THE REVERSE DECORATED MIRROR IN THE "MARIA AND DR. GEORGE SEVEREANU" COLLECTION

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Cuvinte cheie: oglinzi, semne tamga, sarmați, carpi, daci liberi, sciți târzii, meoți, spațiul nord-pontic.

Abstract: We discuss herein the mirror with reverse decoration in the "Maria and dr. George Severeanu" Collection, donated, together with the entire collection, to the Bucharest Municipality Museum in 1939. The artefact belongs to the type of disc mirrors with rectangular side handle decoration on the back side, specific mainly to the Sarmatian world, yet also found in the milieu of other cultural identities. Though emerging in the 1st century AD, these mirrors were used on large scale in the 2nd century – first half of the 3nd century AD, being rarely found during the second half of the 3nd century AD, the few specimens from the early period of the Great Migrations being relics.

The author notes that the tamga on the mirror's back side is complex, having no identical or similar parallels, concluding there are complex tamgas whose components only are similar or close to this discussed here. The appearance and features of the tamga evidences resembles complex tamgas or tamga compositions on mirrors from Ciscaucasia, the Kuban region, the Lower Don area and the Crimean territory. Last but not least, the author infers that the mirror in the "Maria and dr. George Severeanu" Collection belongs to the mirror type broadly used in the area between the Volga and the Lower Danube in the 2nd century – first half of the 3rd century AD, and that it very likely originates from Crimea, however other variants are possible as well.

Rezumat: În articol este analizată oglinda cu decor pe revers din colecția "Maria și dr. George Severeanu", donată, alături de întreaga colecție, Muzeului Municipiului București în anul 1939. Piesa aparține tipului de oglinzi discoidale cu mâner lateral de formă dreptunghiulară și cu decor pe revers, caracteristice îndeosebi lumii sarmatice, dar care se întâlnesc și în mediul altor identități culturale. Deși își fac apartiția în sec. I p. Chr. aceste oglinzi au fost utilizate la scară largă în sec. II – prima jumătate a sec. III p. Chr., rareori fiind întâlnite și în a doua jumătate a sec. III p. Chr., cele câteva exemplare din perioada de început a marilor migrații fiind relicve.

Autorul constatată că semnul de pe reversul oglinzii este unul complex pentru care nu există o analogie identică sau apropiată, remarcând doar existența unor semne tamga complexe care au doar părți componente similare sau apropiate. Aspectul și trăsăturile semnului indică

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faptul că acesta este mai apropiat de semnele complexe sau compozițiile de semne de pe oglinzile din Ciscaucazia, regiunea Kuban, zona Donului de Jos și teritoriul Crimeei. Nu în cele din urmă autorul conchide că oglinda din colecția "Maria și dr. George Severeanu" aparține tipului de oglinzi ce a avut o largă utilizate în spațiul cuprins între Volga și Dunărea de Jos în sec. II – prima jumătate a sec. III p. Chr., precum și că aceasta provine, foarte probabil, de pe teritoriul Crimeei, dar că sunt posibile și alte variante.

Introduction

The mirror discussed here is preserved in the collections of the "George Severeanu" Museum, being displayed in one of the main exhibition of the museum, part of the Bucharest Municipality Museum, along with a series of high value archaeological artefacts (ancient Greek wares, clay statuettes, bronze and marble artefacts, Roman glassware, gems and cameos, pottery belonging to various prehistoric archaeological cultures), as well as one of the most valuable coin collection in Romania, part of the "Maria and dr. George Severeanu" Collection. The collection was donated to the Bucharest Municipality Museum in 1939. The museum's current location, former private residence of the museum's first Director, was opened in 1956 and, since 2017, displays many of the artefacts from the original collection.

The mirror is in the shape of a disc and is provided with a rectangular side handle, which has a central asymmetric piercing. Its obverse is flat, being used as mirror, while the reverse has the edge with a well-marked rim. The reverse surface is decorated with a complex tamga in the form of a vertical rectangle, with arched short sides, elongated and set symmetrically, with split ends; midway each of the long sides there is a perpendicular line/ray (Pl. I). The very well preserved mirror has a maximum disc diameter of 4.9 cm, handle sizes being $1.9 \times 1.9 \text{ cm}$. The mirror thickness in the rim area is of 0.3 cm and 0.1-0.2 cm on the remainder of the disc surface, weighing 29 grams¹. In the museum's inventory register, the object is listed under no. 19582, with the mention it is bronze made and that it originates from the territory of Serbia. Although it is mentioned to have been found in 1935, it was no object of academic interest, remaining unpublished until today. The mirror's analysis indicates it was made of a metal alloy where the highest ratio is copper (Cu) -68.7%, followed by tin (Sn) -26.93%, and lead (Pb) -2.13%, silver (Ag) -0.51%, aluminium (Al) -0.09%, iron (Fe) -0.05% and nickel (Ni) -0.04^2 .

Although registry documents mention it to have been found in 1935, it remained unpublished to date, therefore we decided to analyse both the mirror and certain aspects related to this type of artefact.

Origin, dating and diffusion of rimmed mirrors, central disc projection and pierced rectangular side handle

Mirrors count among significant chronological markers for the finds in the Barbarian

^{1.} The measurements, a series of information as well as images illustrating the mirror were made available to us by dr. Vasile Opriş and dr. Alina Streinu (Bucharest Municipality Museum), whom we thank this way for expediency and granted support.

^{2.} We also thank this way dr. Dragoş Mirea, scholar with the Horia Hulubei National Institute for Physics and Nuclear Engineering - for the PIXE analysis (Particle-induced X-ray emission) of the mirror.

environment of the area between the Volga and the Lower Danube. In this artefact class, of special interest are disc mirrors with thickened rim and central disc projection or decoration in relief, provided with rectangular side handle pierced centrally. Such mirror type finds document their wide diffusion in several cultural milieus in the mentioned geographical area during the first centuries AD.

Almost one century ago, P. Rau assumed mirrors of the type were specific to Sarmatian remains from the Caucasus and Kuban regions, and that in the Volga region they were an exception, reaching the area via the Kuban region from the Koban culture population³. This view was the first attempt to establish the region and cultural environment of origin of these mirrors.

Almost four decades later, A. M. Khazanov rejects P. Rau's view according to which these mirrors are of Caucasian origin⁴. The author further believed that their origin lies with the ancient cultures of Siberia, where their prototypes – mirrors with round flat disc and pierced side handle – were used for a long period, being distributed in the third phase of the Tagar culture, yet which are also paralleled in the Minusinsk Basin, the Altai and Northern China. From Siberian territories, these mirrors with round flat disc provided with pierced side handle reached also Europe⁵. According to the same A. M. Khazanov, the latter, under the influence of mirrors with thickened rim, central disc projection and nail type handle (type Khazanov VIII), contributed to the establishment of the mirrors with edge rims, central disc projection and pierced rectangular side handle⁶. A. M. Khazanov ascribed these mirrors to type IX in his typology⁷, while based on their appearance, he divided them into two variations. To the first were ascribed the specimens with edge rim and conical central disc projection, while in the second, exemplars with decoration in relief with the depiction of various patterns on the reverse, most often, solar symbols, geometric patterns or tamgas⁸. The mirrors in the first variation were dated by the author to the $1^{st} - 2^{nd}$ century AD⁹, whole those decorated on the reverse to the 2^{nd} $-3^{\rm rd}$ century AD, their emergence in Bosporan towns being placed towards late $1^{\rm st}$ century $-2^{\rm nd}$ century AD¹⁰. For the Volga area, the same scholar noted an existing variant, characterised by the presence of a rudimentary conical central disc¹¹.

B. A. Litvinskij also agreed with A. M. Khazanov. The first yet mentioned that the intermediary version between the pierced side handle mirrors from the Tagar culture environment and those in the Sarmatae setting could be the items from Wusu features right to the Ili river¹². In line with A. M. Khazanov's view, I. I. Marchenko believes that the discussed type might have

^{3.} Rau 1927, p. 91-92.

^{4.} Khazanov 1963, p. 65-66.

^{5.} Khazanov 1963, p. 65-66.

^{6.} Khazanov 1963, p. 65-66.

^{7.} Khazanov 1963, p. 65-67, Fig. 4.

^{8.} The marks in relief from the mirrors represent according to scholars both property marks, ornaments, yet especially religious symbols, the mirrors with tamgas themselves having beside the primary function also a magical-apotropaic meaning.

^{9.} Khazanov 1963, p. 65-67.

^{10.} Khazanov 1963, p. 67.

^{11.} Khazanov 1963, p. 67, Fig. 4/5-9.

^{12.} Litvinskij 1971, p. 47.

been formed subsequent to the synthesis between mirrors with round flat disc provided with rectangular pierced side handle (type Marchenko IX.3¹³) and those with thickened rim, nail-shaped handle and conical central projection (type Khazanov VIII¹⁴, Skripkin 6.7¹⁵, Marchenko VIII.1¹⁶, Glukhov 6.7.1¹⁷). This process occurred, according to the same scholar, not in the Volga region, but in the Sarmatae environment of Northern Caucasus, by the boundary between the 1st century BC – 1st century AD¹⁸. The correlation of the bordered mirrors and central disc projection (variation 1) and those with decoration in relief on the back side (variation 2) with brooches allowed the establishment of the chronological framework of these artefacts in the Sarmatian Syraces milieu from the Kuban region. The mirrors in the first version were found within burials beside only 1st century brooches, while those in the second variation only with 2nd century specific brooches¹⁹.

A different view in terms of the genesis of mirrors with pierced side handle was expressed by M. P. Abramova²⁰. While studying these mirrors in the North-Caucasian territory and those similar from other regions, the author emphasized the existence of three distinct variations:

- 1. with rim on the edge and conical central disc projection;
- **2.** decorated on the external side of the disc;
- 3. with flat and undecorated surface²¹.

The author mentioned that the majority of mirrors in variation 1 were discovered on the territory of Northern Caucasus, most being from uplands in the central area of the Caucasus, of which most are part of the Koban culture environment²². The mirrors in the first variation from Northern Caucasus were dated by M. P. Abramova mainly to the 1st century AD, with the mention that in the same period these spread to other regions²³, and that from late 1st century AD, some start to have their back sides decorated²⁴. The latter, according to M. P. Abramova's observations, have a rim on the edge and the central disc convexity is less marked, while the decoration is simple, being deemed intermediary between the mirrors in the two variations that would lead to the emergence once with the 2nd century AD of mirrors in the second variation. The mirrors ascribed to the second variation have a more flattened form, while their distinct feature is the reverse side decoration (Pl. VII), being specific, according to the author, to the 2nd – 3rd century AD to the entire area between the Volga and the Lower Danube²⁵. Based on her analysis, M. P. Abramova rejects A. M. Khazanov's hypothesis on the Siberian origin of the mirrors with rim on the edge, projection in the disc centre and pierced side handle and

^{13.} Marchenko 1996, p. 24-25.

^{14.} Khazanov 1963, p. 64-65, Fig. 1/VIII, 3/5.

^{15.} Skripkin 1990, p. 95, 152-153, Fig. 36/5-10.

^{16.} Marchenko 1996, p. 21-23, Fig. 4.

^{17.} Glukhov 2005, p. 15, 46-47, Fig. 7/4, 6-8, 8/2, 10/1.

^{18.} Marchenko 1996, p. 27.

^{19.} Marchenko 1996, 24.

^{20.} Abramova 1971.

^{21.} Abramova 1971, p. 121-123, Fig. 1.

^{22.} Abramova 1971, p. 125.

^{23.} Abramova 1971, p. 124-125, 129-131; see also Abramova 1993, p. 155, type 5, variation 1, Fig. 60/28-33.

^{24.} Abramova 1971, p. 128-129.

^{25.} Abramova 1971, p. 129-130; see also Abramova 1993, p. 167, type 5, variation 2, Fig. 66/40-44.

believes likely that artefacts in the first variation may be termed "Caucasian". Their origin and production in the Caucasus is recorded, according to the author, by their frequent find in last phase sites of the Koban culture²⁶.

The North-Caucasian origin of the mirrors with thickened rim, central disc projection and rectangular pierced side handle was also supported by V. B. Vinogradov and V. A. Petrenko²⁷. These authors noted their lack of prototypes in the Koban culture environment and assume that mirrors of the type emerged subsequent to evolutional shifts of mirrors with thickened rim, nail shaped handle and central disc projection (type Khazanov VIII, Skripkin 6.7, Marchenko VIII.1, Glukhov 6.7.1). Accordingly, the process occurred in the milieu of the Sarmatian Syraces from Ciscaucasia. Furthermore, they believe that mirrors with thickened rim, central disc projection and rectangular pierced side handle were designed by the Sarmatae of Ciscaucasia, being import artefacts in the North-Pontic area and the Northern region of the Caspian Sea. The same scholars mention that during the 2nd century AD, mirrors of the type from all territories where they were in use, were decorated on the reverse, mentioning that on many, the decoration is directly linked to tamgas and Sarmatae decorative patterns, which represents an additional evidence of the efficiency of the Sarmatae cultural impact on the genesis of these artefacts.

A. S. Skripkin emphasises among disc mirrors with rectangular pierced side handle from the Sarmatae setting of the Lower Volga and South the Urals the existence of two types: with rim on the edge and conical central disc projection (type 1) also decorated on the back side (type 2)²⁸.

The correlation of mirrors with the remaining artefacts these were found beside, mainly brooches, allowed the scholar to date the specimens in type 1²⁹ to the 1st century – early 2nd century AD³⁰. The author does not exclude the possibility they emerged sometime by mid-1st century AD³¹. The emergence of mirrors decorated on the reverse (type 2) in the Lower Volga region and that South of the Urals is placed by A. S. Skripkin by early 2nd century AD, while their use on large scale in the second half of the 2nd century – first half of the 3rd century AD.

V. M. Kosyanenko identified in the cemetery of the Kobyakova settlement³² (right to the Lower Don) a number of mirrors with decoration in relief on the external side, which she dated to the 1st century AD³³. Subsequent to their analysis, the same scholar succeed to identify chronological differences for certain decorative patterns on these mirrors³⁴, reaching the conclusion that in order to date specimens decorated on the reverse are important not only the morphological features but also the decoration type³⁵. Furthermore, she noted that for the

^{26.} Abramova 1971, p. 125.

^{27.} Vinogradov, Petrenko 1976, p. 44-48.

^{28.} Skripkin 1984, p. 47-48.

^{29.} In A. S. Skripkin's typology, these mirrors belong to type 6.10 (Skripkin 1990, p. 95, 153).

^{30.} Skripkin 1984, p. 47-48.

^{31.} Skripkin 1990, p. 153.

^{32.} For a series of decorated mirrors in this cemetery see Fig. 6/1-14.

^{33.} Kosyanenko 1994, p. 71-73, Fig. 23/2-8; Kosyanenko 2008, p. 108-112, Pl. 15/2-8. The main argument in favour of such early emergence of the decorated mirrors is based on their find beside brooches whose dating for the Kobyakovo cemetery was revised based on their find together with fine fabric wheel-thrown wares and surface covered with orange-red slip with metal shine.

^{34.} Kosyanenko 1994, p. 71-77; Kosyanenko 2008, p. 108-117.

^{35.} Cf. Kosyanenko 1994, p. 71-77; Kosyanenko 2008, p. 108-117.

1st century AD are specific mirrors of significant thickness, marked conical central projection, outward bevelled edge, rectangular handle occasionally tapering towards the disc, while the simple decoration consists of rosettes, circles and rays³⁶. For the 2nd century – early 3rd century AD mirrors in the graves of the same cemetery, it was noted these are thinner and have smaller side handle sizes, and that the convex part of the disc centre is much more smaller or replaced by a circle³⁷. In the case of the decoration, it was noted it becomes increasingly complex, most often being represented by circles, marks similar to letter gamma, circles from which start ornaments in the shape of "bird feet" and marks in the form of rays with loops at the end, all within another circle, as well as rectangular/square ornaments inscribed in a circle³⁸. On some of the mirrors of this period are also found ray patterns³⁹. Another note is that mirrors with rectangular/square decoration in relief inscribed in a circle date, with one exception⁴⁰ to the second half of the 2nd century – early 3rd century AD⁴¹.

For the mirrors in the Sarmatae environment from the Southern side of the Volga-Don interfluve, a significant contribution to their study was made by M. V. Krivosheev⁴². These mirror types and variants were established based on features defining the presence of decoration and its patterns. To the first type were included mirrors with conical central disc projection and to the second those decorated. In the second type were established three variations based on decoration (A, B, V). Thus, to variation "A" were ascribed mirrors decorated on the back side with circles from which start ray patterns with loops by the ends, all within another circle, to variation "B" those with square decoration inscribed in a circle, while in variation "V" those with various ornaments or undecorated. In addition, the same author clarified the chronological framework of the existence of these mirror types in the Sarmatae environment from the discussed region. In the Sarmatian graves from the Don area, decorated mirrors are rather rare⁴³, yet are found at Tanais (Pl. VI/15-16) and the territories in its vicinity.

A significant contribution in the typological and chronological framing of the mirrors in this type on the territory of Crimea was made by A. A. Trufanov⁴⁴. The author evidenced among these artefacts from the cemeteries in the mentioned territory the existence of eight variations, of which seven are with decoration in relief on the back side (variations 2-8). Undecorated mirrors with central disc projection were ascribed to the first variation, in which, based on their features, were identified three sub variations (1A, 1B, 1V)⁴⁵.

^{36.} Kosyanenko 1994, p. 71-74, 76, Fig. 23/2-8; Kosyanenko 2008, p. 116, Pl. 15/2-8.

^{37.} Kosyanenko 1994, p. 76; Kosyanenko 2008, p. 111, 117.

^{38.} Kosyanenko 1994, p. 76-77, Fig. 24/1-6, 25/1-5; Kosyanenko 2008, p. 111, 117, Pl. 16/1-6, 17/1-5.

^{39.} Kosyanenko 1994, p. 74, 76, Fig. 23/9; Kosyanenko 2008, p. 112, 117, Pl. 15/9.

^{40.} Kosyanenko 1994, p. 76, Fig. 25/6; Kosyanenko 2008, p. 116, Pl. 17/6.

^{41.} Kosyanenko 1994, p. 76; Kosyanenko 2008, p. 116.

^{42.} Krivosheev 2005, p. 51, 95-97, Fig. 42/1 (type 1), 42/2-3 (type 2.A), 42/4-6, 43/3 (type 2.B), 43/1-2, 4-6 (type 2.V).

^{43.} Maksimenko 1998, p. 131.

^{44.} Trufanov 2007, p. 173-186.

^{45.} Trufanov 2007, p. 175-176, Fig. 1/1-4 (variation 1A), Fig. 1/5-6 (variation 1B), Fig. 1/7-10 (variation 1V). The massive mirrors from variation 1A were dated to the second half of the 1st century AD, while their emergence in Crimea is placed midway the 1st century AD. In the case of mirrors in variations 1B and 1V is mentioned that on the territory of Crimea, earliest exemplars come from features dated to the last third/ late 1st century AD (Trufanov 2007, p. 175, 180).

Regarding the decorated mirrors from the territory of Crimea⁴⁶, A. A. Trufanov ascribed to the early variations the massive exemplars with hemispherical projection in the central disc part and a significant variation of ornaments without clear standards (circles surrounding the central projection; radial ornaments or in the form of radial rays; rectangles from which start straight lines or line groups; circles surrounding the central projection from which start line groups in the four cardinal directions, while in between are placed marks in the shape of letter gamma). These were framed to variations 2-5 and come mainly from features dated to late 1st century – first half of the 2nd century AD⁴⁷. A few mirror exemplars in these variations were yet discovered in graves from certain periods in the chronological frame comprised between the second half of the 2nd century – first half of the 3rd century AD⁴⁸.

Decorated mirrors from the territory of Crimea deemed later, were framed by A. A. Trufanov to variations 6-8⁴⁹. These are thin in cross-section and are characterised by a much smaller central disc convexity or its lack, while the standardised decoration (circles from which start ornaments in the shape of "bird feet" and ray shaped marks with loops by the ends, all within another circle; ornaments in the form of lines divided in three branches with the appearance of "bird feet" and line/ray shaped marks with loops by the ends starting from the disc centre; ornaments in the form of lines/rays with volutes by the ends). Are missing from Crimea mirrors whose ornaments consist of a rectangle/square inscribed in a circle⁵⁰, decoration frequently found on mirrors from the Sarmatae environment of the second half of the 2nd century – first half of the 3rd century AD in the Volga and Lower Don area, the Southern side of the territory between Volga and the Don⁵¹ and the North-West Pontic area. Mirrors decorated with various types of tamgas in relief on the external side are also rare in Crimea (Pl. V/4; XII/35), only a few exemplars being known to date⁵².

It is believed that earliest decorated mirrors from Crimea come from contexts dated to the last quarter/late 1^{st} century AD, and that the beginning of the entry in this region of decorated mirrors ascribed to the late variations place them in the first half of the 2^{nd} century AD, being found until late 3^{rd} century AD⁵³.

Regarding mirrors with decoration in relief on the reverse, A. A. Trufanov concludes these were formed in the territories from North of the Black Sea. For mirrors in variations 6-7, the same scholar chooses the Bosporan region⁵⁴. This view expressed by A. A. Trufanov relies

^{46.} For a series of mirrors decorated on the reverse from the cemeteries on the territory of Crimea see Fig. 2-5, 12.

^{47.} Trufanov 2007, p. 176-178, 180, Fig. 1/11-12 (variation 2), Fig. 2/1-8, 5/2-3, 7-11 (variation 3A), Fig. 2/9-

^{12, 5/9 (}variation 3B), Fig. 3/3-6 (variation 4), Fig. 3/1-2, 7-9, 5/13 (variation 5).

^{48.} Trufanov 2007, p. 177, 178, Fig. 2/8-10, 3/7-9, 5/13.

^{49.} Trufanov 2007, p. 178-180, Fig. 4/1-8, 10-13 (variant 6A), Fig. 4/15-18 (variant 6B), Fig. 4/14, 19, 5/8 (variant 7), Fig. 5/12, 6/20 (variant 8).

^{50.} Trufanov 2007, p. 179.

^{51.} Kosyanenko 1994, p. 75-77, 25/1-5; Kosyanenko 2008, p. 114, 116, 117, Pl. 17/1-5; Krivosheev 2004, 119, Fig. II/15-16; Krivosheev 2005, p. 51, 96-97, Fig. 42/4-6, 43/3.

^{52.} Amiably information from Anastasiya Stoyanova (Sevastopol, Crimea). For the published specimens see Trufanov 2007, p. 179, Fig. 6/35; Puzdrovskij 2007, p. 153, Pl. 129/18).

^{53.} Trufanov 2007, p. 180. See also Puzdrovskij 2007, p. 153. For a series of more recent finds of decorated mirrors in Crimea see Puzdrovskij, Trufanov 2016, p. 13, 35, 42, 80, 86, Fig. 11/13-14, 55/1, 75/5, 143/12.154/6, 167/10, 170/4; Khrapunov 2013, p. 42-43, Fig. 34/15, 17-19.

^{54.} Trufanov 2007, p. 180.

on the view that in the Volga area and that South of the Urals, decorated mirrors emerge only by early 2^{nd} century and start to be broadly used only by mid this century⁵⁵.

Recently, subsequent to the analysis of the mirrors decorated on the back side from graves in the Meotian cemeteries, N. Yu. Limberis and I. I. Marchenko concluded these emerged in the region to the right of the Kuban river as early as the first half of the 1st century AD⁵⁶ (see Pl. XI). Such exemplars are characterised by massive disc, thickened rim and central disc projection⁵⁷, furthermore evidencing they originate from undecorated mirrors. The emergence of mirrors with decoration on the reverse in the first half of the 1st century AD may be indicative, according to the two authors, their possible parallel development with those undecorated with central disc projection⁵⁸.

At a careful examination of the brooches beside which these decorated mirrors were discovered in two Meotian graves dated to the first half of the 1^{st} century AD, it was noted they belong to another variant and date to the second half of the 1^{st} century – early 2^{nd} century AD⁵⁹. In the second half of the 1^{st} century AD also dates Gr 60v in cemetery 2 at Starokorsunskaya, whose grave goods also contained brooches of type Aucissa⁶⁰, Riha 5.2^{61} , whose date and use, in both the Barbarian environment and Roman provincial do not limit to mid- 1^{st} century AD⁶². In fact, subsequent to the analysis of the finds of Aucissa type brooches from Eastern Europe (149 exemplars) it was noted that in this geographical area they come from second half of the 1^{st} century – early 2^{nd} century AD graves, being rarely found in features dated mostly to the 2^{nd} century AD⁶³.

Mirrors with decoration on the reverse from the Meotian graves of the second half of the 1^{st} century – early 2^{nd} century AD have a significant thickness and preserved the central disc projection, while in the first half of the 2^{nd} century AD, these are still often found⁶⁴. In the case

^{55.} Skripkin 1984, p. 48.

^{56.} Limberis, Marchenko 2018.

^{57.} Limberis, Marchenko 2018, p. 202-204, 215, Fig. 1/1, 7.

^{58.} Limberis, Marchenko 2018, p. 215.

^{59.} See Bârcă 2021, p. 91. For instance, both the brooch in Gr 36 in cemetery 3 at Starokorsunskaya, as well the two in Gr 298 at Spornoe (see for this Limberis, Marchenko 2018, p. 202, 204, Fig. 1/2, 5-6) are smaller in size and belong to group 4, series I, variant 2 in V. V. Kropotov's typology (Kropotov 2010, p. 72, 74, Fig. 31-32), and not to variant 1 as argued by N. Yu. Limberis and I. I. Marchenko (Limberis, Marchenko 2018, p. 202, 204).

^{60.} Limberis, Marchenko 2018, p. 204, Fig. 1/8.

^{61.} Riha 1979, p. 114-120, Pl. 23-24; Riha 1994, p. 100-107, Pl. 18-19.

^{62.} See in this respect Böhme 1972, p. 11; Ettlinger 1973, p. 29, 93-96, type 29-30; Feugère 1985, p. 323-324; Riha 1979, p. 114-115; Riha 1994, p. 101-107; Cociş 2004, p. 78, Pl. XLV; for the finds and dating of such brooches in Crimea see Puzdrovskij 2007, p. 174, Fig. 194/5-6; Trufanov 2009, p. 201, 277, Fig. 52-3-6, while for those in the North-Pontic Sarmatae environment West of the Don see Kostenko 1993, p. 78, 81, 105, Fig. 24/22, 26/22; Simonenko 2008, p. 30, 65, Pl. 52/2, 55/5; Simonenko 2011, p. 19, 21, Fig. 10/1-2; Bârcă, Symonenko 2009, p. 157, Fig. 58/8; Bârcă 2011, p. 10-11, Fig. 1/8. In the latter, Aucissa brooches come from graves with marked Eastern features, which belonged to the new wave of Sarmatae arriving from the East once with the mid-1st century AD.

^{63.} See Kropotov 2010, p. 273, 276-279, 343, Fig. 77/II. For a series of new finds of Aucissa brooches see Akhmedov 2020. K. Hellström, based on views expressed by scholars on the chronology of the Aucissa brooches from the territories North the Black Sea, has recently suggested a dating of the artefacts in said area between late 1st century BC and early 3rd century AD (Hellström 2018, p. 102).

^{64.} See Limberis, Marchenko 2018, p. 204-215, Fig. 2/1, 6, 9, 4/5, 8, 5/1, 3, 5, 6/1, 7, 7/5, 8, 10, 12, 8/4, 6; Marčenko, Limberis 2008, Pl. 146/5, 161/3, 170/6, 180/5, 187/6, 190/4.

of some specimens in the latter time span, it is noted they are much thinner in cross-section, while the sizes of the central disc convexity are much smaller too. Starting from the first half of the 2nd century AD, decorated mirrors without projection in the central disc part are increasingly frequent in the Meotian environment⁶⁵. Regarding mirrors with decoration on the reverse from the Sarmatian Syraces environment of the Kuban region it was argued they are found in graves only beside 2nd century AD brooches⁶⁶.

Moreover, in the Kuban region, a fragmentary mould of compact greyish-yellow marl for casting such mirrors was discovered in the ancient town of Gorgippia⁶⁷ (Pl. XIII/5-6), on the North-Eastern coastline of the Black Sea. The artefact was discovered in house 11, in whose rooms and courtyard were identified several metal working related tools⁶⁸. In fact, at Gorgippia, a city part of the Bosporan kingdom, were discovered mirrors of the type with decoration on the reverse also in a few graves from the town's cemetery. Finds of such mirrors are also reported in cemeteries of other Bosporan cities⁶⁹. In the case of the mould of Gorgippia it must be mentioned it had on both wide sides of the fragment, rendered in depth mirrors with similar decoration, whose diameter was of ca. 4 cm. Both mirrors cast in these forms had the same ornament in relief.

Regarding mirrors of this type with decoration on the reverse from the Sarmatae milieu of the area between the Dnieper and Prut (Pl. VIII; X/1-2), it must be mentioned that their great majority date mainly to the 2nd century – first half of the 3rd century AD graves⁷⁰, yet emerged in this region, as seem to indicate certain finds, prior to mid-2nd century AD. In the same geographical area, some mirrors of the type are rarely found also in burials dated to the mid and second half of the 3rd century AD⁷¹ (see Pl. VIII/6-7, 11). Worth mention in the case of this area is the presence of a slate mould for casting such mirrors discovered at Lipceni (R. of Moldova)⁷². In the central part of the mould is rendered a tamga in the form of letter H, whose opposite ends are on one side rounded towards the interior in the form of a loop and in another, bent, still to the interior, at right angle. The diameter of the mirror on the mould is of 3.6-3.8 cm, the length of the handle being of 1.2 cm and the width of 1.3 cm. The tamga is 2 x 2 cm.

The mirrors of the type with decoration on the reverse are frequent to the 2nd -3rd century AD in the Eastern, Southern and South-Eastern territories of Romania (Pl. IX; X/3-6). They mainly come from Sarmatae graves⁷³, yet were discovered also within the graves and settlements in the area East of the Carpathians, ascribed to the Carpi, and to a smaller extent in settlements from Muntenia, ascribed to the Free Dacians⁷⁴. Moreover, their presence with both the Sarmatae

^{65.} Limberis, Marchenko 2018, p. 209, 213-215, Fig. 3/1, 4, 7, 4/1, 7/1. See also Marčenko, Limberis 2008, Pl. 118/6, 188/5.

^{66.} Marchenko 1996, p. 24.

^{67.} Novichihin 2021, p. 339-340, Fig. 2.

^{68.} Kruglikova 1985, p. 70-76.

^{69.} See Novichihin 2021, p. 341-342, with complete bibliography.

^{70.} Simonenko 2004, p. 152; Bârcă, Symonenko 2009, p. 246-249; Bârcă 2015, p. 47 with complete bibliography.

^{71.} Cf. Simonenko 2004, p. 152; Bârcă, Symonenko 2009, p. 247, Fig. 98/3, 6-7, 13; Bârcă 2021, p. 91, Fig. 4/6-7, 11, 10/4.

^{72.} Grosu 1983, 35-36, Fig. II/10.

^{73.} Bichir 1971, p. 280; Bichir 1977, p. 186,

^{74.} See Bichir 1973, p. 106-111, Bichir 1984, p. 51-52.

and the "Carpi" made Gh. Bichir term them as mirrors of *Sarmatae-Carpian type*⁷⁵. Given the archaeological facts and the diffusion area of these mirrors, it is obvious that such term is inadequate, even though their number in the "Carpian culture" environment is representative. In this respect, we wish to mention that although such mirrors were used in the Meotian or late Scythian environment, where their number is significantly higher compared to the "Carpian" setting, these were not termed *Sarmatae-Meotian* or *Sarmatae-Scythian mirrors*.

In the Eastern half of the territory South of the Carpathians were discovered also a few intact and fragmentary moulds for casting such mirror types. The first surviving almost complete is of clayish schist and come from the Bucharest-*Militari* settlement⁷⁶ (Pl. XIII/1-2), from where also come fragments of other three different moulds⁷⁷. Another mould made in clay, of a fine fabric, was discovered within the area of a possible (according to potshards) 2^{nd} century -4^{th} century settlement⁷⁸ within the range of Buriaş village, Periş commune (Ilfov county)⁷⁹ (Pl. XIII/3-4). To these is added the still novel exemplar found in 1977, in the 6^{th} century settlement of Dulceanca II, in the levelling layer by the base of a hut. According to C. Preda, it reached the area from a settlement of the Free Dacians located nearby⁸⁰.

Subsequent to the analysis of the appearance and decoration of mirrors of the type from Romania, it was succeeded to sketch a number of preliminary conclusions⁸¹: 1. Exemplars with hemispherical/conical projection in the central disc part and well-marked rim on the edge are represented by a few specimens; 2. Most mirrors are not large in sizes, are thin in cross-section and have poorly marked rims on the edge; 3. The central convexity of the disc is missing in most mirrors, while in exemplars where it is present, it is of small sizes; 4. The larger number, compared to other geographical areas with finds of specimens decorated with tamgas on the reverse; 5. The lack of finds in Romania of mirrors whose decoration consists of a rectangle/ square inscribed in a circle; 6. The lack of exemplars decorated with circles in the central part of from where start ornaments in the form of "bird feet" or rays with loops by the end, all inscribed in another circle; 7. The lack of "bird feet" decoration, those in the form of rays with loops by the end that start from the disc centre or those in the form of rays with volutes by the ends.

Gh. Bichir believed that the majority of mirrors of the type with decoration on the reverse discovered in Romania date to late 2^{nd} century – first half of the 3^{rd} century AD⁸² or in the 2^{nd} century – first half of the 3^{rd} century AD⁸³.

Upon a first examination of the features and contexts where mirrors with decoration on the reverse in the Eastern, Southern and South-Eastern territory of Romania were discovered, it was concluded they emerged there sometime by mid-2nd century AD, mainly originating from

^{75.} See Bichir 1971, p. 280, 285 with note 285; Bichir 1973, p. 108; Bichir 1977, p. 186.

^{76.} Bichir 1984, p. 24, Pl. XXX/5, LIV/1.

^{77.} Bichir 1972, p. 161; Bichir 1973, p. 109; Bichir 1984, p. 24, Pl. XXX/5, LIV/1.

^{78.} Preda 1986, p. 341, Fig. 1.

^{79.} Preda 1986, p. 341, Fig. 1; see also Niculescu 2003, Fig. 7/2. Constantin Preda located these in Prahova county (Preda 1986, p. 341).

^{80.} Preda 1986, p. 342-343.

^{81.} Bârcă 2021, p. 92.

^{82.} Bichir 1973, p. 111.

^{83.} Bichir 1976, p. 157.

second half of the 2^{nd} century – first half of the 3^{rd} century AD graves and contexts⁸⁴. Also, it was also noted there are cases when such mirrors were found in contexts whose dating may also include the first part of the second half of the 3^{rd} century AD⁸⁵.

The appearance and features of the artefacts from Romania are specific mainly to decorated mirrors dated to the second half of the 2^{nd} century – first half of the 3^{rd} century AD.

Mirrors of the type, with and without decoration on the reverse, so common for the Barbarian environment of the area between the Volga – the pre-mountain region of the Northern Caucasus and the Lower Danube – the Carpathians to the West, are missing from the Sarmatae milieu of the Great Hungarian Plain. Currently, in the latter is known only one such mirror with decoration on the reverse, yet which comes from the territory of the former Roman province of Pannonia inferior, at Dunaújváros (Intercisa)⁸⁶ (Pl. X/8). It is interesting that the central tamga, covering the central field of the item, is in the form of a swastika whose arms have strongly arched ends⁸⁷. This mark has very close parallels on mirrors from graves in the cemeteries of Crimea (Pl. V/7), the Meotian graves from the region to the right of the Kuban river (Pl. XI/211, 218, 219), those in the Kobyakovo cemetery (the right to the Lower Do) (Pl. VI/1) or northern Caucasus⁸⁸. In some cases, the four arms of the tamga start from a small circle or projection in relief in the mirror centre. Similar marks with the Dunaúiváros mirror also exist on mirrors from the "Carpian" environment (Pl. IX/24), and close, in the Sarmatae milieu of the Prut-Dniester⁸⁹ interfluve (Pl. VIII/7). Identical tamgas are found on the wooden harp from a Sarmatae grave at Kozyrka⁹⁰, the limestone plaque with tamgas from Panticapaeum⁹¹ and some pottery from graves in Crimea or the Caucasus⁹². Such tamgas are also found on parade spearheads in the Germanic milieu of the $2^{nd} - 3^{rd}$ century AD⁹³.

The emergence of this mirror type with decoration on the reverse in the East of this Roman province was related to the settling of the Carpi⁹⁴, recently though the Dunaújváros item was connected to the material culture of the Eastern Sarmatae⁹⁵.

^{84.} Bârcă 2021, p. 92.

^{85.} Bârcă 2021, p. 92.

^{86.} Istvánovits, Kulcsár 2003, p. 75-78; Istvánovits, Kulcsár 2006, p. 176, Fig. 2/6; Istvánovits, Kulcsár 2017, p. 243, Fig. 191/1; Bârcă 2018, p. 45, Fig. 2/2

^{87.} Distributed between the swastika arms, close to the mirror rim, are grouped two tamgas, in the letter "y" to the right and simple, wavy lines to the left.

^{88.} See Solomonik 1959, p. 37, Fig. VI/I, p. 141-142, no. 96; Abramova 1971, Fig. 1; Drachuk 1975, Pl. VIII/561, XVI/16, 38; Vysotskaya 1994, Fig. 35/4, Pl. 32/44; Yatsenko 2001, Fig. 6, 14/g, 18/1; Trufanov 2007. Fig. 3/9; Puzdrovskij 2007, Fig. 130/13; Khrapunov 2007, Fig. 9/2; Kosyanenko 2008, Pl. 16/2; Puzdrovskij, Trufanov 2016, Fig. 55/1; Limberis, Marchenko 2018, Fig. 2/6, 3/7, 4/8, 5/3.

^{89.} Rikman 1966, Fig. 8/1.

^{90.} Symonenko 1999, p. 111-114, Fig. 7/7, 9, 8/II, 1; Simonenko 2004a, p. 209-221; Fig. 15/7, 9, 16/b1; Yatsenko 2001, p. 77-78, Fig. 25/25; Bârcă 2018, Fig. 12/1, 13/11, 13. The Kozyrka grave is dated to late 1st century AD (Simonenko 2004a, p. 221).

^{91.} Drachuk 1975, p. 125, Pl. VIII/560.

^{92.} See in this respect Voronyatov 2009, 94, Fig. 4/6, 8.

^{93.} Yatsenko, Dobzhan'ska 2012, p. 504, Fig. 4/20; Voroniatov 2012, Fig. 9/20; Bârcă 2018, Fig. 15/20. For the adoption mechanism and use of the tamgas of a clan or Sarmatae group by the neighbouring peoples see Ol'khovskij 2001; Yatsenko 2001, p. 14-15, 22-23; Voronyatov 2009; Voroniatov 2012.

^{94.} Tóth 2005, p. 372-373, Fig. 8a.

^{95.} Kul'char et alii 2020, p. 213.

A mirror of the type comes from the intra-Carpathian area of Romania. The fragmentary item, lacking the rectangular side handle was discovered in the Sebeş-"Podul Pripocului" settlement (Alba county)⁹⁶. The reverse surface of this mirror is decorated centrally with two tamgas set one in front the other, in the form of volutes from whose middle start perpendicularly two spindles with outward loop⁹⁷ (see Pl. X/7). The tamgas have close or very close parallels in the North and North-Pontic area, many being specific to the region to the right of the Dnieper and dated to the second half of the 1st century – mid 3rd century AD⁹⁸.

On the presence of this mirror in the "Podul Pripocului" settlement it was argued that it reached Transylvania in the 3rd century AD through the Carpi⁹⁹, with the mention it is difficult to say whether this occurred during the AD 245 Carpian invasion or after AD 271¹⁰⁰. It is also believed that the mirror did not reach the intra-Carpathian area by trade and that it is indicative of the ethnic presence of the Sarmatae or the Carpi¹⁰¹, the latter preferably¹⁰². Also, it is considered that there are no reasons to ascribe this mirror to the Carpi and not the Sarmatae, the artefact very likely evidencing a Barbarian presence in this settlement¹⁰³.

Because its significance, yet mainly the function of the tamgas and the adoption mechanism by the neighbouring populations¹⁰⁴, it was concluded it did not reach the intra-Carpathian area by trade or exchanges, that it is very likely that among the Barbarians from the "Podul Pripocului" settlement were present also the Sarmatae, to whom this mirror belonged¹⁰⁵.

Such mirror finds are not known either in Serbia, where in the Northern part during the $3^{rd} - 4^{th}/5^{th}$ century AD there was consistent Sarmatian inhabitancy.

Without further more details, a few such mirrors decorated with tamgas on their back side were present in territories West of Europe, where they seem to have been used also later, during the start period of the Great Migrations¹⁰⁶. We believe that items from Western Europe have no chronological value in their find territory, being relics. The presence of such mirrors beside other artefact classes and Pontic and Caucasian elements, often of Sarmato-Alanic origin, discovered in Western Europe¹⁰⁷, are the result of movement of Alani groups together with other groups of Germanic populations from the East and Centre of Europe westwards, once with the

^{96.} Aldea 1971, p. 693; see also Bârcă 2021, p. 88.

^{97.} Bârcă 2021, p. 88, Fig. 1-2.

^{98.} For more details, see Bârcă 2021, p. 92-93.

^{99.} Aldea 1971, p. 698, 700.

^{100.} Aldea 1971, p. 700.

^{101.} Bichir 1973, p. 168; Bichir 1976, p. 157.

^{102.} Bichir 1973, p. 111, 168. Past any aspects and discussions, if one agrees that the mirror reached the area once with the Carpi invasion and settlements, then it is possible to also agree that among these were also present Sarmatae, since the Carpi also, similarly to other cultural/ethnic-political entities of the first centuries AD, were rather multi-ethnic conglomerate.

^{103.} Opreanu 1998, p. 104.

^{104.} For main and secondary functions of the tamgas see Ol'khovskij 2001; Yatsenko 2001, p. 14-15, 22-23; Voronyatov 2009.

^{105.} Bârcă 2021, p. 94-95.

^{106.} Kuznetsov 1996, p. 72, 74-75, Fig. 1/1, 5; Kazanski 1986, p. 35-36, Fig. 2; Kazanski 1995, p. 42, Fg. 7/2, 10; Kazanski 2020, p. 60, 66, Fig. 4/7, 9, 11/2; Kazanski 2020a, p. 837, Fig. 25.2/7, 9, 15; Kazanskij 2013, p. 149, Fig. 2/6, 10, 14, 19. 107. For a presentation of these finds see Kazanskij 2013; Kazanskij 2020; Kazanski 2020a with complete bibliography of the three studies.

Hunnic invasion, in the start period of the Great Migrations¹⁰⁸.

A few notes on the tamga on the back side

The tamga on the back side of the mirror in the "George Severeanu" Museum is complex, in the form of a vertically set rectangle, while the short sides are arched, elongated and placed symmetrically, having forked ends. Midway each of the long sides starts a perpendicular line (Pl. I). Unfortunately, there is no parallel for such complex tamga among the many tamgas on various classes of artefacts from the cultural environments where they were used during certain chronological periods.

For instance, tamgas in the form of a vertical rectangle whose sides are slightly arched are found on the reverse of mirrors from the Kobyakovo cemetery (right to the Lower Don)¹⁰⁹ (Pl. VI/12-13), yet these are missing the other elements. From the same cemetery comes a mirror whose reverse decoration contains a rectangle from whose corners start lines/rays joining with the rim on the mirror edge, while from midway the four sides starts a straight line/ray ending with an arched bracket¹¹⁰ (Pl. VI/14). From Crimea come decorated mirrors centrally with a tamga in the form of a rectangle with short arched sides elongated, which join the rim on the mirror edge. From the four sides start 4-5 straight lines each that join the rim on the edge¹¹¹ (Pl. V/13; XII/23). Also in the case of the latter compositions of tamgas, are noted significant differences.

Lines set symmetrically and split ends, yet which start from a central circle or from its vicinity are found on the reverse of the mirror in Gr 9 at Ostryj Mys (Ciscaucasia)¹¹² (see Pl. VII/1), as well as a series of mirrors in the Kobyakovo cemetery¹¹³ (Pl. VI/6) or the territory of Crimea¹¹⁴ (Pl. IV/13, 16). A forked arm, similar to that on the mirror in the "George Severeanu" Museum is found in the composition of the tamga on mirrors from the environment of the Sarmatian Syraces in the Kuban region¹¹⁵, yet also on one from the Meotian environment from the same region¹¹⁶. On the latter, the forked tamga appears in a composition together with lines with the ends divided into three branches or split in the form of outward wavy loops, all starting from the circle in the central mirror part.

We wish to mention here the presence on mirrors of tamgas formed on perpendicular lines with split ends in the form of outward wavy lines¹¹⁷ (Pl. II/19), yet also of those formed of perpendicular lines with ends divided in three branches with the appearance of "bird feet"¹¹⁸. The spot where the two perpendicular lines intersect is marked by a projection in relief. These tamgas are rarely found on the reverse of mirrors of the type from the entire area of their

^{108.} For a detailed analysis see Kazanski 2020; Kazanski 2020a; Kazanskij 2020.

^{109.} Kosyanenko 1994, p. 74-75, Fig. 25/3-4; Kosyanenko 2008, p. 114, 116, Fig. 17/3-4.

^{110.} Kosyanenko 1994, p. 75, Fig. 25/6; Kosyanenko 2008, p. 116, Fig. 17/6.

^{111.} Puzdrovskij 2007, Fig. 129/15; Trufanov 2007, Fig. 5/13, 6/23.

^{112.} Abramova 1993, p. 167, Fig. 66/40.

^{113.} Kosyanenko 1994, p. 71, Fig. 23/3; Kosyanenko 2008, p. 110, Fig. 15/3.

^{114.} Puzdrovskij 2007, Fig. 129/19-20.

^{115.} Marchenko 1996, Fig. 5/IX.2.

^{116.} Marčenko, Limberis 2008, Pl. 188/5.

^{117.} Trufanov 2007, Fig. 4/19, 6/33.

^{118.} Symonovich 1983, Pl. XLII/17.

diffusion. Much more frequent are tamgas formed of perpendicular lines with end divided into two or three branches ("bird feet") in more complex decoration. Such ornaments are mainly found on mirrors with decoration on the reverse from the territory of Crimea¹¹⁹ (see Pl. II/1-13, 15-18, 20; III/1-10) and to a much smaller extent on those in the Kuban region, the North of the Black Sea and the Volga and Lower Don area¹²⁰ (see Pl. VI/2-4, 16).

A somewhat more complex tamga with a series of elements similar to those on the mirror discussed here was rendered in the $2^{nd} - 3^{rd}$ century AD on the wall of tomb 1 in the Scythian Neapolis¹²¹. The latter is a vertical rectangle in each of the corners with a tamga in the form of lines with forked ends. These differentiate though from those on the mirror in the "George Severeanu" Museum by the fact that the forks have the form of outward wavy loops. Another differentiation of the tamga at Scythian Neapolis is that within the rectangle is located another tamga. Examining the latter, S. A. Yatsenko mentioned it is without a doubt a composition widely spread in the Iranian world evidencing a series of parallels for its scheme¹²².

Most part of the tamgas referenced above, either similar or close, or part of compositions, come from artefacts or contexts dated to the $2^{nd} - 3^{rd}$ century AD from Ciscaucasia, the Kuban region, Crimea, the North of the Black Sea and the Volga region and the Lower Don area.

Hence, it may be noted the lack of an identical tamga and the existence of complex tamgas which have only similar components with those from the tamga on the mirror in the collection of the George Severeanu¹²³ yet these cannot be entirely deemed parallels¹²⁴. Last but not least, it must be emphasized that tamgas with certain deviations must be deemed as belonging to other individuals, most likely, from within the same clan or tribe/group. In the case of complex tamgas, differentiations most likely indicate the presence to another clan or tribe/group.

Conclusions

Based on the above, it may be concluded that the mirror in the "Maria and dr. George Severeanu" Collection belongs to the type with a broad use in the area between the Volga and the Lower Danube in the 2nd century – first half of the 3rd century AD. These are rarely found in graves or contexts from the second half of the 3rd century, while the few items coming from the beginning of the great migrations period from the territories in Western Europe are relics.

These artefacts with decoration on the reverse were mainly specific to the Sarmatian world, being frequent in the Scythian environment of Crimea, yet they are also found in the environment of other cultural identifies of the geographical area comprised between the Volga and the Lower Danube. The main role in their diffusion on vast areas, including the territories located East and

^{119.} Symonovich 1983, Pl. XLII/10-11, 14-15, 19, 21; Vysotskaya 1994, Fig. 35/9; Pl. 13/53, 14/43, 21/9, 22/7, Puzdrovskij 2007, Fig. 130/1-12, 14-16, 18-19; Trufanov 2007, Fig. 4/1-13, 15-18, 5/5, 8, 12, 6/15-16, 21-22, 25-29, 32, 34, 36-37; Khrapunov 2013, Fig. 34/16-17; Puzdrovskij, Trufanov 2016, Fig. 11/13, 75/5, 143/12, 167/10.

^{120.} Solomonik 1959, Fig. VI/II; Abramova 1971, Fig. 1; Drachuk 1975, Pl. XVI/43-53; Arsen'eva 1977, p. 148, Pl. XXXVII/4; Kosyanenko 1994, p. 73-74, Fig. 24/3-6; Kosyanenko 2008, p. 112, 114, Fig. 16/3-6. Glukhov 2005, p. 15, Fig. 8/10.

^{121.} See Yatsenko 2001, p. 75-76, Fig. 24f.

^{122.} Yatsenko 2001, p. 76.

^{123.} See for this Solomonik 1959; Drachuk 1975; Yatsenko 2001.

^{124.} For tamgas deemed identical, related or without any connection one with the other, as well as the main creation means of new tamgas see Yatsenko 2001, p. 19-21, 25-26, 48-50.

South-East the Carpathians, where such artefacts were also produced at a specific time, had the Sarmatae. The use of these artefacts with decoration in relief on the reveres in different regions from such a spread geographical area indicates the existence of relations between individuals and groups of individuals from different cultural environments, these connections being determined by the individual and collective mobility which generated the transfer in the area of several artefact classes¹²⁵. The presence and use of these mirrors in the environment of several cultural identifies from certain regions of the area between the Volga – the pre-mountain region of Northern Caucasus and the Lower Danube – the Carpathians to the West indicate both the existence of relations between different cultural groups and the coexistence of some in certain regions for a period of time¹²⁶. An example in this respect is represented by territories of the first centuries AD in the East and South-East the Carpathians where several cultural groups coexisted, among which also the Sarmatae, who played an important role in their respective territories.

The appearance and features of the tamga on the back side of the mirror in the "Maria and dr. George Severeanu" Collection indicates it is closer to the complex tamgas or tamga compositions on mirrors from Ciscaucasia, the Kuban region, the Lower Don area and the territory of Crimea. The absence of mirrors of this type from Serbia and the Sarmatae setting of the Great Hungarian Plain and the lack of tamgas with similar appearance and features on the mirrors of the type in territories East and South-East of the Carpathians, where the number of artefacts of the type is significant, makes us believe the discussed item comes most likely from one of the mentioned Eastern territories. The presence in the "Maria and dr. George Severeanu" Collection of several artefacts coming from Crimea makes us believe it very likely comes from the latter territory, yet other variants are also possible.

The appearance, diameter, poorly marked edge, lack of central disc convexity and the fact the mirror is thin evidence it is part of the group of mirrors specific to the chronological time span between mid-2nd century – mid 3rd century AD.

Abbrevations:

T = tumulusGr = grave

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^{125.} Bârcă 2021, p. 93.

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Plate VI. Disc mirrors with decoration in relief and pierced side handle from the graves in the Kobyakovo (1-14) and Tanais cemeteries (15-16). 1. Gr 28/1959; 2. Gr 26/1962; 3. Gr 29/1956; 4. Gr 11/1961; 5. Gr 25/1957; 6. Gr 6/1956; 7. Gr 59/1957; 8. Gr 33/1961; 9. Gr 9/1957; 10. Gr 23/1962; 11. Gr 65/1957; 12. Gr 78/1957; 13. Gr 25/1962; 14. Gr 20/1961 (after Kosyanenko2008); 15. Gr 252; 16. Gr 171 (after Arsen'eva 1977). Without scale.

Planșa VI. Oglinzi discoidale cu decor în relief și mâner lateral perforat din mormintele necropolelor de la Kobyakovo (1-14) și Tanais (15-16). **1.** M 28/1959; **2.** M 26/1962; **3.** M 29/1956; **4.** M 11/1961; **5.** M 25/1957; **6.** M 6/1956; **7.** M 59/1957; **8.** M 33/1961; **9.** M 9/1957; **10.** M 23/1962; **11.** M 65/1957; **12.** M 78/1957; **13.** M 25/1962; **14.** M 20/1961 (după Kosyanenko 2008); **15.** M 252; **16.** M 171 (după Arsen'eva 1977). Fără scară.

Plate VII. Disc mirrors with decoration in relief and pierced side handle from the central regions of the Northern Caucasus (after Abramova 1993).

Planșa VII. Oglinzi discoidale cu decor în relief și mâner lateral perforat din regiunile centrale ale Caucazului de Nord (după Abramova 1993).

Plate VIII. Disc mirrors with decoration in relief and pierced side handle from the Sarmatae setting in Ukraine (1-11) and the R. of Moldova (12-23). 1. Akkermen' II, T 17 Gr 1; 2. Vasil'evka, T 27 Gr 1; 3. Krinichnoe, Gr 6; 4. Mayaki, T 3 Gr 6; 5. Ogorodnoe -2, M 4; 6. Vladychen', T 5 Gr 1; 7. Kurchi, T 13 Gr 1; 8. Vasil'evka, T 23 Gr 1; 9. Diviziya, T 2 Gr 1; 10. Kholmskoe, T 8; 11. Balki, T 12 Gr 1; 12. Mărcăuți (after Bârcă, Symonenko 2009); 13. Palanca, destroyed grave (after Kurchatov 2014); 14. Pașcani (after Grosu 1983); 15. Bădragii Noi – La Stânca, Gr 7 (after Kurciatov, Bubulici 1997); 16. Podojma, T 3 Gr 5 (after Bubulich, Khakheu 2002); 17. Bălābănești, T 3 (Borziac, Manzura, Levitskij 1983); 18. Brânzeni, Gr 4 (after Grosu 1985); 19. Camenca (after Manzura, Klochko, Savva 1992); 20. Cuconeștii Vechi-I, T 21 Gr 2; 21. Cuconeștii Vechi-II, T 38 Gr 1; 22. Cuconeștii Vechi-II, T 40 Gr 2 (after Dergachev 1982); 23. Comrat (after Rikman 1966). Without scale.

Planșa VIII. Oglinzi discoidale cu decor în relief și mâner lateral perforat din mediul sarmatic de pe teritoriul Ucrainei (**1-11**) și al R. Moldova (**12-23**). **1.** Akkermen' II, T 17 M 1; **2.** Vasil'evka, T 27 M 1; **3.** Krinichnoe, M 6; 4. Mayaki, T 3 M 6; **5.** Ogorodnoe -2, M 4; **6.** Vladychen', T 5 M 1; **7.** Kurchi, T 13 M

1; **8**. Vasil'evka, T 23 M 1; **9**. Diviziya, T 2 M 1; **10**. Kholmskoe, T 8; **11**. Balki, T 12 M 1; **12**. Mărcăuți (after Bârcă, Symonenko 2009); **13**. Palanca, mormânt distrus (după Kurchatov 2014); **14**. Pașcani (după Grosu 1983); **15**. Bădragii Noi – *La Stânca*, M 7 (după Kurciatov, Bubulich 1997); **16**. Podojma, T 3 M 5 (după Bubulich, Khakheu 2002); **17**. Bălăbănești, T 3 (Borziac, Manzura, Levitskij 1983); **18**. Brânzeni, M 4 (după Grosu 1985); **19**. Camenca (după Manzura, Klochko, Savva 1992); **20**. Cuconeștii Vechi-I, T 21 M 2; **21**. Cuconeștii Vechi-II, T 38 M 1; **22**. Cuconeștii Vechi-II, T 40 M 2 (după Dergachev 1982); **23**. Comrat (după Rikman 1966). Fără scară.

Plate IX. Disc mirrors with decoration in relief and pierced side handle from the Sarmatae (1-17) and Carpian environment (18-25) from the territory of Romania. 1. Uncești, Gr 2; 2. Bârlad-Fabrica de confecții; 3. Ciocani (after Palade 1979); 4. Cioinagi, Gr 4 (photo Alexandru Bădescu);5. Brăila-*Radu Negru* (after Oţa, Sîrbu 2009) 6. Tîrgşor, Gr 198; 7. Tîrgşor, Gr 200 (after Diaconu 1965); 8. Borduşelu, Gr 1; 9. Pietroiu, Gr 1 (after Muşeţeanu, Lungu 1978); 10. Bucu, Gr 6; 11. Bucu, Gr 8 (after Renţa 2000); 12. Ulmeni, Gr 3 (after Morintz, Ionescu 1970); 13. Călăraşi, Gr 7 (after Sîrbu*et alii* 2014); 14. Dridu-sat, Gr 1; 15. Dridu-tell, Gr 2 (after Sîrbuet alii 2014); 16. Călăraşi, Gr 1; 17. Însurăţei-canalul de irigaţie (after Oţa, Sîrbu 2009); 18. Pădureni, Gr 9; 19. Butnăreşti, Gr 7²; 20. Pădureni, Gr 14; 21. Pădureni, Gr 60; 22-23. Vârteşcoiu; 24. Pădureni, Gr 34; 25. Pădureni, Gr 77 (after Bichir 1973). Without scale.

Planşa IX. Oglinzi discoidale cu decor în relief şi mâner lateral perforat din mediul sarmatic (1-17) şi carpic (18-25) de pe teritoriul României. 1. Unceşti, M 2; 2. Bârlad-*Fabrica de confecții*; 3. Ciocani (după Palade 1979); 4. Cioinagi, M 4 (foto Alexandru Bădescu); 5. Brăila-*Radu Negru* (după Oţa, Sîrbu 2009) 6. Tîrgşor, M 198; 7. Tîrgşor, M 200 (după Diaconu 1965); 8. Borduşelu, M 1; 9. Pietroiu, M 1 (după Muşeţeanu, Lungu 1978); 10. Bucu, M 6; 11. Bucu, M 8 (după Renţa 2000); 12. Ulmeni, M 3 (după Morintz, Ionescu 1970); 13. Călăraşi, M 7 (după Sîrbu *et alii* 2014); 14. Dridu-*sat*, M 1; 15. Dridu-*tell*, M 2 (după Sîrbu *et alii* 2014); 16. Călăraşi, M 1; 17. Însurăţei-*canalul de irigaţie* (după Oţa, Sîrbu 2009); 18. Pădureni, M 9; 19. Butnăreşti, M 72; 20. Pădureni, M 14; 21. Pădureni, M 60; 22-23. Vârteşcoiu; 24. Pădureni, M 34; 25. Pădureni, M 77 (după Bichir 1973). Fără scară.

Plate X. Disc mirrors with decoration in relief and pierced side handle from the territory of R. of Moldova (1-2), Romania (3-7) and Hungary (8). 1. Mălcăuți (after Vornic, Matveev 2016); 2. Palanca (photo Ion Tentiuc & Valeriu Bubulici © National History Museum of Moldova); 3. Poienești, Gr 1002 (after Spânu 2019); 4. Vorniceni-*Pod Ibăneasa*, Gr 1 (after Ciucălău 2018); 5. Mitoc-*Malu Galben*, Gr 1 (after Grumeza 2021); 6. Vârteșcoiu (http://clasate.cimec.ro/detaliu.asp?tit=Oglinda%E2%80%93Oglinda&k=AF24914D6C1D4D3CAF7EDB94DEB138EE); 7. Sebeș-*Podul Pripocului* (after Bârcă 2021); 8. Dunaújváros (after Istvánovits, Kulcsár 2017). Without scale.

Planşa X. Oglinzi discoidale cu decor în relief şi mâner lateral perforat de pe teritoriul R. Moldova (1-2), României (3-7) şi Ungariei (8). 1. Mălcăuți (după Vornic, Matveev 2016); 2. Palanca (foto Ion Tentiuc & Valeriu Bubulici © Muzeul Național de Istorie a Moldovei); 3. Poienești, M 1002 (după Spânu 2019); 4. Vorniceni-*Pod Ibăneasa*, M 1 (după Ciucălău 2018); 5. Mitoc-*Malu Galben*, M 1 (după Grumeza 2021); 6. Vârteșcoiu (http://clasate.cimec.ro/detaliu.asp?tit=Oglinda%E2%80%93Oglinda&k=AF24914 D6C1D4D3CAF7EDB94DEB138EE); 7. Sebeș-*Podul Pripocului* (după Bârcă 2021); 8. Dunaújváros/Dunapentele (după Istvánovits, Kulcsár 2017). Fără scară.

Plate XI. Chronology of the disc mirrors with decoration in relief and side pierced handle from the Meotian environment. **I** – first half of the 1st century AD; **II** – the second half of the 1st century AD; **III** – first half of the 2nd century AD; **IV** – the second half of the 2nd century AD (after Limberis, Marchenko 2018).

Planșa XI. Cronologia oglinzilor discoidale cu decor în relief și mâner lateral perforat din mediul meot. **I** - prima jumătate a secolul I p.Chr.; **II** – a doua jumătate a secolului I p.Chr.; **III** – prima jumătate a secolului II p.Chr.; **IV** – a doua jumătate a secolului II p.Chr. (după Limberis, Marchenko 2018).

Plate XII. Chronology of the disc mirrors with decoration in relief and side pierced handle from the

cemeteries in Crimea. I – last third of the 1^{st} century AD; II – first half of the 2^{nd} century AD;; III – the second half of the 2^{nd} century AD; IV – first half of the 3^{rd} century AD; V- the second half of the 3^{rd} century AD (after Trufanov 2007).

Planșa XII. Cronologia oglinzilor discoidale cu decor în relief și mâner lateral perforat din necropolele de pe teritoriul Crimeei. **I** – ultimul sfert al secolului I p.Chr.; **II** – prima jumătate a secolului II p.Chr.; **IV** – prima jumătate a secolului III p.Chr.; **V** – a doua jumătate a secolului III p.Chr. (după Trufanov 2007).

Plate XIII. Mould and mould fragments for casting mirrors with decoration in relief on the reverse. **1-2.** Bucharest -*Militari* (1- after Bichir 1984, 2 – photo Vasile Opriş); **3-4.** Buriaş-Periş (after Preda 1986); **5-6.** Gorgippia (after Novichihin 2021).

Planșa XIII. Tipare și fragmente de tipare pentru turnat oglinzi cu decor în relief pe revers. **1-2.** București-*Militari* (1- după Bichir 1984, 2 – foto Vasile Opriș); **3-4.** Buriaș-Periș (după Preda 1986); **5-6.** Gorgippia (după Novichihin 2021).



Plate I.

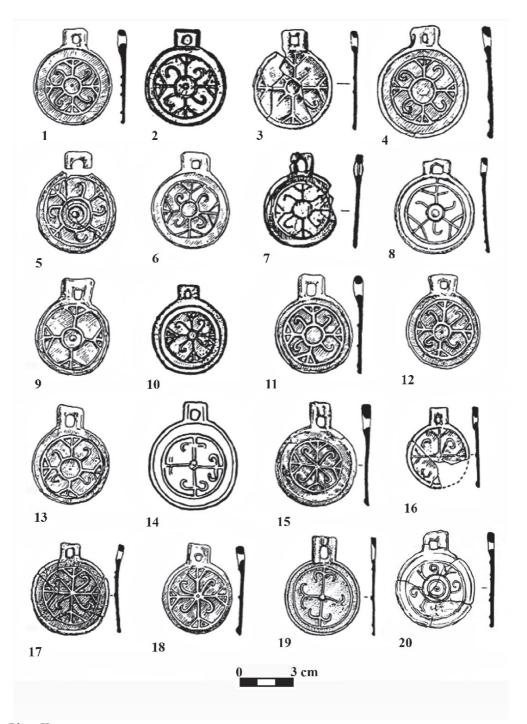
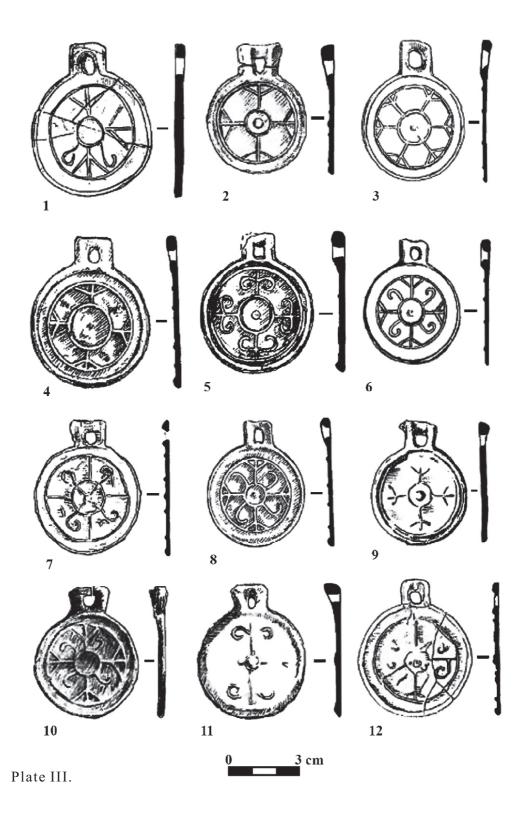
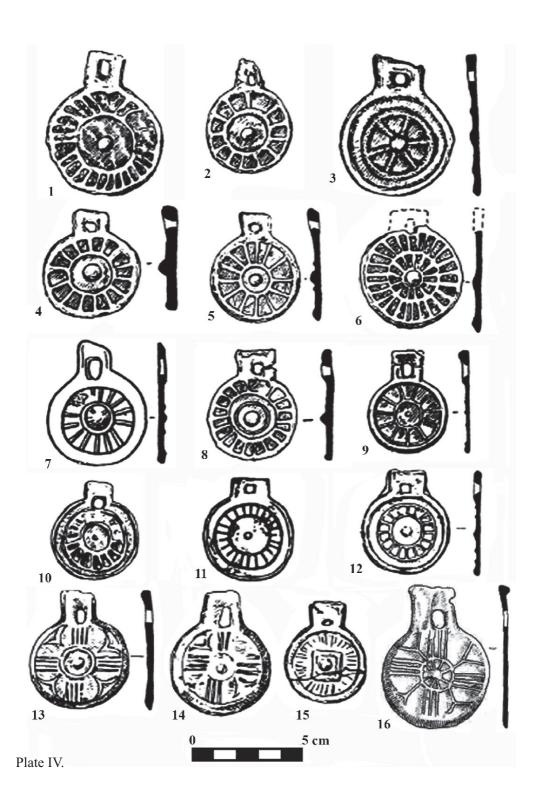


Plate II.





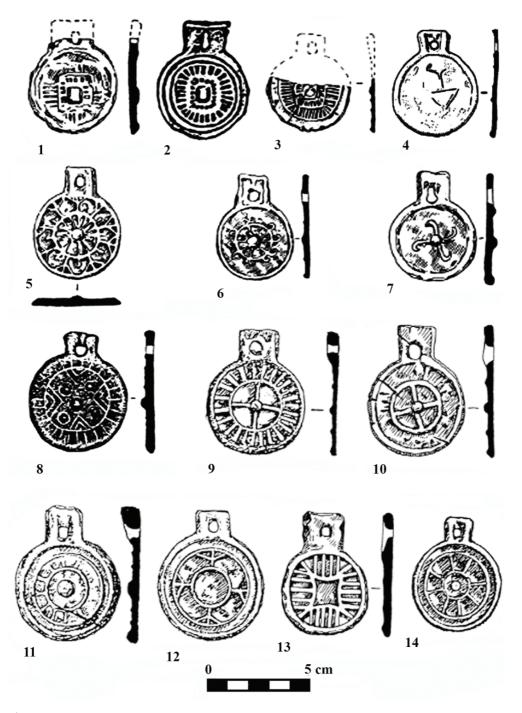


Plate V.

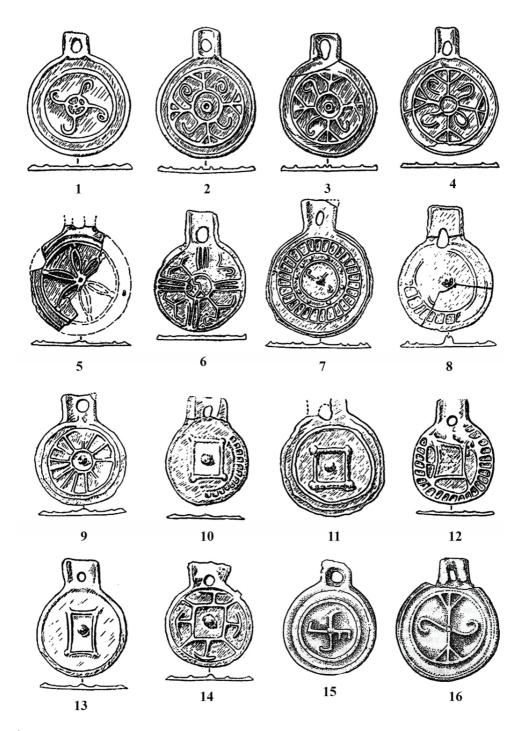


Plate VI.

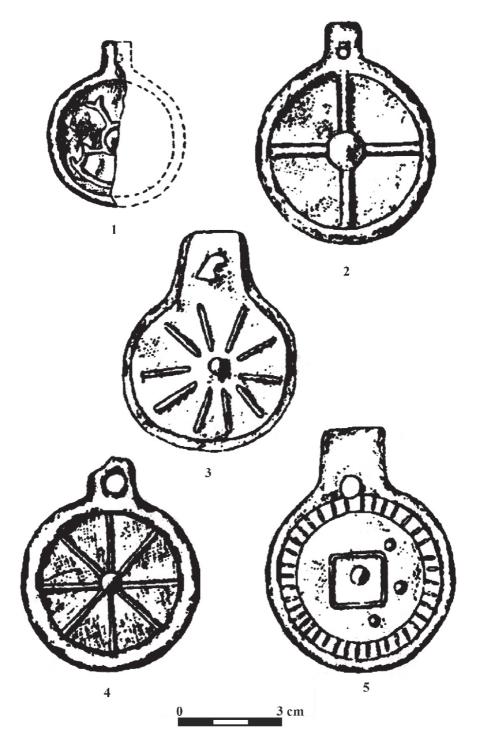


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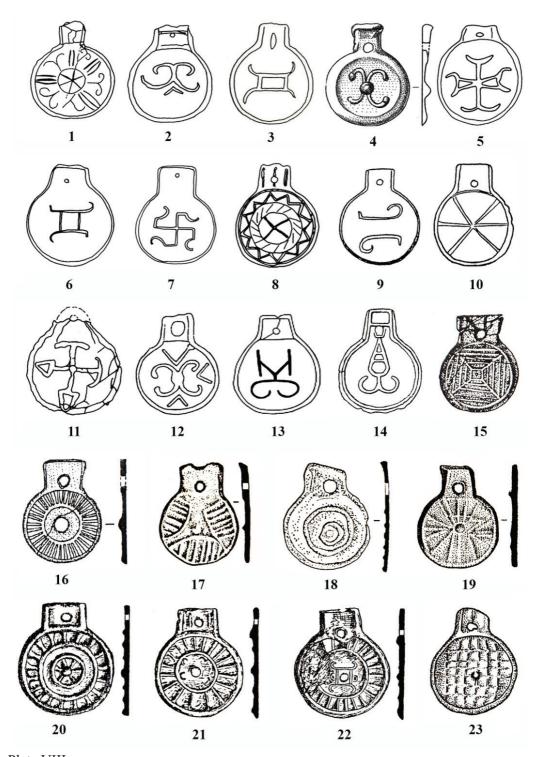


Plate VIII.

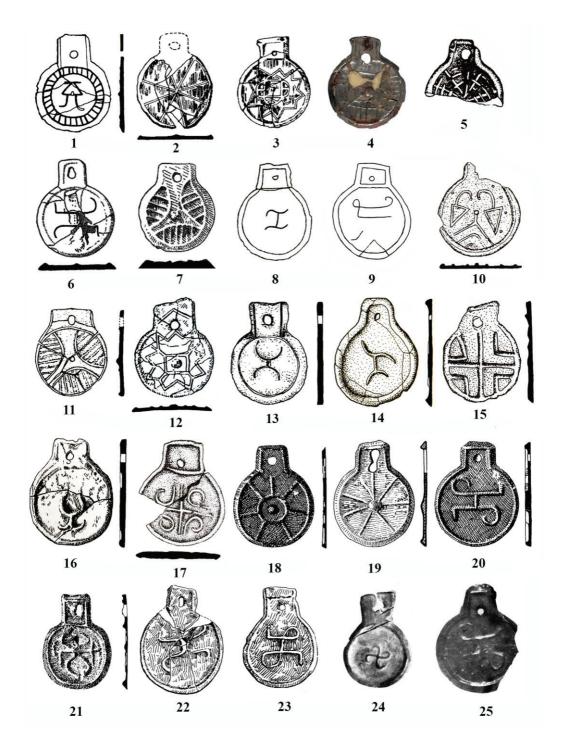


Plate IX.



Plate X.

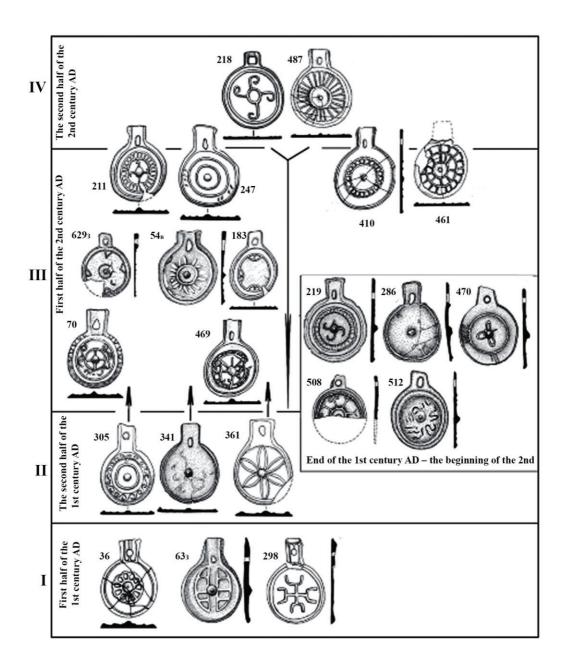


Plate XI.

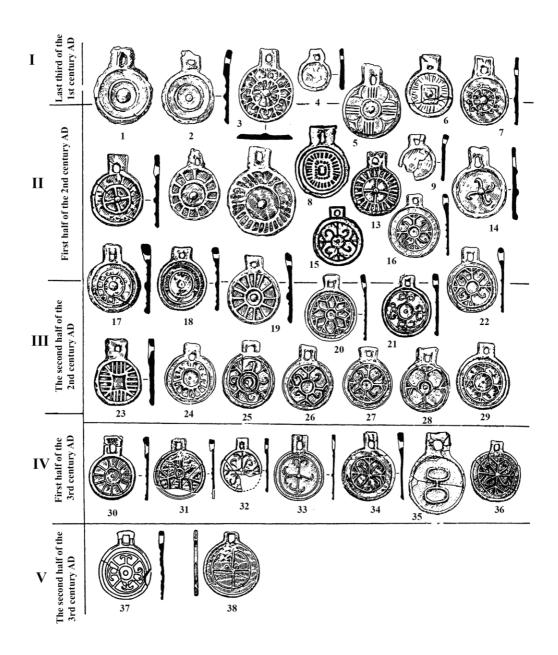


Plate XII.

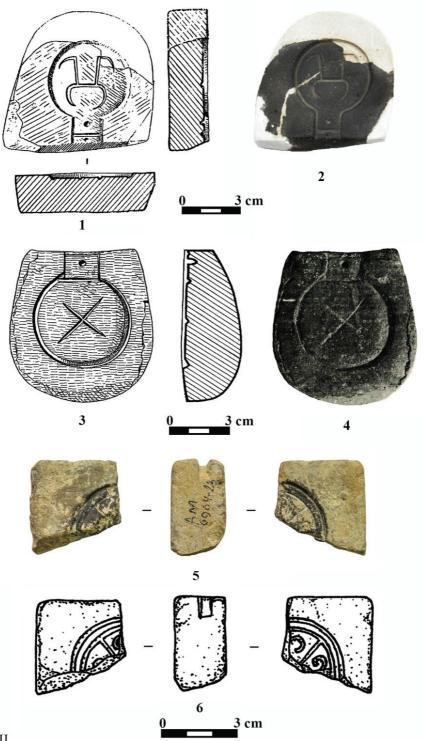


Plate XIII.