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## Przeworsk tribes in the western Ukrainian lands in the first centuries AD (according to the materials of funeral sites)<sup>1</sup>

### ABSTRACT

During the 1<sup>st</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD, waves of migrations repeatedly swept through the area of present-day western Ukraine. As evidenced by archaeological materials, migrations of Dacian and Przeworsk populations at the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD and during the 2<sup>nd</sup> century led to the formation of the Lipitsa culture in this region, a cultural unit combining ethnic traits of both communities. The turbulent times of the Marcomannic Wars (166–180 AD) and a new wave of Przeworsk culture migration pushed the Lipitsa population outwards to Dacia. The distribution of archaeological sites from the late 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD shows that the Danube region was not the only direction of the movement of the Przeworsk tribes, as they also resettled and colonised new territories in the Volhynia, Podolia, and Polesie regions. Thus, the Przeworsk populations migrating to western Ukraine in the first two centuries AD blended with the Dacian milieu, contributing to the creation of the Lipitsa culture. The Przeworsk populations of the second wave, which moved to the territory of Ukraine towards the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century and in the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD, became the basis and a major component of a new cultural unit: the Chernyakhov culture of the Late Roman Period.

### KEYWORDS

Roman time, Przeworsk culture, Lipitsa culture, site, burial, cremation, sword, weaponry

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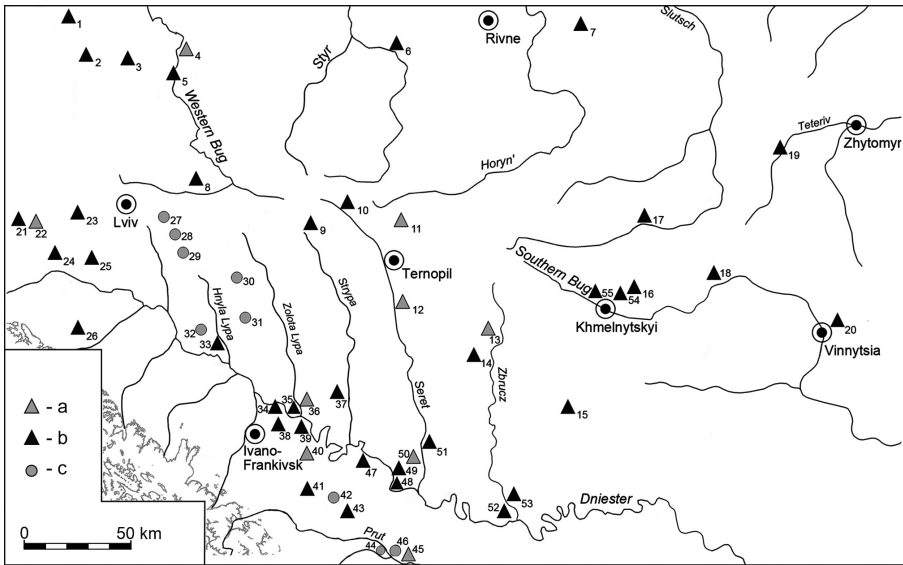
1 The article is a translated and completed version of the text "Дві міграційні хвилі пше-воських племен на західні землі України у римський час" (Vakulenko *et al.* 2019).



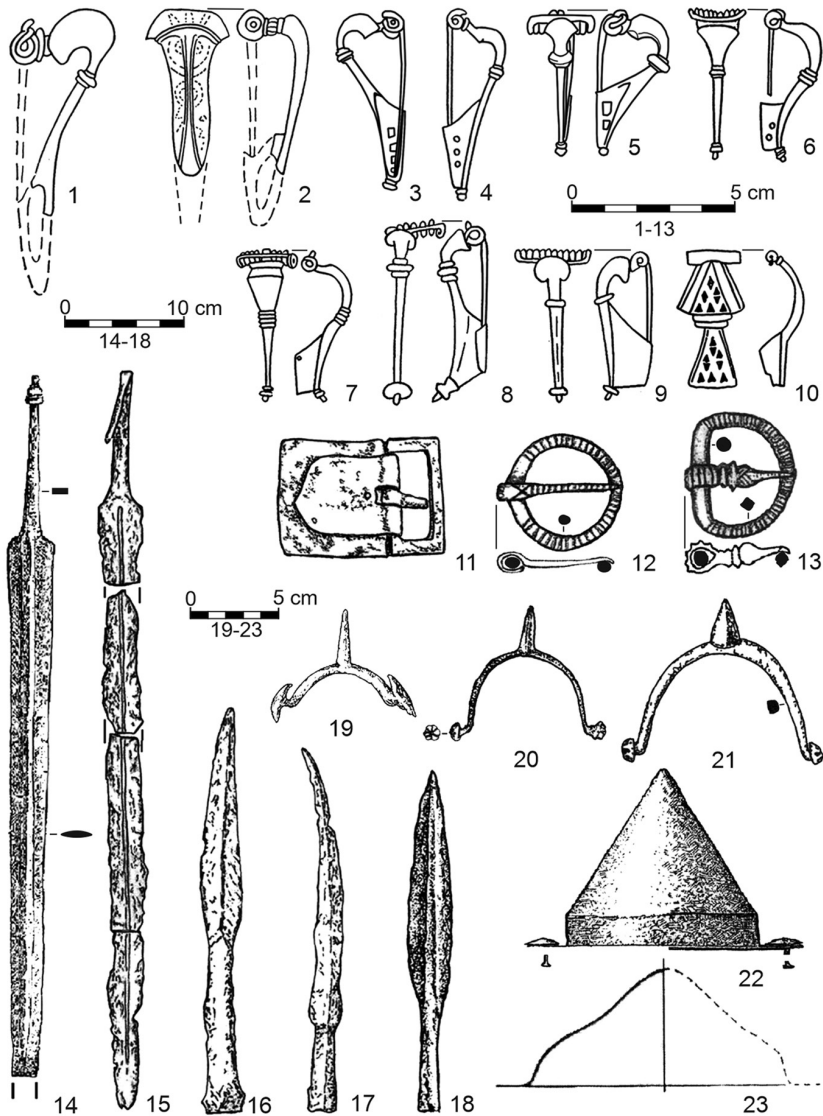
The Roman period, the peak age of influence of Roman culture over the European barbarian world, was marked by the intensification of migration processes. During that period, Western Ukrainian lands in the upper reaches of the Western Bug, Dniester, Seret and Prut Rivers saw waves of migrations repeatedly rolling into these areas. Standing as evidence of this are the archaeological sites, the materials of which were first introduced into scientific circulation by M. Śmiszko in his brilliant work published in 1932. In this monograph, Śmiszko identified a new archaeological culture, which he called the Lipitsa culture after a cemetery discovered near the village of Verhnâ Lypycâ (Верхня Липиця), pointing at the same time to the role of the Dacian ethnos in that context. Moreover, the study also published materials from Przeworsk culture sites discovered in the area (Śmiszko 1932). Since then, both the region itself and the Roman period sites discovered in the area have repeatedly piqued the attention of researchers.

The emergence of the Przeworsk population in western Ukraine is associated with the changing ethnocultural situation in the north-west of Europe. The core area of the Przeworsk culture was in Poland, where its sites are known starting from the La Tène period. Most researchers acknowledge that the Przeworsk culture was formed by an ethnically compact group of Germanic tribes that were strongly influenced by Celtic culture and closely linked by long-standing economic ties amongst themselves. In different periods over the 600-year long existence of the Przeworsk culture and, perhaps, in different parts of its overall range, various tribes came to prominence within the Przeworsk community, and their names appear in written sources – Lugii, Hasdingi, Viktohali, Vandals (Godłowski 1981, 133–135; Godłowski, Okulicz 1981, 27–64). It can be assumed that this last tribe appeared in our area during the Roman times.

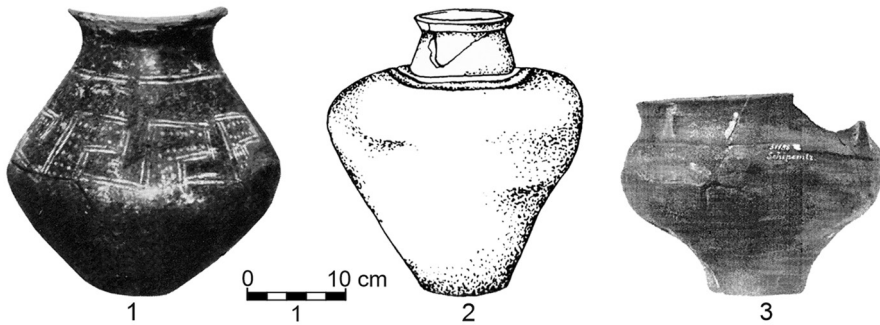
The first Przeworsk settlers from northwestern Europe appeared in the upper reaches of the Western Bug, Dniester, Seret and Prut Rivers at the turn of the eras (Fig. 1). From that period come a single Przeworsk cemetery in Lučky (Лучки) (Śmiszko 1932, 18, 20) and a damaged cemetery in Sudova Vyšná (Судова Вишня) (Onyśuk, Pogoral's'kuj 2015, 132–134), as well as some Przeworsk artefacts which are the remains of damaged Przeworsk sites. These artefacts include vessels which apparently served as urns (Fig. 3), discovered in Bendûga (Бендюга) (Śmiszko 1932, 3) (Fig. 3: 2), Монастыр҃а (Монастириха) (Kozak 1984, 90) (Fig. 3: 1), and Šurynci (Шипинці) (Tackenberg 1930, 290, Abb. 31) (Fig. 3: 3), as well as weapons – in Šurivci (Шипівці) (Olijnyk, Myhajlovs'kuj 1996, 122–123), Zadariv (Задарів) (Onyśuk 2018, 120).



**FIG. 1.** Funeral monuments of the Roman Period in western Ukraine: a – Przeworsk culture, first wave; b – Przeworsk culture, second wave; c – Lipitsa culture sites: 1 – Svaryčiv (Сваричів); 2 – Podlodów; 3 – Przewodów; 4 – Bendúga (Бендюга); 5 – Červonograd (Червоноград); 6 – Mlyniv (Млинів); 7 – Gorodyšče (Городишче); 8 – Novyj Âryčiv (Новий Яричів); 9 – Perepelnyky; 10 – Malašivci (Малашівці); 11 – Česnivs'kyj Rakovec' (Чеснівський Раковець); 12 – Lučky (Лучки); 13 – Monastyruha (Монастириха); 14 – Vólucá (Волиця); 15 – Ternava (Тернава); 16 – Arkadiïvci (Аркадіївці); 17 – Gromivka (Громівка); 18 – Pátka (Ілятка); 19 – Čudniv (Чуднів); 20 – Vinnycá (Вінниця); 21 – Tvirža (Твіржа); 22 – Sudova Vyšnâ (Судова Вишня); 23 – Dobrostanu (Доброгани); 24 – Rydka (Ридка); 25 – Komarno (Комарно); 26 – Stanylá (Станія); 27 – Čyžykyv (Чижиків); 28 – Zvenygorod (Звенигород); 29 – Gryniv (Гринів); 30 – Bolotná (Болотня); 31 – Verhnâ Lyrucá (Верхня Липиця); 32 – Kolokolyn (Колоколин); 33 – Burštyn (Бурштин); 34 – Gannusivka (Ганнусівка); 35 – Petryliv (Петрилів); 36 – Zadariv (Задарів); 37 – Ozerâny (Озеряни); 38 – Pidrečery (Підпечери); 39 – Olešiv (Олешів); 40 – Notymur (Хотимир); 41 – Velyka Kam'ánka (Велика Кам'янка); 42 – Rožnevi Polâ (Рожневі Поля); 43 – Slobidka-Pil'na (Слобідка-Пільна); 44 – Zavallâ (Завалля); 45 – Šyruvci (Шипинці); 46 – Nepolokivci (Неполоківці); 47 – Repužynci (Репужинці); 48 – Pečorna (Печорна); 49 – Ivane-Zolote (Іване-Золоте); 50 – Šyryvci (Шипівці); 51 – Kapustynci (Капустинці); 52 – Boryškivci (Боришківці); 53 – Kudrynci (Кудринці); 54 – Stufčynci (Стуфчинці); 55 – Gruzevycá (Грузевиця)



**FIG. 2.** Selected chronological markers of the first wave of Przeworsk tribes' migration to the western areas of Ukraine: 1–10 – fibulae (1, 2 – Kolokolyn, 3 – Gryniv, 4 – Zvenygorod, 5 – Bolotnâ, 6–10 – Verhnâ Lypycâ); 11–13 – buckles (Bolotnâ); 14, 15 – swords (14 – Gryniv, 15 – Bolotnâ); 16–18 – spearheads (16, 17 – Gryniv, 18 – Zvenygorod); 19–21 – spurs (19 – Gryniv, 20 – Zvenygorod, 21 – Bolotnâ); 22, 23 – shield bosses (22 – Gryniv; 23 – Bolotnâ). 1–12, 18 – bronze; 13–17, 19–23 – iron (after: Svešnikov 1957, fig. 21: 5; 23: 21; Cygulyk 2003, fig. 3 B: 1; 6 B: 3; 10 B: 12, 13; 12 A: 2; 14 B: 1, 8; 19 A: 6; Kozak 1984, fig. 36: 11, 12, 21; 37: 4; 38: 2; 1985, fig. 2: 3, 5, 18; Śmiszko 1932, pl. XIII: 8, 9, 11, 16, 19; 1935, pl. XIII)



**FIG. 3.** Przeworsk urns: 1 – Monastyryha; 2 – Bendûga; 3 – Šypynci (after: Kozak 1984, fig. 16: 2; 36: 29; Tackenberg 1930, Abb. 31)

What makes the cultural and ethnic situation particularly complex is the fact that the same territories were also the target of another wave of migration. According to the archaeological record, a little earlier, but almost simultaneously with the Przeworsk migration, a Dacian population arrived there from the south. They are represented by rich burials in Kolokolyn (Колоколин) (Šmiszko 1935), Čyžykyv (Чижиків) (Smiško 1957), and Rožnevi Polâ (Роژневі Поля) (Vakulenko 1999) belonging to the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD. In Kolokolyn, in addition to fibulae from the first decades of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD (Fig. 2: 1, 2), fragments of silver and bronze vessels of the first half of the same century were found. Bronze vessels also accompanied the burials in Čyžykyv and Rožnevi Polâ.

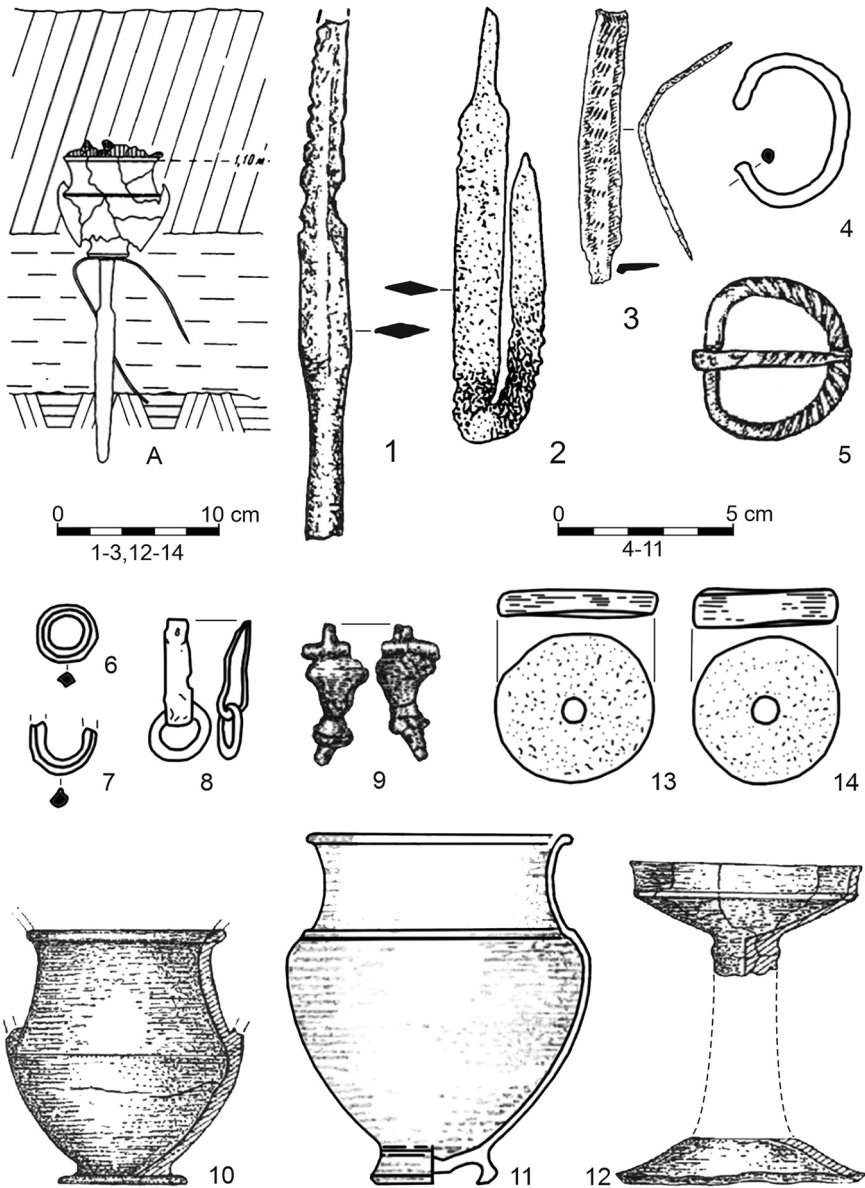
Thus, two migratory flows met in the discussed area around the turn of the eras: Przeworsk tribes advancing from the northwest and Dacians from the southeast (Fig. 1). No details are known about the first encounter between the Przeworsk and Dacian populations, as archaeological sources record them already at the stage of integration, which led to the formation of the Lipitsa culture. From the archaeological perspective, this period of integration started in the third decade AD and was particularly intensive from the 40s to the 70s, which corresponds to period B<sub>1</sub> in Central European chronology. The early Lipitsa culture cemeteries in Gryniv (Гринів), Bolotnâ (Болотня), and two cemeteries in Zvenygorod (Звенигород) contain graves of both these ethnically different populations: Przeworsk (apparently Germanic Vandals) and Dacian (Šmiszko 1932; Svešnikov 1957; Kozak 1984; Cygylk 2003). It is worth noting that Roman period burials comprise the most prominent and most studied

category in Western Ukraine. Przeworsk burials are cremations placed mainly in pits and urns together with pyre remains. Urns are sometimes lined with fragments of burnt pottery. Male burials are often furnished with weapons. Sometimes weapons become a structural part of the burial complex, for instance when the urn is placed on swords and spears inserted into the ground, or the spear is thrust into the bottom of the grave pit. In addition to pottery and weaponry (swords, shield bosses, spearheads and spurs), graves were commonly furnished with scissors, combs, fire strikers, needles, articles of jewelry and clothing, and other items. Typically, all metal objects placed in a grave bear traces of exposure to fire in a funeral pyre and have been deliberately broken. Throughout the Przeworsk culture's range, inhumation burials also occasionally occur.

The Dacians cremated their dead in specially arranged places (*ustrina*), burying them mostly in covered urns. Most often, bowls on a high foot were used as urn lids, a typically Dacian form of vessel, with the foot often deliberately broken off. Bowls and two-handled vessels were also often used as lids, and sometimes stone slabs served this purpose. The calcined bones were, as a rule, cleaned from the remains of the pyre. In the urn, and sometimes near it, small objects such as spindle whorls, fibulae, knives, buckles, or awls were placed. The bones inside the urn are sometimes additionally covered with fragments of burnt pottery.

Apart from the differences in funeral rite, the Przeworsk and Dacian burials are easily distinguishable by their ceramic finds. Handmade pottery of both cultures represents different forms. Importantly, unlike the Przeworsk population, at this time the Dacians already knew how to make wheel-made pottery and used it. Thus, both Przeworsk and Dacian burials are present in the same Early Roman period cemeteries in Gryniv, Zvenygorod, and Bolotnâ. However, particularly interesting for understanding the situation are the so-called mixed burials, which combine details of the funerary rites of both cultures. A striking example is burial No. 15 in Zvenygorod, where the urn was a typical Dacian vessel covered with a wheel-made bowl with a broken-off foot. The urn itself stood on a bent sword and a spear driven into the ground (Fig. 4). As already mentioned, hand- and wheel-made bowls on a high foot are typical of Dacian pottery. The presence of weapons, on the other hand, is a feature typical of Przeworsk male burials. Burials Nos. 45 and 61 from Bolotnâ can also be mentioned as examples of burial complexes combining ethnographic features of the Przeworsk and Dacian populations. In the former grave, the urn – a handmade jug – was covered with a handmade bowl on a high foot. The urn





**FIG. 4.** Zvenygorod, burial No. 15: a – burial plan; 1 – spearhead; 2 – sword; 3 – knife; 4-8 – belt set; 9 – fragmented fibula; 10-12 – pottery; 13, 14 – spindle.  
1-5 – iron; 6-9 – bronze; 10-14 – clay (after: Svešnikov 1957, fig. 22: 1-14; 24)

itself stood on a bent, broken sword. In addition, two spurs, a buckle, two knives, a belt fitting, a razor, and a pin of a bronze fibula were found beneath the urn's bottom (Cygylyk 2003, 165, fig. 10). Burial No. 61 was cremation in a pit. A wheel-made bowl covered the calcined bones lying on the stone-lined bottom. The pit also contained a sword broken into four parts, a knife, a spear-head, a severely burnt boss, a spur fragment, an iron needle, and fragments of a gilded-bronze sword scabbard (Cygylyk, 2003, 172, fig. 14: B).

This phenomenon, namely the burial of different ethnic populations in the same cemeteries and the presence of 'mixed' burials in them, has long provoked scholarly debates. There was no agreement on the cultural definition of individual burials, or the cultural affiliation of certain cemeteries, either to the Przeworsk or Lipitsa cultures. T. Dąbrowska believed that all these sites, except Gryniv, belonged to the Lipitsa culture (Dąbrowska 1973, 218–220), but in the collection "Archaeological sites of Outer Subcarpathia and Volhynia of the Early Slavic and Old Rus periods" (Arheologični pamätky... 1982, 10, 11, 16), these cemeteries were defined as belonging to both Lipitsa and Przeworsk cultures. The same controversy on the question of attributing individual burials and cemeteries to certain periods continued between D. Kozak and V. Cygylyk (Kozak 1984, 49–55; Cygylyk 1975, 70–77). In general, both researchers assumed the coexistence of the Lipetsk and Pchevorsk populations in the area of their direct contact. Kozak argued that the appearance of cemeteries with burials of two different cultures results from the two ethnically different populations (the Germans and the Dacians) living in separate settlements, but located side by side (Kozak 1984, 53). This opinion is shared by Ā. Onyšuk, who calls these sites Lipitsa-Przeworsk cemeteries (Onyšuk 2018, 123). We cannot agree with that. It is hard to imagine that the inhabitants of a village could not find a piece of land near their settlement to establish such an important sacred place as their own cemetery, instead burying their relatives in the same plot with representatives of not just another village, but an altogether different nation. Undoubtedly, the people buried in these necropolises are people who lived in the same community.

T. Slobodån identifies separate Dacian and Przeworsk burials in common necropolises, as well as mixed ones, without explaining the nature of this phenomenon (Slobodån 2018). M. Šukin even proposed to distinguish these sites as a separate, syncretic Zvenygorod group with a mixed population, a kind of symbiosis of the German, Sarmatian, and Dacian populations. In his opinion, the Lipitsa culture, represented by the cemetery in Verhnâ Lypycâ, appeared in this area only in the ninth decade of the 1st century AD (Šukin 1974, 20–21).



In a relatively recent study of the materials from the Bolotnâ cemetery, V. Cygylyk rightly considers these cemeteries as belonging to the Lipitsa culture, although he notes the presence of Przeworsk burials there (Cygylyk 2003).

In our opinion, a unique situation developed on this territory in the first centuries AD, which makes it possible to trace the process of formation of a new archaeological culture – the Lipitsa culture (Vakulenko 1989). It can be argued that the Lipitsa culture does not appear on the Upper Dniester in its finished form. On the contrary, this region was the area of its formation. The necropolises in Gryniv, Zvenygorod, and Bolotnâ, with burials representing both Dacian and Przeworsk burial traditions, as well as mixed burials combining the features of both these populations, are chronologically earlier than the cemetery in Verhnâ Lypycâ. The most frequent chronological indicators on these sites are fibulae A-68 (Fig. 2: 3-5), which were common in period B1B, i.e. in 40-70 AD (Almgren 1933, Taf. IV; Liana 1970, 443). Judging by a strongly profiled fibula with an openworked catchplate of the A-67 – A-68 type (Fig. 2: 3) found in burial No. 3 (1975), and a spur of the J 9-11 type (Fig. 2: 19), the cemetery in Gryniv began to function slightly earlier, within 20-40 AD. Thus, the sites of the Zvenygorod group with their spectrum of finds including fibulae (Fig. 2: 1-5), buckles (Fig. 2: 11-13), swords (Fig. 2: 14, 15), spearheads (Fig. 2: 16-18), spurs (Fig. 2: 19-21), and shield bosses (Fig. 2: 22, 23) represent the initial stage of the Lipitsa culture formation, which falls to period B1, in some cases extending to B2a (Slobodân 2017, 227). The cemetery in Verhnâ Lypycâ, on the other hand, is a site of an already established culture. Its chronology is established by finds in the range of 70-170 AD, which corresponds to the next phase: B2. The sharply profiled fibulae found in the burials represent later variants than the fibulae found in cemeteries of the Zvenygorod group. Fibulae of types A-73 and A-82 date the burials at Verhnâ Lypycâ cemetery to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD (Fig. 2: 6, 7). The latest are enamel fibulae (Fig. 2: 10), which belong to the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD (Vakulenko 2001). It is interesting to note that the A-68 type, common in the early Lipitsa sites, is represented in Verhnâ Lypycâ by only one specimen, and that is the earliest find there.

However, mixed burials occur throughout the existence of the Lipitsa culture, demonstrating the process of blending of the Przeworsk (German) and Dacian populations. Even at the latest ones, such as Verhnâ Lypycâ and Zavallâ (Завалля) (Vakulenko 1991), there are burials that undoubtedly belonged to the descendants of the Przeworsk population. At the classic sites of the Lipitsa culture in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, at the final stage of the functioning of the already-formed Lipitsa community, graves at cemeteries such as Verhnâ

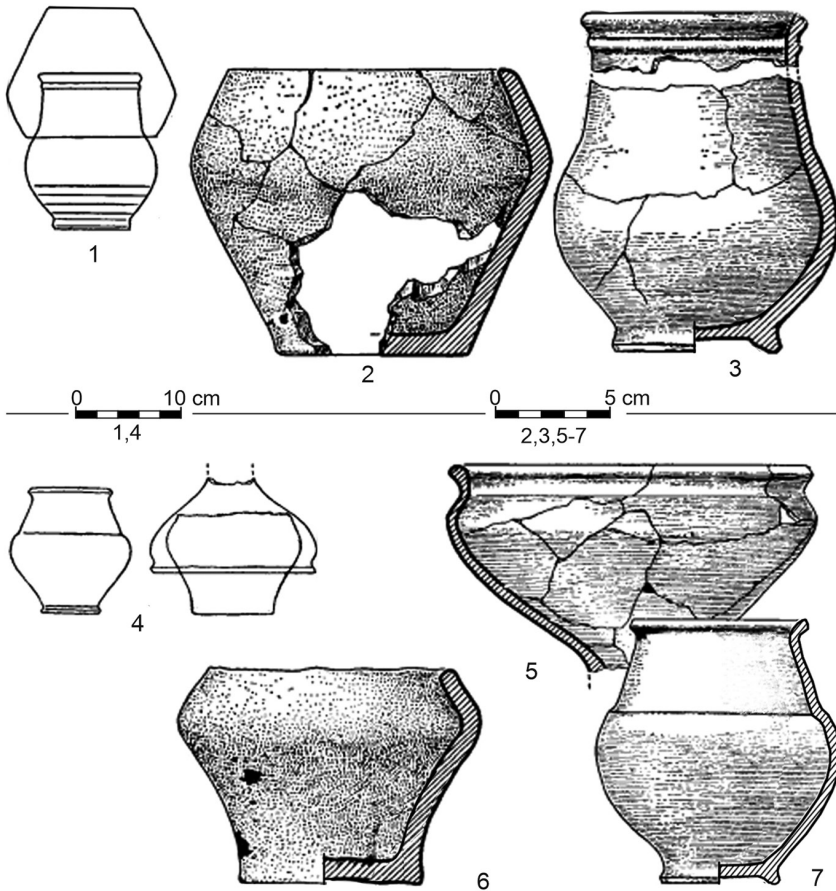
Lypycâ and Zavallâ contain no weapons. Yet even these sites still have 'mixed' burial complexes, in which typical Przeworsk pottery occurs alongside Dacian vessels. For instance, in burial No. 44 in Zavallâ, calcined bones cleaned of pyre remains were placed in a wheel-made Lipitsa vessel covered with a typical handmade Przeworsk pot turned upside-down (Fig. 5: 1-3). Grave No. 48 was a double burial. Two urns, one hand-made and the other wheel-made, contained bones cleaned from pyre remains. The hand-made urn, a Przeworsk vessel, was covered with a Dacian bowl on a high foot. The other was a typical Lipitsa wheel-made vessel (Fig. 5: 4-7). Thus, two relatives, apparently members of the same family, were buried together, but in urns indicative of different cultural traditions: Dacian and Przeworsk.

Thus, the Lipitsa culture developed as a Dacian community, but one retaining traces of the Przeworsk component. The majority of burials in cemeteries of the already formed Lipitsa culture demonstrate features typical of the Dacian funeral rite, with bones completely cleaned from pyre remains placed in a covered, typically wheel-made urn, and with the furnishings showing no traces of exposure to fire. Nor do burials contain weaponry. From the early Lipitsa culture sites like Zvenygorod and Bolotnâ until the late sites like Verh-nâ Lypycâ and Zavallâ, the proportion of Dacian burials remains greater than those showing Przeworsk ethnic features. Apparently, the Przeworsk people took part in the formation of the Lipitsa culture, but almost lost their identity by the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD: the first wave of Przeworsk migration was absorbed by the Dacian population.

Let us stress again that there can be no question of any cross-border cohabitation of the Przeworsk and the Lipitsa populations. The Lipitsa culture developed as a primarily Dacian community, but with remnants of the Przeworsk, which distinguishes it among other cultures of the Dacian ethnic complex.

The late stage of the Lipitsa culture is represented by sites in Zavallâ (Vakulenko 1991), Nepolokivci (Неполоківці) (Timošuk, Nikitina 1978), and Suceava (Foit 1973). They record the withdrawal of this population to the territory of Dacia, which was once the original homeland of the Dacians. Based on historical evidence, it can be assumed that the turbulent events of the Marcomannic Wars (166–180 AD) were behind this withdrawal.

By historical tradition, the Marcomannic Wars mark the beginning of the Late Roman period, a time characterized by massive, relentless movement of barbarian tribes, the *superioris barbari*, which originated in remote territories of northwestern Europe. The expansion of the Wielbark population to the southeast, to the lands in eastern Europe previously occupied by the Prze-



**FIG. 5.** Burial complexes at the Zavallà necropolis: 1–3 – burial No. 44, 4–7 – burial No. 48 (after: Vakulenko 1989, fig. 3)

worsk population, forced the latter to move as well. As a result, Przeworsk sites spread to the southeast, along the Dniester and further on to other territories (Godłowski, Okulicz 1981).

Thus, a new wave of Przeworsk settlers reached western Ukraine during the first stage of the late Roman Period. This is evidenced by the presence of Przeworsk sites dated to the C1 phase (150–270 AD). Apparently, these sites were established by a new population of the Przeworsk culture, who perhaps came from a different part of the Przeworsk culture area than those who integrated into the Lipitsa culture. While settlements are known for this time,

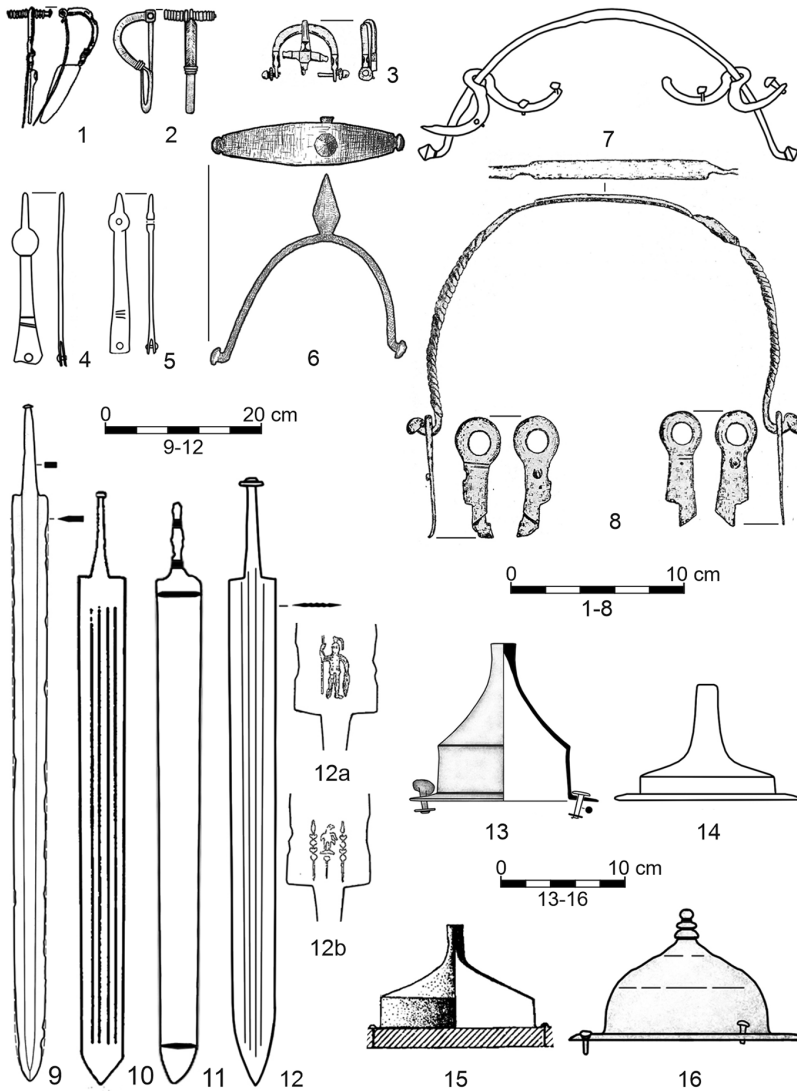
most of the sites are single burials, many of which, and possibly even all, are the remains of destroyed cemeteries. This is evident both from the information provided by M. Smiško and from new discoveries.

It should be noted that the number of Przeworsk sites (from both periods) in Ukraine is incomparably higher than that suggested by the list of sites that have received scholarly attention. Only a few cemeteries have been subjected to systematic archaeological excavations. As a rule, shallowly buried cremation remains were found by chance during household or construction work. The situation deteriorated in the post-war period, when agricultural machinery appeared in the fields and destroyed burials were often ignored. Nowadays, the preservation of these sites is threatened by the activity of so-called 'black archaeologists' who use metal detectors: almost all the new sites have become known as a result of looting excavations (Fig. 7, 8). At best, archaeologists have been only able to visit the site *post factum*. However, even under such difficult conditions, it is clear that the second wave of Przeworsk expansion into western Ukraine was much more powerful than the first.

It should be noted that Przeworsk sites provided abundant materials for determining the time of their functioning. The dating of sites of the first wave of Przeworsk migration, which belongs to the Early Roman period, relies in most part on the chronology of fibulae and belt fittings found in the burials, and to a lesser extent on weaponry (Fig. 2).

With respect to the Przeworsk burials of the second wave, from the beginning of the Late Roman period, military equipment plays a significant role in chronological determinations (Fig. 6: 9-16). From the beginning of the Late Roman period, weapons became more common in Przeworsk burials. The most common find is the spear. However, the most telling chronological indicators are Roman-style swords of the *spatha* type. In the Roman army, this type of sword with a long two-edged blade was widely used in stage C1a (Miks 2007) and, interestingly, it appeared almost simultaneously in the Przeworsk culture. According to the classification of swords of the Przeworsk culture developed by M. Biborski, they belong to type IX (Biborski 1978; 2000).

Comprehensive studies, including metallographic analyzes, of Przeworsk weaponry found in Poland have shown that a significant proportion of the swords found in Przeworsk burials are of Roman origin (Dąbrowska, Godłowski 1970, 86). Blades made using the pattern-welding technique (Biborski 2000, 58–59) are evidence of this. It is possible that such swords were also found in the Przeworsk graves discovered in western Ukraine. An undoubtedly Roman sword was found in a burial in Gromivka (Громівка), Khmel-



**FIG. 6.** Selected chronological markers of the second wave Przeworsk tribes' migration to the western areas of Ukraine: 1, 2 – fibulae (1 – Mlyniv, 2 – Ivane-Zolote); 3-5 – belt set (3 – Gromivka, 4 – Arkadiivci, 5 – Ilătka); 6 – spur (Petryliv); 7, 8 – bucket handles (7 – Arkadiivci, 8 – Gromivka); 9-12 – swords (9 – Vólčâ, 10 – Mlyniv, 11 – Pidpečery, 12 – Gromivka); 13-16 – shield bosses (13 – Vólčâ, 14 – Pidpečery, 15 – Mlyniv, 16 – Arkadiivci).

1-5 – bronze; 6-16 – iron (after: Myhajlovs'kyj 2014, fig. 3: 2, 4; 4: 2; Kozak, Pryšepa 1999, fig. 3: 1; 42; Vakulenko *et al.* 2018a, fig. 5; Vakulenko *et al.*, 2018b, fig. 5; Adamovyč, Tylišak 2019, fig. 4: 1, 4; Śmiszko 1932, pl. II: 13; III: 11; Dąbrowska, Godłowski, 1970, pl. II: 1-4; III: 1-3)





**FIG. 7.** Burštyn. Remains of a Przeworsk culture cremation burial

nytskyi Oblast (Fig. 6: 12), which had brass inlays on the blade (Dąbrowska, Godłowski 1970, Table II: 1–3). One side of the blade depicts Mars holding a spear in one hand and a shield in the other, while the other features a Roman legionary eagle. Barbarians obtained Roman swords in battles as well as by legal and illegal exchange (Dąbrowska, Godłowski 1970, 88). Przeworsk swords of their own production imitated the Roman ones. Apart from inlay, which can usually be detected only in special tests, another typical feature of Roman swords is the presence of fullers on the blades. The grooved surface of the sword blade (fuller) was a sign of its high quality, which was important in Roman-barbarian trade and affected the value of such items (Dąbrowska, Godłowski 1970, 89). Such treatment of the blade surface can be identified on swords found at Przeworsk sites of this period in western Ukraine. For example, a sword with a blade 65 cm long and 5.5–6.7 cm wide, provided with fullers,





**FIG. 8.** Čudniv. Remains of a Przeworsk culture cremation burial

was found in a burial near Mlyniv (Млинів) in Rivne Oblast (Kozak, Pryšepa 1999) (Fig. 6: 10). A sword (Fig. 6: 9) with a long blade and wide fullers was found at the Przeworsk cemetery in Vólycâ (Вóлиця), Ternopil Oblast (blade length – 75 cm, width – 4.4 cm) (Vakulenko *et al.* 2018a). Fullers were on the blades of swords from burials in Ternava (Тернава) (Spisun 1904), the already mentioned Gromivka (blade length about 65 cm, width – 6.4 cm), and on the blade of a sword with a broken end found in Kudrynці (Кудринці) (Kokowski, Vinokur, 1997, Fig. 1). Long *spatha* type swords were found near Ilátka (Ілятка),

Khmelnyskyi Oblast (blade length is about 65 cm, width – 4.4-6.6 cm) (Vakulenko *et al.* 2018b); and in Pidpečery (Підпечери), Ivano-Frankivsk Oblast (Fig. 6: 11) (blade length is about 71.5 cm, width – 5.5-6.5 cm (Adamovych, Tylišak 2019); and also in the burials published by M. Śmiszko: Kapustynци (Капустинці) (blade length – 66 cm, width – 6 cm), Rydka (blade length – 71 cm, width – 6 cm), Velyka Kam'anka (Велика Кам'янка), and Dobrostanу (Доброостани) (blade length – 71 cm, width – 5.8) (Śmiszko 1932, 5, 16, 24). To the Late Roman period should be included a burial in Málášivci (Мáлашівці), Ternopil Oblast, with a double-edged sword with the blade 70 cm long and 6.3 cm wide (Onyśuk 2018, 133, fig. 48). The hilt of the sword from Kapustynци ended with a flat oval pommel (Śmiszko 1932 p. 16, 17). Identical flat oval pommels also crown the hilts of the swords from Vólýcâ (Fig. 6, 9) and Mlyniv (Fig. 6, 10), the blades of which had fullers. Pommels were found on the hilt of the sword from Kudrynци (Kokowski, Vinokur 1997, fig. 1) and both swords from the destroyed cemetery in Novyj Áryčiv (Новий Яричів). Due to severe damage, the length of these last two specimens cannot be determined, but they are 4.8 and 5.5 cm in width. One of them has identifiable fullers (Bilas, Silaev 2012).

It is noteworthy that in comparison with imported swords, other important items of Roman military equipment, such as helmets, chain mail, or daggers, were rarely used by the Germanic peoples. Apparently, this is because other elements of Roman military equipment were not suitable for barbarian fighting methods (Raddatz 1967, 10; Dąbrowska, Godłowski 1970, 88).

Metal parts of shields (bosses, grips, nails) are common finds in the Przeworsk burials of the second migration wave. Most forms of bosses (Fig. 6: 13-16) are dated quite widely within periods B<sub>1</sub> – C<sub>1a</sub> (e.g. from Ilátka, Novyj Áryčiv, Przewodów, Dobrostanу, Červonograd (Червоноград)) and C<sub>1</sub> (Arkadiivci (Аркадіївці)), or even B<sub>2</sub>-C<sub>2</sub> (Vólýcâ, Mlyniv, Ternava, Gromivka, Pidpečery), which suggests the peak of their usage at stage C<sub>1</sub> (Zieling 1989; Raduš, Skvorcov 2008, 145, fig. 2).

Other chronological markers of Przeworsk sites of the second wave of migrations (Fig. 6: 1-8), such as bipartite fibulae with round- or triangle-sectioned bows (Mlyniv, Ivane-Zolote (Іване-Золоте)), bipartite buckles with omega-shaped and D-shaped frames (Novyj Áryčiv, Málášivci, Gromivka), trapezoidal strap terminals (Arkadiivci, Ilátka), hooked spurs (Gromivka, Velyka Kam'anka, Ivane-Zolote, Mlyniv, Petryliv (Петрилів), Arkadiivci), and metal bucket fittings (Gromivka, Arkadiivci), which are well covered in the extensive literature on the chronology of the Roman period, generally do not go beyond C<sub>1</sub>-C<sub>2</sub> (Ambroz 1966, 62, 63, 67, Table 11: 6; 12: 1; Godłowski 1970, pl.

II: 13, 14, 18; III: 7-9; VI: 27, 28, 33; VII: 15-18; XI: 8, 17, 33; VII: 15-18; XI: 8, 17, 18, 21; Madyda-Legutko 1986, Taf. 9: 20, 27; 11: 8; Becker 2006, Taf. 1: 1, 4, 5; 9; 15: 1; 35: 1; Kat. Nos. 1, 4, 5, 51, 52, 69, 177).

This new wave of Przeworsk tribes travelled towards the Dniester region, and further to the Danube. However, new finds of Przeworsk burial sites in regions from where they were previously unknown show that the area of their spreading is much larger than once thought. New Przeworsk burials and cemeteries have been found not only on the Western Bug (Novyj Âryčiv) and upper Dniester Rivers (Pidpečery, Burštyn (Бурштин), Fig. 7)<sup>2</sup> and in Volhynia (Mlyniv), but also in Zhytomyr Polesia (Čudniv (Чуднів), Fig. 8).<sup>3</sup> It is especially interesting that the area of Przeworsk (Vandal) settlement extends further to the east. In Podolia, such sites were recorded in Vólucâ, Arkadiïvci, Plâtka, Vinnucâ (Вінниця)<sup>4</sup>, Supčynci and Gruzevucâ (Грузевиця).<sup>5</sup> Along with Przeworsk burials in Ternava and Gromivka discovered in the late 19th century, these sites comprise the easternmost and latest group of classic Przeworsk materials.

M.B. Šukin refers to the Przeworsk tribes of the second wave as early Vandals (Šukin 2010, 25). At the same time, he identifies the Przeworsk sites of the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD in the western Ukrainian lands as Przeworsk elements in the Zvenygorod militarized group. The unfoundedness of this statement has already been discussed in the first part of this article. However, the scientist is right in that we do not know whether these second-wave migrants from Przeworsk already bore the name of Vandals, or whether they were still Lugii. It is even more difficult to determine this in relation to the first wave of the 1<sup>st</sup>–2<sup>nd</sup> centuries AD. In general, it is possible that the Przeworsk population acquired their name “Vandals” when already in the Danube River region. However, it is impossible to agree when the researcher, referring to Jordanes (Jord. Get. 113–115), argues that in the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD Vandals-Hastings lived to

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2 I would like to thank M. Vuyanko, a senior researcher at the Museum of Local Lore in Ivano-Frankivsk, for the information and foto provided.

3 The accidentally discovered burial complex in the vicinity of Čudniv was transferred to the Zhytomyr Regional Museum of Local History in 2017.

4 The remains of the burial were accidentally discovered on the outskirts of the city on the left bank of the Southern Bug river and transferred to the Vinnycia Regional Museum of Local History in 2017.

5 The materials of the last two sites are stored in the Mezhybizh Historical and Cultural Reserve.

the north of the Carpathians (Šukin 2010, 26). In the same passage, Jordanes names four rivers in this area in locating the Vandals during the reign of King Wizimir. Two of them appear only once in Jordanes and their current name and location remain unidentified. Historians have, however, managed to identify the other two: the Marizia River (after Jordanes) is the Mureș, and the Grizia (after Jordanes) is the Kereš (Skržinskaâ 1960, 262, 360). Both rivers are tributaries of the Tisza River, the basin of which is located inside the Carpathian arc, to the south of the Carpathian ridge. This is the territory of Transcarpathian Ukraine and modern Hungary, from where Przeworsk materials of the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD are a known (Kobal 1997; Istvánovits 1992; Vakulenko 2007/2008, 172–176).

Thus, the Przeworsk sites in western Ukraine mark not only the movement of Vandal tribes to the Danube and Transylvania. There are many reasons to believe that it is also a question of resettlement: colonization of the eastern territories. However, this process was not long, taking place in the late 2<sup>nd</sup> century and a significant part of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD. The further fate of this population is obviously connected with the difficult situation in Ukraine in the following period, and the formation of a new community – the Chernyakhov culture.

Regarding the ethnic composition of the Chernyakhov culture, the most common opinion is that it consisted of different ethnocultural components. Other newcomers from the northwest, the Wielbark tribes, played an important role, although the Przeworsk population was no doubt also involved. A similar course of events has long been noted by researchers (Dąbrowska, Godłowski 1970, 88).

Nowadays, archaeology has accumulated quite significant data on the participation of the Przeworsk population in the formation of the Chernyakhov culture. One example of evidence of this is the presence of classic Przeworsk burials with weaponry in Chernyakhov cemeteries and the presence of Przeworsk weaponry in the area of the Chernyakhov culture, although it comprises the majority of all known weapon finds in Chernyakhov sites (Nikitina 1988, 67, Table 39: 20; Diaconu 1965, pl. XXI: 1, 2; LXXI: 2; 1969, 369; Magomedov, Levada 1996, 311). The most important clue, however, is the significant share of Przeworsk ethnocultural features that can be traced in Chernyakhov culture.

Firstly, despite the limitations of Przeworsk anthropological materials due to the nature of the funeral rite, which is predominantly cremation, scientists have data on the possible presence of Przeworsk population and its descendants in the Chernyakhov population. According to T. Rudyč, the Celtic in-



fluences noticeable in Chernyakhov anthropological materials appeared there through the carriers of Latenized cultures, and indirectly through the carriers of the Przeworsk culture (Rudyč 2014, 38–39, 58).

Investigating the location of the north-western component in Chernyakhov culture on the basis of such an important ethnocultural marker as handmade pottery, O. Mylaševs'kyj came to the conclusion that the traditions of the Wielbark and Przeworsk populations present in the Chernyakhov environment continued to be preserved separately. At the same time, the share of the Przeworsk ceramics in the total handmade complex of the Chernyakhov culture is much smaller than that of the Wielbark culture, with a percentage ratio of 17.7% to 81.6%. In addition, most of the Przeworsk forms are represented in the early sites of the Chernyakhov culture, while Wielbark ceramics predominate throughout its existence. In addition, it turned out that Przeworsk and Wielbark handmade ware is only occasionally, in 14% of cases, present in the same burials, while they are quite commonly found together in the various features at settlements, which, according to Mylaševs'kyj, indicates a fairly high degree of community integration (Mylaševs'kyj 2018, 7). It is necessary to note one more observation of this researcher: It turned out that most forms of Przeworsk vessels in the ceramic complex of the Chernyakhov culture do not correspond to the ceramics of the Early Roman Przeworsk sites of the Dniester River region (Mylaševs'kyj 2018, 7). This may indicate, as we assumed, that a new Przeworsk population came from other regions of the Przeworsk culture area and are not the heirs of the first wave of the Przeworsk population in the western Ukrainian territories. It should be mentioned that some researchers also note the influence of Przeworsk pottery on the ceramic complex of the Chernyakhov culture (Levada, Dudek 1999). O. Gopkalo, studying the costume of the population of the Chernyakhov-Sântana de Mureș culture, singles out burials that according to the features and details of the costume can be considered as Przeworsk. The researcher was able to identify 40 such complexes (Gopkalo 2020, 10–11). As mentioned above, there are many more burials accompanied by Przeworsk pottery. The participation of the Przeworsk population in the formation of the Chernyakhov culture is not in doubt.

Obviously, the relations between the Przeworsk tribes and the population of the Carpathian Barrows culture developed differently. In their publication of the materials of the Przeworsk burial in Pidpečery, S. Adamovyč and V. Tylišak draw attention to the near proximity of the sites of the two cultures on the right bank of the Dniester River. In this regard, the authors suggest that in the Dniester River region there was a military conflict between these cultural

communities, as a result of which the Przeworsk “interrupted” access to the Dniester valley to the population of the Carpathian Barrows culture (Adamovych, Tylišak 2019, 103). It is hardly possible to accept such a hypothesis, especially since we are talking about the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD. First of all, there is a chronological gap between the sites of these and other antiquities. In the Dniester River region, Chernyakhov culture sites are synchronous with the sites of the Carpathian Barrows culture. Secondly, it seems that the bearers of the culture of the Carpathian barrows occupied the territory of Prykarpattia as a natural and ecological niche close to them and did not seek to move further into the Dniester valley (Vakulenko 2010, p. 164). However, some, albeit a few, signs indicate the existence of intercultural contacts of the neighboring population, possibly at an early stage of the Carpathian barrows culture. In this connection, the burial in mound No. 8 at the cemetery in Пулупу-1 (Пилипи) draws attention. Unlike in the rite traditional for this culture, which involved cremating the deceased at the site of burial, no pyre remains were found in this barrow. Calcined bones mixed with coal were placed in an urn, a three-handed wheel-made vase. The urn also contained a dagger-type knife. A razor-knife was also found in the area of this barrow (Vakulenko 2010, 105, 131, fig. 57: 4; 73: 16), which is a frequent attribute of male Przeworsk graves (Godłowski 1977, 94). It should be noted that the urns in mounds Nos. 5 and 6 from the cemetery in Pererosle (Переросле) were littered with pyre remains. This detail is considered to be inherent to urn burials of the Przeworsk culture (Szydłowski 1964, 435). A buckle-shaped vessel from mound No. 3 at the cemetery in Nyżnij Strutyn’ (Нижній Струтинь) can serve as an analogy to the Przeworsk culture ceramic complex (Godłowski 1981, Table V: 6). It should be also noted that oats make up a significant share in the collection of the main crops grown by the Carpathian population (Vakulenko 2010, 161–164). Oats as crop are absent from the agricultural tradition of Chernyakhov population, but they appear among basic crops of the Przeworsk population and often outnumber the others (Wielowiejski 1981, 317–319). However, this fact can most likely indicate that the core areas of the population of both cultures (Przeworsk and Carpathian barrows) were located in northern Europe. After all, it was in northern Europe that oats stood out as an independent crop and took an important place in the range of cereals. We will add that V. Mihailescu-Birliba, studying the sites of the Carpathian barrows culture on the territory of Romania, put forward the hypothesis of the “Przeworskization” of this culture. He referred to the burial barrows of Zakarpattia in Bratovo (currently Botar – Борар) and Iza (Іза) (Mihailescu-Birliba 1999, 321–32), which have nothing to do with the culture



of the Carpathian barrows, neither territorially nor in terms of the discovered artifacts (Vakulenko 2007/2008, 162–170). It should be added that another Romanian researcher of these antiquities, M. Ignat, denies the existence of such features in the Romanian materials (Ignat 1999, 65).

Thus, two waves of Przeworsk migration during the first three centuries AD have been archaeologically recorded on the territory of western Ukraine.

The Przeworsk migration wave of the first two centuries AD dissolved in the Dacian environment, contributing to the creation of the Lipitsa culture. The Przeworsk population of the second wave, which migrated to the territory of Ukraine in the late 2<sup>nd</sup> – first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD, became one of the major components of the new Chernyakhov culture.

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