Archaeologia Polona, vol. 62: 2024, 225–241 PL ISSN 0066-5924 DOI: 10.23858/APa62.2024.3595

The Dnipro Left Bank Forest-Steppe Region in the Hunnic Period

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The article deals with the ethno-cultural situation in the Dnipro Left Bank Forest-Steppe region during the Hunnic period based on a consideration of material from the sites discovered in this region, primarily burial sites, that contain finds from the last quarter of the 4th – the first half of the 5th century B.C.

The sites were divided into three groups: 1) burials of nomads with some elements of Cherniakhiv culture; 2) "syncretic" burials of the Cherniakhiv culture with nomadic elements; 3) sites of Cherniakhiv culture. The existence of these sites is caused by contacts between the nomadic world and the Cherniakhiv population, who may be classified as farmers. These active contacts demonstrate different degrees of incorporation of nomads into the Cherniakhiv environment.

The description of the burials that belong to these groups is presented in the article. Among them, burial 124 of the Shyshaky cemetery can be mentioned here. Due to the size of the grave and individual finds, this burial complex stands out among the sites of the Cherniakhiv culture and should be classified as belonging to the burials of princes.

Based on archaeological finds, it can be stated that the arrival of the Huns did not cause catastrophic consequences for the population of the Dnipro Left Bank Forest-Steppe region. At that time, it was not a decline, but a development of the culture of the nomads (the Alans) and also the settled population of the Cherniakhiv culture.

KEY-WORDS: the Dnipro Left Bank Forest-Steppe region, the Hunnic period, Cherniakhiv culture, nomads, burials, cemeteries

The Dnipro Left Bank Forest-Steppe area covers the territory of the forest-steppe from the latitude where the city of Kyiv is located in the north to the basin of the Vorskla

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River with its left tributaries – the Kolomak and Merla rivers in the south-east. From the west, the region is bounded by the Dnipro River. During over a hundred years of research of the Dnipro Left Bank Forest-Steppe region, a significant amount of information has been accumulated, which informs us about the process of settling the region in the second half of the 3rd – the first half of the 5th century. The great number of sites of the Late Roman period for this large region of Ukraine is represented by several hundred well-known villages, burial grounds and individual burials, a lot of which are known due to archaeological exploration (Abashyna *et al.*, 2019). Obviously, their number here can be more than a thousand.

The information about the chronology of cultural sites in the region is only available for those where stationary archaeological excavations have been held. So, to illustrate the available sources, it is possible to provide information about the research of sites of the Cherniakhiv culture in the Poltava region (Abashyna *et al.*, 2019). According to recent studies, 356 Cherniakhiv sites have been recorded in this region, but only 15 burial grounds or individual burials and 18 villages and individual objects have been excavated by archaeologists (Fig. 1). These are only 10 per cent of all known ones. A similar situation is also observed in other areas of the Dnipro Left Bank Forest-Steppe region. In addition, a significant part of the results of archaeological research have not been published, and some of the material found during excavations has even been lost.

Based on the study of the main part of the available archaeological sources, many scientists had the opinion that, with the appearance of the Huns in the last quarter of the 4th century AD, sites of the Cherniakhiv culture ceased to exist (either as a result of defeat by nomads or as a result of evacuation, mainly within the borders of the Roman Empire). This process also coincided with information from Late Antique and Byzantine sources, which described the invasion of the Huns as a natural disaster that swept away everything in its path.

If the traditional thesis about the polyethnicity of the Cherniakhiv archaeological culture is taken formally, associating its bearers almost with the East Germanic tribes of the Goths, then we get the opinion that dominated throughout most of the 20th century, and today it is also quite common in historiography. This states that with the appearance of the Huns, the Cherniakhiv culture ceased to exist, and its former bearers migrated to the West or were completely destroyed by newly arrived nomads.

The results of archaeological research on individual burials of the Hunnic period during the 20th century had practically no influence on such opinions. However, the research of the last decades in the territory of the Dnipro Left Bank Forest-Steppe area provides good reasons for changing views on the region's history from the last quarter of the 4th to the first half of the 5th century.

Today, the sites of the Cherniakhiv culture in the Dnipro Left Bank Forest-Steppe region, where materials from the Hunnic era were found, make up an important group

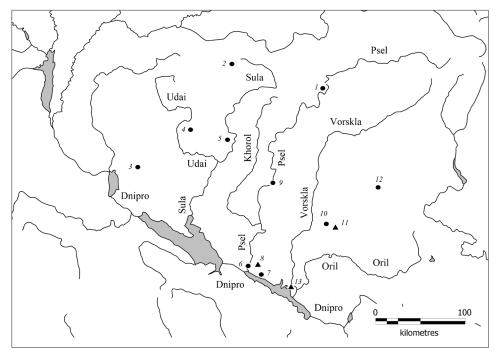


Fig. 1. Map of location of sites of the Dnipro Left Bank Forest-Steppe region in the Hunnic period: 1. Sumy-Sad; 2. Uspenka; 3. Sosnova; 4. Voskresenske; 5. Lokhvytsia; 6. Dmytrivka-3; 7. Kompaniitsi; 8. Lavrykivka; 9. Shyshaky; 10. Kantemyrivka; 11. Storozhove; 12. Viitenky; 13. Yaremenky (Orlyk). Graphic design: R. Reida.

(Fig. 1). Within the borders of that region, they are distributed quite evenly across the landscape, which, in our opinion, is quite indicative, if not for their number, then at least for their prevalence.

On the other hand, the number of sites containing materials from the Hunnic period is currently significant, even taking into account the total number researched by archaeological excavations. Here we mean burial sites, while the quantity of recorded and researched settlements with such complexes is insignificant. Therefore, in this text, the primary attention is directed to burials of the Hunnic era.

In our opinion, the sites of the Hunnic period of the Dnipro Left Bank Forest-Steppe area can be divided into three types: 1) burials of nomads with some elements of Cherniakhiv culture; 2) "syncretic" burials of the Cherniakhiv culture with nomadic elements; 3) sites of Cherniakhiv culture.

This division, as was already mentioned, is quite relative today, due to the insufficient number of researched sites of the first two groups. This is caused by the contact between the nomads and the farmers (it is assumed) represented archaeologically by the Cherniakhiv culture. The sites were discovered in the Dnipro Left Bank Forest-Steppe territory in the lower reaches of the Vorskla River, where probably, this "border" passed (Fig. 1).

The first group (sites of nomads with elements of Cherniakhiv culture) includes two sites: a burial ground near the village of Storozhove, located on the right bank of the Kolomak River, and a separate burial ground near the village of Yaremenky near the mouth of the Vorskla River.

The cemetery near the village of Storozhove is a group of barrow burials, some of which (Fig. 2) date to the late Roman period. According to the excavators of the site, the group of nomads, members of which were buried here in ledged pits and catacombs, were associated with the Alans (Luhovyi and Kovalenko 2013: 111–120). The study of the burial ground has been completed, but only a part of the materials has been published so far. As a result of ancient looting, some of the artefacts were apparently lost. However, certain materials found in the burials and published by the authors of the research can help date the complexes: the second half – the end of the 4th century AD, which is the beginning of the Hunnic era. In particular, in the disturbed Burial 1 of Barrow10 in a ledged pit, an assemblage of pottery was found: a Late Antique amphora (type F according to D. B. Shelov 1978: 19; Fig. 2:11), a two-handled jug (Fig. 2:10) and a bowl (Fig. 2:9) of the Cherniakhiv culture, as well as a handmade clay cup (Fig. 2:8) and a miniature dish (Fig. 2; Kovalenko and Luhovyi 2016: 132–139).

Another burial (Burial 1) in Barrow 8 of the same cemetery was discovered in a catacomb. According to the excavators, it contained materials that allow us to date it to the end of the 4th century AD, that is, the Early Hunnic period (Fig. 2).

The items from classical antiquity (amphora) and wheel-made dishes of the Cherniakhiv culture in the burials of this small, possibly family group of burials, as well as clothing details (belt buckles) testify that there were active contacts between the nomadic and settled population at the beginning of the Hunnic period in the region of the middle reaches of the Vorskla River (Fig. 2). At the same time, the cemetery itself creates the impression that it one of the nomads.

Another site, classified as belonging to the first group of burials as outlined above, is the grave of a warrior found near the village of Yaremenky, located near the mouth of the Vorskla River (Fig. 3). The complex was discovered accidentally and the finds are now in the Poltava Museum of Local Lore. The detailed circumstances of the discovery and the type of burial structure remain unknown. The material recovered includes (Fig. 3): 1) a single-bladed iron dagger; 2) five fragments of a double-edged sword; 3) an iron knife; 4) fragments of a silver two-piece fibula with returned foot (Fig. 3:1);

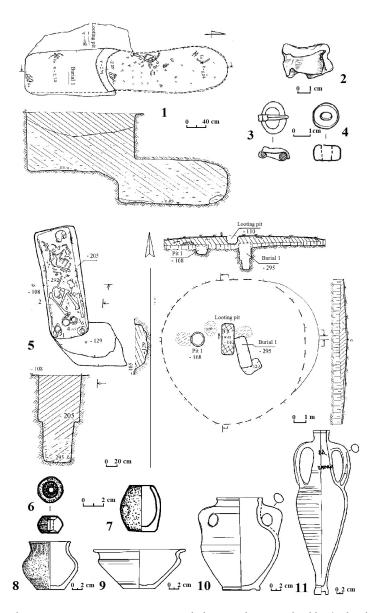


Fig. 2. Storozhove cemetery. 1, 5 – Barrow 8 general plans; 2 – bone; 3 – buckle; 4 – bead; 5 – Barrow 10 general plans; 6 – spindle whorl; 7 – miniature dish; 8 – handmade clay cup; 9 – bowl; 10 – jug; 11 – amphorae; material: 2 – bone; 3 – silver; 4 – amber; 6–11 – ceramics. 1–4 – Barrow 8, the grave. The end of the 4th century AD (after Kovalenko and Luhovyi 2016: 135–138). 5–11 – Barrow 10. The end of the 4th century AD (after Luhovyi and Kovalenko 2013: 111–120).

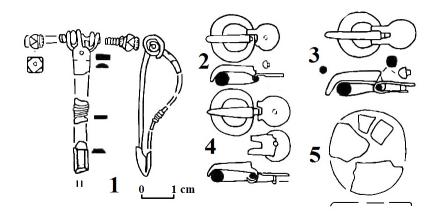


Fig. 3. Yaremenky. Artefacts from a warrior's burial (separate things). The first quarter – the middle of the 5th century AD. 1 – fibula; 2–4 – buckles; 5 – badge (pendant?); material: 1–5 – silver (Levchenko 1988: 43–44). Drawing: H. Nekrasova, after Oblomskiy 2002: 242.

5) three silver buckles (Fig. 3:2–4); 6) fragments of a silver badge (pendant?; Fig. 3:5); 7) sharpener; 8) grindstone (Levchenko 1988: 43–44).

The Yaremenky complex dates to the first quarter – the middle of the 5th century AD, which is the Late Hunnic period. (Levchenko 1988: 43–44; Gorokhovskyi 1988: 18–19).

As we can see, the first group of sites, despite its small number, has important features: nomadic elements (types of burial structures, handmade pottery), weapons and also Cherniakhiv and Roman imports. Located in the south-eastern part of the area of the Cherniakhiv culture, the first group of burials at the same time reflects the contacts of nomads with the settled population.

The second group of sites, which we call "syncretic", also has a number of features. As in the first group, its complexes contain items produced by Cherniakhiv craftsmen and but also imports from the Roman world. At the same time, the number of purely nomadic elements of material culture is noticeably reduced, and the complex itself looks like a "classical" Cherniakhiv one. At the same time, nomadic elements are preserved, which relate mainly to the method of arranging the burial: interment under a barrow or a burial in a barrow of previous eras, in a catacomb, in an undercut grave or in a ledged pit. This second "syncretic" group contains burials from two sites, the Kantemyrivka necropolis (Fig. 4) and a separate burial site explored near the village of Lavrykivka (Fig. 5).

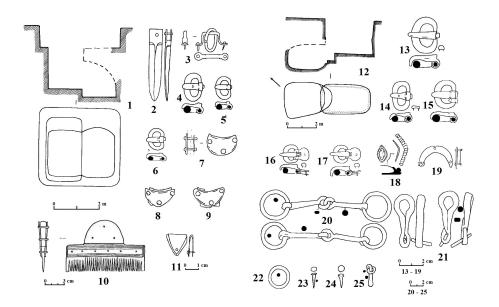


Fig. 4. Kantemyrivka cemetery. 1–11 – barrow 1 (separate things). The last quarter of the 4th – the first third of the 5th century AD. 12–25 – barrow 3 (separate things). The last quarter of the 4th – the first third of the 5th century AD. 1 – barrow 1 general plans; 12 – barrow 3 general plans; 2 – strap-end; 3 – detail (small box; wooden bowl?); 4–6, 13–17 – buckles; 7–11, 19 – belt mounts; 10 – comb; 18 – badge; 20 – horse bits; 21 – metal details; 22 – ring; 23–24 – tacks; 25 – hanger with ring; material: 4–6, 14–17, 19 – bronze; 10 – horn; 2, 3, 7–11, 13 – silver; 18 – gold, almandine; 20–21, 23–25 – iron; 22 – gold. Drawing: M. Rudynskyi, H. Nekrasova, after Oblomskiy 2002: 240–241.

Three barrows of Kantemyrivka were researched in 1924, and in the period after World War II, in 1948, the flat graves of this cemetery were explored. The fact that there are graves without mounds next to the burials in the barrows and the location near a settlement of the Cherniakhiv culture theoretically allow us to attribute the entire complex to the Cherniakhiv culture. Without thinking about the denial of this opinion established in historiography, we propose placing Kantemyrivka into a separate group of syncretic sites.

Three barrows contained burials in an undercut grave (No. 1; Fig. 4:1), a ledged pit (No. 2), and a catacomb (No. 3; Fig. 4:12). These burials included pottery of the Cherniakhiv culture (Abashyna *et al.*, 2019: 104–105). In addition to the late-Sarmatian and Alanic methods of arranging burials and barrow mounds, the studied barrows contained the personal belongings and equipment of nomads.

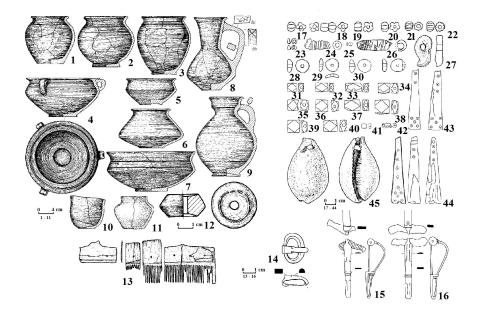


Fig. 5. Finds from the burial in the barrow near the village Lavrykivka. Early Hunnic period.
1-3 – cooking pots; 4-7 – bowls; 8-9 – jugs; 10–11 – beakers; 12 – spindle whorl; 13 – comb;
14 – buckle; 15–16 – fibulas; 17–26, 28–42 – beads; 27, 43–45 – pendants; material: 1–12 – ceramics;
13 – horn; 14–16 – bronze; 17–25 – monochrome glass; 26 – polychrome glass; 28–30 – amber;
31–40 – cornelian; 41–42 – coral; 27, 43–44 – animal bone; 45 – mollusc (Cypraea pantherina).
After Suprunenko and Hopkalo 2014.

For example, a game cube and glass tokens, silver shackles and a mount with a ring (probably from a wooden bowl hung on a belt) were found in Barrow 1 (Rudynskyi 1930: 139). Comparable artefacts and their remains were also found in Barrow 2, which was obviously much more heavily looted (Rudynskyi 1930: 139–141): fragments of pottery, glass, a belt buckle and fragments of two iron four-sided rods (according to the traditions of Cherniakhiv accompaniment and equipment). Two pairs of iron horse bits and fragments of other iron harness parts were found in Barrow 3 (Rudynskyi 1930: 144–147).

The remains of accompanying food were also characteristic of nomadic traditions: chickens, roosters and sheep remains in Barrow 1, sheep remains in Barrow 2, sheep and horse remains in Barrow 3 (Rudynskyi 1930).

The barrow burial complex in Kantemyrivka has been in use for some time. The earliest of these burials is in Barrow 2, dated to the second half – the end of the 4th century; Barrows 1 and 3 are later; they may be dated to the first third of the 5th century (Gorokhovskyi 1988). Accordingly, the group of barrow burials belongs to the Early Hunnic period.

Also ten graves without mounds were explored, including six inhumation burials and four cremations, which is quite common for the graves of the Cherniakhiv culture. The graves without mounds near Kantemyrivka did not contain items which could help date them. Of course, this does not mean the automatic dating of this burial ground group at the time of the creation of barrow burials.

Another researched burial near the village Lavrykivka was in a barrow of the Bronze Age (Fig. 5). Due to objective reasons, it was not possible to examine the structure of the burial, however, the researchers assume the possibility that this was an undercut grave (Suprunenko and Hopkalo 2014: 205).

It was the burial of a female 9–11 – year-old child (Suprunenko and Hopkalo 2014: 220). It had a noticeable number of personal belongings and accompaniment (Fig. 5). Among the ceramics found in the burial, there was a handmade vessel jarshaped, which apparently served as a cup (Fig. 5). The chronological indicators from this burial allow us to attribute it to the Early Hunnic period (Suprunenko and Hopkalo 2014: 220).

The features of this grave (burial in a barrow, possible construction of a chamber, some objects) allow us to attribute it to the burial of nomads. At the same time, the vast majority of accompanying and individual items from the burial are quite usual for the burial tradition of the Cherniakhiv culture. It is possible that with the increase of the number of researched burials, it is quite possible that in future the first and second groups may be combined into one.

Finally, the "classical" Cherniakhiv sites of the Dnipro Left Bank Forest-Steppe area belong to the third, the most numerous, group of burials with complexes of the Hunnic period.

On our map of the region, there are nine sites of this group (cemeteries of Sumy-Sad, Uspenka, Sosnova, Voskresenske, Lokhvytsia, Kompaniytsi, Viytenky, Shyshaky; and the settlement Dmytrivka-3). All the mentioned sites, except for Dmytrivka-3, have burials of the pre-Hunnic period, and the complexes of the Hunnic period are not quantitatively predominant. Sites with Hunnic materials of the Cherniakhiv culture are recorded throughout the Dnipro Left Bank Forest-Steppe region. Their relatively small number is mainly explained by the fact that only a few of them have been excavated.

We will not discuss all the listed sites in detail. They are described in a recently published article by O. V. Petrauskas "The Cherniakhiv Culture and the Huns" (Petrauskas 2021). The characteristic features of burials of the Hunnic era in the Cherniakhiv cemeteries are: 1) the variety of constructions of burial structures and their orientation relative to the cardinal points; 2) availability of Roman imports; 3) different grave equipment; 4) the appearance of new features; 5) burials of princes.

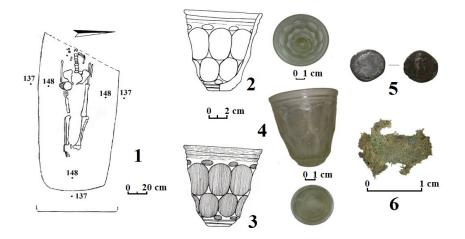


Fig. 6. Shyshaky cemetery of the Cherniakhiv culture. Burial 39. The first half of the 5th century AD.
1 – general plan; 2–4 – glass beaker; 5 – silver coin (denarius of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius);
6 – fragment of silk. Graphic design: R. Reida.

In our opinion, the most interesting site of the Hunnic period, according to the published results and personal participation in the research, is currently the Shyshaky cemetery of the Cherniakhiv culture, and it will therefore be discussed in more detail below. The cemetery has been researched since 2009, and during this time 156 burials (inhumations and cremations) have been discovered. All of the burials that contained chronological indicators date from the middle of the 4th century AD. Some of them date back to the Hunnic era. Among them, graves 39, 112, 115, and 124 should be mentioned. It is interesting that each of these burials has features that distinguish them from the others, and they are practically unique.

BURIAL 39 OF THE SHYSHAKY CEMETERY (FIG. 6)

The buried woman, aged 25–35, was placed in a grave oriented east-west. The skeleton is stretched out on the back, with the head to the west (Fig. 6:1). The western part of the grave was destroyed by a trench. The burial was accompanied by a transparent glass beaker with polished ovals on it (Fig. 6:2–4). A direct analogy of the beaker is an item from the Setvedt cemetery (Norway), dated by E. Straume to the D2 level

of the Scandinavian chronology. In our opinion, the beaker from burial 39 can be dated to the first half of the 5th century. Under the bottom of the beaker there was a coin – a denarius of Marcus Aurelius (Fig. 6:5), with a fragment of fabric preserved on it due to the corrosion products (Fig. 6:6). The coin and a beaker were found in the right hand of the buried woman. We think that such an arrangement is not accidental and obviously it is according to the belief in the journey to the land of the dead. The coin can be interpreted as a "payment to Charon", and the glass beaker – as participation in an afterlife feast (Reida *et al.*, 2014).

BURIAL 115 OF THE SHYSHAKY CEMETERY (FIG. 7)

The male burial was oriented with the head in the western direction (Fig. 7:1). It contained: three clay wheel-made bowls (Fig. 7:2–3, 6), a wheel-made pot (Fig. 7:4) and a jug (Fig. 7:7), an ornamented glass beaker (Fig. 7:5, 10), two belt buckles (copper and silver; Fig. 7:8–9), the remains of an antler three-layered comb. Such a complete set of accompaniments and individual items in burials oriented to the western direction is unique. At the same time, this set is quite typical for burials of the Cherniakhiv culture, oriented with the head in the northern direction.

In our opinion, the features of burial 115 may indicate the further development of culture, namely the process of consolidation of the funeral rites (in some inhumation burials). In our case, this process took place in the final phase of the existence of the Cherniakhiv culture, which was already in the Hunnic era. The discovered belt buckles with the remains of leather allowed us to make a possible graphic and natural reconstruction of the belts of the Cherniakhiv culture. Such a find and record were made for the first time in the history of research on Cherniakhiv burials.

The discovered Roman glass beaker (Fig. 7:5, 10) with ornaments is of no less interest. It is decorated with drops of blue and red glass, which is also unique (at least in the area of the Cherniakhiv culture) because such things are almost always ornamented with drops of only blue glass. The closest analogies allow us to date the beaker to the end of the 4th – beginning of the 5th centuries AD (the early Hunnic period; Reida *et al.*, 2016).

BURIAL 112 OF SHYSHAKY CEMETERY (FIG. 8)

The burial of a woman aged 18–20 was oriented with her head in the western direction (Fig. 8:1). An interesting physiological feature of the buried woman was that she had 34 teeth (18 on the upper jaw and 16 on the lower one).

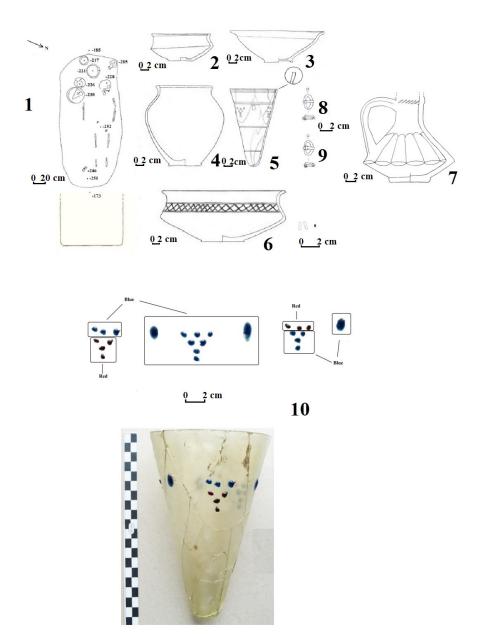


Fig. 7. Shyshaky cemetery of the Cherniakhiv culture. Burial 115. The end of the 4th – the beginning of the 5th century AD. 1 – general plan; 2, 3, 6 – bowls; 4 – pot; 5 – conic beaker; 7 – jug; 8–9 – waist buckles; 10 – the decoration from glass conic beaker drops of the cup (red, blue); material: 2, 3, 4, 6, 7 – ceramics; 5, 10 – glass; 8 – silver; 9 – copper alloy. Graphic design: R. Reida and A. Heiko.

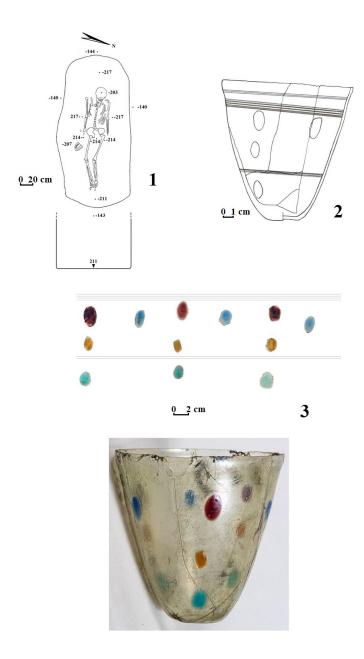


Fig. 8. Shyshaky cemetery of the Cherniakhiv culture. Burial 112. The end of the 4th – the beginning of the 5th century AD. 1 – general plan; 2 – glass beaker "Shyshaky-112 type"; 3 – the decoration from glass beaker drops of the cup. Graphic design: R. Reida and A. Heiko.

An ornamented glass beaker (Fig. 8:2) with a volume of 0.6 litres was found near the right hand of the buried woman. It was decorated with multi-coloured ovalshaped glass drops of light brown, light blue, intense blue, and burgundy-red colours (Fig. 8:3). The polychromy of the coloured drops is more characteristic for the products of the Western Roman provincial workshops. The nature of the ornamental scheme and also the quality may indicate a relatively late time of its production. The lack of direct analogies allows us, in our opinion, to define a new type of glass beaker with coloured drops: "Type Shyshaky-112" (Fig. 8:2–3).

Obviously, burial 112 from the Shyshaky cemetery belongs to the group of late burials. The lack of direct analogies for the polychrome beaker complicates the dating of the complex. However, it seems quite acceptable that the complex belongs to the Hunnic period, with the chronological limits of the end of the 4th – the first half of the 5th centuries AD.

In addition to this, burial 112, as well as burials 39 and 60 (the last one dated back to the second half of the 4th century), have another interesting feature – placing glass and clay beakers in the right hands of the buried people.

These three burials, dated to the Hunnic period, show us both the continuation of the previous burial traditions of the Cherniakhiv culture and the appearance of some new features. Among them there is the possible process of consolidation of the rites of inhumation burials, oriented in the western and northern directions (115); placing a cup into the right hand of the dead (Burials 39 and 112) and a "payment to Charon" (39). We should also mention that Roman glass beakers were found in all three burials, which may indicate active contacts with the provinces of the Roman Empire (trade and exchange or military ones).

Mention should also be made here of Burial 124 of the Shyshaky cemetery. Its detailed publication is yet to come, but the preliminary results allow us to come to some conclusions. First of all, they relate to possible changes in Cherniakhiv society at the beginning of the Hunnic era. In our opinion, Burial 124 belongs to the group of burials of princes. This not only applies to the grave goods, individual items and their fragments found in the burial (which we do not mention in this article) but also because of the parameters and shape of the burial structure itself, the scheme of which, in comparison with the scheme of Burial 112, we present here (Fig. 9).

During the research of the Dnipro Left Bank Forest-Steppe area in the Hunnic period, we can note the existence of both of the previously-mentioned processes here (intercultural contacts, the development of the Cherniakhiv culture, etc.) and the appearance of new features (sites of the first and second groups). Famous sites and complexes of the Hunnic period are located within the region, occupying most of the area of the Cherniakhiv culture before the Hunnic period. Active contacts between the settled population of the Cherniakhiv culture and the neighbouring

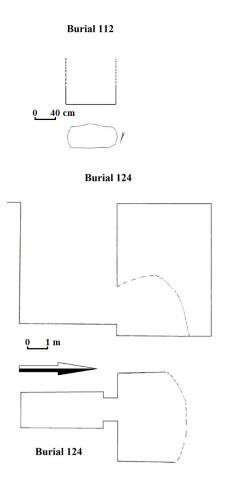


Fig. 9. Schematic comparative drawing of burials 112 and 124 of the Shyshaky cemetery of the Cherniakhiv culture. Graphic design: R. Reida and A. Heiko.

nomadic tribes are evidenced in the three groups of sites that we have proposed. These groups demonstrate different degrees of incorporation into the Cherniakhiv cultural environment. At the same time, at the Cherniakhiv sites of this region in the Hunnic period, features of the former nomadic environment are found, while there are practically no materials clearly related to the ancient Germans. The importing of Roman goods is also characteristic of the Hunnic period of the Dnipro Left Bank Forest-Steppe region, which indicates contacts with the provinces of the Roman Empire (exchange or military ones).

In our opinion, it is possible to consider the Vorskla River basin and the Psel River basin as a kind of frontier within the territory of the Dnipro Left Bank Forest-Steppe during the Hunnic period. First of all, it means contacts between two cultural environments – the settled population of the Cherniakhiv culture and nomads (according to Owen Lattimore; Chornovol 2015: 50). Such contacts are clearly visible in the proposed groups of burial sites along the line south-east – north-west and determine the originality and further development of the Cherniakhiv culture in the Hunnic era. Examples of such evolution are individual burials in the Shyshaky cemetery and other sites of the region (Viytenky). These groups of sites demonstrate the process of incorporation of nomads into the environment represented by the Cherniakhiv culture, which took place in the Hunnic period.

These sites do not demonstrate the catastrophic consequences of the arrival of the Huns for the Cherniakhiv culture of the region. The culture continues to exist and, moreover, even develops. Perhaps this is connected not only with the relations of the nomads (the Alans) with the settled population, but also it depends on the components of the culture itself, a significant part of which were probably people from a nomadic environment. Also, the possibility of the participation of the settled barbarian population in the invasions of the Huns of the territory of the provinces of the Roman Empire cannot be excluded entirely (Reida *et al.*, 2021).

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