A C T A A R C H A E O L O G I C A C A R P A T H I C A
VOL. LIII (2018): 143–168 PL ISSN 0001-5229

Gabriella M. Lezsák, Andrey Novichikhin, Erwin Gáll

The analysis of the discoid braid ornament from Andreyevskaya Shhel (Anapa, Russia) (10th century)

Abstract: The subject of this article is the fragmentary silver plate of a gilded silver sheet braid ornament decorated with palmette motifs, which was deposited in the storage of the Gorgippia Archaeological Museum (Krasnodar Krai, Russia) in 2015, together with several other finds. The finds had been discovered at a site named Andreyevskaya Shhel, located a few kilometres south-east of the town, at the north-western hill area of the Caucasus. Among the artefacts deposited in the storage in 2015, there were other finds related to the 9–10th centuries (e.g. silver plate of a sabretache, gilded bronze belt mounts, bronze strap end, sabre, bow case or sabretache mount, fingering, etc). The braid ornament, with many analogies in the Carpathian Basin, could have reached the North Caucasian region by means of long-distance trade. This hypothesis is sustained by the considerable dirham-finds in the Carpathian Basin, which indicate the integration of this region – and of early Hungarian commerce as a whole – into the Eastern, Muslim trade network.

Key words: Andreyevskaya Shhel, Caucasus, Carpathian Basin, silver plate discoid braid ornament, 10th century

I. INTRODUCTION

During the documentation expedition carried out in October 2016 in the Russian Federation,[1] we had the opportunity to study the hitherto unpublished archaeological finds discovered in a funerary site in 2015 and since housed in the *Gorgippia Museum* in Anapa. In 2015 Sz. G. Bandurko, history teacher and local antiquarian in the town of Anapa provided the museum with a number of new finds coming from the territory of the aforementioned site where archaeological research

[1] The documentation expedition was carried out in 15–30 October 2016 by a team consisting of Gabriella M. Lezsák, Erwin Gáll, Ákos Avar, and Dávid Somfai Kara.

was undertaken since the 1980s (Novičihin 1993, 76–77; Armarčuk, Novičihin 2004, 59–71; Novičihin 2008, 26–41; Novičihin 2014, 55–93; Novičihin 2015, 99–111). The finds which entered the collection of the museum in 2015 include a sabre fragment and its components, a silver plate discoid braid ornament, split-leaf palmette fittings („*gesprengte Palmette*"), a belt end decorated with semi-palmettes, a sabretache plate fragment, a bag or quiver fitting, a lyre-shaped buckle, and a finger ring with a spiral mount. The composition of the assemblage indicates that the burials date to the period of the 9–10th centuries, but mainly to the 10th.

II. THE DESCRIPTION OF THE FIND

The front side of a pressed and hammered thin disc plate made from poor quality silver-gilt was preserved. The back of the piece was not delivered to the museum in 2015, as such it probably has not survived.

The surface colour displayed on the wright side of the disc indicates that the material is in fact an alloy which in addition to silver also contains copper and zinc. Naturally the exact composition of the artefact can only be determined precisely through chemical analysis (*XRF*). Furthermore, certain eroded parts of the surface reveal traces of gilding. This decoration technique can be observed both on the surface and in the grooves of the piece (Fig. 1).

The position of the rivets fastening the back plate is mostly irregular, thus lending an asymmetrical aspect to the disc. Also, the outline of the object is visibly uneven, suggesting a degree of clumsiness in the work of the craftsmen during the process of excising the shape from the original sheet, which further amplifies the sense of asymmetry. The artefact originally displayed a total of six massive rivets with silver heads positioned in an asymmetrical manner, of which only four survive today (Fig. 2).

The outer rim (frame) of the artefact displays an average width, covering 15% of the artefact's surface and is separated by a division line from the inner decorated part. The lower left side of the rim is somewhat wider resulting in the asymmetrical position of the decoration in the interior of the piece.

The complex decorative motif covers around 80% of the artefact's surface – and based on the examination of the object's reverse – was executed through simple linear chasing. No traces of embossing can be observed, as the decoration is not rendered in the low relief characteristic of the *au repoussé* technique.

The decorative motif covering the central part of the artefact displays a complex composition, although its technical and artistic qualities can be described as rather poor. For the most part, this is due to the asymmetric positioning of the composition, especially visible on the left edge of the depiction, where due to the lack of space some elements could not be fitted into the iconographic field.

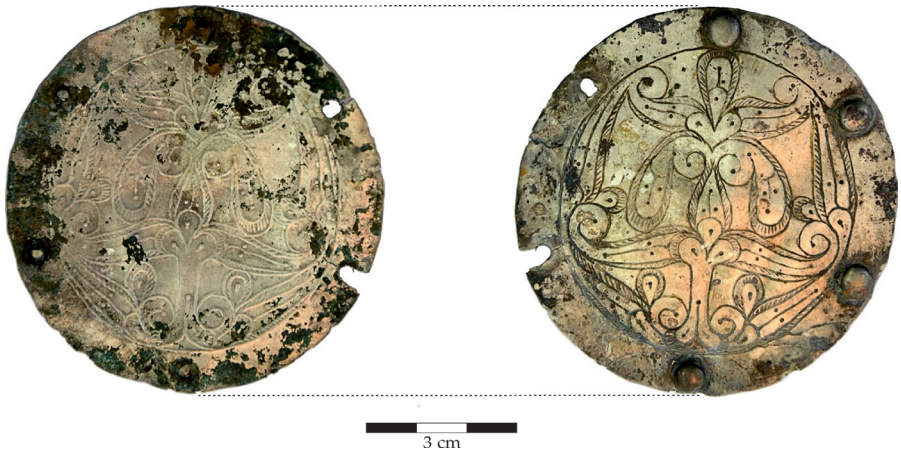


Fig. 1. The silver plate discoid braid ornament

Furthermore, the palmette motifs are not rendered in a horizontal fashion, and the joining of the various motifs is also symmetrical.

The lower part of the iconographic field displays two tendrils with hatched sides and three-leaf sprays at their tip joining together. From here further two hatch-sided tendrils spring upwards on both sides of the composition, however the element placed on the left-hand side seems to have been left unfinished. Furthermore, one can notice a difference in the style in which the sprays on the two opposite sides are rendered: the lines on the one on the wright side are thinner, while the lines on its pendant from the opposite side are considerably more pronounced.

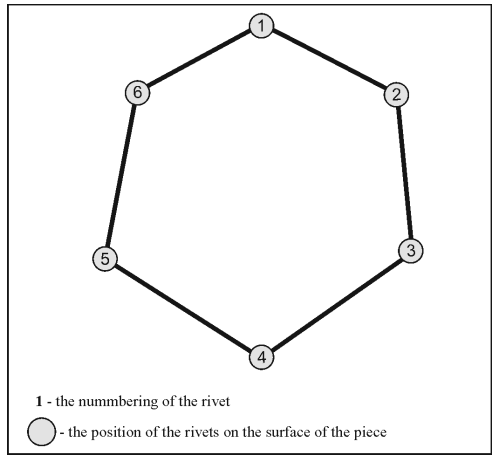


Fig. 2. The discoid braid ornament, respectively the asymmetrical position of the rivets on the surface of the artefact

This composition consisting of a 'leaf' and a 'volute bud' is connected in its upper side to a motif resembling an elongated upside-down leaf decorated with a three-fold motif consisting of an upside-down leaf-shaped element in the middle followed by an undecorated part and closed by a tear-shaped motif with hatched sides. While the leaf-motif placed on the wright-hand side seems to display a more

careful rendering, its pendant on the opposite side is depicted in a somewhat crude fashion, its sides being skewed. Both leaf-motifs are connected to the largest element of the composition, the central hatch-sided leaf spray. The hatched sides in both cases are quite unevenly depicted, moreover the lines are quite densely rendered on the wright side, and are sparse on the left-hand side.

The composition found on the lower side of the iconographic field displays in the centre a stem with two roots ending in a three-leaf spray continuing upwards in an elongated leaf with hatched sides, and ending in two volute buds. Each of these continues in a downwards facing palmette spray with hatched sides, structured at their base by a semicircular line connected to a perpendicular slightly arched line across the palmette ending in a dot. Further two dots are placed on both sides of the respective line. Connected to the volute buds on each side one hatch-sided leaf spray springs upwards, the one on the wright-hand side being lower, while the one on the opposite side extends along the rim of the iconographic field. The internal decoration of the leaves consists of the usual central long division line and the hatched sides.

The upper part of the composition is dominated by a similarly complex motif connected to the aforementioned two adjoining volute buds which give rise in the middle to a heart-shape motif decorated in the interior on their upper parts by two dots. From its middle two dense leaf sprays emerge to the left and to the right, both ending in volute buds similar to the ones described above. The centre of the heart-shaped motif displays an upward growing leaf shape marked by the usual internal structure composed of an arched line across the leaf connected to a perpendicular long division line ending in a dot, with further two dots inside the pattern and bordered by hatched sides.

Summed up:

1. The composition of the decoration is based on a complex motif which can be broken down into three distinctive elements appearing multiple times in the design: palmette sprays, volute buds, and heart-shaped motifs, decorated with lines, dots, and hatched sides. This central motif is connected to the elongated leaf motifs placed along the rim of the rim of the iconographic field, although this framing motif seems to have been left uncompleted by the craftsman in the lower left side of the composition. The discoid braid ornament from Andreyevskaya Shhel (Anapa) further displays the typical 10th century motif present on similar finds from the Carpathian Basin (Fig. 3).

2. An important role in the composition is played by the motifs composed by the long division line ending in a dot or simply by the dots placed inside triangular or trapezoidal shapes, interpreted in the archaeological literature as producer's marks (Fig. 4).[2]

[2] In our view these motifs which are usually executed in different techniques cannot be considered

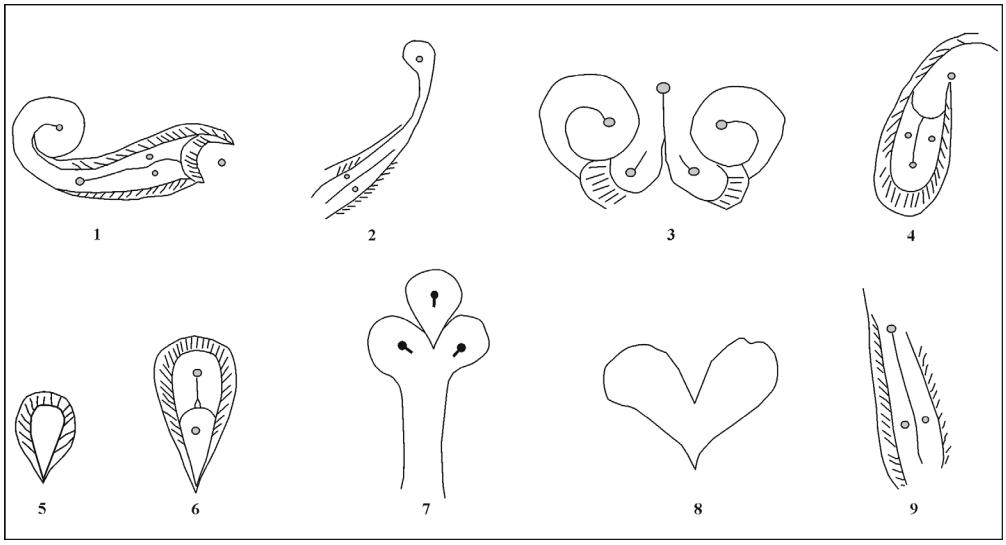


Fig. 3. The decorative composition displayed by the artefact

	1. division line ending in a dot
	2. dot
	3. triangular scheme composed of a division line ending in a dot flanked by further two dots at the base (ten instances)
	4. hatching

Fig. 4. The patterns present in the composition

3. The surface of the artefact is quite worn, therefore the decoration is often barely visible, and furthermore, few traces of the gilding were preserved, suggesting that the object was kept in use for a long period of time.

4. The execution of the ornament indicates a low level of technical and artistic competence on behalf of the craftsman.

The dimensions of the artefact: 7.7 cm × 7.8 cm, thickness: 0.05 cm, total thickness (with the rivets): 0.3 cm, the diameter of the iconographic field: 6.0 cm. Weight: 17.45 g.

producer's marks, but are instead Early Medieval derivations of a Late Antique motif.

III. DISCOID BRAID ORNAMENTS IN THE CARPATHIAN BASIN AND EASTERN EUROPE. THE DATING OF THE BRAID ORNAMENTS

The 10th century funerary record of the Carpathian Basin both in terms of the gravegoods and of the funerary practices, has a special place within the context of the Early Medieval Central European archaeology. As early as the 19th century, the respective material record was linked to the population of the Hungarian 'steppe state'[3] or the 'Magyar tribe confederation' (Kristó 1980; Tóth 2012, 339–353) which conquered the Carpathian Basin during the 10th century (Langó 2005, 225–226; Langó 2013, 397–418). The most specific elements of this very colourful material (Wieczorek, Fried, Müller-Wille 2000, II) are represented by the gravegoods of the female burials, especially the fine silversmith artefacts, such as the discoid braid ornaments.[4] The particularity of this find category is that notwithstanding the find from grave 32 of the third Karanaevo kurgan (Mažitov 1981: Fig. 58/25) and grave 3 from the first kurgan from Kolobovka near Volgograd on the left bank of the Volga, where it was clearly used with a different function, as it was found adorning the horse's head (Kruglov et al. 2005, 252: Fig. 3), **all known instances of discoid braid ornaments come from the Carpathian Basin**. The find from Karanaevo is somewhat peculiar as it had only one rivet aiding the suspension of the disc, while the examples from the Carpathian Basin display either two or between four and five rivets, while the find discussed in the present paper has six rivets (Fig. 5).

Based on the repertory of the finds, 50 burials belonging to 37 burial grounds in addition to 20 stray finds (i.e. a total of 74 burials and stray finds) have hitherto provided discoid braid ornaments (see List no. 1).[5] It is not surprising that the majority of the 50 burials belong to adult females, while a small percentage belongs to young females and possibly girls. Finally in two conspicuous cases the braid ornaments were discovered in male burials[6] (Fig. 6).

In the vast majority of cases the braid ornaments were discovered in pairs (37 cases), while single finds were reported in only ten cases. Furthermore, five such finds were discovered in the male burial from Zemplin, accounting for a unique situation in the context of the 10th century funerary record of the Carpathian

[3] The concept coined by Walter Pohl was adopted by György Szabados and adapted to the 10th century Hungarian power structure. Pohl 2003, 572–573; Szabados 2011, 91–113.

[4] In terms of their production technology, the braid ornaments can be divided into two categories: 1) cast openwork discoid braid ornaments, and 2) discoid braid ornaments excised from pressed sheets. For the history of research see: Csallány 1959, 281–325; Csallány 1970, 261–299; Révész 1996a, 82–89.

[5] Given its functionality as a harness piece, the find from Kolobovka was not taken into consideration here.

[6] The finds from grave no. 2 from catacomb 15 at Zmeskaja Stanica also containing a sabre and belt fittings, based on the description of the burial, were clearly the braid ornaments of a male. Two of the discs were discovered on top of each other left of the headgear with the braids caught between them, the third one was placed under the skull, while the fourth was situated on the wright side of the skull.

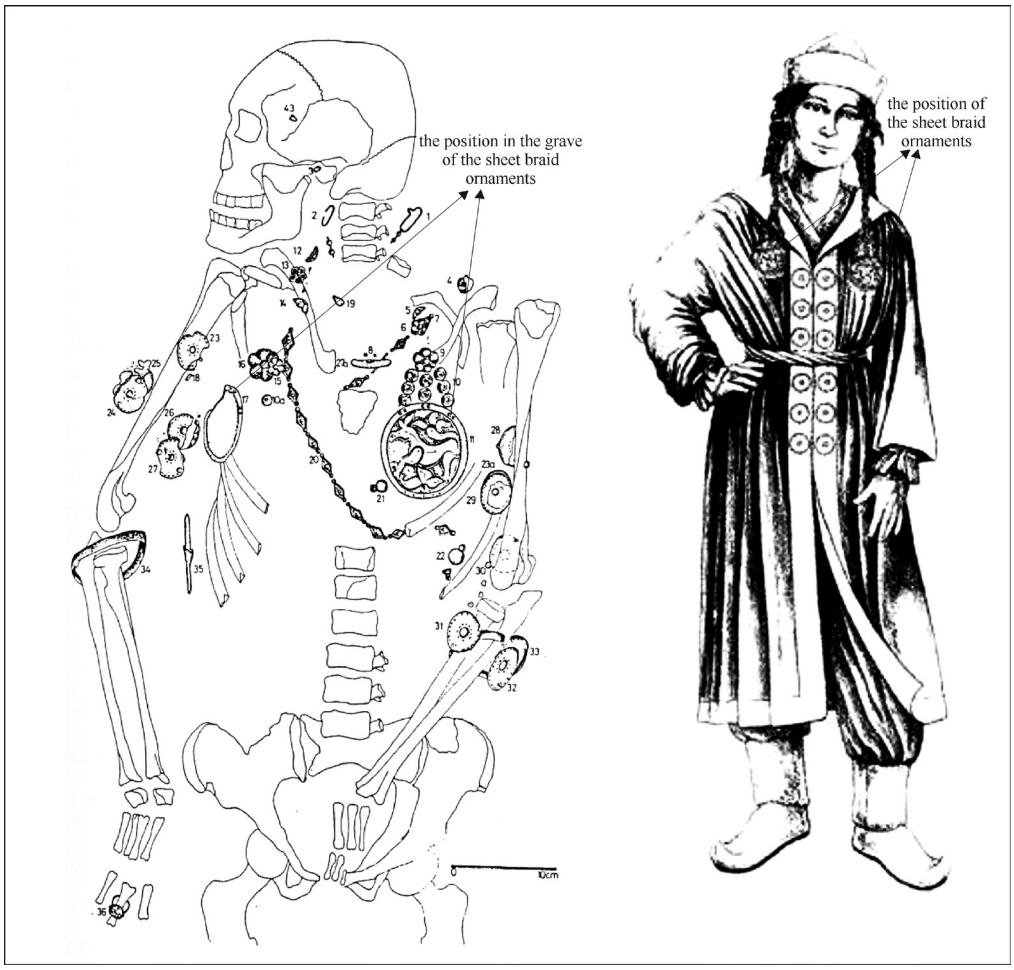


Fig. 5. The employment of the discoid braid ornaments based on the reconstruction of grave 47 from Kalos II

Basin. The earlier archaeological literature asserted the connection between the presence of the braid ornaments and the age of the deceased, stating that we are dealing with female individuals who have deceased before wedlock. At a general level such a statistical appraisal is not feasible based on the archeological record, however the hypothesis cannot be entirely ruled out at the level of certain micro-communities (see Fig. 7).

Based on the characteristics of the hitherto known 73 or 74 finds in terms of their production technique and decoration (*au repoussé*, chasing), a considerable

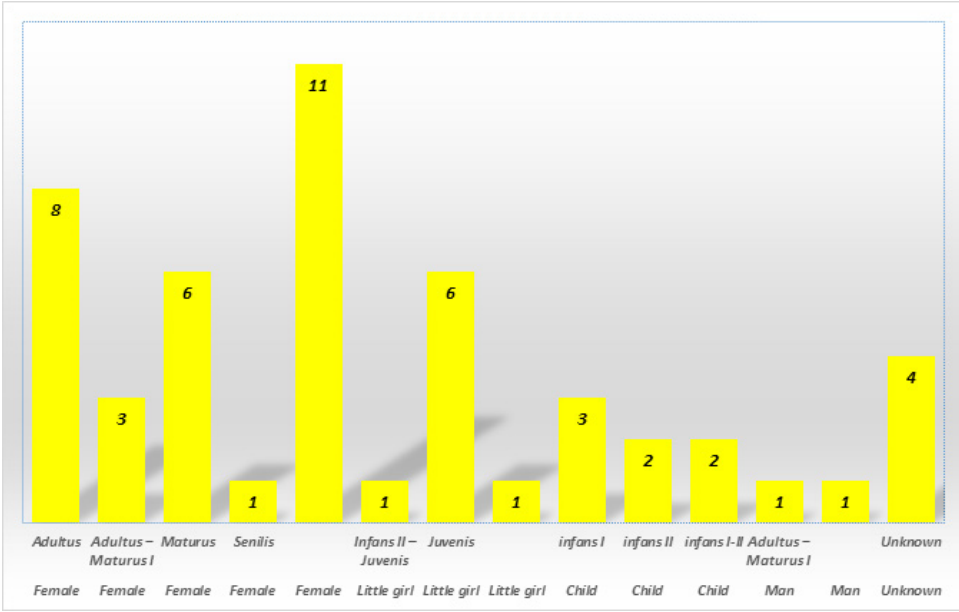


Fig. 6. The distribution of the gender and age of the deceased associated with braid ornaments

proportion[7] of these could be assigned to 11 main groups and 35 subgroups (Fig. 8). A correlation between this typological analysis and the existing chronological data was attempted in order to determine whether there are any chronological implications in the case of some decoration types.

Given that the base of archaeological investigation in general is the precise dating and chronological sequence of the finds, wherever this was possible the braid ornaments together with the material discovered in the graves was subjected to a seriation analysis, in addition also employing the typo-chronological results of previous analysis. Based on the mathematical-statistical method involving the analysis of correspondences between finds carried out with the help of the *PAST* software, all in all 46 burials with sheet braid discs could be analysed, accounting for 62.16 % percent of all sheet braid discs known today, i.e. 74 finds.

However, the chronological assessment of the finds is relatively accurate in cases in which coins are also featured among the gravegoods. The four phases involved in the creation of the numismatic record (emission, circulation, acquirement, and deposition) indicate that the timespan between the release of

[7] The finds from Csákvár-Rókahegy, Naszvad-Partok homokdomb, Szekszárd-Gyűszűvölgy, Szőreg-Homokbánya grave „A" could not be identified and therefore were not included in the analysis.

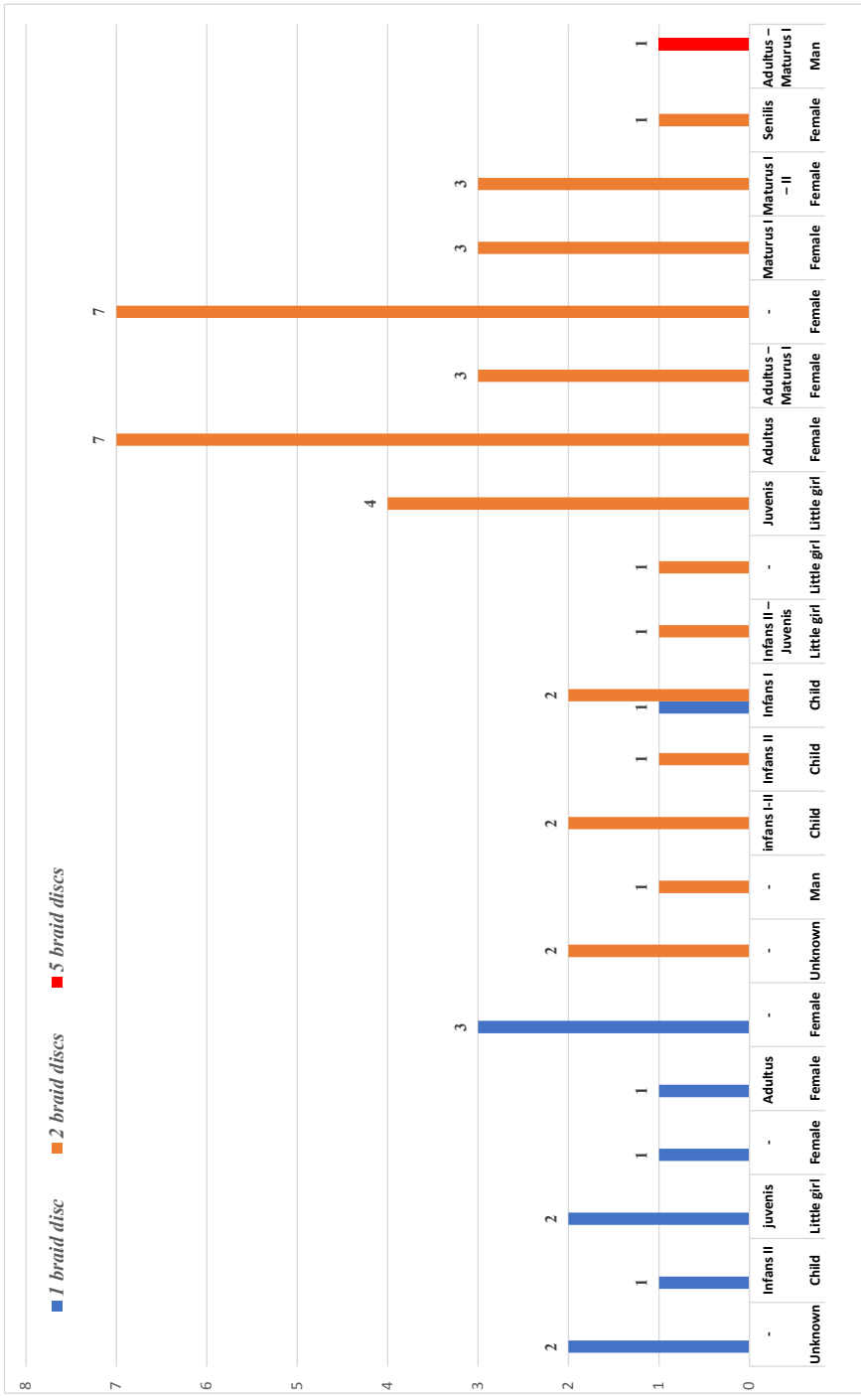


Fig. 7. The number of braid ornaments within the burials and their comparison with the gender and age of the deceased

a coin and the moment when that coin is regularly placed in a burial amounts to at least ten years.

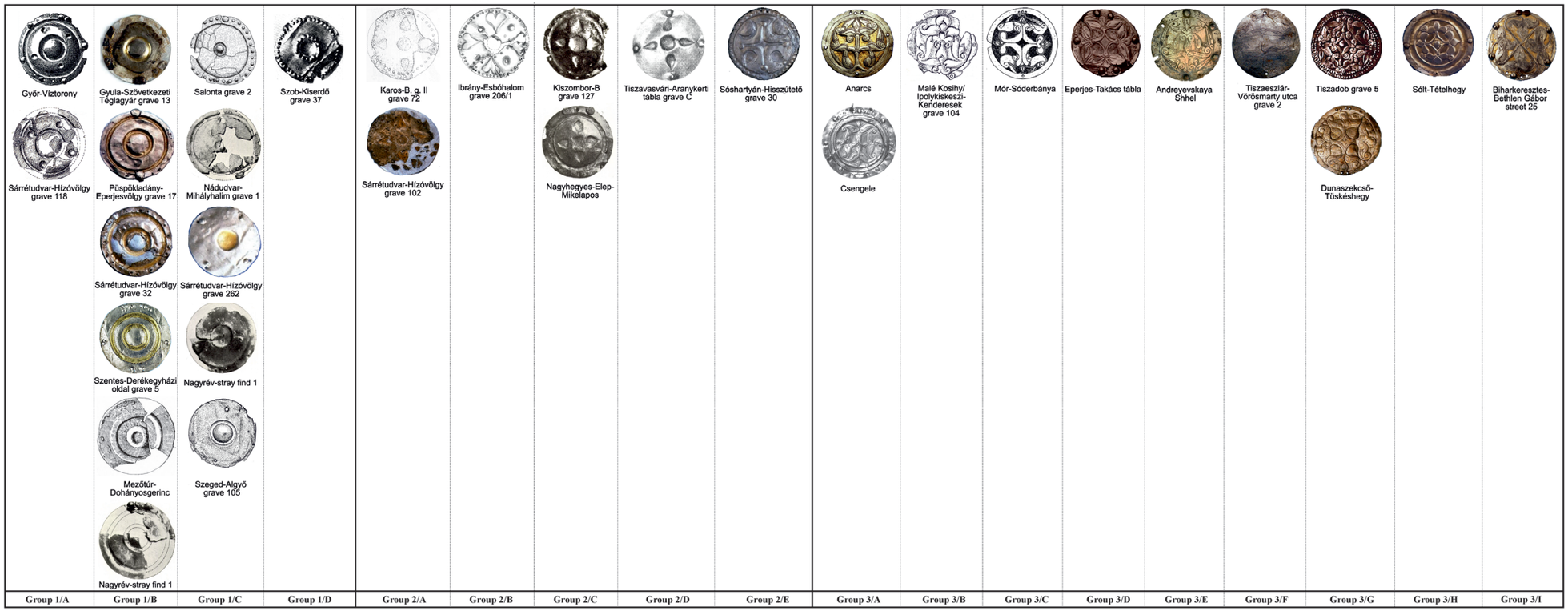
The following chronological observations can be made based on the analysis of the assemblages:

A. The seriation analysis (see Fig. 9) combined with the *terminus postquem* of the coin finds from Aldebrő, Biharkeresztes and Nádudvar, clearly indicates that the material assemblages associated with discoid braid ornaments are usually relatively uniform, suggesting that their use was restricted to a somewhat narrow chronological interval. It is important to underline the total absence of coins emitted in the late-9th century and early-10th century from burials containing discoid braid ornaments.[8]

B. The analysis of the finds associated in burials with discoid braid ornaments has so far corroborated the data provided by the typo-chronological analysis indicating an interval placed between the 2nd third and the end of the 10th century.[9] Furthermore, it is important to highlight the absence of certain well-dated finds

[8] The coin finds of several burials indicate a dating to the latter part of the 10th century: Hugh of Provence (926–931) in the case of grave no. 20 from Aldebrő, furthermore, the jointly emitted Italian denarius of Hugh of Provence and Lothair II (931–947) in the case of the grave discovered in Biharkeresztes, while the Nádudvar burial is dated by the coins emitted by Hugh of Arles (926–931) and Lothair of Arles (947–950).

[9] Pendant fittings dated to the latter half of the 10th century (Mesterházy 1989–1990, 249) were reported from the following cemeteries: Aldebrő-Mocsáros grave no. 20, Čakajovce-Templom-dűlő grave no. 579, Ibrány-Esbóhalom grave no. 206, Kecskemét-Csongrádi Street, Sárrétudvari-Hizóföld grave no. 102, Szentes-Derekegyház grave no. 5, Szob-Ipolymenti Street grave A, Tiszabercel-Ráctemető grave no. 4, Tiszaeszlár-Vörösmarty Street grave no. 2. A similarly important dating element is the pear-shaped braid ring dated from the latter part of the 10th century, and discovered in Čakajovce-Templom-dűlő grave no. 579 (Szőke/Vándor 1987, 53). The undecorated 'strap bracelet' with a twirled ending (Csákvár-Rókahegy, Malé Kosihy-Felső Kenderesek grave no. 104, Karos-Eperjesszög III burial ground grave no. 5, Sárbogárd-Tringertanya grave no. 29, Szőreg-Homokbánya grave 'A', Tiszabercel-Ráctemető grave no. 4, Tiszadob-Sós-szék graves 5 and 8) hitherto known exclusively from female burials can be documented starting with the second third of the 10th century, while the decorated 'strap bracelets' with a twirled ending (Biharkeresztes-Bethlen Gábor Street grave no. 1, Sóshartyán-Hosszútető grave no. 30), are dated to the latter part of the 10th century (Révész 1996a, 91–92). The wire bracelets with spiral endings (Derecske-Földesi Street, Malé Kosihy-Felső Kenderesek grave no. 269, Sóshartyán-Hosszútető grave no. 30, Szob-Ipolymenti Street grave 'A', Szob-Kiserdő grave no. 37, Szőreg-Homokbánya grave 'A', Tiszadob-Sós-szék grave no. 8) were dated by Péter Langó (Langó 2000, 42–43) to the first half of the 10th century, however a closer look at the archaeological data indicates that their distribution is dated to the latter half of the aforementioned century. The reliquary cross (necklace) discovered in grave no. 1 of the Dunaalmás burial ground can also be dated to the latter half of the 10th century. A consensus has developed in the archaeological literature regarding the chronology of the wire bracelets' distribution (together with the discoid braid ornaments: Dormánd-Hanyipuszta grave no. 1, Gyula-Szövetkezeti Téglagyár grave no. 2, Ibrány-Esbóhalom graves 197/a and 206, Malé Kosihy-Felső Kenderesek grave no. 104, Karos-Eperjesszög II burial ground grave no. 72, Szentes-Derekegyház grave no. 5, Tiszabercel-Ráctemető grave no. 4, Zemplén-Szélmalomdomb), whereby these artefacts were used starting with the 930s (Szabó 1978–1979, 66, 70. kép; Révész 1996a, 90), furthermore, the larger and heavier examples (Sárrétudvari-Hizóföld graves 32, 102 and 118) are dated to the late-10th–early-11th century. The wide distribution of the wire bracelets (Salonta grave no. 1, Püspökladány-Eperjesvölgy grave no. 17, and Sárrétudvari-Hizóföld grave no. 118) can be dated to the latter half of the 10th century (Langó 2000, 45–46). Based on the number of discovered burials (a total of 220 graves were researched), grave no. 127 from Kiszombor containing a discoid braid ornament in



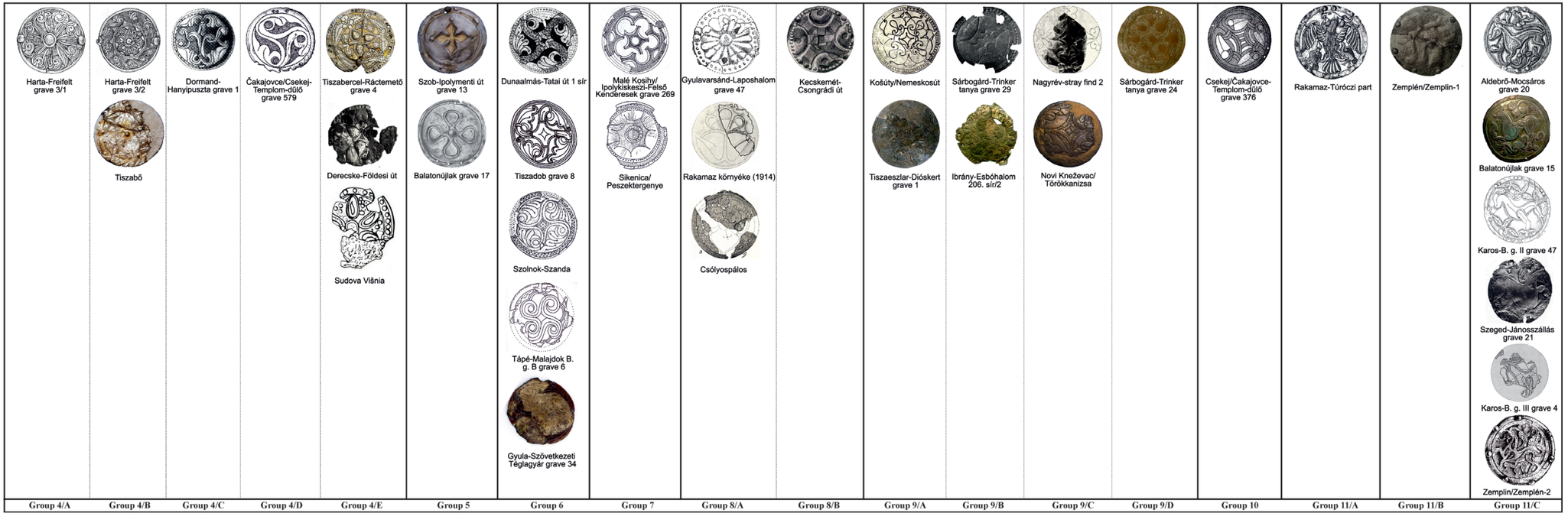


Fig. 8. The distribution of the braid ornaments based on their decoration and technological features

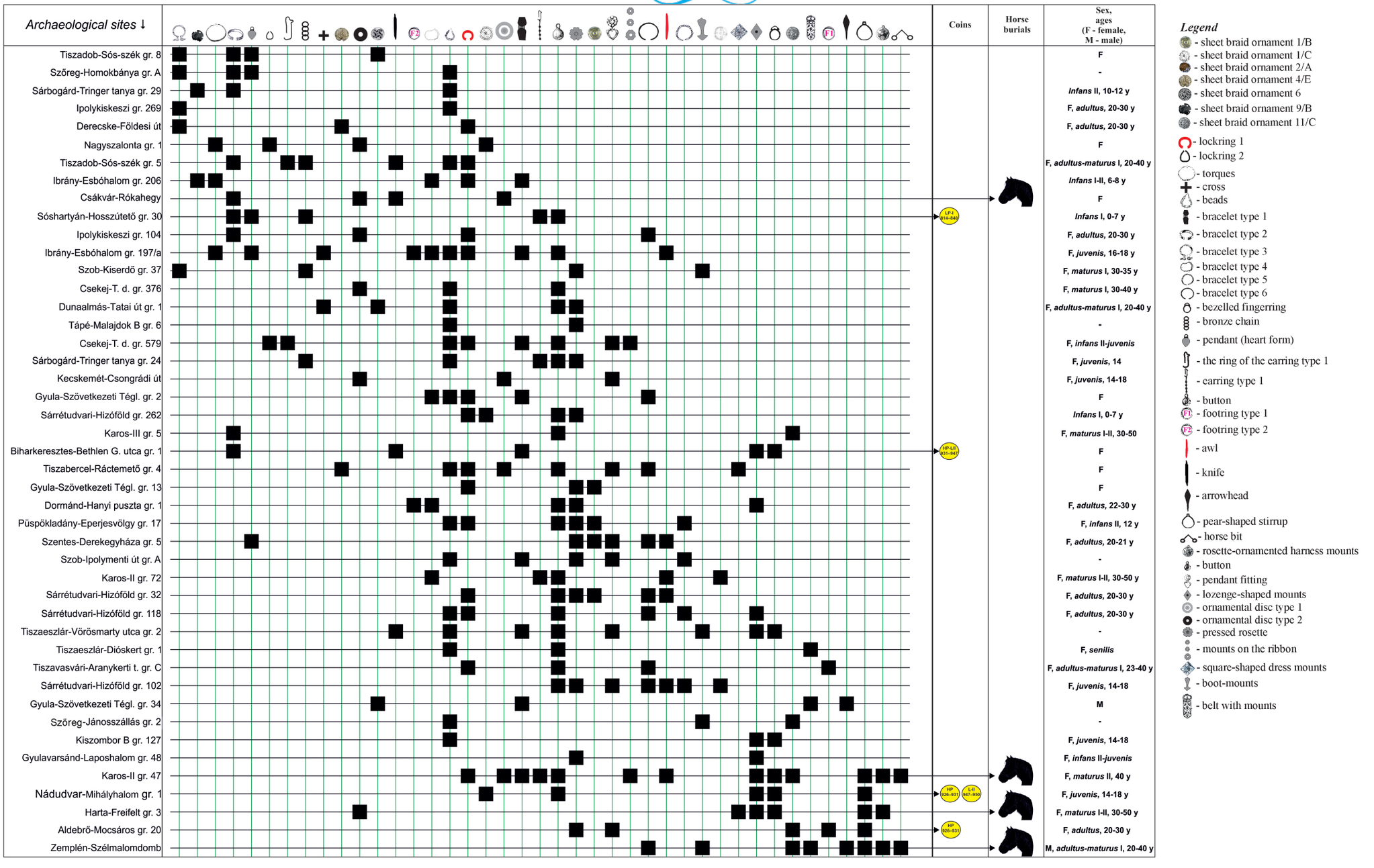


Fig. 9. The seriation analysis of the burials containing discoid braid ornaments

of the period, such as: the braid rings ending in an S or a twirl dated to the latter half of the 10th century and persisting in some regions up to the 11th century, which are absent altogether from burials containing discoid braid ornaments.[10]

C. The horizontal stratigraphic investigations undertaken so far have yet to reveal any burials containing discoid braid ornaments dated to the first three decades of the 10th century.[11]

Consequently, based on the seriation analysis of the available assemblages, the typological analysis of the

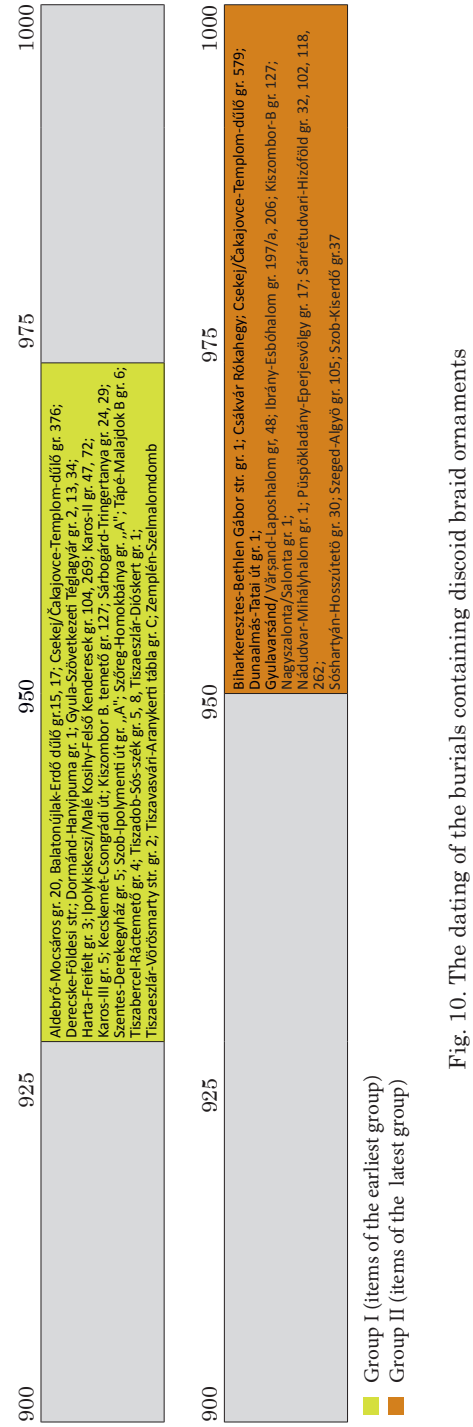


Fig. 10. The dating of the burials containing discoid braid ornaments

our view can also be dated to the latter part of the 10th century. The burial ground was dated by Ferenc Móra to the period of the 10th–11th century, and based on the grooved S-ended braid rings we can assert with certainty that it was still in use during the latter half of the 11th century (Kürti 2008, 87–91).

[10] Regarding the chronology of the S-ended braid rings see: 1962, 89; Szőke – Vándor 1987, 51–52; Gáll 2013, 657–658; Bodri 2018, 292–293, Map 2.

[11] Grave no. 20 from the Aldebrő-Mocsáros burial ground was dated by László Révész to the latter half of the 10th century, while graves 47 and 72 of the Karos II burial ground were placed by the same specialist to middle or the second third of the aforementioned century based on their position within the burial ground. The same dating was asserted by Péter Langó and Zsuzsanna Siklósi with regard to the burial ground from Balatonújlak-Erdő dűlő (Langó–Siklósi 2013, 151), including graves 15 and 17, in addition to the hitherto unpublished burial ground at Harta-Freifelt (Langó, Kustár, Köhler, Csősz 2016, 410). Based on its position within the burial ground and its inventory, grave no. 17 from Püspökladány was dated by Bodri Máté to the last third of the 10th century (Bodri 2018, 291–303, Map 10). Furthermore, grave no. 105 from Szeged-Algyő is situated on the outer limit of the burial ground, indicating that it belonged to the final phase of the burial ground (Kürti 1980, Plan). In similar fashion, grave no. 48 of the burial ground at Vărşand was dated to the late-10th century (Gáll 2013, Vol. I: 225, 56. kép).

finds, the numismatic evidence of the burials, the analysis of the cemeteries internal chronology, as well as the observations regarding the wear and tear displayed by the artefacts, we can assert that the burials containing discoid braid ornaments are dated to the period between 930/940 and 990/1000. It is thus fair to say that this item was extensively used during the second generation following the conquest of the Carpathian Basin. The material can be divided into two chronological groups: group 1 dated to the interval 930/940–970, and group 2 covering the period 950–990/1000. From a total of 49 burials, 31 belong to the first period (group 1) while 18 can be ascribed to the second period (group 2).

The implication are that the earliest instances of braid ornament burials are dated to the 930s, which means that the distribution of these artefacts in the Carpathian Basin was more or less parallel with the embossed sabretache plates with palmette decoration dated to the 920s. It has to be underlined that from a demographic point of view the individuals buried with braid ornaments must have been all born already during the 10th century, with the possible exception of the elderly female buried in grave no. 1 of the Tiszaeszlár-Dióskert burial ground who might have been born in the previous century. Consequently we are dealing with the fashion exhibited by the descendants of the population that arrived to their new home in the Carpathian Basin.

IV. THE DECORATION AND THE ANALOGIES OF THE BRAID ORNAMENT FROM ANDREYEVSKAYA SHHEL

While the functional analogies of the artefact under scrutiny here are almost without exception found in the Carpathian Basin, the analogies for the chased decoration displayed on its surface can be even more accurately pinpointed. This complex decoration executed with a vast array of techniques was included in group 3 of the 11 groups resulted from the classification of artefacts based on their decoration and technical features (see Fig. 8). Group 3 of the aforementioned classification is characterised by the presence of a complex palmette spray both in the centre of the medallion and along the outer rim of the disc, executed with the combination of various techniques, such as chasing, *au repoussé* and engraving. All in all the palmette composition found on the present braid ornament has multiple analogies among the finds from the Carpathian Basin, although none of them are a perfect match:

The closest analogies of the Andreyevskaya Shhel disc in terms of decoration are the finds from Anarcs, and the one from grave no. 2 of the Tiszaeszlár-Vörösmarty Street displaying an engraved palmette spray. Three further cases depict somewhat similar designs: Csengele, Mór-Sóderbánya, and Malé Kosihy-Kenderesek grave no. 104. With the exception of the find from Tiszaeszlár-Vörösmarty Street, in all instances from the Carpathian Basin display signs of the *au repoussé* technique,

Fig. 11. The analogies of the decoration

which, as stated above, could not be documented on the artefact under scrutiny here. Certain iconographical elements are also displayed on the said analogies (palmette spray, arched leaf motif, palmette stems, hatching), however the heart-shape motif is absent. The motif is nevertheless depicted as many as four times on another braid ornament with embossed decoration discovered in grave no. 206 from Ibrány-Esbóhalom (Istvánovits 2003, 103, 72. kép, 102. táb. 2–3). The so-called producer's marks (Fodor 1994, 58–59) consisting of a chased division line ending in a dot, as well as the simple dot motifs can also be encountered on the finds from Anarcs and Csengele, but they are quite frequent on other artefacts as well.[12]

[12] A repertory of similar decorations could not be included in the present paper due to the length of

Fig. 12. The distribution of the decoration analogies

Furthermore, a particular motif consisting of a schematic triangle composed of a line and three dots can be observed in ten instances on the disc from Andreyevskaya Shhel. It is absent from the aforementioned braid ornaments with palmette decoration, however it can be found in considerable numbers on sabretache plates (Eperjeske grave no. 2, Karos-Eperjesszög II burial ground grave no. 29, Kiskunfélegyháza, Szolyva/Svaljâva, Tarcal-Vinnai dűlő) (Bollók 2015, 64, 71–72. kép; Révész 1996a, 42. táb.), sabre grips (Karos burial ground II grave no. 11, Tarcal-Vinnai dűlő) (Bollók 2015, 76. kép 3; Révész 1996a, 19. táb.), beakers (Zemplén-Szélmalomdomb) (Fodor 1994, 7., 11. kép) as well as other silversmith products (Mezőzombor) (AH 1996, 159: Fig. 1). It needs to be underlined however, that following the analysis of several artefacts, it became clear that we are not dealing with a uniformly recurrent motif, as the chased dots appear in various positions, e.g. on the bracelets from Bana and Mezőzombor the three dots compose a triangle, while in the case of the sabretache plate from Szolyva, the dots were arranged in grape bunch manner. Consequently, it is fair to say that we are not dealing with a unitary motif.

such an endeavour. For a sort analysis of related decorations see: Bollók 2015, 182–183.

Earlier this motif was interpreted as being an Inner Asian, more precisely Sogdian producer's mark (Fodor 1979, 65–73). According to K. Mesterházy similar symbols are encountered both in the Sasanian and the early Muslim environment (Mesterházy 1997, 405–407), however this exact combination (line ending in a dot, and its base flanked by further two dots) is not mentioned. At first glance this particular motif links the present braid ornament to the archaeological record of the Carpathian Basin, however, 10th century analogies are also known sites along the Volga River (e.g. grave 19, from Veselovo in the vicinity of Semyonov) (Fodor 2013, 457–470). Furthermore, the respective motif has hitherto failed to emerge in the material of the North Caucasian cemeteries researched so far (Zmeiskaya Stanica,[13] Dargavs [Dzattiaty 2014]).

Summed up:

1. The discoid braid ornaments – with the exception of the finds from Andreyevskaya Shhel and Karanaevo – are exclusively known from Carpathian Basin burials dated to the second third of the 10th century.

2. The decoration displayed by the braid ornament from Andreyevskaya Shhel is very closely related to the palmette composition found on similar artefacts from the Carpathian Basin. Nevertheless, the *au repoussé* technique – very common on the silversmith products of the Carpathian Basin – was clearly not used on the Caucasian artefact under scrutiny here.

Based on the current analysis, the braid ornament from Andreyevskaya Shhel cannot be dated before the 10th century, nor to the first three decades of the respective century. Moreover, based on the comparison with the 11th–13th century material record of the region, it is obvious that the find cannot be dated to this period either (Uspenskij 2013, 86–98; Uspenskij 2015).

In conclusion, it is fair to say that based on the abovementioned arguments corroborated with the clear traces of wear and tear displayed by the find, its burial can be dated to the later part of the 10th century.

V. CONCLUSIONS: HOW DID THE BRAID ORNAMENT REACH THE NORTH CAUCASIAN REGION?

As mentioned above, the braid ornament was most likely buried sometimes during the latter part of the 10th century, however a more fundamental question concerns the circumstances of its emergence in the North Caucasian region, especially considering that similar finds are yet to be discovered here. Given that we are

[13] During October 2016 we had enjoyed the possibility of analysing the finds and documentation of the hitherto unpublished burial ground, however a similar decoration could not be identified among the finds of the several hundred burials.

dealing with stray finds, the investigations carried out in such cases, but in ideal circumstance, such as the strontium analysis of the skeleton – potentially revealing in questions regarding migration – are effectively ruled out. Needless to say new interpretational possibilities have to be sought out for the presence of this artefact foreign both in terms of its decoration and its production technique in the fringe of the Eurasian Steppe.

The possible interpretations naturally have to be viewed as alternatives, even so, the first time emergence of a discoid braid ornament in the northern outskirts of the Caucasus – notwithstanding the lack of archaeological context – draws attention to the 'contact region' character of this macro-region. Considering that – as mentioned above – similar finds have hitherto only emerged (with few exceptions) in the Carpathian Basin, the hypothetical interpretations put forward below are closely connected to the material record of the aforementioned macro-region.

1. The braid ornament could have reached the North Caucasian region by means of long-distance trade. This hypothesis is sustained by the considerable dirham-finds in the Carpathian Basin, which indicate the integration of this region – and of early Hungarian commerce as a whole – into the Eastern, Muslim trade network (Hraundal 2013, 140: Fig. 10). In light of this, it is not surprising at all that this fashion-object reached this region. This supposition is however disputed by the statistical situation, i.e. that this is the hitherto solely discovered find in the region, compared to 69 or 70 objects that emerged in the Carpathian Basin. The long-distance trade hypothesis is hardly tenable at the moment, considering that the vast region between the Carpathian Basin and the North Caucasus is yet to produce a single find of this sort.

2. A further hypothesis is concerns the eastward migration of a small group from the Carpathian Basin. This possibility is somewhat more realistic than the previous one, as it cannot be ruled out on the abovementioned grounds, i.e. the lack of finds in the interposed territory.

3. A third possibility should also be taken into account. Recent cultural anthropological investigations have put forward a new and inspiring model regarding the political and social structure of the nomadic populations of the Eurasian steppe (Somfai-Kara 2017, 343–355). According to this model the framework of the political and social structure was the 'steppe state' (Pohl 2003, 272–273) likened to a 'dynamic conical clan network', which could be reconstructed with the help of the historical sources, although the model can most certainly be applied retrospectively to the previous period. The model is based on the existence of a main clan and of a network of related-clans usually competing against each-other. Every individual was connected at the same time to multiple clans: his own clan, the maternal clan, the clan of the spouse, and the clan of the wedded daughter (Somfai-Kara 2017, 344), adding up to a highly open social structure. In light of this, the question arises: can we rule out the possibility whereby the braid

ornament was brought to the Northern Caucasus in the context of the wedlock of young female arriving from the Carpathian Basin?[14]

This hypothesis is feasible considering that the clans making up the 'steppe state' (Pohl 2003, 571–572) which conquered the Carpathian Basin could have easily preserved their eastern connections.[15]

4. We would also like to emphasize by our fourth possible interpretation that the other discoid braid found in the East, at Karanajevo in the region of South-Ural also originates from a scope that is considered to be one of the possible eastern living area of the Hungarians (Kristó 1996, 31-41). Historical examples prove the organic connection of the South Ural region and the North and North-Western foreground of the Caucasus: it had a significant role in the life of the wandering communities on the nomadic territory along the two terminus on the Eastern steppe and along the River Volga from North to South (winter and summer residence). The previous speech area (15th–16th centuries) of the late nomadic nogais – still available in the Northern front of the Caucasus – entirely covers the former supposed wandering territory (Ural, Volga, Caspian, Don, Black Sea up to Moldavia) of the Hungarians (Golden 1992, 324-330).

From the 9th century on confirmed also by written sources the ancient Hungarians from the steppe of Eastern-Europe got to the Western Turk Empire and in the 6th–7th centuries to the region of the Khazar Empire (Kristó 1996, 85–95). By the 9th century the Hungarian ethnic community split into 3 parts just like previously the Bulgarians (Danube-, Volga- and Caucasian Bulgarians) (Golden 1992, 244–257). One part of the Hungarians moved to the Southern-East part of the Caucasus (the "Savard" Hungarians); another part of them got to the North and their descendants lived in 1236 in "Ungaria Maior" which territory nowadays is called Baskhiria; and the third part the people of Álmos' Hungarian Great Principality moved from *Etelkuzu* (the Northern region of the Black Sea) to the Carpathian Basin in the 2nd half of the 9th century (Szabados 2017, 285–301).

According to the state governmental work (ca. 950 AD) compiled by Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (913–959) the Hungarians of the Carpathian Basin and the Savard Hungarians of the 'Persian territory' had a regular contact, as they sent "official messages" each other in the lifetime of the afore-mentioned Emperor Constantine VII, too (DAI 1967, 172–175). Consequently it can be

[14] The close typological connection between other categories of silversmith products, such as fitted belts, sabretaches, sabretache plates, and sabres, has the potential of launching certain new tendencies in this field of research in the near future. P'ânkov et al. 2014, 70, 82.

[15] The commercial routes and cities of Eastern Europe were never targeted by the military forces of the Hungarian power structure based in the Carpathian Basin, who concentrated on Western European and especially Carolingian targets. This indicates the existence of an integrative peaceful commercial relation in the region (Bálint 1982, 355), which is yet to be analysed in depth from a historical-psychological standpoint. In this regard new relevant additions can be expected from archaeological investigations carried out in the north-western Caucasus.

assumed that Hungarians could have lived in the North-West part of the Caucasus before and after the period of the Hungarian Conquest (ca. 862–895) (Szőke 2014, 111–116) i.e. the Western group of the Hungarians led by Álmos conquered the Carpathian Basin. The territory of the Caucasus is obviously an important part from the Hungarian prehistorical perspective that is also supported by the artefacts found in the region Kuban [e.g. burial ground of Andreyevskaya Shhel (Novičihin et al. 2017, 202–217), the Mardjani Collection in Moscow (Torgoev 2016, 311–333), and those findings of the Landscape Protection Museum of Krasnodar which can be correlated with the material culture of the Conquering Hungarians of the 10th centuries (P'ânkov et al. 2014, 70, 82)].

In conclusion we can underline once more that the 10th century was marked by a strong commercial, economic and perhaps even political network connecting the Carpathian Basin, Eastern Europe, and the steppe regions of the Caucasus (Bálint 1983, 349–364.) Very probably the discoid braid ornament from Andreyevskaya Shhel is a material reflection of this network, its exact interpretation expressed for the moment by the four aforementioned hypothesis. Further, more precise data can only be provided by archaeological investigations in the region.

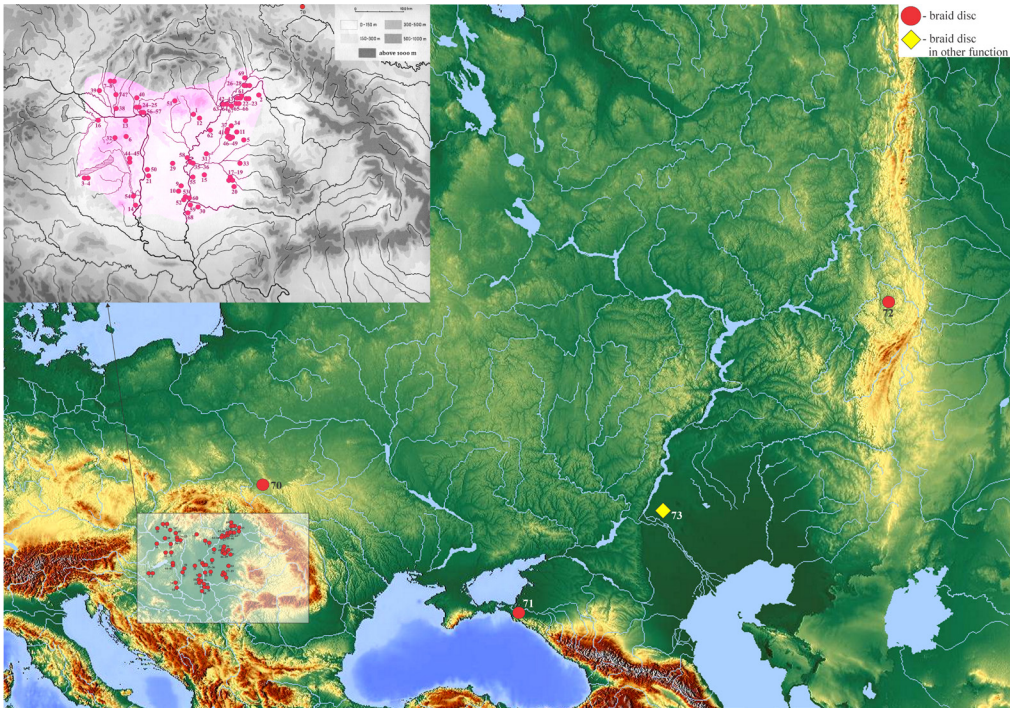
LIST 1. THE CATALOGUE OF THE DISCOID BRAID ORNAMENTS (the numbering corresponds to Maps 1–2 and Fig. 11)[16]

1. ***Aldebrő-Mocsáros grave 20***: Csallány 1970, 292; AH 1996, 382: 3; Révész 2008, 7. táb./1–2.
2. ***Anarcs-Czóbel birtok***: Hampel 1900, 586, 2–3. kép; AH 1996, 128: 1; Istvánovits 2003, 3. táb. 2–3; Bollók 2015, 53. kép 1.
3. Balatonújlak-Erdő dűlő grave 15: Langó/Siklósi 2013, 8–9. kép.
4. ***Balatonújlak-Erdő dűlő grave 17***: Langó/Siklósi 2013, 11. kép.
5. Biharkeresztes-Bethlen Gábor street grave 1: Nepper 2002, Vol. II, 2. táb./1.
6. Csákvár-Rókahegy: FÉK 1962, 28; Marosi 1936a, 43.
7. Čakajovce/Csekej-Templom-dűlő grave 376: Rejholcová 1995, Tab. LXI/2–3.
8. Čakajovce/Csekej-Templom-dűlő grave 579: Rejholcová 1995, Tab. XCII/4–5.
9. Cengele-Verovszki József a tanyája: unpublished.

[16] The find from Kiskunhalas-Zsana cannot be interpreted as being a discoid braid ornament, and should rather be considered a spangle worn on a piece of clothing, similarly to the disc-shaped find from grave no. 3 at the Szeged-Bojárhalma burial ground. The discs discovered in grave no. 12 of the Szentes-Borbásföld burial ground (Csallány 1970, 276) should also be interpreted as spangles worn on the kaftan of the deceased (Révész 1996b, 301, 305, 10. kép, 19. kép/a). The disc found in grave no. 3 at Eperjeske was in fact an ornament placed on the central part of a quiver (Csallány 1959, 292, Abb. 7/3, abb. 12/1).

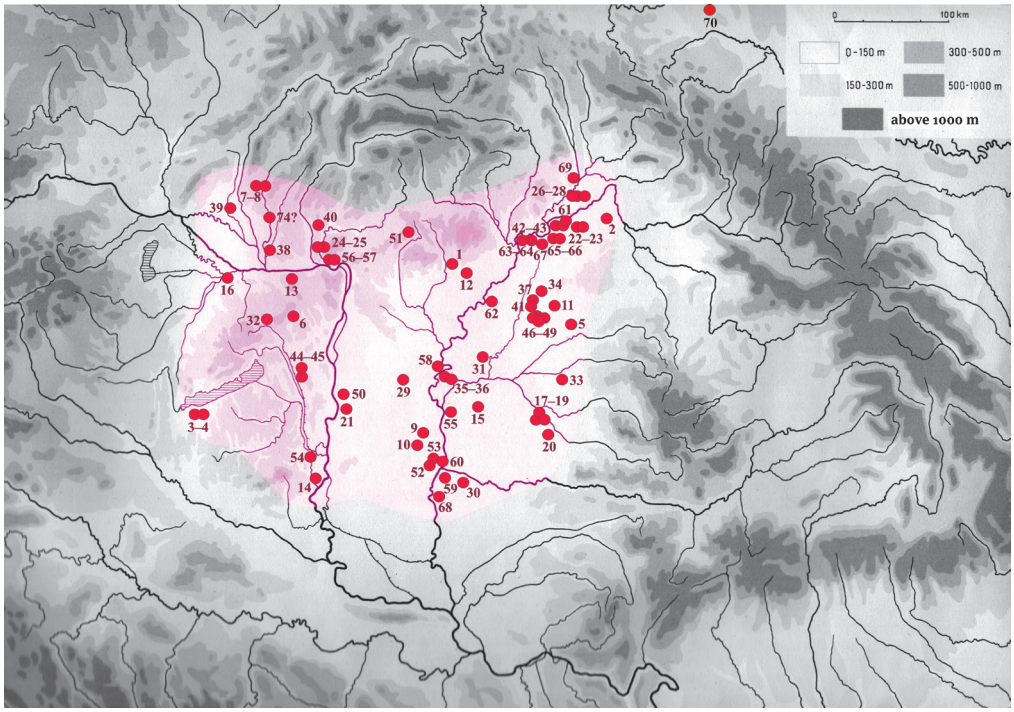
10. Csólyospálos-Csólyos puszta: Kada 1912, 323: a/3.
11. Derecske-Földesi út: Csallány 1959, 293, Abb. 11/1, abb. 13/1.
12. Dormánd-Hanyipuszta grave 1: AH 1996, 385: 1; Révész 2008, 22. táb./1–2.
13. Dunaalmás-Tatai street grave 1: Kralovánszky 1988, 244–245, 266–267.
14. Dunaszekcső-Tüskéshegy (stray finds): Hampel 1907, 113–114; Kiss 1983, 54–57; AH 1996, 369.
15. Eperjes-Takács tábla/Kiskirályság: FÉK 1962, 34; Bálint 1991, 55: Taf. XI.
16. Győr-Víztorony[17]: Horváth 2014, 16. táb. 1.
17. Gyula-Szövetkezeti Téglagyár grave 2: Megyesi 2015, 89: kép.
18. Gyula-Szövetkezeti Téglagyár grave 13: Megyesi 2015, 78: kép.
19. Gyula-Szövetkezeti Téglagyár grave 34: Megyesi 2015, 79: kép.
20. Vărșand/Gyulavarsánd -Laposhalom grave 48: Gáll 2013, I. kötet, 217, II. kötet, 99. táb. 1–2.
21. Harta-Freifelt grave 3: Langó 2016, 393–394, fig. 7.
22. Ibrány-Esbóhalom grave 197/a: Istvánovits 2003, 97–99, 65–66. kép, 95. táb. 7, 10.
23. Ibrány-Esbóhalom grave 206: Istvánovits 2003, 103, 72. kép, 102. táb. 2–3, 5.
24. Malé Kosihy/Ipolykiskeszi-Felső Kenderesek grave 104: Hanuliak 1994, 56–57, 130, 194, Tab. XXIII/7–8.
25. Malé Kosihy/Ipolykiskeszi-Felső Kenderesek grave 269: Hanuliak 1994, 56–57, 130, 194, Tab. XXIII/7–8.
26. Karos-Eperjesszög burial ground II grave 47: Révész 1996a, 65–66. táb.
27. Karos-Eperjesszög burial ground II grave 72: Révész 1996a, 109. táb. 9–10.
28. Karos-Eperjesszög burial ground II grave 5: Révész 1996a, 114. táb. 9–10.
29. Kecskemét-Csongrádi street: Szabó 1955, 123–125, XXXI. táb.; Csallány 1970, Taf. 36/6.
30. Kiszombor burial ground B grave127: Csallány 1959, 294, Abb. 18/3–4, abb. 16/3–4.
31. Mezőtúr-Dohányosgerinc grave find: Supka 1909, 267, 12. ábra.
32. Mór-Sóderbánya: Kralovánszky 1967–1968, 249, 1. ábra 4.
33. Salonta/Nagyszalonta grave 1: Gáll 2013, I. kötet, 370, II. kötet, 195. táb. 1, 3.
34. Nagyhegyes-Elep-Mikelapos: Révész 1996a, 88; Bonis–Sz. Burger : Arch. Ért. 84 (1957) S. 90 f.; The pair of the braid ornaments were illustrated by: Balogh : Debrecen. Magyar Műemlékek. S. 9, Taf. 4.
35. Nagyrév-stray find 1: MHK 721–723; Csallány 1959, Abb. 17/1–2; FÉK 1962, 56.
36. Nagyrév-stray find 2: Csallány 1959, Abb. 15/6; FÉK 1962, 56.
37. Nádudvar-Mihályhalom grave 1: Csallány 1959, 308, 310, Abb. 17/3–4.
38. Nesvady/Naszvad-Partok homokdomb stray find: Csallány 1959, 284, Abb. 8/8; FÉK 1962, 57; Csallány 1970, 276.

[17] The site name Győr-Kieselgrube/Kavicsbánya has been used by Csallány 1959, Abb. 15/4.



Map 1. The plate discoid braid ornaments from the Carpathian Basin to the Urals

39. Košúty/Nemeskosút stray find: Chropovsky 1955, 264–269, Abb.; Csallány 1959, 294, Abb. 14/5.
40. Sikenica/Peszektergenye stray find: Nevizánsky 2006, Tab. XVII/1–2.
41. Püspökladány-Eperjesvölgy grave 17: M. Nepper 2002, I. kötet, 132, II. kötet, 132. táb. 1–2.
42. Rakamaz surroundings (1914) stray find: Csallány 1959, 305, Abb. 12/2.
43. Rakamaz-Túróczi part (Gyepiföld) stray find: Csallány 1959, 310; AH 163: 1.
44. Sárbogárd-Tringertanya grave 24: Éry 1968, 128, Tab. XXX/1–2. http://arpad.btk.mta.hu/14-magyar-ostorteneti-temacsoport/243-sarbogard-tringertanya.html
***45. Sárbogárd-Tringertanya grave 29*:** Éry 1968, 128, Tab. XXXI/5.
46. Sárrétudvari-Hizóföld grave 32: M. Nepper 2002, II. kötet, 233. táb. 27–28.
47. Sárrétudvari-Hizóföld grave 102: M. Nepper 2002, 314, II. kötet, 260. táb. 4.
48. Sárrétudvari-Hizóföld grave 118: M. Nepper 2002, I. kötet, 317–318, II. kötet, 273. táb. 2–3.



Map. 2. The plate discoid braid ornaments in the Carpathian Basin

49. Sárrétudvari-Hizóföld grave 262: M. Nepper 2002, II. kötet, I. kötet, 351, 336. táb. 1–2.
50. Solt-Tételhegy stray find: AH 1996, 352: 1.
51. Sóshartyán-Hosszútető grave 30: Fodor 1973, 4. kép; AH 1996, 408: 2.
52. Szeged-Algyő grave 105: Kürti 1980, 326–327, 3–4. kép.
53. Szeged-Jánosszállás grave 2: FÉK 1962, 69; Bálint 1991, 71, Abb. 18/1.
54. Szekszárd-Gyűszűvölgy grave find: Hampel 1905, 863.
55. Szentes-Derekegyház grave 5: Langó–Türk 2003, 6–8. kép.
56. Szob-Ipolymenti út grave A: Csallány 1959, Abb. 14/1–2; Bakay 1978, 53, XXIX/25–26; AH 1996, 409: 2.
57. Szob-Kiserdő grave 37: Bakay 1978, 27, XIII/1–2.
58. Szolnok-Szanda stray find: Madaras 2003, 277–282.
59. Szőreg-Homokbánya grave A: Bálint 1991, 77–78.
60. Tápé-Malajdok B. temető grave 6: Széll 1943, 177; Bálint 1991, 94.
61. Tiszabercel-Ráctemető grave 4: Istvánovits 2003, 191, 116. kép, 179. táb. 4/1–2.

62. Tiszabő stray find: Pálinkás 1937, Fig. 87; AH 1996, 286: 1–2.
63. Tiszadob-Sós-szék grave 5: Jakab 2014, 277–294.
64. Tiszadob-Sós-szék grave 8: Jakab 2014, 277–294.
65. Tiszaeszlár-Dióskert grave 1: AH 1996, 192: 2–3.
66. Tiszaeszlár-Vörösmarty utca grave 2: Csallány 1970, Abb. 5–7, Taf. XXXII/1–2; AH 1996, 196: 2.
67. Tiszavasvári-Aranykerti tábla grave C: AH 1996, 199: 2–3.
68. Novi Kneževac/Törökkanizsa stray find: Fettich 1937, 83; AH 1996, 355: 1, 356.
69. *Zemplin/Zemplén-Szélmalomdomb*: Budinsky-Krička–Fettich 1973, Abb. 2–3.
70. *Sudova Višnia:* Dąbrowska 1979, 341–356.
71. *Andreyevskaya shhel.*
72. *Karanaevo site 9 grave 32*: Mažitov 1981, Fig. 58/25.
73. *Kolobovka Kurgan 1 grave 3*: Kruglov/Sergatskov/Balabanova 2005, 252: Fig. 3.

Questionable find:

74 (?). *Nitra/Nyitra-Csermend/Cerman*: Fodor 1980, 190, Note 22.

REFERENCES

AH= Ancient Hungarians
1996 *The Ancient Hungarians. Exhibition Catalogu,* [in:] I. Fodor (ed.), Budapest.

Armarčuk E.A., Novičihin A.M.
2004 *Ukrašenijâ konskoj uprâži X-XII ww. in mogil'nika "Andreevskaâ šel'" bliz Anapy*, Kratkije Soobŝeniâ Instituta Arheologii, RAN 216, Moskva, p. 59-71.

Bálint Cs.
1983 *A kalandozások néhány kérdése,* [in:] *Nomád társadalmak és államalakulatok*, F. Tőkei (ed.), Budapest, p. 349–364.

Bollók Á.
2015 *Ornamentika A 10. századi Kárpát-Medencében: formatörténeti tanulmányok a magyar honfoglalás kori díszítőművészethez,* Budapest.

Bodri Á.
2018 *A belső időrend vizsgálata Püspökladány–Eperjesvölgy 10-11. századi temetőjében,* [in:] *SÖTÉT IDŐK TÚLÉLŐI. A kontinuitás fogalma, kutatásának módszerei az 5-11. századi Kárpát-medence régészetében 2014-ben Debrecenben megrendezett konferencia kiadványa,* T.K. Hága, B. Kolozsi (eds.), Debrecen, p. 291–303.

Csallány D.
1959 *Ungarische Zierscheiben aus dem X. Jahrhundert,* ActaArchHung 10, p. 281–325.
1970 *Weiblicher Haarschmuck und Stiefelbeschläge aus der ungarischen ungarischen Landnahmezeit im Karpatenbecken,* ActaArchHung 22, p. 261–299.

DAI = De Administrando Imperio
1967 *C. Porhyrogenitus, De Administrando Imperio*, Volume I, Greek text, ed. Gyula Moravcsik, trans. Romilly James Heald Jenkins, Washington.
Dąbrowska E. A.
1979 *Élements Hongrois dans les Trouvailles archéologiques au nord des Karpates,* Acta Archaeologica Hungarica 31, p. 341–356.
Dzattiaty R.
2014 *Alanskie drevnosti Dargavsa*, Vladikavkaz.
FÉK = Fehér G., Éry K., Kralovánszky A.
1962 *A Közép-Duna medence magyar honfoglalás és kora Árpád-kori sírleletei,* Régészeti Tanulmányok 2, Budapest.
Fodor I.
1979 *Einige Beiträgre zur Entfaltung der ungarischen Kunst der Landnahmezeit,* Alba Regia 17, p. 65–73.
1994 *Leletek Magna Hungariától Etelközig,* [in:] *Honfoglalás és régészet,* L. Kovács (ed.), Budapest, p. 47–65.
2013 *A veszelovói tarsolylemez,* [in:] *A honfoglalás kor kutatásának legújabb eredményei. Tanulmányok Kovács László 70. Születésnapjára,* L. Révész, M. Wolf (eds.). Monográfiák a Szegedi Tudományegyetem Régészeti Tanszékéről 3, Szeged, p. 457–470.
Gáll E.
2013 *Az Erdélyi-medence, a Partium és a Bánság 10-11. századi temetői (10th and 11th Century burial sites, stray finds and treasures in the Transylvanian Basin, the Partium and the Banat), Vol. I-II.* Magyarország honfoglalás és kora Árpád-kori sírleletei 6, Szeged.
Golden P. B.
1992 *An Introduction to the History of the Turkic Peoples*, Wiesbaden.
Hampel J.
1900 *A honfoglalás kor hazai emlékei*, [in:] *A magyar honfoglalás kútfői*, Gy. Pauler, S. Szilágyi (eds.), Budapest, p. 509–826.
Hraundal T. J.
2013 *The Rus in Arabic Sources: Cultural Contacts and Identity*, Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Bergen, Bergen.
Istvánovits E.
2003 *A Rétköz honfoglalás és kora Árpád-kori emlékanyaga.* Régészeti gyűjtemények Nyíregyházán 2, Magyarország honfoglalás és kora Árpád-kori sírleletei 4, Nyíregyháza.
Kuznecov V.A.
1961 *Zmejskij katakombnyj mogil'nik*, Arheologičeskije raskopki v rajone Zmejskoj Severnoj Osetii, Ordžonikidze.
Kürti B.
2008 *Honfoglalók a kiszombori tájon,* [in:] *Kiszombor története I,* A. Marosvári, (ed.), Kiszombor, p. 76–91.
1980 *Honfoglalás kori magyar temető Szeged-Algyőn (Előzetes beszámoló),* A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve, p. 323–345.
Kristó Gy.
1980 *Levedi törzsszövetségétől Szent István államáig,* Budapest.

1996 *Hungarian history in the ninth century*, Szeged.

Kruglov E. V, Sergatskov I. V., Balabanova M. A.

2005 Hovyye pogrebeniya oguzov issledovannyye y s. Kolobovka. NAV 7, Volgograd, p. 242–256.

Langó P.

2000 *Megjegyzések a Kárpát - medence X-XI. századi huzalkarpereceinek és sodrott karpereceinek viseletéhez és használati idejéhez,* A Jósa András Múzeum Évkönyve 42, p. 33–57.

2005 *Archaeological Research on the Conquering Hungarians: a Review,* [in:] *Research on the prehistory of the Hungarians: a Review*, B. G. Mende (ed.), Varia Archaeologica Hungarica 18, Budapest, p. 175–340.

2013 *The Study of the Archaeological Finds of the Tenth-Century Carpathian Basin as National Archaeology: Early Nineteenth-Century Views,* [in:] *Manufacturing Middle Ages Entangled History of Medievalism in Nineteenth-Century Europe,* P.J. Geary, G. Klaniczay (eds.), National cultivation of culture 6, Leiden-Boston, p. 397–418.

Langó P., Kustár R., Köhler K., Csősz A.

2016 *A Study of the Tenth-Century Cemetery at Harta-Freifelt*, Antaues 34, p. 389–416.

Langó P., Siklósi Zs.

2013 *10. századi temető Balatonújlak-Erdő-dűlőn,* [in:] *A honfoglalás kor kutatásának legújabb eredményei. Tanulmányok Kovács László 70. Születésnapjára,* L. Révész, M. Wolf (eds.), Budapest – Szeged, p. 143–160.

Langó P., Türk A.

2004 *Honfoglalás kori sírok Mindszent-Koszorús-dűlőn* (*Adatok a szíjbefűzős bizánci csatok és a délkelet-európai kapcsolatú egyszerű mellkeresztek tipológiájához*), Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve–Studia Archaeologica 10, p. 365–451.

Mažitov N.A.

1981 Kurgany Ûžnogo Urala v VIII-XII ww, Moskva.

Mesterházy K.

1989–1990 *Felső-Tisza-vidéki ötvösműhely és a honfoglalás kori emlékek időrendje*, Agria. Az Egri Múzeum Évkönyve 25–26, p. 235–274.

1997 *Die Kunst der landnehmenden Ungarn und die abbasidisch-irakische Kunst.* Acta Archaeologica Hungarica 49, p. 385–418.

Nepper I.

2002 *Hajdú-Bihar megye 10–11. századi sírleletei.* Magyarország honfoglalás és kora Árpád-kori sírleletei 3, Budapest – Debrecen.

Novičihin A.M.

1993 *Issledovanie srednevekovoho mogil'nika Andreevskaâ ŝel' v 1991 i 1992 gg*, [in:] Vtoraâ Kubanskaâ Arheologičeskaâ konferenciâ. Tezisy dokladov. Krasnodar, p. 76-77.

2008 *Voinskij kenotaf s zahoroneniem boevogo konâ na srednevekovom mogil'nike Andreevskaâ ŝel'*. Voennaâ arheologiâ, Sbornik materialov seminara pri Gosudarstvennom istoričeskom muzee 1, Moskva, p. 26-41.

2014 *Predmety vooruženiâ, voinskogo i konskogo snarjaženija iz razrušennyh pogrebenij mogil'nika Andreevskaâ ŝel'*. Voennaâ arheologiâ, Sbornik materialov seminara pri Gosudarstvennom istoričeskom muzee 3, Moskva, p. 55-93.

2015 *Detskie pogrebeniâ srednevekovogo mogil'nika Andreevskaâ ŝel'*, IAA 13, Armavir-Krasnodar-Moskva, p. 99-111.

Novičihin A.M., Ležak G., Gall É., Avar A.
2017 *Fragment licevoj plastiny poâsnoj sumki iż mogil'nika Andreevskaâ ŝel'. 98 Razmyšleniâ v svâzi s rasprostraneniem poâsnyh sumok na territorii Vostočnoj Evropy I Karpatskogo bassejna*, [in:] *VII. "Anfimovskie čteniâ"po arheologii Zapadnogo Kavkaza. Social'no-ekonomičeskoe razvitie naseleniâ Zapadnogo Kavkaza v drevnosti I srednevekov'e. Materialy meždunarodnoj arheologičeskoj konferencii (g. Krasnodar, 31 maja – 2 ijunâ 2, 2017 g.),* R.B. Shatum, V.V. Ulitin (eds.), Krasnodar, p. 202-217.

P'ânkov A.V., Hačaturova E.A., Ŭrčenko T.V.
2014 *Vozvraŝennye sokorovyša Kubani*, Krasnodar.

Pohl W.
2003 *A non-Roman empire in Central Europe*, [in:] *Regna and Gentes. The Relationship between Late Antique and Early Medieval Peoples and Kingdoms in the Transformation of the Roman World*, H. W. Goetz, J. Jarnut, W. Pohl with assistance of S. Kaschke (eds.), Leiden–Boston, p. 571–596.

Révész L.
1996a *A karosi honfoglaláskori temetők. Régészeti adatok a Felső-Tisza vidék X. századi történetéhez.* Magyarország honfoglalás és kora Árpád-kori sírleletei 1, Miskolc.
1996b *Honfoglalás kori temető Szentes-Borbásföldön*, A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve. Studia Archaelogica 2, p. 299–336.
2008 *Heves megye 10–11. századi temetői.* Magyarország honfoglalás és kora Árpád-kori sírleletei 5, Budapest.

Somfai-Kara D.
2017 *Modern török nyelvű etnoszok kialakulása Közép- és Belső-Ázsiában*, [in:] *Dentumoger I. Tanulmányok a korai magyar történelemről,* B. Sudár (ed.), Budapest, p. 343–355.

Szabados Gy.
2011 *Magyar államalapítások a IX–XI. században. Előtanulmány a korai magyar állam történelmének fordulópontjairól.* Szegedi Középkorász Műhely 26, Szeged.
2017 *„Szkítia három tartománya"*, [in:] *Középkortörténeti tanulmányok 9*, B. Szanka, Z. Szolnoki, P. Juhász (eds.), Szeged, p. 285–301.

Szabó J. Gy.
1978–1979 *Árpád-kori telep és temetője Sarud határában 4. A sírok relatív és abszolút kronológiája. A temető jellege*, Agria. Az Egri Múzeum Évkönyve 16–17, p. 45–136.

Szőke B. M.
2014 *The Carolingian Age in the Carpathian Basin*, Budapest.

Szőke B. M, Vándor L.
1987 *Pusztaszentlászló Árpád-kori temetője.* Fontes Archaelogici Hungariae 12, Budapest.

Torgoev A.I.
2016 *Vengri na Severnom Kavkaze?*, [in:] Putešestvije Ibn Fadlana: volžskij put' ot Bagdada do Bulgara. Katalog vystavky, Moskva, r. 311-333.

Tóth S. L.
2012 *A IX–X. századi magyar törzsszövetség szláv kapcsolatai*, [in:] *Legendák, kódexek, források. Tanulmányok a 80 esztendős H. Tóth Imre tiszteletére*, M. Kocsis, H. Majoros (eds.), Szeged, p. 339–353.

Uspenskij P.S.
2013 *Mogilniki s Truposožženiâmi VIII-XIII. Vv. Na Severo-Zapadnom Kavkaze (dinamika areala pogrebal'nogo obrâda)*. Rossijskaâ Arheologiâ Federal'noe gosudarstvennoe unitarnoe predpriâtie Akademičeskij naučno-izdatel'skij, proizvodstvenno-poligrafičeskij knigorasprostranitel'skij centr Nauka 4, Moskva, p. 86-98.
2015 *Kremacionnye Pogrebeniâ Severo Zapadnogo Kavkaza VIII-XIII. vv*, Moskva.
Wieczorek A., Fried J., Müller-Wille M.
2000 *Európa közepe 1000 körül*, [in:] *Európa közepe 1000 körül, I–III*. A. Wieczorek, H.M. Hinz (eds.), Stuttgart.

Addresses of the Authors

Gabriella M. Lezsák
Hungarian Academy of Science
Research Centre for the Humanities
Budapest, Hungary
e-mail: lezsak.gabriella@btk.mta.hu

Andrey Novichikhin
Gorgippia Museum in Anapa,
Russia Federation
e-mail: yazamat03@mail.ru

Erwin Gáll
Institute of Archaeology "Vasile Pârvan"
Bucharest, Romania
e-mail: erwin.gall@iabvp.ro