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SARMATIAN GRAVES WITH WEAPONS DISCOVERED IN WALLACHIA AND MOLDAVIA

The aim of this paper is to discuss the main characteristics (number, territorial distribution, grave layout, deposition, age and sex of the deceased, typology of weapons, the place of weapons in the grave, funerary inventory, dating) of the Sarmatian graves with weapons found in Wallachia and Moldavia.

Keywords: Sarmatians, Wallachia, Moldavia, graves with weapons, funerary ritual, grave goods.

Introduction. At a first glance, the way to research the Sarmatian burials in Wallachia and Moldavia by analysing each piece of inventory separately (hand-made ceramics, spindle whorls, wheel-made pottery, Roman imports) may appear rather less productive, as it does not seem to provide an overview, but only fragments that may seem difficult to correlate with each other. The analysis of the Sarmatian discoveries in only two geographical regions, located on the outskirts of the vast area inhabited by the populations called «Sarmatians» in ancient written sources, more precisely Wallachia (the region between the Danube River to the south and east, the Southern Carpathians to the north and the Olt River to the west; fig. 1) and Moldavia (the territory between the Prut River to the east and the Eastern Carpathians to the west; fig. 1), can give the impression of an irrelevant approach. The apparent geographical limitation to the two mentioned regions, Wallachia and Moldavia, is due not to convenience however, but to the specific situation of archaeological discoveries and historical evolution. During the 1st–3rd centuries AD, Wallachia was an area under Roman supervision (Oța 2007, p. 51–53; 2016, p. 131–135; Oța, Sîrbu 2013,

p. 291; 2019, p. 154); part of it was even integrated into the Roman province of Moesia Inferior during the second expedition of Emperor Trajan against Dacians — Petolescu 2010, p. 163). It is here that, with the consent and under the supervision of the Romans, Sarmatian communities arrived in three main stages: the last decade of the 1st century AD and the first decades of the next century; the end of the 2nd century AD and the first half of the 3rd century; the end of the 3rd century AD (Oța 2024, p. 58, note 100, with the previous bibliography).

Number and territorial distribution. The Sarmatian discoveries in Wallachia are concentrated in the north-east, east and south of the region, less so in the central part, while the discoveries attributed to the Dacians are registered in the west and centre of the region, thus outlining a specific archaeological landscape, with two special areas, which overlap only partially (Diaconu 1963, p. 338; Niculescu 2003, S. 182; Oța, Sîrbu 2019, p. 151–152). Only the south of Moldavia, until the Tulucești—Traian rampart, was under Roman rule (Ioniță 1982, p. 20; Croitoru 2004, p. 81–82; Oța 2013, p. 319). From an archaeological point of view, the rest of the area shows the same distribution in two areas that overlap only across a limited zone: Dacian discoveries in western and central Moldavia, discoveries attributed to the Sarmatians in the northeast, east and south (Oța 2024, p. 51). This coexistence between Sarmatians and Dacians, corroborated, in the case of Wallachia and Southern Moldavia, with Roman supervision, determined certain characteristic features of Sarmatian discoveries in Wallachia and Moldavia, such as: small number of finds, concentrated in certain areas; small number of graves in groups; small number of tu-

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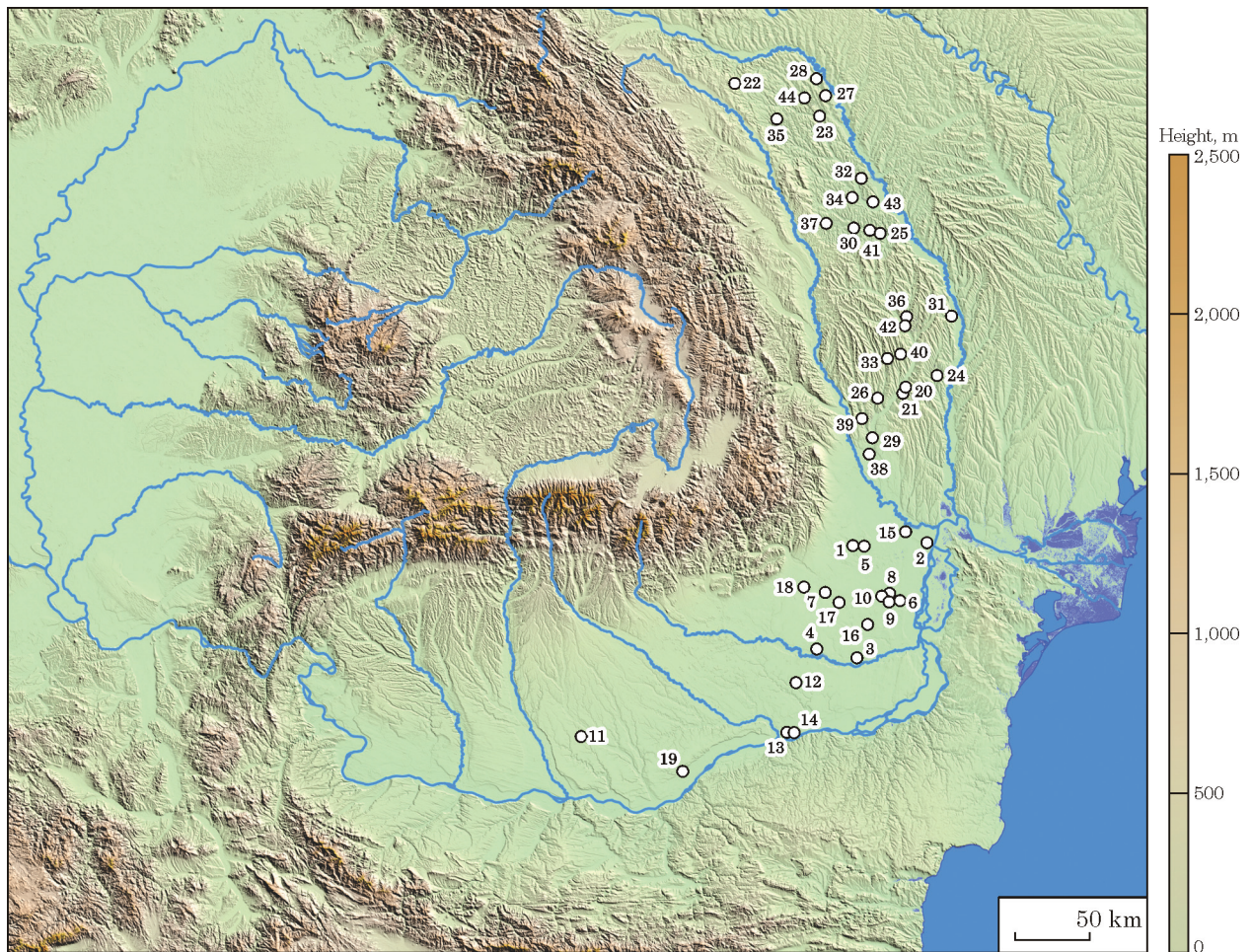


Fig. 1. Territorial distribution of the graves with weapons in Wallachia and Moldavia. The numbers correspond to the sites in the catalogue

Рис. 1. Територіальний розподіл могил зі зброєю у Валахії та Молдавії. Нумерація відповідає позиціям в каталозі

mular graves and of burials with weapons; few Roman imports; small number of graves belonging to elites (for details, see Oța 2016, p. 131—135; Oța, Sîrbu 2016a, p. 215—219, 231—234; Oța 2024, p. 48—51). Regarding the inventory of graves, an important characteristic of the Sarmatian graves in Wallachia and Moldavia should be highlighted, more precisely the predominance of the deposition of wheel-made ceramic vessels, with analogies in the repertoire of the Dacian pottery, which is an effect of the commercial relations of the Sarmatians with the Dacians (Oța 2024, p. 49—50). A phenomenon typical of numerous tribes whose unification under a single ethnonym was justified by external observers on the basis of shared general traits (Oța, Sîrbu 2012, p. 127—128; Oța 2018, p. 41; 2024, p. 46), the analysis of grave goods types separated on regions has revealed, alongside common features, certain specific differences as well. It is what I have tried to do for the two regions whose particular aspect I explained above, more precisely, to outline the characteristic features of the custom of depositing various grave goods. This is a necessary step in order to then be able to recompose the

burial customs of the Sarmatian communities in Wallachia and Moldavia and to provide a viable term of comparison with the Sarmatian burials in other regions (for an overview of graves with weapons in Crimea, Carpathian basin and the regions situated north of Black Sea see Храпунов и др. 2020, с. 7—13; СИМОНЕНКО 2010, с. 237—244; 2015, с. 308—319).

In this approach on the weapons deposited in the burials attributed to the Sarmatians from Wallachia and Moldavia I took into consideration daggers and short swords, swords, spearheads and arrowheads. I have excluded from this analysis G. 12 from Isaiia (Ursulescu, Kogălniceanu 2002—2004, p. 32—33, 38) because the provenance of the bronze sleeve from an arrow is not certain, and the fact that the sternum of the deceased person was pierced by an arrow does not necessarily imply an intentional deposition of the weapon, but a presence related to the cause of a wound, too. G. 8 from Lișcoteanca-*Movila Olaru-lui* (Oța, Sîrbu 2009, p. 127—128, with the previous bibliography) has recently been dated to the Iron Age (Schütz et al. 2025, p. 4086). I did not include among the graves with proper weap-

Table 1. Sarmatian graves with weapons found in groups of graves in Wallachia

Таблиця 1. Сарматські поховання зі зброєю в могильниках Валахії

No.	Group	Graves with weapons	Number of graves	%
1	Lișcoteanca- <i>Moș Filon</i>	3	6	50
2	Lișcoteanca- <i>Movila Olarului</i>	4	11	36.36
3	Smeeni- <i>Movila Mare</i>	1	3	33.3
4	Lișcoteanca- <i>Movila din baltă</i>	1	3	33.3
5	Brăila- <i>Hipodrom</i>	1	5	20
6	Grădiștea	2	10	20
7	Largu	2	10	20
8	Oltenița- <i>Iordoc</i>	1	8	12.5
9	Bucu	1	14	7.14
10	Râmnicelu	1	15	6.66
11	Oltenița- <i>Renie</i>	1	16	6.25
12	Rușețu	1	?	?

ons neither G. 205 from Târgșor (Diaconu 1965, p. 21, 25, 28) nor the funeral complex from Hlincea (Chirica, Tanasachi 1984, p. 95, no. XXXVIII: 47), where a spur was found, which might be only an indicator of a certain way of living related to riding. The funerary structure from Vitănești (Șirbu et al. 2014, p. 85—89, no. 47, with the previous bibliography), where the harness pieces were interpreted as status symbols (Oța, Șirbu, Matei 2013, p. 336—337) and the burial from Drăgănești (Trohani, Zorzoliu 1983, p. 218, 220), whose inventory (among which harness items) is known only from the statements of the discoverers, the only preserved object being a mug, were also not included in this analysis. Still unpublished until now, both G. 6 and G. 10 from Valea Lupului-*terasă* (Dinu 1955, p. 79—80) have been excluded, too, especially due to the possibility that some of the funerary structures uncovered in the site may date to a later period, as is the case with G. 1 (Oța 2018, p. 43). As in all previous analyses of grave goods from Sarmatian graves that I have published, emphasis has been placed not only on the typology of the objects but especially on the features of the funerary ritual. Therefore, neither the dagger discovered at Căzănești (Șirbu et al. 2014, p. 35), which is merely presumed to originate from a grave, nor the items from G. 4 at Drăgușeni-*Ocoale* (Crișmaru 1977, p. 135), G. 4 at Drăgușeni-*Ostrov* (Crișmaru 1981, p. 83—84, 88), and G. 7 at Prăjeni-*Țarnă* (Ursulescu et al. 2021, p. 171), whose fragmentary condition prevents their secure classification as daggers or knives, have been taken into account when discussing the characteristics of the graves with weapons. Although the length of the blade of the item found in G. 68 at Bârlad-*Școala de Mecanici Agricoli* is a small one (10.3 cm), which raises questions about its classification as dagger or knife (observation made by Istvánovits, Kulcsár 2008, p. 99 regarding the item found at Üllő), I still have taken into consideration in this analysis.

The number of graves with weapons that were discussed amounts to 54, of which 26 in Wallachia and 28 in Moldavia (fig. 1). The 26 burials with weapons from Wallachia come from 19 sites: seven isolated graves (Vedea, Balta Albă, Căzănești G. 1, Mihăești, Nicolae Bălcescu, Roșiori, Însurăței-*canal de irigație*) and 19 graves found in 12 groups, with variable percentages of graves with weapons, as follows (table 1)¹.

The 28 Sarmatian graves with weapons found until now in the area between the Carpathians and the Prut River come from 25 sites: nine isolated graves (Bârlad-*Școala de Mecanici Agricoli* G. 68, Dângeni, Munteni, Podu Iloaiei, Roma, Șerbotești, Târgu Frumos G. 11, Țepu, Vaslui G. 1) and 19 from 16 groups, with variable percentages as follows (table 2)².

The comparison between the two tables gives rise to two important observations: a) The overall number of graves containing weapons is low relative to the total number of Sarmatian burials identified until now: less than 10 % in Wallachia and less than 14 % in Moldavia; b) The number of graves with weapons within burial groups is generally small: only four clusters show proportions between 50 % and 100 % (Pogana,

1. One of the 16 graves at Râmnicelu is much earlier, dating back to the Iron Age (Schütz et al. 2025, p. 4086). Based on the published data, the number of graves in Rușețu could be estimated at three: one with two ceramic vessels, whose drawing was published by Gheorghe Bichir, possibly one with lapis lazuli and chalcedony beads (the beads were not represented on the grave plan published, so I supposed they came from another burial) and a possible third grave with a dagger, unless the weapon was associated with the beads (Bichir 1972, p. 141, 146, 155, 156; 1977, p. 169, 172, 185, map 2; 1996, p. 310).

2. Judging according to the funerary inventory, at Broscăuți-*vatra satului* more than one burial was discovered, considering the fact that the dagger is never associated with mirrors in the inventory of Sarmatian graves from Moldavia and Wallachia.

Table 2. Sarmatian graves with weapons found in groups of graves in Moldavia

Таблиця 2. Сарматські поховання зі зброєю в могильниках Молдавії

No.	Group	Graves with weapons	Number of graves	%
1	Pogana	2	2	100
2	Pogănești	3	4	75
3	Iași-Palatul Culturii	1	2	50
4	Bârlad-Depozit de lemne	1	3	33.3
5	Giurcani	1	3	33.3
6	Ivești	1	3	33.3
7	Manoleasa	1	3	33.3
8	Hănești	1	3	33.3
9	Tecuci	1	4	25
10	Valea Lupului	1	6	16.66
11	Prăjeni-Alimândra	1	7	14.28
12	Mitoc	1	10	10
13	Unțești	1	11	9.09
14	Probota	1	14	7.14
15	Pogorăști	1	28	3.57
16	Broscăuți-vatra satului	1	?	?

Pogănești, and Iași-Palatul Culturii in Moldavia, and Lișcoteanca-Моș Filon in Wallachia); eight groups have percentages ranging between 30 % and 37 % (three in Wallachia and five in Moldavia); four groups fall between 20 % and 25 % (three in Wallachia and one in Moldavia); another four groups range between 10 and 17 % (one in Wallachia and three in Moldavia); six groups display percentages below 10 % (three in Wallachia and three in Moldavia).

The grave layout. Regardless of the type of weapon deposited (dagger, sword, spearhead, arrowhead), the graves with weapons from Wallachia and Moldavia are either flat (26 cases) or arranged in elevated terrain (25 cases). The number of flat graves found in the two regions is similar: 11 in Wallachia (Brăila-Hipodrom G. 2, Bucu G. 10, Grădiștea G. 1 and G. 4, Mihăești, Nicolae Bălcescu, Oltenița-Jordoc G. 6, Oltenița-Renie G. 3, Rușețu, Însurăței-canal de irigație, Vedea) and 15 in Moldavia (Bârlad-Școala de Mecanici Agricoli G. 68, Broscăuți-vatra satului, Dângeni, Iași-Palatul Culturii G. 2, Ivești G. 3, Mitoc G. 2, Munteni, Podu Iloaiei, Pogorăști G. 3, Pogana G. 1 and G. 2, Probota, Șerbotești, Țepu, Unțești G. 1). The graves buried in elevated terrain predominantly made use of natural elevations in Wallachia — ten graves were located in tells (at Lișcoteanca-Моș Filon, Lișcoteanca-Movila Olarului, Lișcoteanca-Movila din baltă, Râmnicelu, and Căzănești), and two graves were found in sand dunes (at Largu). Burial mounds raised in earlier periods were used less frequently, with only two graves found in such contexts (at Roșiori and Smeeni G. 3). In Moldavia, however, secondary graves in ancient tumuli predominate compared to Wallachia: 11 (Bârlad-Depozit G. 3,

Giurcani G. 5, Manoleasa G. 1, Pogănești G. 2—4, Prăjeni-Alimândra T. III G. 2, Târgu Frumos G. 11, Valea Lupului-Movilă G. 9, Slobozia Hănești, possibly also Roma G. 4). Only three of the 54 graves with weapons were buried in tumuli specially constructed for them: one in Wallachia (Balta Albă) and two in Moldavia (Tecuci G. 4, possibly Vaslui G. 1).

Deposition of the deceased. Both in Wallachia and in Moldavia, the deceased buried with weapons seem to have been oriented overwhelmingly with the head towards the north (28), as follows: 18 or 19 on the N—S direction, of which six in Wallachia (Balta Albă, Bucu G. 10, Grădiștea G. 1 and G. 4, Largu G. 6, Nicolae Bălcescu) and 13 in Moldavia (Bârlad-Depozit G. 3, Dângeni, Giurcani G. 5, Iași-Palatul Culturii G. 2, Podu Iloaiei, Pogana G. 1, Pogănești G. 2, Pogorăști G. 3, Prăjeni-Alimândra T. III G. 2, Roma G. 4, Tecuci G. 4, Vaslui G. 1, possibly also Valea Lupului-Movilă G. 9); three on the direction NNW—SSE (Largu G. 4, Lișcoteanca-Моș Filon G. 1, Munteni); two on the direction NNE—SSW (Lișcoteanca-Movila Olarului G. 7 and Târgu Frumos G. 11); two on the direction NW—SE (Lișcoteanca-Моș Filon G. 2 and Ivești G. 3); two on the direction NE—SW (Lișcoteanca-Моș Filon G. 7 and Mitoc G. 2). Exceptions are few in number: five deceased oriented W—E (Lișcoteanca-Movila Olarului G. 3 and 15, Râmnicelu G. 17) and WNW—ESE (Lișcoteanca-Movila Olarului G. 17, Unțești G. 1); three oriented E—W (Brăila-Hipodrom G. 2, Lișcoteanca-Movila din baltă G. 6) and ENE—WSW (Smeeni G. 3); one deceased oriented S—N (Bârlad-Școala de Mecanici Agricoli G. 68). The dead in G. 2 at Pogana was buried in a sitting position, facing south, and his back facing north.

Unfortunately, the orientation of the deceased is unknown in 14 cases. The deceased from G. 3 at Oltenița-*Renie* and from the burial with dagger at Probotă were oriented either N—S or E—W. Based on currently available data, the number of individuals oriented in directions other than N—S is higher in Wallachia (seven cases) than in Moldavia (two cases). This discrepancy may be explained, on the one hand, by the predominance of W—E orientations in the northeastern part of Wallachia during the first stage of Sarmatian settlement in the region (Oța, Sîrbu 2016b, p. 265; 2022, p. 137), and, on the other hand, by the overall scarcity of other than N—S orientations in Moldavia (Oța 2022, p. 119).

Although the position is unknown in 17 cases, it can be observed that the majority of the deceased (29 individuals) were interred in supine position, with arms and legs extended: 14 cases in Wallachia (Balta Albă, Brăila-*Hipodrom* G. 2, Bucu G. 10, Grădiștea G. 1 and G. 4, Largu G. 4 and G. 6, Lișcoteanca-*Moș Filon* G. 1 and G. 7, Lișcoteanca-*Movila Olarului* G. 15 and G. 17, Râmnicelu G. 17, Roșiori, Smeeni G. 3) and 15 in Moldavia (Bârlad-*Scoala de Mecanici Agricoli* G. 68, Dângeni, Giurcani G. 5, Iași-*Palatul Culturii* G. 2, Ivești G. 3, Mitoc G. 2, Munteni, Podu Iloaiei, Pogana G. 1, Prăjeni-*Alimândra* T. III G. 2, Roma G. 4, Târgu Frumos G. 11, Tecuci G. 4, Unțești G. 1, Vaslui G. 1). The exceptions are only seven: supine, with the right arm bent, palm on the pelvis, and the left arm extended (Pogorăști G. 3); supine, with the left arm bent, palm on the pelvis, and the right arm extended (Pogănești G. 2); supine, with both arms bent, palms on the pelvis (Lișcoteanca-*Movila Olarului* G. 7); supine, with arms extended, legs bent and fallen to the right (Lișcoteanca-*Movila din baltă* G. 6); supine, with the right arm extended and the left arm bent, palm on the pelvis, legs bent and fallen to the right (Lișcoteanca-*Movila Olarului* G. 3); lying on the left side, arms bent with palms on the chest, left leg bent, right leg extended (Lișcoteanca-*Moș Filon* G. 2); seated position (Pogana G. 2). The individual buried with a dagger at Probotă was interred either in supine position, with arms and legs extended, or supine, with arms bent and palms on the basin.

A particular burial ritual is recorded in G. 3 from Pogorăști, where the bottom of the pit was burnt, using light materials, probably reeds, then the corpse was deposited over these firing traces. Materials to prolong the duration of the fire were thrown over the dead in smaller quantities. The skull, however, was beyond the firing area, as the occipital was not touched by the fire, the flame encompassing only the sides of the face and mandible. The use of fire in funerary rituals is a rare feature (Istvánovits, Kulcsár, von Carnap-Bornheim 2006, p. 98), which has no unanimously accepted explanation yet (Кривошеєв 2019, с. 78—79).

The absence of the skull of the deceased at Balta Albă may be the result of a disturbance of the grave in the modern period.

Age and sex of the deceased. Unfortunately, the number of graves for which an anthropological analysis is available is too small: only five (Smeeni G. 3, Mitoc G. 2, Munteni, Pogorăști G. 3, and Vaslui G. 1). In all five cases, the deceased were male, aged between 30—35 years (Munteni), 35—40 years (Pogorăști G. 3), about 40—50 years (Vaslui G. 1), about 45 years (Mitoc G. 2), between 40—60 years (Smeeni G. 3). The man buried at Munteni apparently did not perform strenuous physical activities, and on the left half of the mandible there were traces of a possible *perimortem* injury. The individual buried in G. 3 from Smeeni suffered, long before his death, a skull fracture. According to assumptions made by archaeologists, adults were buried in 17 other graves: Brăila-*Hipodrom* G. 2, Bucu G. 10, Roșiori, Grădiștea G. 1 and G. 4, Largu G. 4 and G. 6, Lișcoteanca-*Moș Filon* G. 2 and G. 7, Lișcoteanca-*Movila Olarului* G. 3 and G. 7, Lișcoteanca-*Movila din baltă* G. 6, Râmnicelu G. 17, Giurcani G. 5, Manoleasa G. 1, Pogănești G. 2, Roma G. 4. Although the number of individuals with intentionally deformed skull is not very high, neither in Wallachia nor in Moldavia (Oța 2015, p. 123; Grumeza 2024, p. 405), however, the quasi-absence of this custom remains surprising in the case of Sarmatian graves with weapons in Wallachia and Moldavia, the only exception being, so far, Largu G. 6.

Typology of weapons. The weapons that were deposited in the Sarmatian graves from Wallachia and Moldavia are of the following categories.

A. The daggers (less than 50 cm long, according to A. Khazanov): are the most common type of weapon, found in 45 graves, of which 19 in Wallachia (Balta Albă, Bucu G. 10, Grădiștea G. 1, G. 4, Largu G. 4, G. 6, Lișcoteanca-*Moș Filon* G. 1, G. 2, G. 7, Lișcoteanca-*Movila Olarului* G. 3, G. 17, Mihăești, Nicolae Bălcescu, Oltenița-*Iordoc* G. 6, Oltenița-*Renie* G. 3, Rușețu, Smeeni G. 3, *Însurăței-canal de irigație*, Vedeia) and 26 in Moldavia (Bârlad-*Depozit* G. 3, Bârlad-*Scoala de Mecanici Agricoli* G. 68, Dângeni, Giurcani G. 5, Iași-*Palatul Culturii* G. 2, Ivești G. 3, Manoleasa G. 1, Mitoc G. 2, Munteni, Podu Iloaiei, Pogănești G. 2, G. 3, G. 4, Pogorăști G. 3, Prăjeni-*Alimândra* T. III G. 2, Roma G. 4, Șerbotești, Târgu Frumos G. 11, Tecuci G. 4, Țepu, Unțești G. 1, Valea Lupului-*Movilă* G. 9, Vaslui G. 1, Broscăuți-*vatra satului*, Probotă, Slobozia Hănești).

Unfortunately, the current conservation of most daggers and swords (22) does not allow them to be classified into one of the sub-types known so far in the literature: *Însurăței-canal de irigație*, Lișcoteanca-*Moș Filon* G. 1 (fig. 5: 2), G. 2, Mihăești, Roșiori, Rușețu, Vedeia, Bârlad-*Scoala de Mecanici Agricoli* G. 68 (fig. 3: 13, 7: 1),

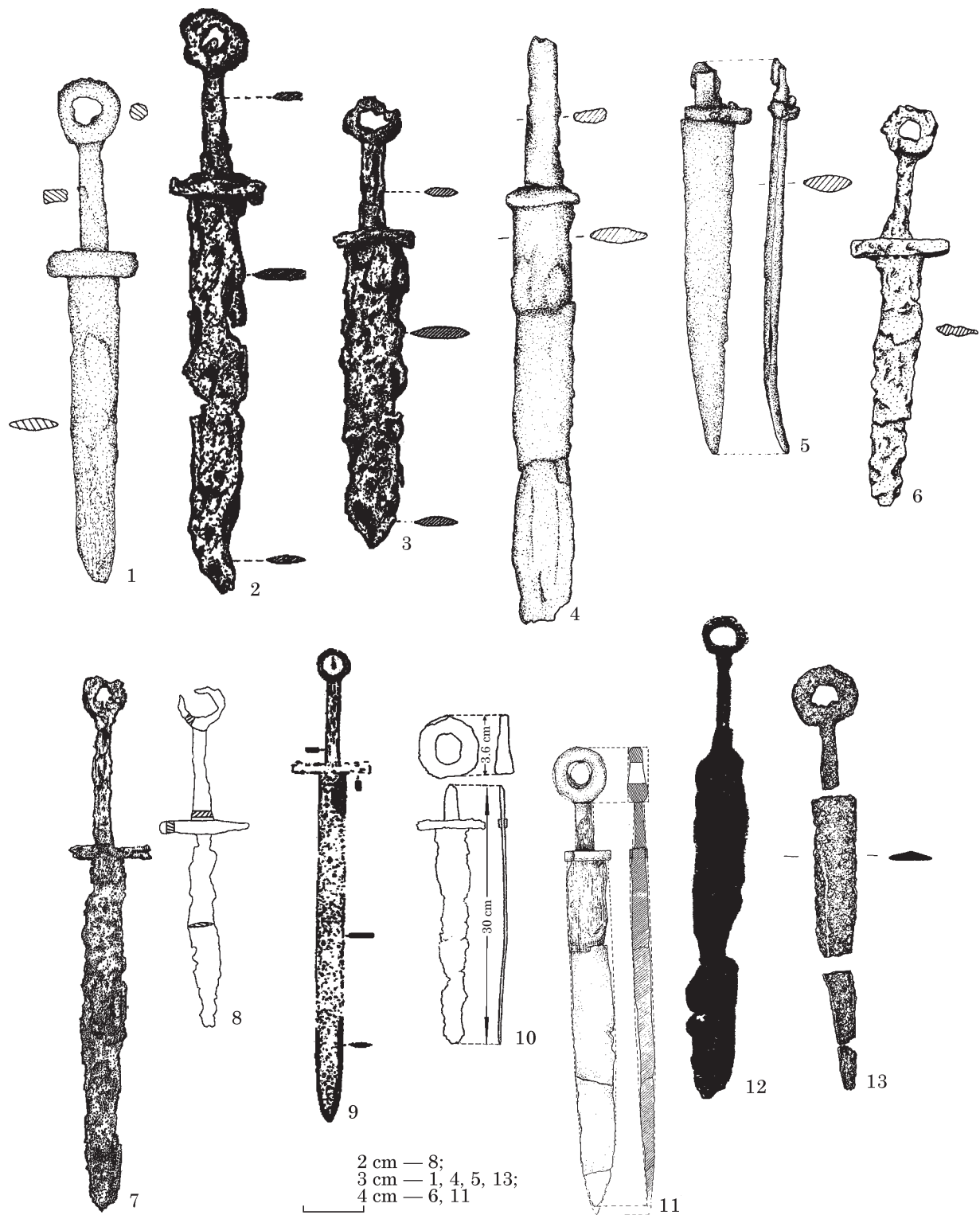


Fig. 2. Daggers with ring-shaped pommel (type A1): 1 — Grădiștea G. 4; 2. Largu G. 4; 3 — Largu G. 6; 4 — Lișcoteanca-Moș Filon G. 7; 5 — Lișcoteanca-Movila Olarului G. 3; 6 — Nicolae Bălcescu; 7 — Mitoc G. 2; 8 — Munteni; 9 — Țepu; 10 — Unțești G. 1; 11 — Căzănești G. 2 (?); 12 — Șerbotești; 13 — Iași-Palatul Culturii G. 2 (after: 1, 4, 5 — Oța, Sîrbu 2009; 2, 3 — Dragomir, Croitoru 2011; 6, 11 — Sîrbu et al. 2014; 7 — Chirica 1979; 8 — Ciobotaru, Ilie, Simalsik 2020; 9 — Bichir 1977; 10 — Palade 1978—1979; 12 — Ioniță 1964; 13 — Cheptea, Grumeza, Mocanu-Irimiță 2023)

Рис. 2. Кинджали з кільцевим навершям (тип А1): 1 — Гредіштя, п. 1; 2 — Ларгу, п. 4; 3 — Ларгу, п. 6; 4 — Лішкотянка-Мош Філон, п. 7; 5 — Лішкотянка-Мовіла Оларулуй, п. 3; 6 — Ніколае Балческу; 7 — Міток, п. 2; 8 — Мунтець; 9 — Цепу; 10 — Унцешть, п. 1; 11 — Кезенешть, п. 2 (?); 12 — Шерботешть; 13 — Яси-Палацул Културій, п. 2 (за: 1, 4, 5 — Оța, Sîrbu 2009; 2, 3 — Dragomir, Croitoru 2011; 6, 11 — Sîrbu et al. 2014; 7 — Chirica 1979; 8 — Ciobotaru, Ilie, Simalsik 2020; 9 — Bichir 1977; 10 — Palade 1978—1979; 12 — Ioniță 1964; 13 — Cheptea, Grumeza, Mocanu-Irimiță 2023)

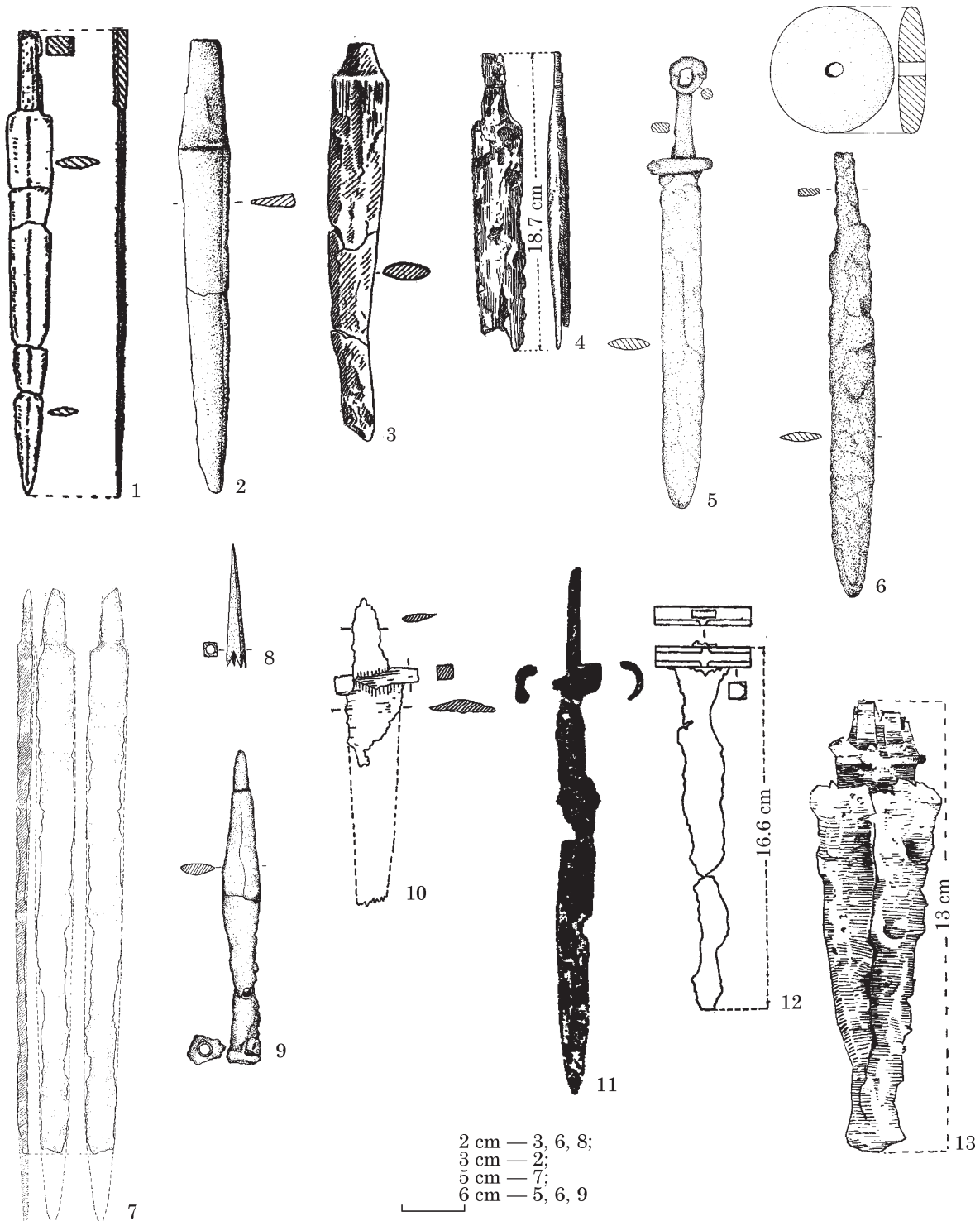


Fig. 3. Daggers with simple, straight handle (type A2): 1 — Balta Albă; 2 — Lișcoteanca-Movila Olarului G. 17; 3 — Giurcani G. 5; 4 — Vaslui G. 1; **Short sword:** 5 — Lișcoteanca-Movila Olarului G. 7; **Swords:** 6 — Brăila-Hipodrom G. 2; 7 — Căzânești G. 1; **Arrowhead:** 8 — Lișcoteanca-Movila din baltă G. 6; **Spearhead:** 9 — Râmnicelu G. 17; **Daggers / swords of unknown type:** 10 — Slobozia Hănești; 11 — Tecuci G. 4; 12 — Ivești G. 3; 13 — Bârlad-Școala de Mecanici Agricoli G. 68 (after: 1 — Constantinescu 1978; 2, 5, 6, 8, 9 — Oța, Sîrbu 2009; 3 — Buzdugan 1981; 4 — Andronic 1963; 7 — Sîrbu et al. 2014; 10 — N. Zaharia, E. Zaharia 1974; 11 — Vendelin 1940; 12 — Palade 1978—1979; 13 — Mamalaucă 2023)

Рис. 3. Кинджали з руків'ям-штирем (тип А2): 1 — Балта Албе; 2 — Лішкотянка-Мовіла Оларулуй, п. 17; 3 — Джуркань, п. 5; 4 — Васлуй, п. 1; **Короткий меч:** 5 — Лішкотянка-Мовіла Оларулуй, п. 7; **Довгі мечі:** 6 — Бреїла-Хіподром, п. 2; 7 — Кезенешть, п. 1; **Наконечник стріли:** 8 — Лішкотянка-Мовіла дін балте, п. 6; **Наконечник списа:** 9 — Римнічелу, п. 17; **Кинджали / мечі невизначеного типу:** 10 — Слободзія-Хенешть; 11 — Текуч, п. 4; 12 — Іवेशть, п. 3; 13 — Бирлад-Шкоала де Меканік Агріколь, п. 68 (за: 1 — Constantinescu 1978; 2, 5, 6, 8, 9 — Oța, Sîrbu 2009; 3 — Buzdugan 1981; 4 — Andronic 1963; 7 — Sîrbu et al. 2014; 10 — N. Zaharia, E. Zaharia 1974; 11 — Vendelin 1940; 12 — Palade 1978—1979; 13 — Mamalaucă 2023)

Dângenii (it can be seen only that it had a cross-guard), Ivești G. 3 (fig. 3: 12, with cross-guard), Manoleasa G. 1, Pogana G. 2, Pogănești G. 2, G. 3, G. 4, Pogorăști G. 3, Prăjeni-*Alimândra* T. III G. 2 (fig. 4: 7, purely hypothetically reconstructed artefact), Roma G. 4, Târgu Frumos G. 11, Valea Lupului-*Movilă* G. 9, Slobozia Hănești (fig. 3: 10, with cross-guard), Probota. It is not excluded that the daggers from Bucu G. 10 (fig. 7: 8) and Tecuci G. 4 (fig. 3: 11) have a simple, straight handle. It should be noted that the dagger from *Însurăței-canal de irigație* had a single-edged blade.

A1. The daggers with ring-shaped pommel (Bârcă type I; Symonenko type 1.3; Istvánovits, Kulcsár group 1) were found in 18 graves. 11 of them had cross-guard: Grădiștea G. 4 — fig. 2: 1 and 6; 3, LARGU G. 4 — fig. 2: 2 and G. 6 — fig. 2: 3 and 6; 7, Lișcoteanca-*Moș Filon* G. 7 — fig. 2: 4 and 5; 7, Lișcoteanca-*Movila Olarului* G. 3 — fig. 2: 5, Nicolae Bălcescu — fig. 2: 6, Smeeni G. 3, Mitoc G. 2 — fig. 2: 7, Munteni — fig. 2: 8, Țepu — fig. 2: 9, Unțești G. 1 — fig. 2: 10. The dagger (fig. 2: 11) from the supposed grave at Căzănești (Sîrbu et al. 2014, p. 35, M. (?) 2) also belonged to the type with a ring-shaped pommel handle and a cross-guard. Certainly, the dagger from Șerbotești (fig. 2: 12) had no cross-guard. In the case of five daggers we can no longer know if they had a cross-guard or not (Oltenița-*Iordoc* G. 6, Bârlad-*Depozit* G. 3, Broscăuți-*vatra satului*, Iași-*Palatul Culturii* G. 2 — fig. 2: 13 and Podu Iloaiei). Only for the ends of the ring-shaped pommel of the dagger from G. 2 at Mitoc (fig. 2: 7) can be noticed that they were joined by overlapping. The majority of the daggers with ring-shaped pommel belong to the first sub-type defined by Oleksandr Symonenko for the Northern Pontic regions, with parallel edges narrowed in the last third of the blade (Симоненко 2010, c. 32; 2015, c. 43).

A2. The daggers with a simple, straight handle (Bârcă type II; Symonenko type 1.4) were found in six graves (Balta Albă — fig. 3: 1, Grădiștea G. 1, Lișcoteanca-*Movila Olarului* G. 17 — fig. 3: 2, which had a cross-guard and a single-edged blade, Oltenița-*Renie* G. 3, Giurcani G. 5 — fig. 3: 3, dagger with median rib, probably also Vaslui G. 1 — fig. 3: 4 and 4: 4). With the exception of the dagger (fig. 5: 8) found in G. 17 at Lișcoteanca-*Movila Olarului* (Хазанов 1971, тип 1), the other daggers with simple handle belong to Khazanov type 2 (with obtuse angle between the blade and the handle: the daggers from Grădiștea G. 1, Giurcani G. 5) or Khazanov type 3 (with right angle between the blade and the handle: the daggers from Balta Albă, and Vaslui G. 1). The dagger from Oltenița-*Renie* G. 3 is not illustrated.

B. Short sword (50 to 70 cm long): Lișcoteanca-*Movila Olarului* G. 7 (fig. 3: 5; 5: 3).

C. Swords (more than 70 cm long): two graves for sure, all of them in Wallachia (Brăila-*Hipodrom*

drom G. 2 — fig. 3: 6, Căzănești G. 1 — fig. 3: 7), and possibly other two, one in Wallachia and one in Moldavia (Roșiori and Pogana G. 2)³. The sword from G. 1 at Căzănești belongs to Khazanov type 2 (with obtuse angle between the blade and the handle), and the sword from Brăila-*Hipodrom* G. 2 to Khazanov type 3 (with right angle between the blade and the handle).

In the case of 20 daggers and swords the remains of the wooden sheath were preserved: Balta Albă, Brăila-*Hipodrom* G. 2, Bucu G. 10, Căzănești G. 1, Căzănești G. (?) 2, Grădiștea G. 1, G. 4, LARGU G. 4, G. 6, Lișcoteanca-*Moș Filon* G. 1, G. 7, Lișcoteanca-*Movila Olarului* G. 3, G. 7, G. 17, Smeeni G. 3, Giurcani G. 5, Podu Iloaiei, Șerbotești, Târgu Frumos G. 11, Vaslui G. 1. On the dagger sheaths found in G. 1 and G. 7 from Lișcoteanca-*Moș Filon*, traces of the red leather were also preserved. Remnants of leather on the sheath and handle can be seen in the case of weapons from G. 1 and G. 7 at Lișcoteanca-*Moș Filon* and G. 3 at Lișcoteanca-*Movila Olarului*.

Whether the daggers and swords were deposited in the grave whole or fragmented is difficult to determine with certainty, given that in 22 cases the weapons were preserved more or less fragmentarily, without being able to say whether the damage occurred in Antiquity or it is the result of the long time spent in the soil (Bucu G. 10, Căzănești G. 1, *Însurăței-canal de irigație*, Lișcoteanca-*Moș Filon* G. 1, G. 2, Nicolae Bălcescu, Roșiori, Bârlad-*Depozit* G. 3, Bârlad-*Școala de Mecanici Agricoli* G. 68, Iași-*Palatul Culturii* G. 2, Ivești G. 3, Manoleasa G. 1, Pogana G. 2, Pogănești G. 2, G. 3, G. 4, Pogorăști G. 3, Prăjeni-*Alimândra* T. III G. 2, Roma G. 4, Tecuci G. 4, Valea Lupului-*Movilă* G. 9, Vaslui G. 1). In 14 cases, the dagger / sword was deposited whole: Balta Albă, Brăila-*Hipodrom* G. 2, Grădiștea G. 1, G. 4, LARGU G. 4, G. 6, Lișcoteanca-*Movila Olarului* G. 3, G. 7, G. 17, Smeeni G. 3, Mitoc G. 2, Șerbotești, Țepu, Unțești G. 1. Also whole was the dagger with ring-shaped pommel from Căzănești, the one about which it is not known for certain whether it came from a grave or not. In the case of a single dagger, the one from G. 5 at Giurcani, it could be observed that the handle was broken in Antiquity, although it is difficult to say if the destruction occurred on the occasion of the burial of the weapon or previously. The dagger from G. 3 at Pogorăști was passed through the fire.

The sword from Brăila-*Hipodrom* G. 2 had the handle decorated with an opal disc, and the one from the destroyed tomb at Roșiori was decorated with gold leaf.

3. The weapons from Roșiori and Pogana G. 2 were destroyed because they were accidental finds. Their typological framing as swords has a great margin of uncertainty, because it is based only on the terms used by Nicolae Hartuche (1980, p. 242, no. 13) and Vasile Palade (1981, p. 71—72, no. 4) when they published these discoveries.

D. The arrowheads: three graves, two of which in Wallachia (*Lișcoteanca-Movila din baltă* G. 6 and *Lișcoteanca-Movila Olarului* G. 15) and one in Moldavia (Pogana G. 1). Two of these arrowheads are destroyed, the only one preserved being the pyramidal-shaped item made of bone in G. 6 from *Lișcoteanca-Movila din baltă*⁴ (fig. 3: 8).

E. The spearhead (Symonenko type 3): Râmnicelu G. 17 (fig. 3: 9).

The position of weapons in the grave. In all the analysed graves, only one type of weapon was discovered: dagger, short sword, sword, arrowhead, spearhead. Although information regarding the position of the weapon is available for only 39 of the 54 graves, daggers and swords were most commonly placed on the right side (32 graves), and far less frequently on the left (only three graves). Typically, the weapons were deposited in the area of the femur or pelvis — on the right side in 19, possibly 20 cases (Balta Albă, both graves from Largu, all three graves from *Lișcoteanca-Moș Filon*, G. 17 from *Lișcoteanca-Movila Olarului*, *Oltenița-Renie* G. 3, Giurcani G. 5, Manoleasa G. 1, Mitoc G. 2, Podu Iloaiei, Pogănești G. 2, Pogorăști G. 3, Prăjeni-*Alimândra* T. III G. 2, Roma G. 4, Târgu Frumos G. 11, Vaslui G. 1, Tecuci G. 4 — in the latter case, beneath the pelvis, and possibly also at *Broscauți-vatra satului*) and in three cases on the left side (*Brăila-Hipodrom* G. 2, Grădiștea G. 1, *Lișcoteanca-Movila Olarului* G. 3). In G. 4 from Grădiștea, G. 7 from *Lișcoteanca-Movila Olarului* and G. 3 from Smeeni (fig. 7: 10) the dagger was found on the right femur. In three graves, the dagger was discovered in the feet area, on the right, as follows: in the knee area (Unțești G. 1), at the toe (Bucu G. 10) and towards the foot (Pogana G. 2). In three other cases, the dagger was also found on the right side, but near the elbow (*Bârlad-Școala de Mecanici Agricoli* G. 68, Ivești G. 3) and in the humerus area (*Oltenița-Iordoc* G. 6). Regarding the daggers from *Bârlad-Depozit* G. 3, Dângeni, and Probotă, it is only known that they were found on the right side of the deceased. The three arrowheads were discovered towards the right humerus (Pogana G. 1), near the left humerus (*Lișcoteanca-Movila din baltă* G. 6) or in the abdomen area (*Lișcoteanca-Movila Olarului* G. 15), and the spearhead from G. 17 at Râmnicelu near the right arm.

4. All the arrowheads found in the northern Black Sea region (Симоненко 2010, с. 94—101; 2015, с. 106) were made of iron. The possibility of a much earlier arrowhead (Scythian?), although I could not find perfect analogies (Hellmuth 2006, type 4; Burghardt 2020, p. 338, group IV) cannot be completely ruled out. Scythian arrowheads made of bone were quite often found in Sarmatian graves from Crimea but used as amulets (Храпунов и др. 2020, с. 9, сноска 2). In the Carpathian Basin the Scythian arrowheads were found both in female (used as adornments) and male graves (used as weapons) (Istvánovits, Kulcsár 2014, p. 145).

Grave goods. In very few of the 54 graves where weapons were deposited, more precisely seven cases, the dagger or spearhead represented the only piece of inventory: Largu G. 1, *Lișcoteanca-Moș Filon* G. 2, *Oltenița-Iordoc* G. 6, *Bârlad-Depozit* G. 3, Tecuci G. 4 and Țepu (in which daggers were deposited) and Râmnicelu G. 17 (where a spearhead was found). In the case of six other funerary structures we do not know whether the weapon was associated with other objects or not: Vedeia, Rușetu, *Broscauți-vatra satului*, Pogănești G. 3 and G. 4, Valea Lupului-*Movilă* G. 9. This was either because the graves were destroyed or because they were not published in detail.

The most common category of grave goods found in association with weapons is that of ceramic vessels — 31 cases. Usually, only one vessel was deposited, in 25 graves, most often Dacian wheel-made mug, in 12 cases (Balta Albă, Grădiștea G. 4 — fig. 6: 2, Largu G. 6 — fig. 6: 9, *Lișcoteanca-Moș Filon* G. 7 — fig. 5: 6, *Oltenița-Renie* G. 3, Smeeni G. 3, Ivești G. 3, Pogana G. 2, Pogănești G. 2, Roma G. 4, Șerbotești, Unțești G. 1). A single Roman vessel was deposited in five burials: a jug in *Lișcoteanca-Moș Filon* G. 1 (fig. 5: 1) and Manoleasa G. 1, a bowl in G. 10 from Bucu (fig. 7: 7), a pitcher in G. 7 from *Lișcoteanca-Movila Olarului* (fig. 5: 4) and a ceramic unguentarium in G. 1 from Satu Nou. One hand-made vessel was deposited in four cases: jar at *Însurăței-canal de irigație*, Giurcani G. 5 and Mitoc G. 2, and a bitronconic vessel, with a short neck and flared rim at Munteni. We have no data on the type of vessels found in G. 1 from Căzănești, Nicolae Bălcescu, Târgu Frumos G. 11 and Podu Iloaiei (where a jug was deposited, but without specifying the manufacturing technique and fabric). Two vessels were found in four graves: Dacian mug (fig. 6: 5) and Roman mug (*Brăila-Hipodrom* G. 2); hand-made mug (fig. 5: 9) and hand-made tronconic vessel (*Lișcoteanca-Movila Olarului* G. 17), two hand-made vessels of unknown type (Prăjeni-*Alimândra* T. III G. 2), Dacian mug and fragmentary vessel with thin walls (Dângeni). Most vessels, three in each case, were deposited in G. 68 from *Bârlad-Școala de Mecanici Agricoli* (two jars — fig. 7: 3, 4 and a tronconic vessel — fig. 7: 5, all hand-made) and in G. 1 from Vaslui (hand-made cylindrical vessel — fig. 4: 1, hand-made tronconic vessel — fig. 4: 3, and wheel-made Dacian mug — fig. 4: 2).

The typology of the ceramic vessels discovered in the graves with weapons shows the preference for the deposition of wheel-made Dacian vessels, which are exclusively mugs — 15 graves (Balta Albă, *Brăila-Hipodrom* G. 2 — fig. 6: 5, Grădiștea G. 4 — fig. 6: 2, Largu G. 6 — fig. 6: 9, *Lișcoteanca-Moș Filon* G. 7 — fig. 5: 6, *Oltenița-Renie* G. 3, Smeeni G. 3, Dângeni, Ivești G. 3, Pogana G. 2, Pogănești G. 2, Roma G. 4, Șerbotești, Unțești G. 1, Vaslui G. 1 — fig. 4: 2).



Fig. 4. Sarmatian graves with weapons: 1–6 — Vaslui G. 1; 7, 8 — Prăjeni-*Alimândra* T. III G. 2 (after: 1–6 — Andronic 1963; 7, 8 — Ursulescu et al. 2021)

Рис. 4. Сарматські могили із зброєю: 1–6 — Васлуй, п. 1; 7, 8 — Прэжень-Алімендра Т. III, п. 2 (за: 1–6 — Andronic 1963; 7, 8 — Ursulescu et al. 2021)

Although numerically much reduced (only eight cases), the hand-made pottery found in graves with weapons shows great typological variety: jars in four cases (Însurăței-*canal de irigație*, Bârlad-*Școala de Mecanici Agricoli* G. 68 — fig. 7: 3–4, Giurcani G. 5 and Mitoc G. 2), tronconic vessels in three graves (Bârlad-*Școala de Mecanici Agricoli* G. 68 — fig. 7: 5, Lișcoteanca-*Movila Olarului* G. 17, Vaslui G. 1 — fig. 4: 3), mug (Lișcoteanca-*Movila Olarului* G. 17 — fig. 5: 9), bitronconic vessel (Munteni), cylindrical vessel

(Vaslui G. 1 — fig. 4: 1) and vessel of unknown type (Prăjeni-*Alimândra* T. III G. 2). It is interesting to note the preference given to hand-made vessels in the inventory of graves with two and three vessels (nine hand-made vessels in four graves and only five wheel-made vessels in three graves), despite the overall low presence of hand-made vessels in graves with weapons (only eight cases). Roman vessels were found in six burials: jug (Lișcoteanca-*Moș Filon* G. 1 — fig. 5: 1, Manoleasa G. 1), mug (Brăila-*Hipodrom* G. 2), bowl

(Bucu G. 10 — fig. 7: 7), pitcher (Lișcoteanca-Movila Olarului G. 7 — fig. 5: 4) and ceramic unguentarium (Pogana G. 1).

The association between weapons and items that can be generally classified as adornments is certain in 10 graves, maybe 12, if the dagger from Broscăuți-*vatra satului* would have been deposited with the bell, and the two round glass items found in T. III G. 2 from Prăjeni-*Alimândra* (fig. 4: 8) would have been adornments. When I referred to pieces that can be generally classified as adornments, I had in mind mainly the beads, found in nine, possibly 10 graves, and made of various materials: bronze (Bucu G. 10 — fig. 7: 9, on the left forearm; possibly Lișcoteanca-Movila Olarului G. 15, in the chest area); glass (Largu G. 6, at the right shoulder; Pogănești G. 2, on the right side, near the shoulder and tibia; possibly Vaslui G. 1 — fig. 4: 6, under the dagger, and Prăjeni-*Alimândra* T. III G. 2 — fig. 4: 8, on the left knee); stone (Grădiștea G. 4 — fig. 6: 1, on the arm; Pogorăști G. 3, under the dagger); bone (Grădiștea G. 4 — fig. 6: 1, on the arm); chalcedony (Smeeni G. 3, on the left leg); unspecified material (Târgu Frumos G. 11, on the right hand and the right foot). The small number of beads in the graves with weapons, one (six cases), two (Pogănești G. 2 and Prăjeni-*Alimândra* T. III G. 2), three (Grădiștea G. 4) or four (Târgu Frumos G. 11) suggest a possible use rather for the decoration of the dagger sheath or belt or dress (Vaslui G. 1, Pogorăști G. 3, possibly Pogănești G. 2 and Prăjeni-*Alimândra* T. III G. 2), although this assumption does not always seem to be valid (in G. 3 from Smeeni the dagger was found on the right femur, and the chalcedony bead on the left leg, 4–5 cm from the iron fitting with bronze rivets of a wooden object⁵). The deceased from G. 68 at Bârlad-*Școala de Mecanici Agricoli* wore an iron bracelet (fig. 7: 6) on the left hand, below the elbow (perhaps for fixing the sleeve — Istvánovits, Kulcsár, von Carnap-Bornheim 2006, p. 99), and a stone pendant was found in G. 15 from Lișcoteanca-Movila Olarului. The classification of the fragmented bronze piece found near the left shoulder of the deceased in G. 3 at Smeeni as a bell is uncertain.

Dress accessories were discovered in 10 graves with weapons: fibulae (four cases: Căzănești G. 1, Lișcoteanca-Moș *Filon* G. 1 and G. 7 — fig. 5: 5, Unțești G. 1); metal fittings from footgear (Brăila-*Hipodrom* G. 2, Largu G. 6 — fig. 6: 8, Smeeni G. 3, Mihăești — fig. 6: 11, 12, possibly Mitoc G. 2); buckle (Bârlad-*Școala de Mecanici Agricoli* G. 68); buttons (Largu G. 6, in the abdomen

area — fig. 6: 10); and «clasps» (Smeeni G. 3, in the area of the calves and knees).

The series of grave goods categories deposited with some frequency in the graves with weapons ends with the household implements: knives (six graves: Grădiștea G. 1, Lișcoteanca-Movila Olarului G. 3, Roșiori, Lișcoteanca-Movila *din baltă* G. 6, Iași-*Palatul Culturii* G. 2, Pogorăști G. 3) and whetstone (Bârlad-*Școala de Mecanici Agricoli* G. 68 — fig. 7: 2). The position of the knife relative to the weapons with which it is associated (daggers in five cases and arrowhead in one case, in G. 6 from Lișcoteanca-Movila *din baltă*) seems to show rather a deposition on the same part of the body (three cases: on the right, at Pogorăști G. 3; on the left, at Lișcoteanca-Movila *din baltă* G. 6, possibly also in Roșiori, judging by the fact that the sword and knife fragments were caught between them, so they were probably deposited on the same side, close to each other). The knife and the dagger were deposited separately in two cases: the dagger on the left of the basin and the knife under the basin, on the right, in G. 1 from Grădiștea, and the dagger on the left of the basin, and the knife in the right palm in G. 3 from Lișcoteanca-Movila Olarului.

The rest of the grave goods found in the Sarmatian graves with weapons from Wallachia and Moldavia are exceptional occurrences: harness items (Ivești G. 3), animal bones (Lișcoteanca-Movila Olarului G. 3, found near the knife, in the right palm, while the dagger was deposited on the left), shell (Lișcoteanca-Movila Olarului G. 3, although it is not excluded to be a confusion with G. 3 from Lișcoteanca-Movila *din baltă* — Oța, Sîrbu 2009, p. 127), perforated bone plate, possibly from the belt of the dagger sheath (Târgu Frumos G. 11). The fragments of bronze links and spirals (fig. 4: 5) probably decorated the sheath of the dagger from Vaslui G. 1. The purpose of the iron object with textile traces found between the femurs of the deceased in G. 6 at Largu can no longer be determined, nor that of the iron fitting with bronze rivets from a wooden object in G. 3 at Smeeni (the hypothesis that it was part of a dagger sheath seems contradicted by the fact that the weapon was found on the right side, on the femur, while the wooden piece was discovered near the left knee). The functions of the following items remain unclear: metal piece from G. 68 at Bârlad-*Școala de Mecanici Agricoli* (possibly part of a buckle?); the iron object found around the neck of the deceased in G. 1 at Grădiștea (possibly a link, as in the case of G. 9 at Râmnicelu — Oța, Sîrbu 2009, p. 131); the bronze fragments from G. 1 at Grădiștea (their possible classification as sheath ornaments is supported by the fact that the dagger was found to the left of the pelvis, and some fragments were located on the pelvic bones, although other fragments were also found near the right arm); the fragments of bronze sheet from the left arm of the deceased in G. 4 at Grădiștea, and the bronze objects from Roșiori.

5. The chalcedony beads can sometimes decorate harness items (Трепчєрєв 2019, с. 571), but it does not seem to be the case at Smeeni. The dimensions were not published (except for the detail that it was a «big» bead), so any assumptions on the functionality of the item are risky.

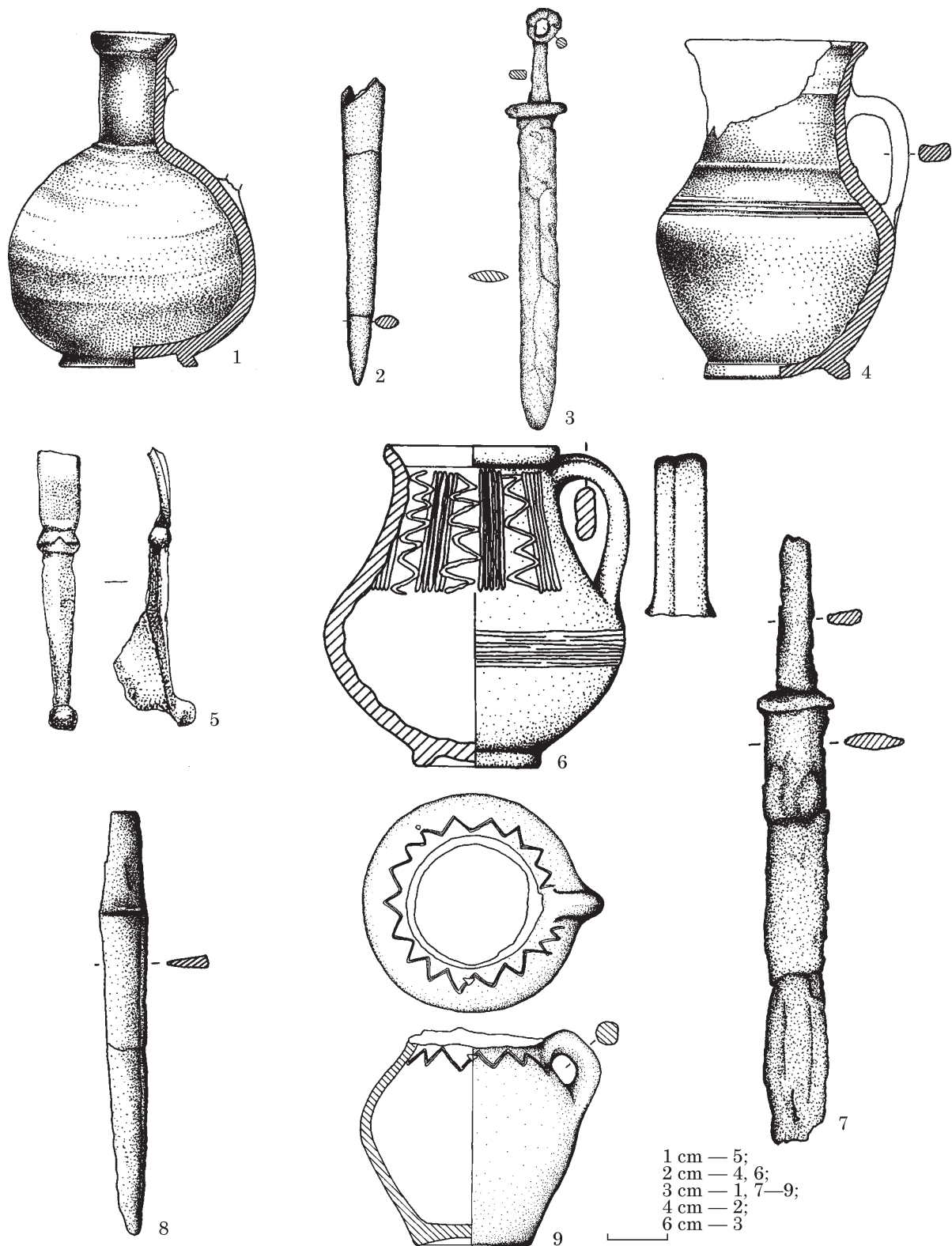


Fig. 5. Sarmatian graves with weapons: 1, 2 — Lișcoteanca-Moș Filon G. 1; 3, 4 — Lișcoteanca-Movila Olarului G. 7; 5—7 — Lișcoteanca-Moș Filon G. 7; 8, 9 — Lișcoteanca-Movila Olarului G. 17 (after Oța, Sîrbu 2009)

Рис. 5. Сарматські могили із зброєю: 1, 2 — Лішкотянка-Мош Філон, п. 1; 3, 4 — Лішкотянка-Мовіла Оларулуй, п. 7; 5—7 — Лішкотянка-Мош Філон, п. 7; 8, 9 — Лішкотянка-Мовіла Оларулуй, п. 7 (за Оța, Sîrbu 2009)

Leaving aside the seven burials in which only the weapon was discovered (dagger in six graves and spearhead in one grave), as well as the six

cases when we cannot be sure on the composition of the funerary inventory, the types of funerary assemblages of the Sarmatian graves with

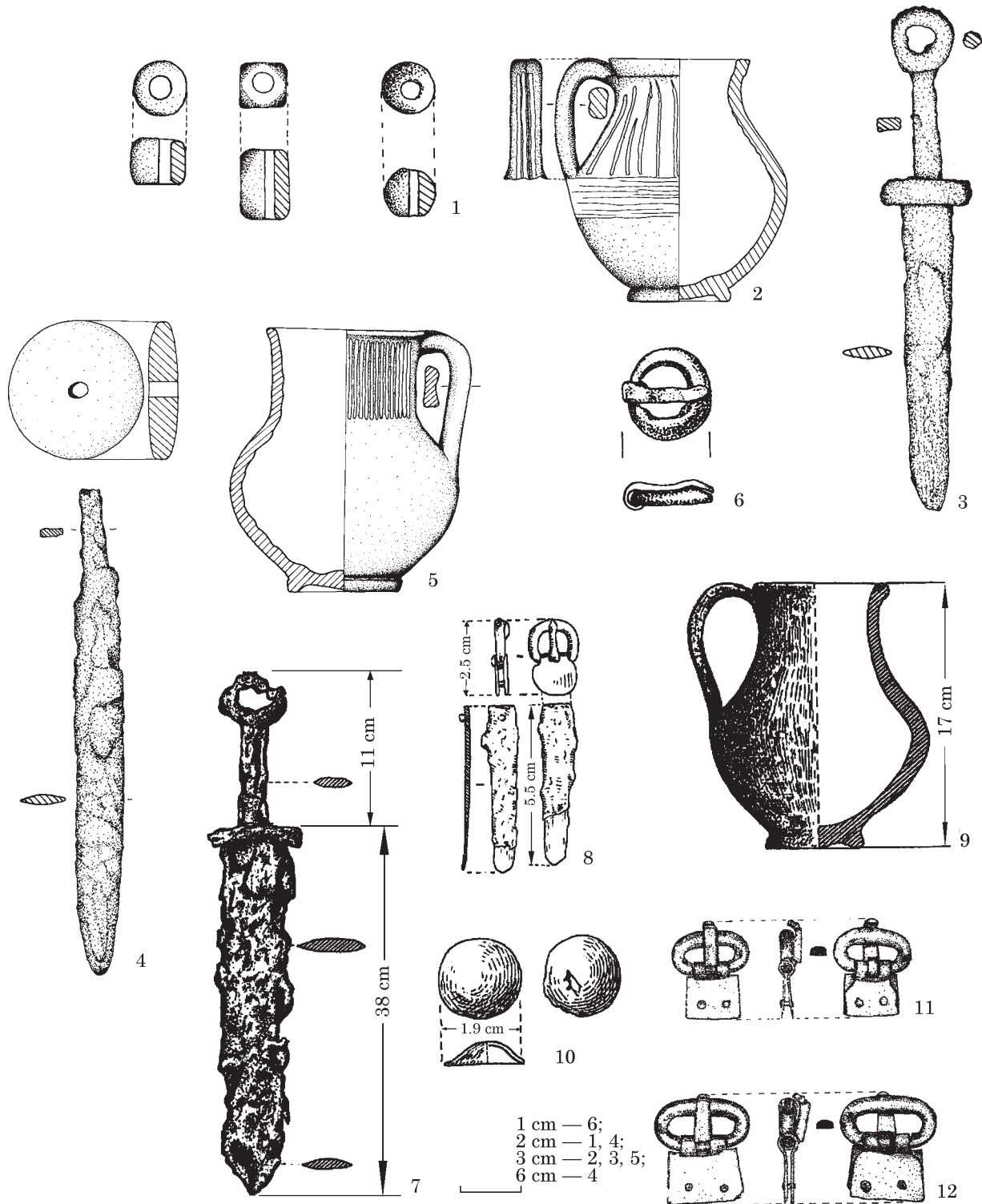


Fig. 6. Sarmatian graves with weapons: 1—3 — Grădiștea G. 4; 4—6 — Brăila-*Hipodrom* G. 2; 7—10 — Largu G. 6; 11, 12 — Mihăești (after: 1—6 — Oța, Sîrbu 2009; 7—10 — Dragomir, Croitoru 2011; 11, 12 — Păunescu, Beldiman 1992)

Рис. 6. Сарматські могили із зброєю: 1—3 — Гредіштя, п. 4; 4—6 — Бреїла-*Хиподром*, п. 2; 7—10 — Ларгу, п. 4; 11, 12 — Міхешть (за: 1—6 — Оța, Sîrbu 2009; 7—10 — Dragomir, Croitoru 2011; 11, 12 — Păunescu, Beldiman 1992)

weapons from Wallachia and Moldavia show a clear tendency towards the deposition of a small number of grave goods. In 15 of the 52 graves with weapons available for an analysis of the associations of grave goods (the mentions of the daggers

from Probotă and Slobozia Hănești were excluded) were found only two items. The most common combination is the one between the weapon and a ceramic vessel, either a Dacian wheel-made mug (five cases: Balta Albă, Oltenița-*Renie* G. 3, Roma

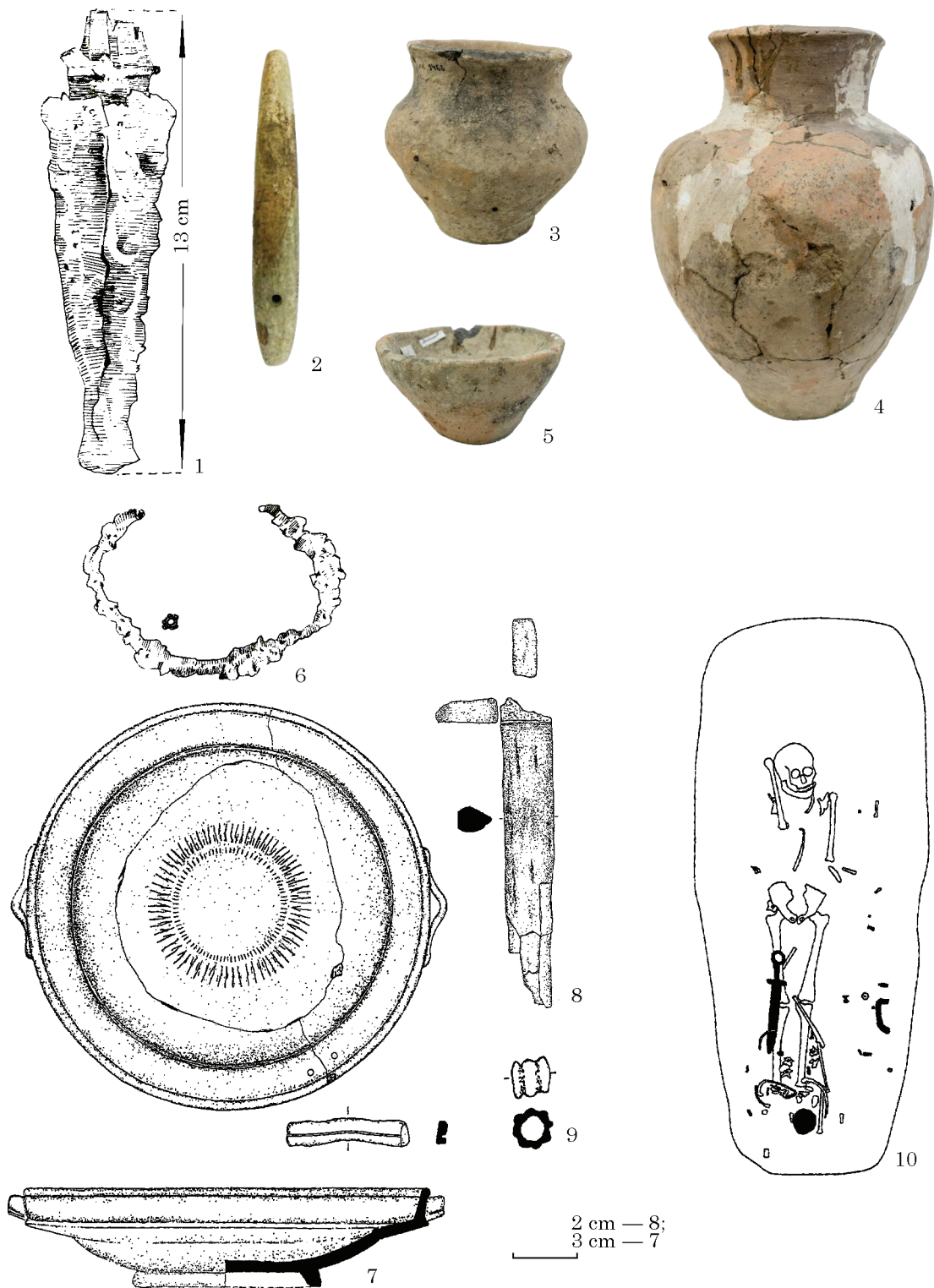


Fig. 7. Sarmatian graves with weapons: 1–6 — Bârlad-Școala de Mecanici Agricoli G. 68; 7–9 — Bucu G. 10; 10 — Smeeni G. 3 (after: 1–6 — Mamalaucă 2023; 7–9 — Rența 2000; 10 — Frînculeasa et al. 2017)

Рис. 7. Сарматські могили із зброєю: 1–6 — Бирлад-Шкоала де Механік Агріколь, п. 68; 7–10 — Буку, п. 10; 10 — Смеєнь, п. 3 (за: 1–6 — Mamalaucă 2023; 7–9 — Rența 2000; 10 — Frînculeasa et al. 2017)

G. 4, Pogana G. 2 and Șerbotești), or Roman vessel (three cases: Lișcoteanca-Movila Olarului G. 7, Manoleasa G. 1, and Pogana G. 1 — where the weapon was represented by an arrowhead), hand-made vessel (Giurcani G. 5 and Munteni) or vessel of unknown type (Nicolae Bălcescu and

Podu Iloaiei). In two cases, the weapon — a dagger in G. 2 at Iași-Palatul Culturii and an arrowhead in G. 6 at Lișcoteanca-Movila din baltă — was found in association with a knife. I included the burial from Mihăești, in which were discovered a dagger and silver buckles from shoes, among

the graves with two pieces of inventory. Opinions may be divided on the role played by the dress items in the funerary ritual, and the fact that they were worn by the buried person seems to exclude these artefacts from among the actual funerary offerings (Babeş 1971, p. 25). The deceased' body items (clothes and jewellery) and grave gifts often overlap (Fahlander, Oestigaard 2008, p. 7). The analysis that I undertook several years ago on the early Roman graves in the province of *Moesia Inferior* revealed to me, however, the multitude of roles that a certain object, relatively simple to classify as typology, can play depending on the different moments during the funerals in which it was involved — a piece worn by the deceased or an object deposited separately from the corpse (Oța 2013, p. 221, 255). Although the garments and shoes were worn by the deceased, so related to the mortuary toilet performed before the actual burial, the adornments or dress items that the deceased wore were personal, perhaps inalienable (Fahlander 2020, p. 565) property. Such objects were intentionally chosen by those performing the funerary ritual (Härke 1994, p. 35; 2014, p. 52) to be removed from everyday life, with a specific aim (Fahlander 2020, p. 559), and from this point of view they can also be counted as a group of grave goods (Fahlander, Oestigaard 2008, p. 9).

The number of the graves with three objects each rises to 14. In most cases (11), the same combination can be noticed, that between the weapon and a ceramic vessel, to which is added a fibula (four cases: Căzânești G. 1, Lișcoteanca-Moș Filon G. 1 and G. 7, Unțești G. 1), beads (three cases: Bucu G. 10, Grădiștea G. 4, Pogănești G. 2), buckle, possibly from shoes (Mitoc G. 10), harness items (Ivești G. 3) and another ceramic vessel (Lișcoteanca-Movila Olarului G. 17 and Dângeni). In the case of burials with three grave goods, the ceramic vessels were mainly Dacian wheel-made (Grădiștea G. 4, Pogănești G. 2, Lișcoteanca-Moș Filon G. 7, Unțești G. 1, Ivești G. 3, and at least one of the two vessels from Dângeni), few Roman ones (Bucu G. 10 and Lișcoteanca-Moș Filon G. 1) and hand-made (Mitoc G. 2, Lișcoteanca-Movila Olarului G. 17). The association between the weapon and the knife is found only in two cases, supplemented by the bead (Pogorăști G. 3, although it is not excluded that the bead came from the sheath of the dagger) and animal bones (Lișcoteanca-Movila Olarului G. 3). The association between the weapon, a pendant and a possible bronze bead in G. 15 from Lișcoteanca-Movila Olarului is, at least for now, unusual, standing apart from the model weapon + ceramic vessel (23 graves out of the 19 with two or three inventory pieces) or weapon + knife (four graves), supplemented or not with other grave goods. Partial recovery of the inventory and destruction of some of the grave goods call into question the seriations of the burials from

Roșiori, Însurăței-canal de irigație and Grădiștea G. 1 between the graves with two or three objects. Regardless of the number of pieces, however, it is noteworthy that all the above mentioned three burials fit into the inventory patterns noticed earlier, based on the association between the weapon and the knife (Grădiștea G. 1 and Roșiori), and the weapon and ceramic vessel (Însurăței-canal de irigație).

Graves with more than three pieces of inventory are very few: only seven. Four pieces were found in three graves each. The basic combination is the same as in the case of graves with two or three grave goods: weapon + ceramic vessels (two in Brăila-Hipodrom G. 2 and Prăjeni-Alimândra T. III G. 2, one in Târgu Frumos G. 11), to which footgear is added (Brăila-Hipodrom G. 2), two glass rondels (Prăjeni-Alimândra T. III G. 2, although it is not entirely excluded their belonging to the dagger's sheath, which would reduce the number of inventory pieces to three) and a bone plate (Târgu Frumos G. 11, which, if it was an ornament of the weapon's buckle belt, reduces the number of grave goods to three in this case, too). The four graves with five, six, seven and eight pieces each seem to show two trends in setting up the funerary inventory. One of the trends is based on the combination of weapon, ceramic vessels and bead (Vaslui G. 1), the difference between graves with two and three pieces of inventory consisting only of the number of vessels (three, of which two are hand-made and one Dacian wheel-made). The second trend is also based on the association between a weapon and a ceramic vessel (one each in G. 6 at Largu and G. 3 at Smeeni, and three in G. 68 at Bârlad-Școala de Mecanici Agricoli), to which are added a bead (Largu G. 6 and Smeeni G. 3), footwear buckles (Largu G. 6 and Smeeni G. 3), bronze buttons and an undetermined iron object (Largu G. 6), bronze clasps, a bell (?) and a wooden object with metal fittings (Smeeni G. 3), and an iron bracelet, buckle, whetstone, and an undetermined metal object (Bârlad-Școala de Mecanici Agricoli G. 68).

The trend of standardisation of the inventory of burials with weapons, noticed in the analysis of graves of this type in Wallachia (Oța, Sîrbu, Matei 2013, p. 335) is also confirmed in the case of corroboration with the analysis of graves with weapons from Moldavia. The main features of the Sarmatian graves with weapons from Wallachia and Moldavia can be summarized as follows.

- Generally small number of pieces deposited: either one (only the weapon, in seven cases), or two or three (29 graves, possibly 32, if the three burials with unknown number of grave goods from Roșiori, Însurăței-canal de irigație and Grădiștea G. 1 are included), with only seven exceptions (three with four pieces and four with inventory consisting of between five and eight pieces). Although it is not excluded that this situation represents only a stage of research, however two ob-

servations are worth noting, namely that, despite a slight predominance of graves with two pieces of inventory in Moldavia (nine, compared to six in Wallachia), on the whole, the number of graves with one, two or three grave goods is slightly higher in Wallachia (21), compared to Moldavia (18). Graves with large numbers of pieces, between five and eight, are distributed equally in Wallachia and Moldavia.

- The basic association, regardless of the number of grave goods from the Sarmatian graves with weapons from Wallachia and Moldavia is the one between the weapon and the pottery, noticed in 31 cases, to which dress items or beads are added (14 cases). Much rarer is the combination of weapon and knife (only six cases), to which the bead and animal bones (two cases) and other indeterminate pieces (two cases) can be added. The exceptions regarding the composition of the inventory do not depend so much on the number of items found in the grave, but rather on their type: Mihăești (weapon and footwear buckles made of silver — fig. 6: 11, 12, especially due to the fact that gold and silver pieces are rare occurrences in the inventory of Sarmatian graves in Moldavia and Wallachia), Brăila-*Hipodrom* G. 2 (sword with opal disc — fig. 6: 4), Ivești G. 3 (where, besides a dagger and a vessel, harness items were also found), Lișcoteanca-*Movila Olarului* G. 15 (inventory consisting of an arrowhead, a bead, and a pendant), and Bârlad-*Școala de Mecanici Agricoli* G. 68 (with eight items: dagger or knife — fig. 7: 1, three hand-made ceramic vessels — fig. 7: 3—5, iron bracelet — fig. 7: 6, possible buckle, whetstone — fig. 7: 2, and a metal piece with undetermined function).

- Although much rarer as types of weapons, the four burials in which arrowheads and a spearhead were found do not differ regarding the funerary assemblage from the burials with daggers or swords, except for G. 15 at Lișcoteanca-*Movila Olarului*.

The dating of the graves with weapons. The deposition of weapons is a custom noticed during the entire period when Sarmatian burials were found in Wallachia and Moldavia. The frequency of this funerary custom is balanced for the periods comprising the end of the 1st century AD and the beginning of the 2nd century, and the end of the 2nd century AD and the first half of the next century: 18 graves dated to late 1st century AD and the beginning of the 2nd century, of which 10 were found in Wallachia (Lișcoteanca-*Moș Filon* G. 1, G. 2, G. 7, Lișcoteanca-*Movila Olarului* G. 3, G. 7, G. 15, G. 17, Lișcoteanca-*Movila din baltă* G. 6, Roșiori, Râmnicelu G. 17) and eight in Moldavia (Prăjeni-*Alimândra* T. III G. 2, Bârlad-*Depozit* G. 3, Giurcani G. 5, Iași-*Palatul Culturii* G. 2, Munteni, Țepu, possibly also Șerbotești and Tecuci G. 4). Of the 16 Sarmatian burials dated to the late 2nd century AD and in the first half of the 3rd century, 10 were discovered in Wallachia

(Brăila-*Hipodrom* G. 2, Bucu G. 10, Grădișteea G. 1 and G. 4, Largu G. 4 and G. 6, Oltenița-*Iordoc* G. 6, Oltenița-*Renie* G. 3, Smeeni G. 3, possibly also Căzănești G. 1) and six in Moldavia (Mitoc G. 2, Pogana G. 1 and 2, Unțești G. 1, possibly also Broscăuți-*vatra satului* and Valea Lupului-*Movilă* G. 9). Based on the currently available data, it is not possible to determine whether the deposition of a certain type of weapon characterizes a specific time span, although can be observed that three out of four graves containing arrowheads and spearheads are dated to the first stage of the Sarmatian settlement in Wallachia (Lișcoteanca-*Movila din baltă* G. 6, Lișcoteanca-*Movila Olarului* G. 15, Râmnicelu G. 17), with only one grave, G. 1 from Satu Nou, dated later. The very small number (only two burials: Balta Albă and Mihăești) of graves with weapons dated to the second half of the 3rd century AD does not show a decrease in the frequency of the custom of depositing weapons, but is the result of the sharp numerical decrease of Sarmatian graves in Wallachia, a consequence of the loss of Roman control over this region (Oța 2020a, p. 421—422; Oța, Sîrbu 2022, p. 143—144).

Conclusions. The deposition of weapons in the Sarmatian graves from Wallachia and Moldavia is not a very widespread custom — so far only 54 graves are known from a total approaching 500, which means almost 11 %. The low number of Sarmatian discoveries from Wallachia and Moldavia cannot be a generally valid explanation for the small number of graves with weapons, especially compared to neighbouring areas, such as the northern Black Sea region, the Carpathian Basin or even Crimea. In the northern Black Sea region, for instance, the graves with weapons represent 27.5 % of the total number of graves dated to the 1st century AD until mid-2nd century known in 2010, and 35 % of the total number of graves dated to the second half of the 2nd century until 4th century AD (Симоненко 2010, с. 240, 243—244; 2015, с. 315, 318). 500 swords or daggers with ring-shaped pommel were discovered in 300 sites from Crimea (Храпунов и др. 2020, с. 7). However, if a separate analysis on different time spans is attempted, the conclusion of deposition of weapons in a low number in graves becomes more nuanced, at least for Wallachia. Here, the percentage of graves with weapons during the first stage of Sarmatian settlement in the area raises to 18.51 % (Oța, Sîrbu 2016b, p. 275), while for the second stage, dated to late 2nd century and first half of the 3rd century AD, the percentage of graves with weapons sharply decreases — 6.53 % of the total number of graves and 8 % of the number of graves with grave goods (Oța 2020b, p. 170). Although the number of Sarmatians arrived in Wallachia at the end of the 1st century AD and in the first decades of the next century is small, however, the number of persons carrying weapons is approaching 1/5,

which means that, at least for the first stage, the number of warriors is higher compared to the second stage. As for the total number of Sarmatian graves from Wallachia and Moldavia, the number of the graves with weapons remains low. I think that, at least for Sarmatian communities from Wallachia and Moldavia, the explanation lies in the low number of the persons carrying weapons in everyday life, not in the prescriptions of the funerary ritual, especially as, in the case of Sarmatians, there was no specialised group of warriors (СИМОНЕНКО 2010, с. 242; 2015, с. 316; Khazanov 2015, p. 362), at least until the second half of the 3rd century AD (СИМОНЕНКО 2010, с. 244; 2015, с. 319). One of the causes of the low number of warriors should be sought in the particular status of the Sarmatian communities from Wallachia, supervised by the Roman army, and from Moldavia, where the Sarmatians play a secondary, perhaps even subordinated role, in relation to the Dacians from the region (Oța 2024, p. 51—52). At *Lișcoteanca-Moș Filon*, for example, out of six graves, three had weapons as grave goods, while in the contemporary clusters from *Lișcoteanca-Movila Olarului* and *Râmnicelu* the percentage of the graves with weapons represent 36.36 % and 6.66 %, but, according to my opinion, assumptions such as a more pronounced warrior character of certain Sarmatian groups than others should be avoided, because we do not know whether the grave groups belonged to different communities and how many members really had a community. Even after the Marcomannic wars, when, at the northern periphery of the area inhabited by the Sarmatians in the Carpathian Basin, at the end of the 2nd century and in the first half of the next century, can be noticed the emergence of a cultural horizon with predominantly tumular graves, in which weapons and horse harness items were deposited, connected with the westward movement of some groups of Sarmatians from the north-Pontic area (Istvánovits, Kulcsár 2003, p. 236—238; 2017, p. 274—280), Wallachia and Moldavia fit into this phenomenon on a much more modest scale (only one grave, G. 2 in *Brăila-Hipodrom*, can be linked to this horizon).

The types of weapons deposited in Sarmatian graves from Wallachia and Moldavia are predominantly daggers with ring-shaped or simple, straight, pommel, less swords, short sword, arrowheads or spearhead. The typology of the weapons found in graves probably does not reflect the actual armament of the Sarmatians, because long swords (СИМОНЕНКО 2010, с. 241; 2015, с. 315; Храпунов и др. 2020, с. 10) were seldom discovered in the two above-mentioned regions. Defensive armament is missing, although it should be noted that this lack has also been observed in other regions, as Lower Volga (Кривошеев 2007, с. 69) or Carpathian Basin (Istvánovits, Kulcsár 2001, p. 158). It is not excluded that the dagger was a symbol of military status and therefore was

mainly deposited in graves (СИМОНЕНКО 2010, с. 241; 2015, с. 315). With the exception of a grave at *Râmnicelu*, spearheads are almost absent as funerary inventory, just like in the northern regions of the Black Sea (СИМОНЕНКО 2010, с. 70; 2015, с. 82) or Crimea (Храпунов и др. 2020, с. 8), but unlike the Carpathian Basin (Istvánovits, Kulcsár 2001, p. 161; Храпунов и др. 2020, с. 11, 13).

The interpretation of all the weapons deposited in graves as status markers (Храпунов и др. 2020, с. 10) should be avoided, at least for Sarmatian graves in Wallachia and Moldavia. I have emphasised, on other occasions (Oța, Sîrbu 2020, p. 200—203; Oța 2024, p. 50—51, 53) that in Wallachia and Moldavia there are few graves that can be attributed to elites. The only grave with weapons for which I assumed an elite status is that from *Roșiori*, based on two arguments: burial in an older tumulus and the sword ornamented with gold leaf (Oța, Sîrbu 2009, p. 132—133, no. 17, with previous bibliography; 2020, p. 201), the only one of this kind known until now in the inventory of Sarmatian graves from Wallachia⁶ and Moldavia. As a rule, the grave goods deposited in Sarmatian graves from Wallachia and Moldavia are modest as number and value of the objects, with a few exceptions: the silver footgear from *Mihăești* (fig. 6: 11, 12), the sword with opal disc from G. 2 at *Brăila-Hipodrom* (fig. 3: 6; 6: 4), the large number of grave goods found in G. 1 from *Vaslui* (fig. 4: 1—6), G. 6 from *Largu* (fig. 6: 7—10), G. 3 from *Smeeni* (fig. 7: 10) and G. 68 from *Bârlad-Școala de Mecanici Agricoli* (fig. 7: 1—6). Another clue of elite burials, more precisely the erection of a burial mound (Oța, Sîrbu 2020, p. 200) is observed only at *Balta Albă* and *Tecuci*, possibly G. 1 from *Vaslui*, too. The impression of a large number of grave goods in G. 6 from *Largu* (fig. 6: 7—10) could be due to the presence of two types of dress accessories (buttons and footgear)⁷. According to my opinion, only for five graves we may suppose a status which, even if probably did not belong to elite, it was that of prominent persons within the communities. The arguments in favour of this assumption are: a possible burial in a specially raised tumulus for G. 1 in *Vaslui*;

6. A short sword with the handle and cross guard decorated with silver was found by chance in Wallachia, near Bucharest (Popescu 2020, p. 353—355), but, due to the lack of the discovery context, it is impossible to know whether it could come from a Sarmatian grave or could be a war trophy taken from the Sarmatians, like the sword found in G. 2 from «*Roshava Dragană*» tumulus (Werner 1994, p. 281; Буюклиев 1995, с. 44—45; Negin, Kamisheva 2018, p. 46—47).

7. Male dress is almost invisible archaeologically in the case of Anglo-Saxon graves, too, the impression of over-representation of women in graves being the effect of a higher frequency of specific dress items (Härke 2011, p. 101), the same as for Sarmatian female graves in Wallachia (Oța, Sîrbu, Matei 2013, p. 335; Oța 2020b, p. 172).

the deposition of a large number of pottery vessels in Vaslui G. 1 (fig. 4: 1—3) and Bârlad-Școala de Mecanici Agricoli G. 68 (fig. 7: 3—5); silver footgear at Mihăești (fig. 6: 11, 12); sword with opal disc in G. 2 from Brăila-*Hipodrom* (fig. 6: 4); the secondary burial in an older mound and perhaps the chalcedony bead in G. 3 from Smeeni.

The characteristics of the graves with weapons from these two regions not only contribute to a better understanding of the specific features of the Sarmatian communities settled in Wallachia and Moldavia, of the similarities and differences compared with Sarmatian communities from other regions, but also help to detail the historical evolution of the two above-mentioned regions, for which information known from literary and epigraphical sources are not always clear enough.

Catalogue

A. GRAVES WITH WEAPONS IN WALLACHIA

1. **Balta Albă** (comm. of Balta Albă, Buzău County)

Movila de la vad G. (Constantinescu 1978, p. 22—25).

2. **Brăila** (Brăila County)

Hipodrom G. 2 (Oța, Sîrbu 2009, p. 15—16, no. I A 2, p. 94—95, nos. 3—4, p. 117, 191—192, with previous bibliography).

3. **Bucu** (comm. of Bucu, Ialomița County)

Pochină G. 10 (Sîrbu et al. 2014, p. 21—22, 123, with previous bibliography).

4. **Căzânești** (Ialomița County)

G. (Sîrbu et al. 2014, p. 34—35, 132, with previous bibliography).

5. **Grădiștea** (comm. of Grădiștea, Brăila County)

Mormântul Elizei G. 1 (Oța, Sîrbu 2009, p. 120—121, 192—195, with previous bibliography), G. 4 (Oța, Sîrbu 2009, p. 101, nos. 17—18, 121, 192—195, with previous bibliography).

6. **Însurăței** (Brăila County)

Canal de irigație G. (Oța, Sîrbu 2009, p. 106—108 nos. 30—32, 123, 196—197, with previous bibliography).

7. **Largu** (comm. of Largu, Buzău County)

Cornul Malului G. 4 (Dragomir 1959, p. 476, 477, 480; Bichir 1972, p. 155; 1977, p. 183; Dragomir, Croitoru 2011, p. 42), G. 6 (Dragomir 1959, p. 476, 477, 480, 481; Bichir 1971, p. 277, 278; 1972, p. 141, 155; 1977, p. 173, 183, 184; 1985, p. 1169, 1170; Dragomir, Croitoru 2011, p. 42—43).

8. **Lișcoteanca** (comm. of Bordei Verde, Brăila County)

Moș Filon G. 1 (Oța, Sîrbu 2009, p. 39—41, no. VI A 21, 101, no. 36, 124, 187—188, with previous bibliography), G. 2 (Oța, Sîrbu 2009, p. 109,

no. 37, 124—125, 187—188, with previous bibliography), G. 7 (Oța, Sîrbu 2009, p. 109—110, nos. 39—40, 125—126, 187—188, with previous bibliography).

9. **Lișcoteanca** (comm. of Bordei Verde, Brăila County)

Movila din baltă G. 6 (Oța, Sîrbu 2009, p. 110—111, no. 41, 126, 189, with previous bibliography).

10. **Lișcoteanca** (comm. of Bordei Verde, Brăila County)

Movila Olarului G. 3 (Oța, Sîrbu 2009, p. 111, no. 42, 127, 185—187, with previous bibliography), G. 7 (Oța, Sîrbu 2009, p. 45—47, no. VI B 25, 111, no. 43, 127, 185—187, with previous bibliography), G. 15 (Oța, Sîrbu 2009, p. 128, 185—187, with previous bibliography), G. 17 (Oța, Sîrbu 2009, p. 112—113, nos. 45—47, 128, 185—187, with previous bibliography).

11. **Mihăești**, also **Mihăiești** (comm. of Mihăești, Olt County)

La Pânțulei G. (Păunescu, Beldiman 1992, p. 87, 89).

12. **Nicolae Bălcescu** (comm. of Nicolae Bălcescu, Călărași County)

G. (Sîrbu et al. 2014, p. 58, 133, with previous bibliography).

13. **Oltenița** (Călărași County)

Iordoc G. 6 (Sîrbu et al. 2014, p. 62, 123—124, with previous bibliography).

14. **Oltenița** (Călărași County)

Renie G. 3 (Sîrbu et al. 2014, p. 64—65, 121—122 with previous bibliography).

15. **Râmnicelu** (comm. of Râmnicelu, Brăila County)

Popină G. 17 (Oța, Sîrbu 2009, p. 114, no. 51, 132, 185—187, with previous bibliography).

16. **Roșiori** (comm. of Roșiori, Brăila County)

Movila săpată G. (Oța, Sîrbu 2009, p. 132—133, 196, with previous bibliography).

17. **Rușețu** (Buzău County)

La Oierie G. (Bichir 1972, p. 141, 146, 155, 156; 1977, p. 169, map 2, 172, 185; 1996, p. 310).

18. **Smeeni**, also **Smeieni** (comm. of Smeeni, Buzău County)

Movila Mare G. 3 (Simache, Teodorescu 1962, p. 279, 280; Bichir 1972, p. 155, 156; 1977, p. 183, 184, 185; Frînculeasa et al. 2017, p. 54—55, 179—181).

19. **Vedea** (former Arsache, comm. of Vedea, Giurgiu County)

G. (Bichir 1972, p. 140, pl. I, 155; 1977, p. 168, 169, map 1, 2).

B. GRAVES WITH WEAPONS IN MOLDAVIA

20. **Bârlad** (Vaslui County)

Depozitul de lemne G. 3 (Palade 1978—1979, p. 252, no. 4; Mazilu 1985—1986, p. 81, no. 29.2; Bichir 1993, fig. 160; Babeș 1999, p. 231; Bârcă 2006, p. 289, nr. 26).

21. **Bârlad** (Vaslui County)
Școala de Mecanici Agricoli G. 68 (Mamalaucă 2023, p. 90—91).
22. **Broscauți** (comm. of Broscauți, Botoșani County)
vatra satului graves (Bichir 1972, p. 155, 156, 161; 1977, p. 183, 184, 186; Păunescu, Șadurschi, Chirica 1976, p. 61, no. VI.1.C; Mazilu 1985—1986, p. 71, no. 5; Păunescu, Șadurschi 1997, p. 71—72, no. VI.1.B; Ciucălău 2018, p. 6, 19, no. 15).
23. **Dângeni**, also **Dăngeni** (comm. of Dângeni, Botoșani County)
G. (Ioniță 1964, p. 311—312; N. Zaharia, Petrescu-Dâmbovița, E. Zaharia 1970, p. 236—237, no. 112; Bichir 1972, p. 139, 155; 1977, p. 172; 1985, p. 1167; Păunescu, Șadurschi, Chirica 1976, p. 112, no. XIX.1.B; Mazilu 1985—1986, p. 72, no. 8; Șovan 2013, p. 149, no. 2; Ciucălău 2018, p. 7).
24. **Giurcani** (comm. of Găgești, Vaslui County)
Argeaua G. 5 (Buzdugan 1981, p. 9, 13; Bichir 1993, p. 152, 158; Bârcă 2006, p. 312, no. 62).
25. **Iași** (Iași County)
Palatul Culturii M. 2 (Cheptea, Grumeza, Mocanu-Irimiță 2023, p. 136).
26. **Ivești** (comm. of Ivești, Vaslui County)
G. 3 (Bichir 1972, p. 145; 1977, p. 174, 177; 1985, p. 1169, 1170; Palade 1978—1979, p. 253, no. 6; Mazilu 1985—1986, p. 82, no. 31).
27. **Manoleasa** (comm. of Manoleasa, Botoșani County)
La Movile or Movila Hrițeni G. 1 (Păunescu, Șadurschi, Chirica 1976, p. 159, no. XXXVI.1.A; Mazilu 1985—1986, p. 69, no. 2; Ciucălău 2018, p. 4, 15, no. 3).
28. **Mitoc** (comm. of Mitoc, Botoșani County)
Malul Galben G. 2 (Chirica 1979, p. 631; Chirica, Șovan 2006, p. 17; Ciucălău 2018, p. 3, Grumeza 2021, p. 179).
29. **Munteni** (comm. of Munteni, Galați County)
Ferma Prisaca G. (Ciobotaru, Ilie, Simalcsik 2020, p. 116—117).
30. **Podu Iloaiei** (Iași County)
Vatra Târgului G. (Chirica, Tanasachi 1985, p. 309—310, no. LVI.1.L; Mazilu 1985—1986, p. 75, no. 15).
31. **Pogănești** (comm. of Stănițești, Vaslui County)
Movila Pescarului II G. 2 (Rotaru et al. 2004—2006, p. 10; 2007—2008, p. 99—100, 101, 102), G. 3 (Rotaru et al. 2004—2006, p. 9, 11; 2007—2008, p. 99, 101), G. 4 (Rotaru et al. 2004—2006, p. 9, 11; 2007—2008, p. 99, 101).
32. **Pogorăști** (comm. of Răuseni, Botoșani County)
G. 3 (Ioniță 1964, p. 314—315; Cristescu 1964, p. 329, 330, 334—336; Păunescu, Șadurschi, Chirica 1976, p. 217, no. XLVIII.3.G; Bichir 1971, p. 277—279; 1972, p. 141, 144, 155, 156; 1977, p. 172, 174, 183, 184; 1985, p. 1168, 1169; Ciucălău 2018, p. 8).
33. **Pogana** also known as **Sat Nou** (comm. of Pogana, Vaslui County)
G. 1 (Coman 1980, p. 209, no. LI.3; Palade 1981, p. 71, no. 4; Ioniță, Mamalaucă, Vornic 2009, p. 8—9, no. 31, VIII; CRFB R2, p. 117, no. 40); G. 2 (Palade 1981, p. 71—72, no. 4).
34. **Prăjeni** (comm. of Prăjeni, Botoșani County)
Alimândra T. III G. 2 (Ursulescu et al. 2021, p. 166—167).
35. **Roma** (comm. of Roma, Botoșani County)
Sitna G. 4 (Buzdugan, Alexoaie 1989, p. 107; Ciucălău 2018, p. 8).
36. **Șerbotești** (comm. of Solești, Vaslui County)
G. (Ioniță 1964, p. 312; Bichir 1971, p. 278; 1972, p. 145, 155; 1977, p. 177, 183; 1985, p. 1170; Coman 1980, p. 226, no. LVII.2; Mazilu 1985—1986, p. 78, no. 22; Bârcă 1999—2000, p. 142).
37. **Târgu Frumos** (Iași County)
Vest de oraș G. 11/2020 (CCA campania 2020, p. 627).
38. **Tecuci** (Galați County)
G. 4 (Vendelin 1940, p. 101, 102; Bichir 1972, p. 155; 1977, p. 183; 1993, p. 160; Mazilu 1985—1986, p. 84, no. 36; Babeș 1999, p. 230).
39. **Țepu** (comm. of Țepu, Galați County)
G. (Bichir 1977, p. 168, 169, 179, map 1, 2; 1993, p. 161).
40. **Unțești** (comm. of Bogdănești, Vaslui County)
G. 1 (Palade 1978—1979, p. 247; Mazilu 1985—1986, p. 80, no. 26; Ioniță, Mamalaucă, Vornic 2009, p. 7, no. VI).
41. **Valea Lupului** (comm. of Valea Lupului, Iași County)
Movilă G. 9 (Dinu 1957, p. 174; Chirica, Tanasachi 1985, p. 346, no. LXII.5.B.II.3).
42. **Vaslui** (Vaslui County)
Curțile Domnești G. 1 (Andronic, Neamțu, Banu 1962, p. 89—91, 93—94; Andronic 1963, p. 349—351; Bichir 1971, p. 277—280; 1972, p. 139, 144, 155, 166; 1977, p. 172, 173, 177, 179; 1985, p. 1167, 1168; 1993, p. 149; Coman 1980, p. 255, no. LXVI.1; Mazilu 1985—1986, p. 78—79, no. 24; Babeș 1999, p. 230; Bârcă 2006, p. 368—369, nr. 157).
43. **Probotă** (comm. of Probotă, Iași County)
Necropolis (E. Zaharia, N. Zaharia 1962, p. 601—602; N. Zaharia, Petrescu-Dâmbovița, E. Zaharia 1970, p. 278, nr. 214 c; Bichir 1971, p. 277, 279, 280; 1972, p. 141, 155, 156, 161, 166; 1977, p. 173, 183—187, 189; 1985, p. 1169; Chirica, Tanasachi 1985, p. 329, no. LX.1.C).
44. **Slobozia Hănești** (comm. of Hănești, Botoșani County)
La Mălăiște or La Val necropolis (N. Zaharia, E. Zaharia 1974, p. 144, no. 9; Păunescu, Șadurschi, Chirica 1976, p. 143, no. XXIX.5.I; Mazilu 1985—1986, p. 72, no. 7; Ciucălău 2018, p. 6, 17, 18, nos. 9, 10).

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Л. Оца

САРМАТСЬКІ ПОХОВАННЯ ЗІ ЗБРОЄЮ У ВАЛАХІЇ ТА МОЛДАВІЇ

Метою цієї роботи є обговорення головних характеристик (кількість, територіальний розподіл, планування могил, поховання, вік та стать померлого, типологія зброї, місце зброї в могилі, поховальний інвентар, датування) сарматських поховань зі зброєю, знайдених у Валахії та Молдавії. Кількість поховань зі зброєю складає 54, що становить майже 11% від загальної кількості (до 500 сарматських поховань). 26 поховань зі зброєю з 19 пам'яток було знайдено у Валахії та 28 з 25 пам'яток у Молдавії. Незалежно від типу знайденої зброї, поховання зі зброєю з

Валахії та Молдавії розташовані або на плоских ділянках (26 випадків), або на підвищених ділянках (25 випадків). Як у Валахії, так і в Молдавії скелети у похованнях зі зброєю, були переважно орієнтовані головою на північ (28 могил). Більшість скелетів (29) укладені випростано на спині, з витягнутими руками та ногами. У всіх проаналізованих могилах було виявлено лише один тип зброї: кинджали з кільцеподібним або простим, прямим наверх. Коротких та довгих мечів, наконечників стріл або списів менше. Кинджали та мечі лежали переважно з правого боку (32 випадки), в області стегнової кістки або тазу. Якщо не враховувати сім поховань, у яких було виявлено лише зброєю (кинджал у шести могилах та наконечник списа в одній), а також шість випадків, коли ми не можемо бути впевнені у складі поховального інвентарю, типи поховальних комплексів сарматських могил зі зброєю з Валахії та Молдавії демонструють чітку тенденцію до вміщення невеликої кількості речей (двох або трьох). Могил з більшою кількістю інвентарю дуже мало: лише сім. Найчастіше, незалежно від кількості начиння в сарматських поховань зі зброєю з Валахії та Молдавії зброя супроводжується керамікою (31 випадок), предметами одягу або намистом (14 випадків). Чотири поховання, в яких було знайдено наконечники стріл та вістря списа, не відрізняються за поховаль-

ним комплексом від поховань з кинджалами або мечами, за одним винятком. Захоронення зброї — це звичай, який спостерігався протягом усього хронологічного діапазону сарматських поховань у Валахії та Молдавії. Найчастіше зброя зустрічається в похованнях кінця I — початку II ст. н. е., а також кінця II — першої половини III ст. н. е. Слід уникати інтерпретації всієї зброї з могил, як маркерів статусу, принаймні для сарматських могил у Валахії та Молдавії.

Ключові слова: сармати, Валахія, Молдавія, могили зі зброєю, поховальний ритуал, поховальне начиння.

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