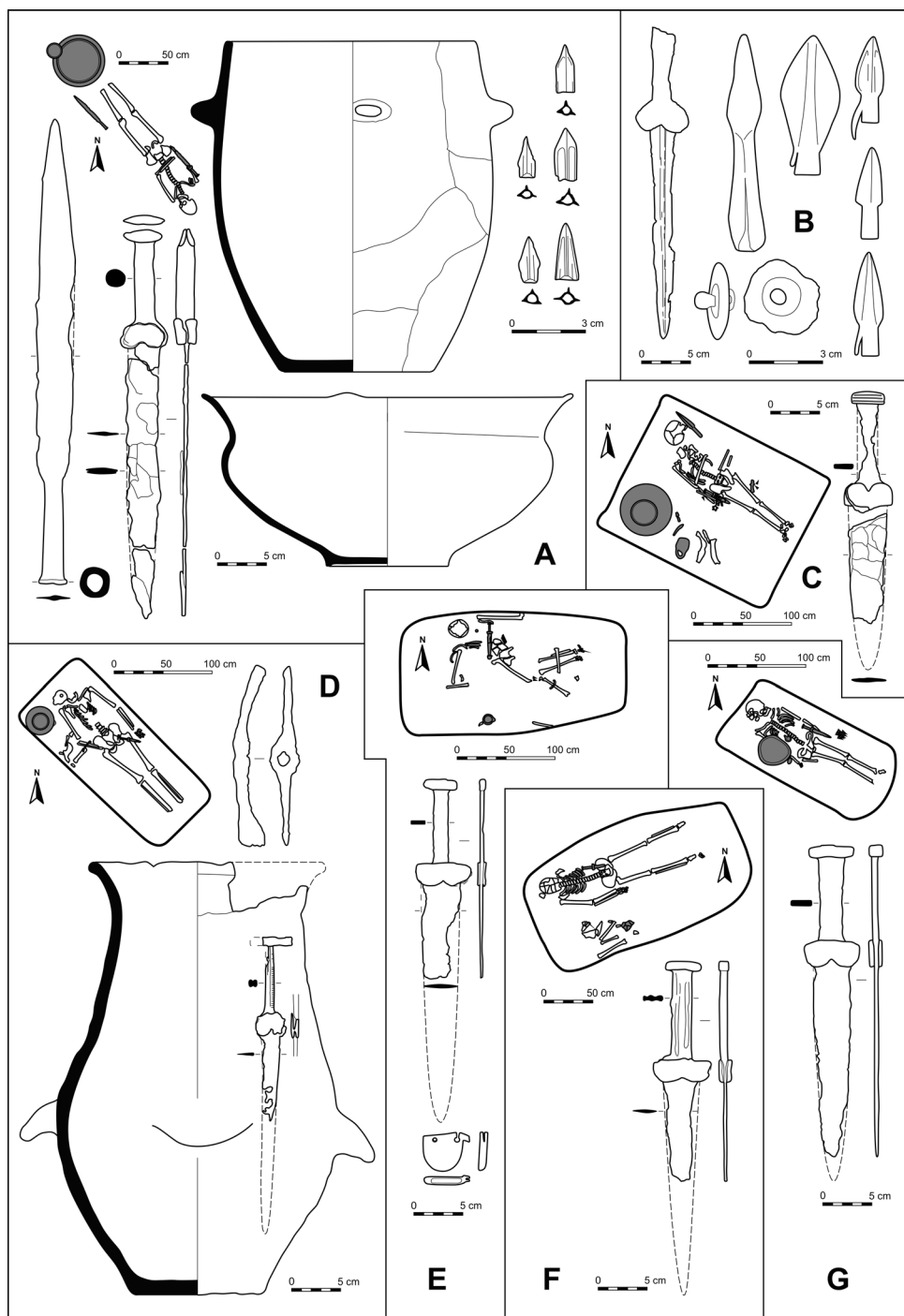


Fig. 14. Burials with bladed weapons of Transylvanian group: A – Băcăinți-Obreje, burial 1; B – Archita, burial of 1871; C – Sâncrai, burial 60; D – Ciumbud, burial 2; E – Sâncrai – burial 82; F – Sâncrai – burial 84; G – Sâncrai – burial 10.

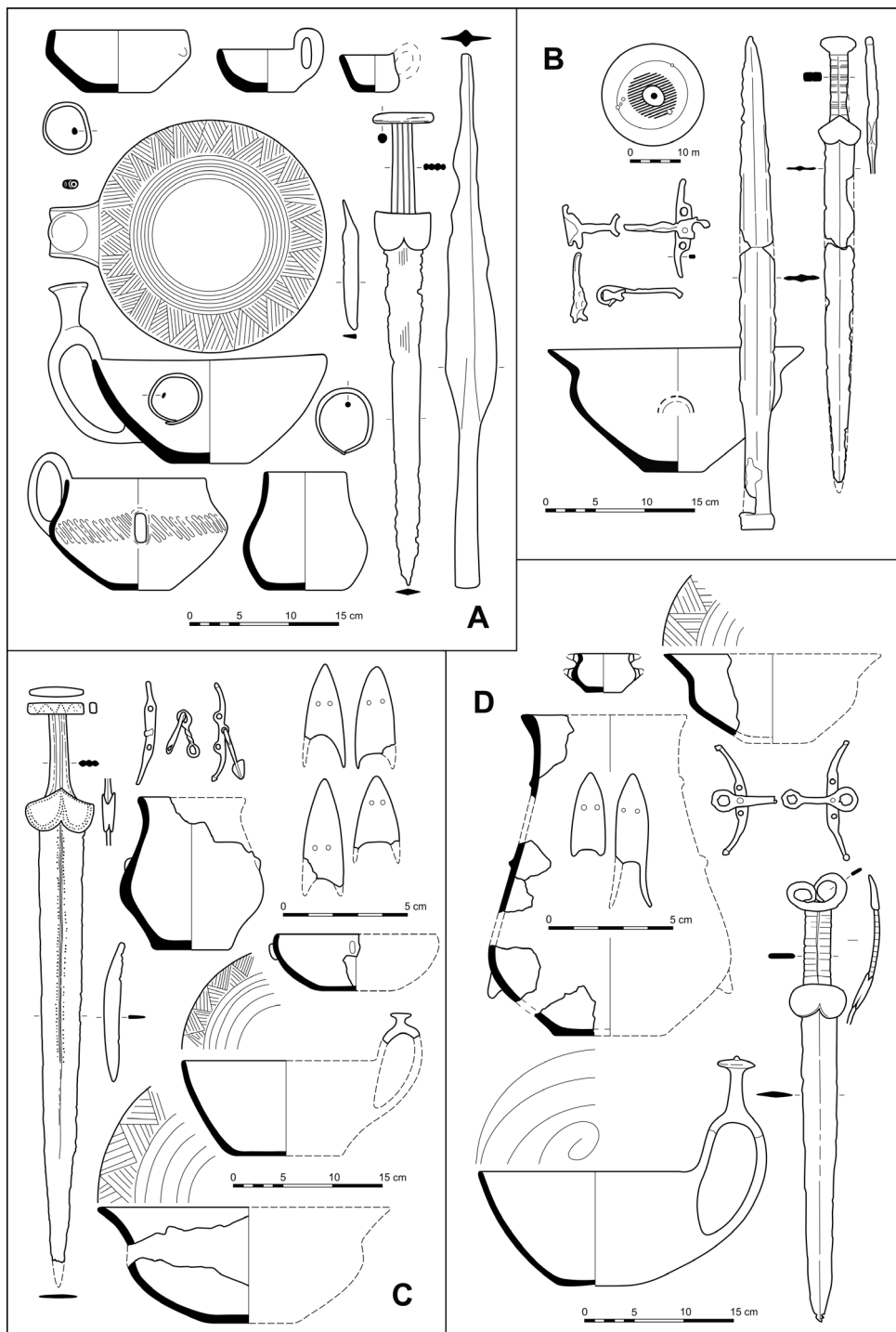


Fig. 15. Burials with bladed weapons of the South Carpathian group: A – Ferigile, barrow 1; B – Tigveni, barrow 9, burial 5; C – Ferigile, barrow 41; D – Ferigile, barrow 44.

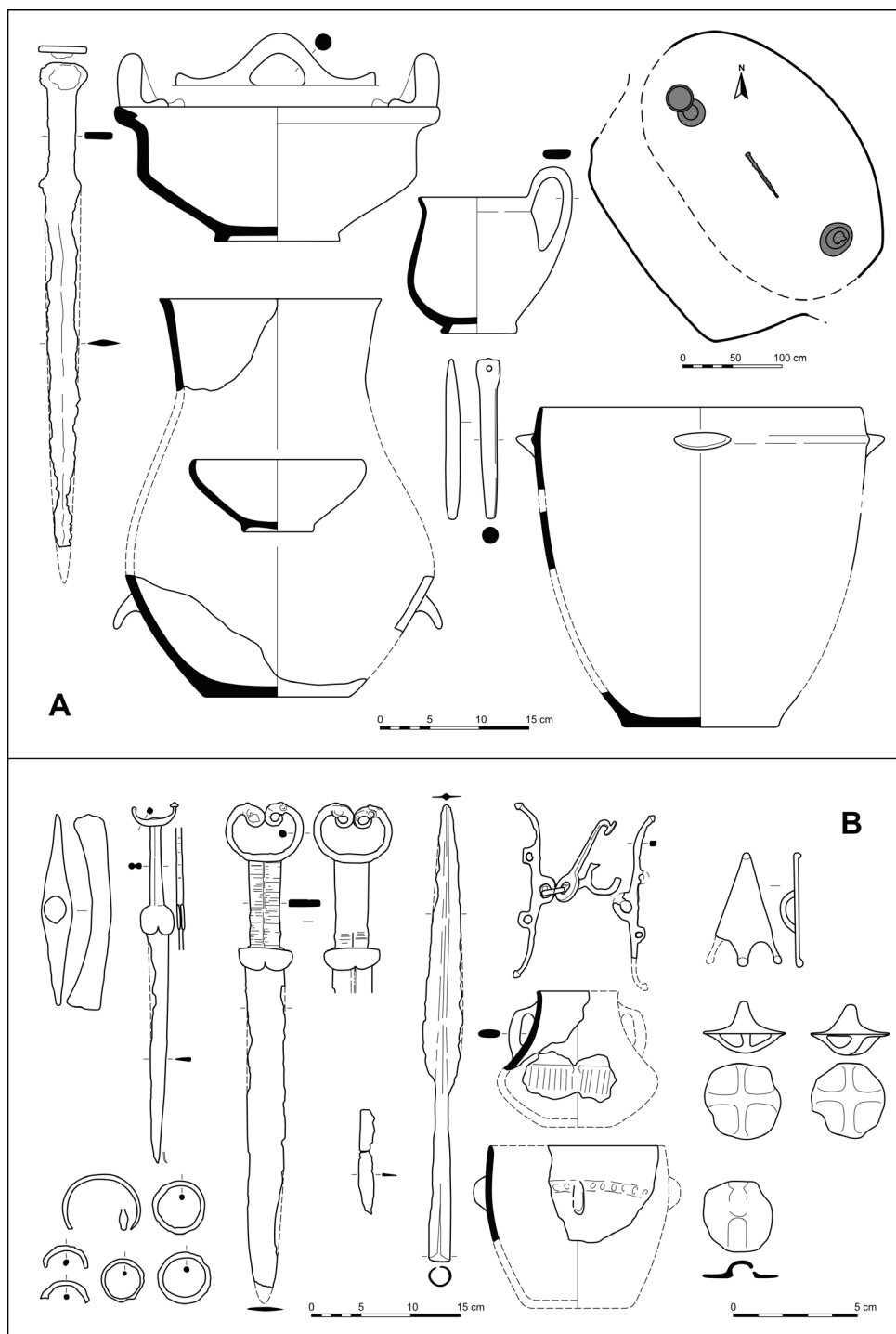


Fig. 16. Burials with the bladed weapons of the South Carpathian group: A – Năeni-Colarea, burial; B – Cepari, barrow 5.



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Spade și pumnale ale nomazilor timpurii din Transilvania și Carpații Meridionali: variații locale și tradiții continentale

Rezumat

Transilvania și Carpații Meridionali, ca și Caucazul și Niprul Mijlociu, pot fi considerate centrele genezei a akinakes-ului scitic, mai ales în perioada scitică timpurie. Mai mult, epoca scitică timpurie a fost perioada reinventării creative a tradițiilor de tip Gudermes și Kelermes, care a dus la apariția în Transilvania a akinakes-urilor de tip Posmuș și Deleni, iar în Carpații Meridionali – a tipului Ferigile din a doua jumătate a sec. al VII-lea – începutul sec. VI î.Hr. Distribuția spadelor și pumnaletelor scitice timpurii ne permite să concluzionăm că pătrunderea lor în regiunea carpato-dunăreană s-a desfășurat pe două căi principale: inițial, de-a lungul limitei de nord a silvostepii până în Transilvania, iar ulterior – de-a lungul limitei de sud, prin câmpia Bărăganului până în Carpații Meridionali. În plus, una dintre cele mai timpurii descoperiri ale unui akinakes cu terminația anteniformă (tipul Frata din a doua jumătate a sec. al VII-lea î.Hr.) a fost găsită și în Transilvania. Regiunea carpato-dunăreană se caracterizează și printr-o serie izolată de spade cu lama un singur tăiș de tip Nógrád, aria căror nu se extinde dincolo de Dunărea Mijlocie, Transilvania și Carpații Meridionali. Baza acestui tip, aparent, au fost akinakes-uri de tip Shumeyko din perioada scitică timpurie-medie și unele tradiții ilirice. La sfârșitul epocii scitice medii, spadele și pumnalele scitice erau caracteristice doar periferiei regiunii, ceea ce poate indica retragerea treptată a Transilvaniei și a regiunii Carpaților Meridionali de sub influența culturii scitice. Iar absența akinakes-ului în regiunea de interes pentru perioada clasică ne permite să atribuim faza finală a acestui proces nu mai târziu de ultimul sfert al sec. al V-lea î.Hr.

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