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## East Germanic and Alano-Sarmatian Finds of the Early Migration Period in the Roman West.

Michel Kazanski, Aleksander Bursche, John Hines, Anna Zapolska

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Prof. Aleksander Bursche coordinated the *Migration Period between the Oder and the Vistula* project, the results of which are published here. He is a full professor at the University of Warsaw specialising in relations between the Classical World and the Barbarians.

Prof. John Hines is Professor in the School of History, Archaeology and Religious Studies, Cardiff University. He has published extensively on material and literary culture, and linguistic history, in northern Europe from the Late Iron Age to the Modern Period.

Dr. Anna Zapolska is a researcher in the Institute of Archaeology, Warsaw University. She specialises in numismatics, coin finds, and coins in archaeological contexts. She is currently working on the bronze coin finds from sites of the West Balt Cultures.

This collection of studies is the result of a six-year interdisciplinary research project undertaken by an international team of archaeologists, historians, numismatists and paleobotanists. It constitutes a completely new approach to environmental, cultural and settlement changes during the Migration Period in Central Europe.

Part One discusses written sources, theories regarding migration, and environmental change in the first millennium AD. In Part Two, archaeological sources relating to Central Europe in the Migration Period are analysed, while Part Three is devoted to new discoveries between the Oder and the Vistula, including traces of Germanic settlement in northern Poland in the early seventh century. In Part Four, evidence for cultural and settlement changes in neighbouring areas is characterized in a comparative light.

59/1



Aleksander Bursche, John Hines and Anna Zapolska (eds.)  
The Migration Period between the Oder and the Vistula

# The Migration Period between the Oder and the Vistula

Volume 1



Edited by

Aleksander Bursche, John Hines  
and Anna Zapolska



EAST CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE IN THE MIDDLE AGES, 450-1450

EAST CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE IN THE MIDDLE AGES, 450-1450



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# East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 450–1450

*General Editors*

Florin Curta and Dušan Zupka

VOLUME 59/2

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*Volume 2*

*Edited by*

Aleksander Bursche

John Hines

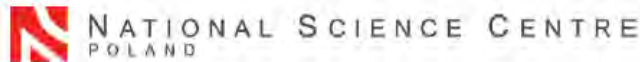
Anna Zapolska



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# Abbreviations

<i>AAC</i>	<i>Acta Archaeologica Carpathica</i>
<i>AAHung.</i>	<i>Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae</i>
<i>Acta Palaeobot.</i>	<i>Acta Palaeobotanica</i>
<i>Alamannen</i>	<i>Die Alamannen</i> , ed. K. Fuchs et al. (Stuttgart: Theiss, 1997).
<i>Altertumskunde</i>	<i>Altertumskunde – Altertumswissenschaft – Kulturwissenschaft: Erträge und Perspektiven nach 40 Jahren Reallexikon der Germanisch- en Altertumskunde</i> , ed. H. Beck, D. Guenich, H. Steuer (Berlin / Boston: De Gruyter, 2012).
<i>Am. Ant.</i>	<i>American Antiquity</i>
<i>Am. Antr.</i>	<i>American Anthropologist</i>
<i>An. Rev. Antr.</i>	<i>Annual Review of Anthropology</i>
<i>APolski</i>	<i>Archeologia Polski</i>
<i>A. Praeh. Arch.</i>	<i>Acta Praehistorica et Archaeologica</i>
<i>Arch. Balt.</i>	<i>Archaeologia Baltica</i>
<i>Arch. Ért.</i>	<i>Archaeologiai Értésítő</i>
<i>Arch. Korr.</i>	<i>Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt</i>
<i>Arch. Lit.</i>	<i>Archaeologia Lituana</i>
<i>Arch. u. Gesch.</i>	<i>Archäologie und Geschichte. Freiburger Forschungen zum ersten Jahrtausend in Südwestdeutschland</i>
<i>Archeologia Jaćwieży</i>	<i>Archeologia Jaćwieży. Dawne badania i nowe perspektywy</i> , ed. A. Bitner-Wróblewska, W. Brzeziński, M. Kasprzycka (Warsaw: Państwowe Muzeum Archeologiczne / Stowarzyszenie Starożytników, 2016).
<i>Archeologia o początkach</i>	<i>Archeologia o początkach Słowian. Materiały z konferencji, Kraków, 19–21 listopada 2001</i> , ed. P. Kaczanowski, M. Parczewski (Cracow: Instytut Archeologii UJ, 2005).
<i>Archeologiczne dziedzictwo</i>	<i>Archeologiczne dziedzictwo Prus Wschodnich w archiwum Feliksa Jakobsona   Das archäologische Vermächtnis Ostpreußens im Archiv des Felix Jakobson   Austrumprūsijas arheoloģiskais mantojums Fēliksa Jakobsona arhīvā</i> , ed. T. Nowakiewicz (Warsaw: Minister- stwo Kultury i Dziedzictwa Narodowego, Departament Dziedzic- twa Kulturowego, 2011).
<i>Archeologiczne księgi</i>	<i>Archeologiczne księgi inwentarzowe dawnego Prussia-Museum   Die archäologischen Inventarbücher aus dem ehemaligen Prussia- Museum   Arkheologičeskiye inventarnyye knigi byvshego muzeya «Prussiya»</i> , ed. A. Bitner-Wróblewska (Olsztyn: Archiwum Państwowe w Olsztynie, 2008).

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- Attila* *Attila und die Hunen*, ed. B. Anke, H. Externbrink (Stuttgart: Theiss, 2007).
- Baltowie* *Baltowie i ich sąsiedzi. Marian Kaczyński in memoriam*, ed. A. Bitner-Wróblewska, G. Iwanowska (Warsaw: Państwowe Muzeum Archeologiczne, 2009).
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- Barbari superiores* *Barbari superiores et inferiores. Archeologia barbarzyńców 2014. Procesy integracji środkowoeuropejskiego Barbaricum. Polska – Czechy – Morawy – Słowacja*, ed. L. Tyszler, E. Droberjar (Łódź / Wieluń: Muzeum Ziemi Wieluńskiej, 2015).
- Barbarian Identity* *On Barbarian Identity: Critical Approaches to Ethnicity in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. A. Gillett (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002).
- Barbarians* *Neglected Barbarians*, ed. F. Curta (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010).
- Barbarzyńskie Tsunami* *Barbarzyńskie Tsunami – Okres Wędrówek Ludów w dorzeczu Odry i Wisły / Barbarian Tsunami. The Migration Period in Oder and Vistula River Basin*, ed. A. Bursche, K. Kowalski, B. Rogalski (Warsaw / Szczecin: Instytut Archeologii UW / Muzeum Narodowe w Szczecinie, 2017).
- BerRGK* *Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission*
- B. St.* *Baltische Studien*
- Byzantine Coins* *Byzantine Coins in Central Europe between the 5th and 10th Century*, ed. M. Wołoszyn (Cracow / Rzeszów: Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences / Institute of Archaeology, University of Rzeszów, 2009).
- Central Places* *Central Places in the Migration and Merovingian Periods. Papers from the 52nd Sachsensymposion Lund, August 2001*, ed. B. Hårdh, L. Larsson (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 2002).
- Ceramika rzemieślnicza* *Ceramika rzemieślnicza jako źródło do badań nad zróżnicowaniem garncarstwa kultury przeworskiej*, ed. H. Machajewski, B. Jurkiewicz (Gdańsk / Pułtusk: Instytut Archeologii UG / Instytut Antropologii i Archeologii Akademii Humanistycznej im. Aleksandra Gieyszтора, 2010).
- Ceramika warsztatowa* *Ceramika warsztatowa w środkowoeuropejskim Barbaricum*, ed. A. Błażejewski (Wrocław: Instytut Archeologii UW, 2008).
- Comm. Arch. Hung.* *Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungariae*

- Contacts* *Contacts across the Baltic Sea during the Late Iron Age (5th–12th centuries)*. *Baltic Sea Conference, Lund, October 25–27, 1991*, ed. B. Hårdh, B. Wyszomirska-Werbart (Lund: University of Lund, Institute of Archaeology, 1992).
- Cur. Anth.* *Current Anthropology*
- Czas przeszły dokonany ... 2016 “Czas przeszły dokonany. Bliski Wschód z początku xx wieku oczami dominikanów. Fotografie z francuskiej szkoły biblijnej i archeologicznej w Jerozolimie.” *W drodze* 6, 2016, 88–101.
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- Epokha Merovingov* – *Evropa bez granits*. *Arkheologiya i istoriya v–VIII vv | Merowingzeit – Europa ohne Grenzen*. *Archäologie und Geschichte des 5. bis 8. Jahrhunderts | The Merovingian Period – Europe without Borders*. *Archaeology and History of the 5th to 8th Centuries*, ed. W. Menghin (Berlin: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin / Edition Minerva, 2007).
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- J. Bod. Meck.-Vrp.* *Jahrbuch Bodendenkmalpflege in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern*
- J. Paleolimnol.* *Journal of Paleolimnology*
- JRGZM* *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz*
- Jrn. Ant. Arch.* *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology*
- Jrn. Arch. Sc.* *Journal of Archaeological Science*
- Keszthely-Fenekpuszta* *Keszthely-Fenekpuszta im Kontext spätantiker Kontinuitätsforschung zwischen Noricum und Moesia*, ed. O. Heinrich-Tamáška (Rahden/Westf.: Leidorf, 2011).
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- PArch.* *Przeгляд Archeologiczny*
- Photographisches Album* *Photographisches Album der Prähistorischen und Anthropologischen Ausstellung zu Berlin 1880*, vol. 2 (Berlin: C. Berg & v. Holten, 1880).
- PNAS USA* *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America*
- Pogranicze* *Pogranicze trzech światów. Mazowsze u schyłku starożytności*, ed. A. Jarzec, trzech światów W. Nowakowski, A. Szela (Warsaw: Instytut Archeologii UW, 2006).
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- Problem der Deutung* *Zum Problem der Deutung frühmittelalterlicher Bildinhalte. Akten des 1. Internationalen Kolloquiums in Marburg a. d. Lahn*, ed. H. Roth (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1986).
- Probleme* *Probleme der relativen und absoluten Chronologie ab Latènezeit bis zum Frühmittelalter*, ed. K. Godłowski, R. Madyda-Legutko (Cracow: Instytut Archeologii UJ, 1992).
- Prussia* *Sitzungsberichte der Altertumsgesellschaft Prussia*
- Quaternary Res.* *Quaternary Research*
- RB* *Rocznik Białostocki*
- Rev. Palaeobot. Palyno.* *Review of Palaeobotany and Palynology*
- RGA* *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde*
- RIC* *Roman Imperial Coinage*, J. Kent (ed.), vol. 10 (London, 1994).
- Rom und die Barbaren* *Rom und die Barbaren. Europa der Zeit der Völkerwanderung, 22. August bis 7. Dezember 2008 in der Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Bonn*, ed. J. Bemmman (Munich: Hirmer, 2008).
- Roman Gold* *Roman Gold and the Development of Early Germanic Kingdoms*, ed. B. Magnus (Stockholm: Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, 2001).
- Romania Gothica* *Romania Gothica II. The Frontier World, Romans, Barbarians and Military Culture*, ed. T. Vida (Budapest: Eötvös Loránd University / Martin Opitz Kiadó, 2015).
- Runeninschriften* *Runeninschriften als Quellen interdisziplinärer Forschung. Abhandlungen des Vierten Internationalen Symposiums über Runen und Runeninschriften in Göttingen vom 4.–9. August 1995*, ed. K. Düwel, S. Nowak (Berlin / New York: De Gruyter, 1998).
- SA* *Silesia Antiqua*
- Samfundsorganisation* *Samfundsorganisation og Regional Variation. Norden i romersk jernalder og folkevandringstid. Beretning fra 1. Nordiske jernaldersymposium på Sandbjerg Slot 11.–15. April 1989*, ed. Ch. Fabech, J. Ringtved (Aarhus: Universitetsforlag, 1991).
- Sieg und Triumph* *Sieg und Triumph. Der Norden im Schatten des Römischen Reiches | The Spoils of Victory. The North in the Shadow of the Roman Empire*, ed. L. Jørgensen et al. (Copenhagen: Nationalmuseet, 2003).
- Sîntana de Mureș* *Die Sîntana de Mureș-Černjachov-Kultur*, ed. G. Gomolka-Fuchs (Bonn: Habelt, 1999).
- Słowianie* *Słowianie i ich sąsiedzi we wczesnym średniowieczu*, ed. M. Dulinič (Warsaw / Lublin: UMCS, 2003).

<i>Sorte Muld</i>	<i>Sorte Muld: Wealth, Power and Religion at an Iron Age Central Settlement on Bornholm</i> , ed. U. Adamsen, F.O. Nielsen, M. Watt (Rønne: Bornholms Museum, 2009).
<i>Sösdala Horsemen</i>	<i>The Sösdala Horsemen and the Equestrian Elite of Fifth Century Europe</i> , ed. Ch. Fabech, U. Näsman (Moesgård: Jutland Archaeological Society, 2017).
<i>Sov. Ark.</i>	<i>Sovetskaya Arkheologiya</i>
<i>Spättrömische Kaiserzeit</i>	<i>Die spättrömische Kaiserzeit und die frühe Völkerwanderungszeit in Mittel- und Osteuropa</i> , ed. M. Mączyńska, T. Grabarczyk (Łódź: UŁ, 2000).
<i>SprArch.</i>	<i>Sprawozdania Archeologiczne</i>
<i>St. Sfrsch.</i>	<i>Studien zur Sachsenforschung</i>
<i>Superiores Barbari</i>	<i>Superiores Barbari. Księga pamiątkowa ku czci Profesora Kazimierza Godłowskiego</i> , ed. R. Madyda-Legutko, T. Bochnak (Cracow: UJ, 2000).
<i>Terra Barbarica</i>	<i>Terra Barbarica. Studia ofiarowane Magdalenie Mączyńskiej w 65. rocznicę urodzin</i> , ed. A. Urbaniak et al. (Łódź / Warsaw: Instytut Archeologii UŁ, 2010).
<i>Treasures of Suchań</i>	<i>The Treasures of Suchań, Pomeranian Archaeological Collections of the National Museum in Szczecin</i> , vol. 1, ed. K. Kowalski, A. Bursche (Szczecin: Muzeum Narodowe w Szczecinie, 2014).
<i>Turbulent Epoch</i>	<i>The Turbulent Epoch. New Materials from the Late Roman Period and the Migration Period</i> , ed. B. Niezabitowska-Wiśniewska et al. (Lublin: UMCS, 2008).
<i>Ubi tribus</i>	<i>Ubi tribus faucibus fluenta Vistulae fluminis ebibuntur. Jerzy Okulicz-Kozaryn in memoriam</i> , ed. B. Kontny (Warsaw: Instytut Archeologii UW, 2015).
<i>Veg. Hist. Archaeobot.</i>	<i>Vegetation History and Archaeobotany</i>
<i>Völker</i>	<i>Völker an Nord- und Ostsee und die Franken. Akten des 48. Sachsensymposiums in Mannheim vom 7. bis 11. September 1997</i> , ed. U. von Freeden et al. (Bonn: Habelt, 1999).
<i>Völker an der Donau</i>	<i>Die Völker an der mittleren und unteren Donau im fünften und sechsten Jahrhundert</i> , ed. H. Wolfram, F. Daim (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1980).
<i>Vostochnaya Evropa</i>	<i>Vostochnaya Evropa v seredine I tysyacheletiya n.e.</i> , ed. I. Gavritukhin, A. Oblomskiy (Moscow: Institut Archeologii Rossiyskoy Akademii Nauk, 2007).
<i>WA</i>	<i>Wiadomości Archeologiczne</i>



- Wandel* *Wandel durch Migration? 26. internationales Symposium „Grundprobleme der frühgeschichtlichen Entwicklung im mittleren Donauraum“, Straubing, 2014*, ed. H. Geisler (Büchenbach: Dr. Faustus, 2016).
- Weapons* *Weapons, Weaponry and Man. In memoriam Vytautas Kazakevičius*, ed. A. Bliujienė (Klaipėda: Klaipėda University Press, 2007).
- WN* *Wiadomości Numizmatyczne*
- Worlds Apart* *Worlds Apart? Contacts across the Baltic Sea in the Iron Age. Network Denmark-Poland, 2005–2008*, ed. U. Lund Hansen, A. Bitner-Wróblewska (Copenhagen / Warsaw: Det Kongelige Nordiske Oldkriftselskab / Państwowe Muzeum Archeologiczne, 2010).
- Zaginione ocalone* *Zaginione – ocalone. Szczecińska kolekcja starożytności pomorskich | Lost-Saved. The Pomeranian Antiquities Collection of Szczecin*, ed. K. Kowalski, D. Kozłowska-Skoczka (Szczecin: Muzeum Narodowe w Szczecinie, 2012).
- Zwischen Byzanz und der Steppe* *Zwischen Byzanz und der Steppe. Archäologische und historische Studien: Festschrift für Csanád Bálint zum 70. Geburtstag | Between Byzantium and the Steppe: Archaeological and Historical Studies in Honour of Csanád Bálint on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday*, ed. A. Bollók, G. Csiky, T. Vida (Budapest: Institute of Archaeology, Research Centre for the Humanities, Hungarian Academy of Science, 2016).
- Zwischen Römern und Barbaren* *Archäologie zwischen Römern und Barbaren. Zur Datierung und Verbreitung römischer Metallarbeiten des 2. und 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. im Reich und im Barbaricum – ausgewählte Beispiele (Gefäße, Fibeln, Bestandteile militärischer Ausrüstung, Kleingerät, Münzen)*, ed. H.-U. Voß, N. Müller-Scheeßel (Bonn: Habelt, 2016).
- Zwischen Spätantike* *Zwischen Spätantike und Frühmittelalter. Archäologie des 4. bis 7. Jahrhunderts im Westen*, ed. S. Brather (Berlin / New York: De Gruyter, 2008).

# East Germanic and Alano-Sarmatian Finds of the Early Migration Period in the Roman West

*Michel Kazanski*

This chapter concentrates upon the discoveries of archaeological items that can be linked to the presence of East Germanic people, Alans and Sarmatians<sup>1</sup> in the territory of the Western Empire in the initial stage of the Age of Migration (AD approx. 375–450).<sup>2</sup> We must remember that the Barbarians on Roman territory were very few compared to the dense Roman population. They were scattered over a large area and did not always form compact enclaves of population. Thus archaeological findings related to Barbarians in one way or another are insignificant compared to the mass of Roman archaeological material. Moreover, the Barbarians held specific positions within the Empire's social structure – they were mostly warriors, slaves, or much more rarely agricultural settlers. They were thus often excluded from the process of production of material goods, on which archaeology is based – the Barbarians rarely had their own architecture, ceramics, tools, utensils, etc. Their cultural characteristics can appear only in made-to-order items, such as weaponry, jewellery, etc.<sup>3</sup> Finally, in most cases, the Barbarians in the service of Rome essentially sought to integrate into Roman life, of course at a higher social level. Thus, the Barbarians willingly entered the Roman army and almost never betrayed their oath, trying to achieve a high military rank, such as Victor, a Sarmatian, who became a consul in 369, or the famous Alan leader Ardabur and his son Aspar.

The prestige of the Roman military fashion to the Barbarians must be noted – this developed into a common fashion for the costume and equipment

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1 Note that at the beginning of the Age of Migrations, the designation “Alan” referred to all the steppe peoples of the Ponto-Caucasian region, while the Sarmatians occupied the steppes in the Carpathian Basin, east of the Danube.

2 This does not include the “princely” discoveries of the Untersiebenbrunn horizon (see Chapter 6), whose civilisation was a synthesis of various cultural components, including East Germanic and Alano-Sarmatian. On these, see Kazanski 1996a and Kazanski 2009, 238–245. On the other hand, cultural features of Alano-Sarmatian origin, such as artificial cranial deformation or metal mirrors with a hanging handle in the centre, also remain out with our study, because in the Age of Migrations these elements become international.

3 See detail: Kazanski, Périn 2008; Périn, Kazanski 2011; Kazanski, Périn 2017.

of barbarian warriors. The representation of Stilicho, half-Vandal/half-Suevian, and Commander-in-Chief of the Army of the West, enables us to assess the level of Romanisation of Barbarians in the service of the Empire.

Female costume was more traditional and kept its “ethnographic” features longer.<sup>4</sup> However, one must take account of the number of mixed marriages between Barbarians of various origins, as evidenced by the lives of Stilicho or Aspar. Unfortunately, the surviving evidence on these is essentially about the barbarian aristocracy, but the practice was undoubtedly widespread among “ordinary” Barbarians.

East Germanic combs and brooches have attracted researchers’ attention for a long time; first, in relation to the problem of the archaeological traces of the Visigoths in the 5th c. in the Roman West.<sup>5</sup> Works published in the 1980s have now lost weight to a considerable extent, firstly because of the great expansion of known evidence, and secondly because the direct connection drawn between this material and the Visigothic migrations seems too simple. Archaeological evidence of the Alans and Sarmatians in the West has been the subject of several works.<sup>6</sup> Today it is clear that East Germanic and Alano-Sarmatian finds in the West represent heterogeneous population groups of eastern European origin (Goths, Alans, Sarmatians, Taifali and others), who penetrated the Imperial territory in various ways: by military invasion, incorporation into the Roman army, as prisoners of war settled by the Romans, and more.<sup>7</sup>

Here we shall discuss the finds from northern and eastern Gaul, and the Rhine areas, which formed a part of the empire until the 460s–470s AD, from southern Gaul and Spain, at that time controlled by the Visigoths, and also from Italy and southern Germania, which in this period formed a part of the province of Raetia, and finally, from Britain. It is easy to see that a large proportion of artefacts under examination consists of elements of female costume. This is not a surprise as in “traditional” societies the women’s costume of the main bulk of the population keeps its “ethnographic” features much longer than men’s, which is oriented towards prestigious warriors’ fashion.<sup>8</sup>

4 See in particular Kazanski, P erin, 2008, 196–198; P erin, Kazanski 2011, 315–321; Kazanski, P erin 2017, 202.

5 E.g. Koenig 1980; Kazanski 1984; 1985.

6 Kuznetsov 2000; Kazanski 2013b.

7 For details see: Kazanski 1993; Kazanski, Mastykova, P erin 2008; Kazanski 2010c; 2012; 2013b; L opez Quiroga 2015.

8 This is documented particularly by archaeological finds from the 4th and early 5th c. related to northern and western Germans in northern Gaul (B ohme 1974b). It is worth considering how Roman law prohibited marriages of barbarians and Roman citizens, therefore soldiers of

Northern and eastern Gaul and Roman Germania is one of most thoroughly researched zones from the point of view of eastern European barbarian elements represented there by the finds of particular items in settlement layers and a small number of graves (Map 25.1).<sup>9</sup> The most demonstrative East Germanic goods are probably single-sided horn combs of type Thomas III (Fig. 25.1:1–19). In eastern Europe their relationship with the Chernyakhiv<sup>10</sup> context is unquestionable. The date of these combs is a little broader than the chronology of the early stage of the Migration Period, enveloping, it is generally accepted, also the Roman Period, and specifically Stage C3 of the European Barbaricum framework (the 300s/320s–350s/370s AD),<sup>11</sup> or at least its latest phase. The overwhelming majority of these combs in the West are chance finds, or originate from the layers of Later Roman towns and forts.<sup>12</sup> These finds are mostly concentrated in the Rhine basin, on the eastern Gallic border (Map 25.1). However, recent finds have revealed Thomas type III combs also in the opposite corner of Gaul, in the Lower Loire basin, in vicinity of Angers, Maine-et-Loire district (France; Map 25.1:3).<sup>13</sup>

I know only one undoubtedly “western” find of a comb of type Thomas III in a funeral context from the period in question. This is grave 1 of the Later Roman cemetery of Oberwinterhur, Oberwinterhur district, Switzerland.<sup>14</sup> This grave contained the remains of a skeleton of an adult, 30–35 years old, with the head to the south-west. Only the top of the skeleton and the lower fragment of right leg survived. The comb lay by the skull (Fig. 25.1:19), together with the worked tubular bone of a ruminant. The earliest stage of the Age of Migrations probably also has another find from the Upper Rhine area, from the cemetery of Herten, Nordrhein-Westfalen district.<sup>15</sup> However, the grave from which this comb came is not known (Fig. 25.1:17); other published finds from the site could in fact be dated to the Merovingian Period.

There is a small series of finds of crossbow brooches with a returned foot of the type Ambroz 16/2, Series 1, Variants 2–3 (Fig. 25.1:30–34), typical of the

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barbarian origin in the Roman service had to search for fiancées in Barbaricum. This could be a partial explanation for the appearance of rather numerous elements of barbarian woman’s costume in archaeological sites located within the Empire.

9 Kazanski 1993; 1998; 2012; Tejral 2016c.

10 See Chapter 22.

11 See Chapter 5.

12 Kazanski 1993, 175.

13 This comb found in Andard, Maine-et-Loire district, France, east of the town of Angers, was discovered by contract excavations of a Later Roman settlement, with 4th-c. coins and Roman red slip vessels. I am obliged to Jean Brodeur for the information on this find.

14 Windler 1995, 181, 182, fig. 5.

15 Germany; Garscha 1970, pl. 14.5.



MAP 25.1 East Germanic and Alano-Sarmatian finds in northern and eastern Gaul: 1 – Baudemont, Saône-et-Loire district; 2 – Angers, Maine-et-Loire district; 3 – Andord, Maine-et-Loire district; 4 – Oberwinterhur, Oberwnterhur district; 5 – Herten, Nordrhein-Westfalen district; 6 – Nouvion-en-Ponthieu, Somme district; 7 – Reims, Marne district; 8 – Troyes, Aube district; 9 – Ebersberg, Zürich district; 10 – Kaiseraugst, Rheinfelden district; 11 – Basel, Basel-Stadt; 12 – Strasbourg, Bas-Rhin district; 13 – Mungolsheim, Baden-Württemberg; 14 – Ruppertsberg, Rheinland-Pfalz district; 15 – Eisenberg, Rheinland-Pfalz; 16 – Bad Kreuznach, Rheinland-Pfalz; 17 – Alzey, Rheinland-Pfalz; 18 – Wiesbaden, Hessen district; 19 – Polch-Ruitsch, Rheinland-Pfalz; 20 – Köln, Nordrhein-Westfalen district; 21 – Trier, Rheinland-Pfalz; 22 – Rihmberg, Luxemburg; 23 – Dalheim, Remich district; 24 – Flins-sur-Seine, Yvelines district; 25 – Krefeld-Gellep, Nordrhein-Westfalen district; 26 – Trebur, Hessen district



FIGURE 25.1 East Germanic artefacts in northern and eastern Gaul:  
 1–6 – Trier, Rheinland-Pfalz; 7 – Polch-Ruitsch, Rheinland-Pfalz; 8 – Köln, Nordrhein-Westfalen district; 9, 10 – Wiesbaden, Hessen district; 11 – Kaiseraugst, Rheinfelden district; 12, 13 – Alzey, Rheinland-Pfalz; 14 – Eisenberg, Rheinland-Pfalz; 15, 16 – Bad Kreuznach, Rheinland-Pfalz; 17 – Herten, Nordrhein-Westfalen district; 18 – Mungolsheim, Baden-Württemberg; 19 – Oberwinterhur, Oberwinterhur district; 20 – Strasbourg, Bas-Rhin district; 21, 22 – Saône Valley; 23 – Marne district; 24 – Basel, Basel-Stadt; 25, 26 – possibly Eastern France; 27 – Wiesbaden; 28 – Ebersberg, Zürich district; 29, 35 – Baudemont, Saône-et-Loire district; 30 – Rihmberg, Luxemburg; 31 – Dalheim, Remich district; 32, 33 – Trier, Rheinland-Pfalz district; 34 – Ruppertsberg, Rheinland-Pfalz district (1–16, 18, 20–28, 30–34 after: Kazanski 1993; 17 after: Garscha 1970; 19 after: Windler 1995; 29, 35 after: Kasprzyk 2011)

Chernyakhiv Culture from the 3rd to 5th c. although also occurring in Central European finds, particularly of the Wielbark Culture.<sup>16</sup> They also concentrate in the Rhine border of the Empire, and in the Mosel basin. All these brooches originate from the layers of towns, forts, and settlements.<sup>17</sup>

Crossbow brooches with a cast diamond foot, of the type Ambroz 17/3, variant v,<sup>18</sup> also belonged to the Chernyakhiv Culture tradition and were typical of the final stage of that culture. There are two finds of these on the Rhine (Fig. 25.1:27–28).<sup>19</sup>

The finds in Gaul include two brooches with a returned foot that is widened and sting-shaped, of the type Ambroz 16/4, Series 3.<sup>20</sup> In the context of eastern and central Europe these brooches have a relatively wide chronology, which envelopes the whole Later Roman Period. Outside the Chernyakhiv Culture area, brooches with a diamond foot-plate similar to the pieces from Gaul are reliably documented in closed assemblages from the Migration Period and even in the Post-Chernyakhiv Period, such as in grave 300 of the Gothic cemetery of Diurso, Krasnodar district (Russia), in vicinity of modern Novorossiisk, or in grave 79 of the Hispano-Visigothic cemetery of Duratón, *Segovia district (Spain)*, which will be discussed below.<sup>21</sup> One brooch (of silver, 4 cm long) comes from eastern Gaul (Fig. 25.1:29), where it was found in 1894 during excavations of the cemetery of Baudemont, Saône-et-Loire district (France). This site dates from the 4th and 5th c., and the exact context of the find is not known. In total this cemetery produced about 30 inhumations, with the heads oriented to the west except for one inhumation grave with the head to the north.<sup>22</sup> This cemetery also contained a pair of large radiate-headed brooches of type Smolin, and, as we will see later, two radiate-headed brooches derivative of type Ambroz 1BA. The publisher correctly concluded that these all testify to the presence of an East Germanic element.

The second brooch of this type originates from grave 54 of the cemetery of Nouvion-en-Ponthieu in Picardy, Somme district (France), which dates back to the Later Roman but mostly to the Merovingian Period (Fig. 25.2:2). This grave was destroyed by the removal of soil. It contained an inhumation, with the head to the north; the skeleton was prone, and disturbed grave goods were in the fill of the grave pit. They comprised a silver brooch with a returned foot, of

16 Ambroz 1966, 60–66; Kokowski 1995, fig. 60, 61.

17 Kazanski 1993, 175, 176; 1998, 375, 376.

18 Ambroz 1966, 72.

19 See Kazanski 1993, 176; Kazanski 1998, 376.

20 Ambroz 1966, 69.

21 Kazanski 1984, 12, 13; 1993, 175; 1998, 376; 2000, 193, 194.

22 Kasprzyk 2011, 342, 345, fig. 3.5.

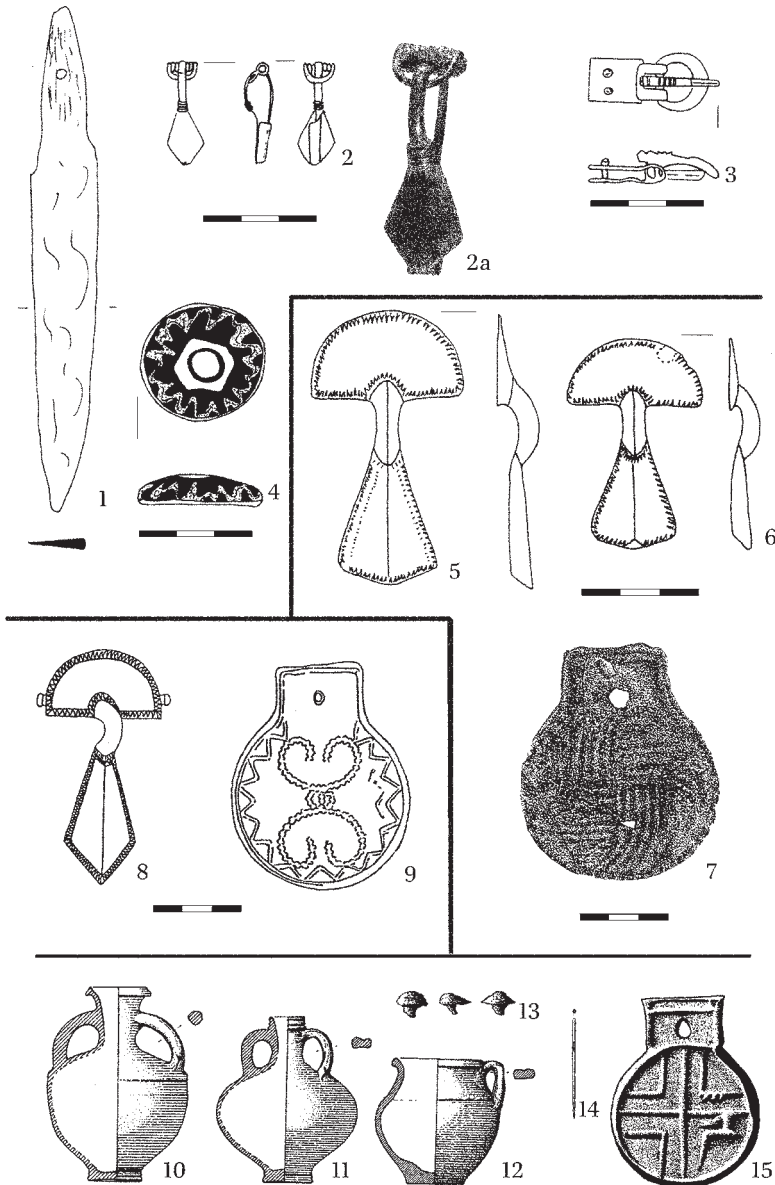


FIGURE 25.2 Artefacts from graves in northern and eastern Gaul: 1–4 – Nouvion-en-Ponthieu, Somme district, grave 54; 5, 6 – Troyes, Aube district, the cemetery of Saint-Jacques, grave 2; 7 – Troyes, Aube district, the cemetery of Saint-Jacques, grave 4; 8, 9 – Reims, Marne district, the cemetery of Fosse-Jean-Fat; 10–15; Krefeld-Gellep, Nordrhein-Westfalen district, grave 4607 (1–4 after: Piton 1985; 5–7 after: Riffaud-Longuespé 2003; 8, 9 after: Kazanski 1986; 10–15 after: Kazanski 1993)



the type in question, measuring 2.8 cm in length, a small buckle with a rectangular frame and a long tongue turned down, a knife, and a bead of transparent green glass, with yellow applied decoration. The buckle (Fig. 25.2:3) is typical of the early stage of the Migration Period and most probably dates from about the mid-5th c.<sup>23</sup>

Small (less than 8 cm, without the knob) radiate-headed brooches of types Ambroz IAA, IAB, rarely IBA<sup>24</sup> and their larger derivatives (8 to 10 cm, without the knob) form the most outstanding series of the Chernyakhiv brooches in northern and southern Gaul, from the Rhine to the Lower Loire (Fig. 25.1:20–26; Fig. 25.2:5–6, 8, Fig. 25.2:8; Fig. 25.3B). Some of these have come from graves.<sup>25</sup>

It would be difficult to establish whether two brooches from Cholet, Main-et-Loire district (France) in western Gaul and a similar brooch from Nijmegen, Gelderland district (Netherlands) in the Lower Rhine area (Fig. 25.3A:3–4) belong to the Chernyakhiv group. On the one hand, they definitely resemble the Chernyakhiv pieces,<sup>26</sup> but on the other hand are also similar to brooches of type Burk, Bautzen district (Germany) and Kuhbier, Brandenburg district (Germany; Fig. 25.3A:1–2), that were distributed among the Germanic folk of the Elbe – Oder area.<sup>27</sup>

A pair of silver radiate-headed brooches of type Ambroz IAA (8.8 cm long), in combination with a Sarmatian mirror with a side loop, was discovered in a child's grave in the Gallo-Roman cemetery of Fosse-Jean-Fat, in the city of Reims, Marne district (France), in Champagne (Fig. 25.2:8–9). From *Notitia Dignitatum* it is known that in the Western Roman Empire the security of the strategic road between Reims and Amiens was provided by Sarmatian *gendarmes* commanded by the *Praefectus Sarmatarum gentilium*.<sup>28</sup>

Another grave containing such brooches was discovered in Troyes, Aube district (France) in Champagne, in the Gallo-Roman cemetery of Saint-Jacques. In 1928, 26 graves from the Gallo-Roman Period were uncovered there. Grave 2 contained three silver radiate-headed brooches, two pieces of smaller size, measuring 5 cm, and one larger, of 7 cm, all of the type Ambroz IAB (Fig. 25.2:5–6); and a red-slip plate of type Chenet 320 characteristic of the 4th and early 5th c.<sup>29</sup> Emblematically, grave 4 in the same cemetery contained a Sarmatian mirror with a side loop (Fig. 25.2:7). These, as at Reims, are circular metallic

23 Piton 1985, 39, pl. 10.54.

24 Ambroz 1966, 76–86.

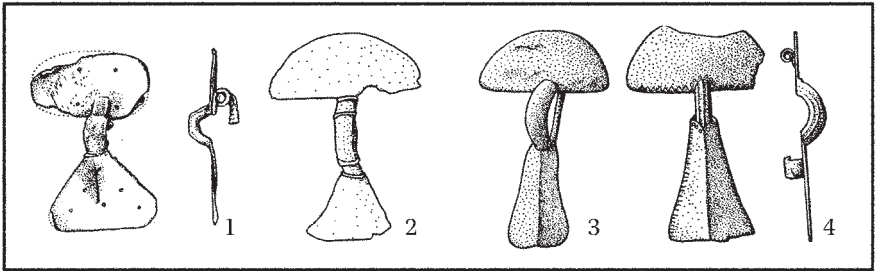
25 Kazanski 1993, 175; 1998, 376.

26 Koenig 1980, 229, 230, fig. 2, tab. 60.a – b.

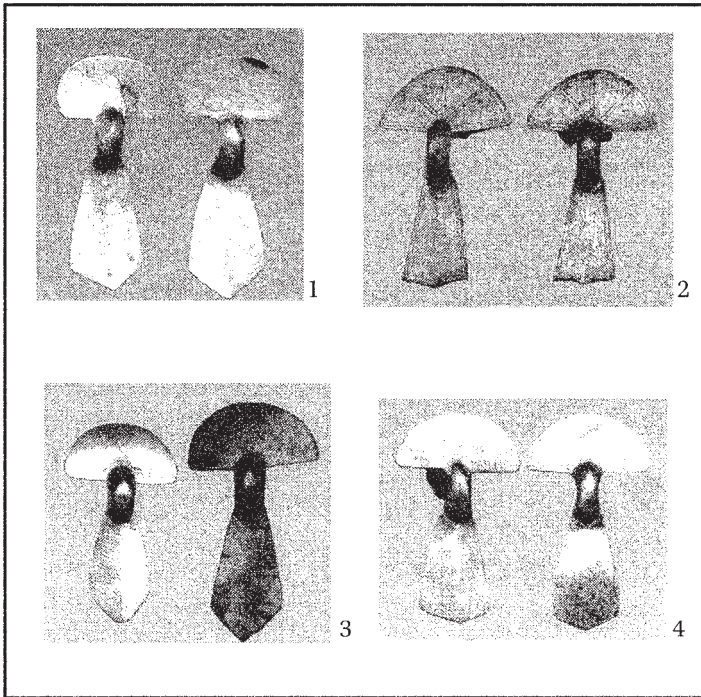
27 Kazanski 1992, 116, fig 7.1, 7.2.

28 Kazanski 1986.

29 Riffaud-Longuespé 2003, 34, pl. 1.d – e.



A



B

FIGURE 25.3 Radiate-headed brooches from northern Gaul. A – Brooches from Cholet and Nijmegen and their probable prototypes: 1 – Burk, Bautzen district; 2 – Kuhbier, Brandenburg district; 3 – Nijmegen, Gelderland district; 4 – Cholet, Main-et-Loire district (after: Koenig 1982 and Kazanski 1990–1991). B – Radiate-headed brooches from Angers, Maine-et-Loire district: 1 – grave 134; 2 – grave 155; 3 – grave 156; 4 – grave 159 (after: Brodeur, Morteau, Yvinec 2001)

mirrors having a perforated rectangular protrusion for hanging. In grave 4607 of the Rhineland cemetery of Krefeld-Gellep, Nordrhein-Westfalen district (Germany),<sup>30</sup> such a mirror was accompanied by typically Roman ceramics of the second half of the 4th c. (Fig. 25.2:10–15).

Another two silver radiate-headed brooches of relatively large size, derivatives of type Ambroz 1BA (Fig. 25.1:35), appeared in the already-noted cemetery of Baudemont, in eastern Gaul.<sup>31</sup>

The most interesting finds are from the Gallo-Roman cemetery of Gare Saint-Laud in Angers, in the Loire basin, a site which is still awaiting publication. This is an urban cemetery of a local population, comprising typical inhumations of the Later Roman tradition, with the heads oriented to the west, except for a few graves with the heads to the north. Four graves, female according to osteological analysis, contained pairs of small silver radiate-headed brooches of type Ambroz 1AA (Fig. 25.3B), although the skeletons with a northerly alignment, anthropologically determined as male, were accompanied by oval iron belt buckles. These graves are distinguished by the unusual orientation of skeletons, the grave goods, and secondary anthropological features. The foreign, most likely eastern European origin of this population is obvious.<sup>32</sup>

It is therefore possible to observe that in northern and eastern Gaul, East Germanic artefacts related primarily to the Chernyakhiv Culture are concentrated in the vicinity of the Rhine limes. There are zones of concentration of these artefacts in the vicinity of *Argentoratum* (Strasbourg) and *Mogontiacum* (Mainz), where, according to *Notitia Dignitatum*, specific commands were established by AD 400, thus underlining the strategic importance of these towns. On the northern sector of the border, that is to say in the Lower Rhine area, where defence was secured by the *foederati* of the Franks, there is practically no East Germanic artefact.<sup>33</sup> Chernyakhiv finds also occur in inner regions of northern and western Gaul: there they could be related, in some cases, to military settlers, who formed something like a field gendarmerie. It is significant that the Alano-Sarmatian objects are spread more widely in northern Gaul and are not focused on the border.<sup>34</sup> It is also significant that the graves with East Germanic and Alano-Sarmatian items contain rather heterogeneous

30 Kazanski 2013b, fig. 3.10–14.

31 Kasprzyk 2011, 341, 342, fig. 3.1–4.

32 Brodeur, Morteau, Yvinec 2001; Briceno, Souquet-Leroy, Guillon 2013.

33 Kazanski 1993, 178.

34 It may be no coincidence that *Notitia Dignitatum* also mentions a *Praefectus Sarmatorum* and *Taifalorum gentilium* for the region of Poitiers (*Notitia Dignitatum*, Oc. XLII, 65). This officer could have commanded both Sarmatians and Taifals, i.e. Germanic men from the Lower Danube.

grave goods, of both Roman (ceramics, bracelets, beads) and Germanic origins (brooches), showing the mixed culture of this population. Apart from a few “barbaric” items, these graves are indistinguishable from those of the Roman population. We can thus infer that the integration of holders of such exotic objects was very deep.

Recently, a few of the Alano-Sarmatian arms were discovered in Gaul (Fig. 25.4), but their cultural context is not always clear.<sup>35</sup> It is quite possible that these weapons have arrived in the West through the Middle Danube, where they are attested in the Hunnic era or with the Visigoths of the Lower Danube, where these blades are known for the 4th c.<sup>36</sup>

According to reliable written sources, in the 5th c. southern Gaul and Spain were a zone populated by the Visigoths (Map 25.2). There are a few artefacts of Chernyakhiv appearance, initially identified in Aquitania<sup>37</sup> and then in Spain.<sup>38</sup>

Similarly to northern Gaul, there were combs of type Thomas III (Fig. 25.5:3–6, 16): some were discovered in the excavations of Later Roman villas and, rarely, of forts, e.g. *Bergidum*, modern Cacabelos, Castro Ventosa, Léon district, in the north-west of Spain.<sup>39</sup>

The second outstanding category of East Germanic artefacts comprises crossbow brooches with a returned foot of type Ambroz 16/2, Series 1, Variants 2 and 4 (Fig. 25.5:1–2, 12–13). These brooches have been found both in Aquitania and Spain, particularly in layers of Late Roman villas, which will be described below.<sup>40</sup>

There also is a brooch of the above-mentioned type Ambroz 16/4.III,<sup>41</sup> from grave 79 of Spanish-Visigothic cemetery of Duratón, Segovia district (Spain), in Old Castile (Fig. 25.5:9). This is an inhumation grave of an adult, oriented to the west. It contained a typical female costume of the East Germanic tradition, which was well represented in Visigothic Spain, comprising two large radiate-headed brooches on the chest and a large buckle with a rectangular frame.<sup>42</sup> This costume of Danubian origin most probably appeared amidst the Visigoths from the migration of certain Ostrogothic groups, such as the

35 Lebedynsky 2012, fig. 19.

36 Magomedov, Levada 1996, fig. 3; Soupault 1996; Levada 2013b.

37 Kazanski 1985; Kazanski, Lapart 1995; Pinar Gil 2015.

38 Pérez Rodríguez-Aragón 1996; 1997; 2008, 252; López Quiroga 2010, 126; 2015, 481, 482.

39 See Kazanski 1985; Kazanski, Lapart 1995; Cases, Passelac 2014; Pérez Rodríguez-Aragón 1996, 173, fig. 1; 1997, 629, fig. 1.1; 2008, fig. 4.31; López Quiroga 2010, 126, fig. 92; 2015, fig. 6.

40 Kazanski, Lapart 1995, 198; Pérez Rodríguez-Aragón 1996, 176, 177, fig. 3.1, 3.2; 1997, 629, fig. 1.5, 1.6; 2008, fig. 4.28, 4.29; Kazanski 1998, 375–376; 1999b, 15; 2000, 192, 193.

41 Pérez Rodríguez-Aragón 1996, 177, fig. 3.4; 1997, 629, fig. 1.2; 2008, fig. 4.30; Kazanski 2000, 193, 194.

42 Molinero Perez 1948, 34, Lám. 27.1; 37.

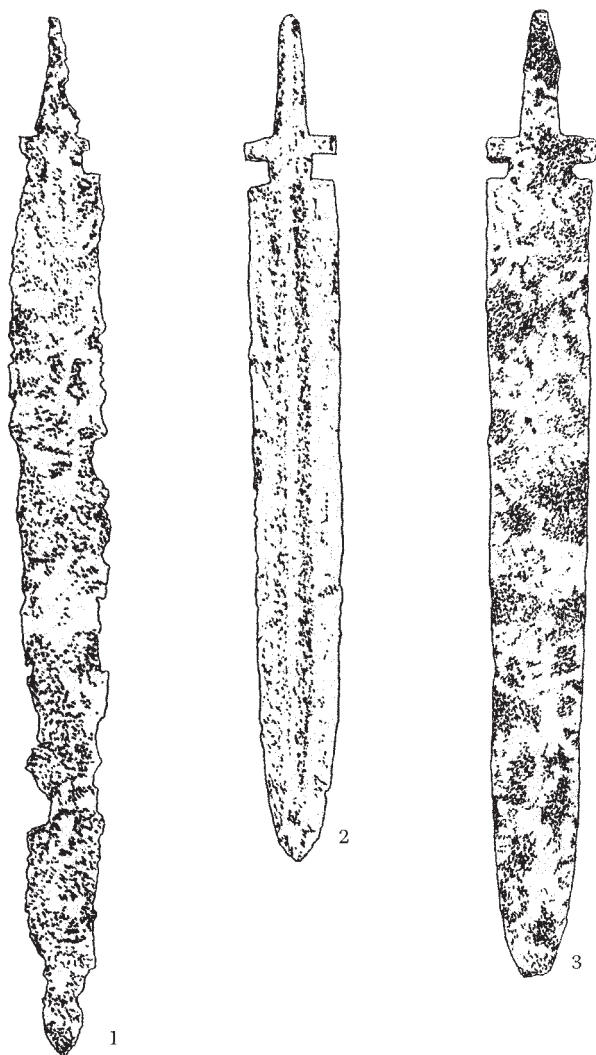


FIGURE 25.4 Blades with two notches near the handle, discovered in Gaul: 1, 2 – Villeneuve-sur-Lot, Lot-et-Garonne district; 3 – Flins-sur-Seine, Yvelines district (after: Lebedynsky 2012)



MAP 25.2

East Germanic and Alano-Sarmatian finds from southern Gaul and Spain: 1 – Beaucaire-sur-Baïse, Gers district; 2 – Séviac-Montréal-du-Gers, Gers district; 3 – Bapteste, Lot-et-Garonne district; 4 – Sainte-Baselle, Lot-et-Garonne district; 5 – Canet, Dordogne district; 6 – Duratón, *Segovia* district; 7 – El Hinojal, Badajoz district; 8 – Casa de la Zua, Albacete district; 9 – Badajoz, Badajoz district; 10 – Cacabelos, Castro Ventosa, León district; 11 – Jonzac, Charente-Maritime district; 12 – Quarante, Hérault district; 13 – Rodelle, Aveyron district; 14 – Aspiran, Hérault district; 15 – Roujan, Hérault district; 16 – Vindrac, Tarn district; 17 – Montmirat, Gard district; 18 – Coimbriga, Coimbra district; 19 – Mireval-Laurgais, Aude district; 20 – Villeneuve-sur-Lot, Lot-en-Garonne district

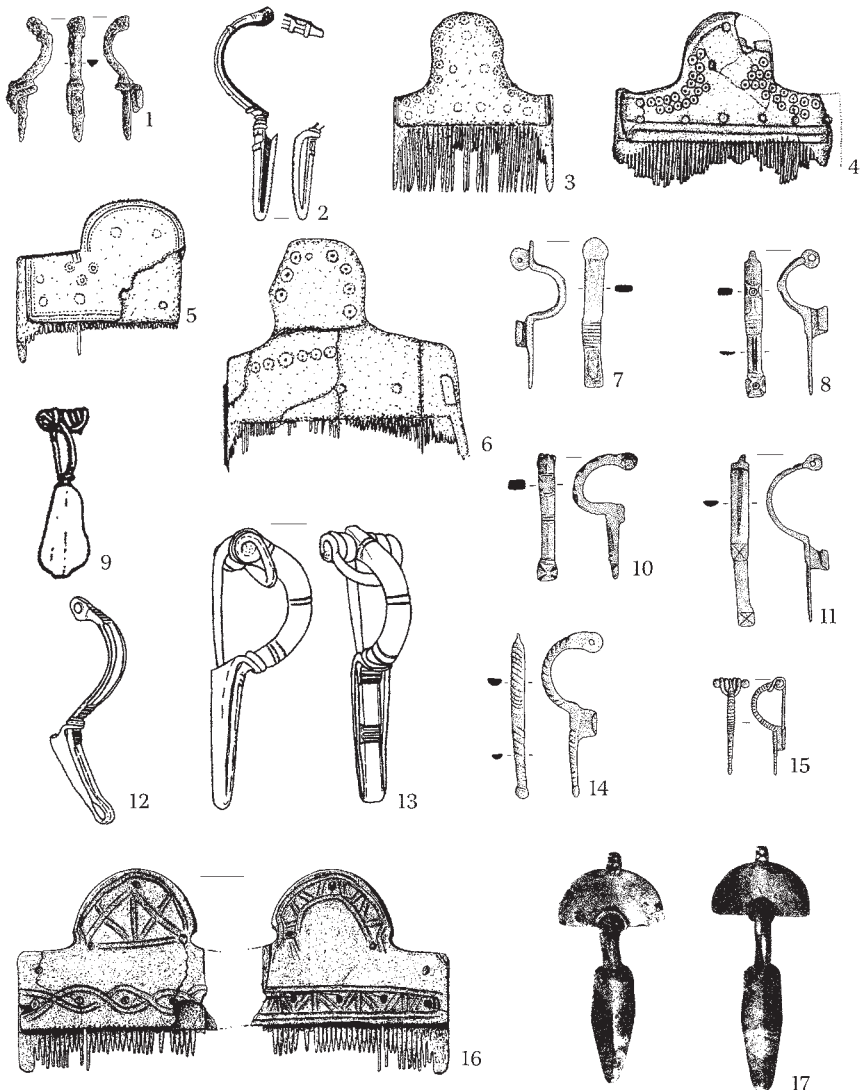


FIGURE 25.5 East Germanic artefacts from southern Gaul and Spain: 1 – Sainte-Baselle, Lot-et-Garonne district; 2 – Canet, Dordogne district; 3 – Séviac-Montréal-du-Gers, Gers district; 4 – Beaucaire-sur-Baïse, Gers district; 5, 6 – Bapteste, Lot-et-Garonne district; 7 – Quarante, Hérault district; 8 – Rodelle, Aveyron district; 9 – Duratón, Segovia district; 10 – Aspiran, Hérault district; 11 – Roujan, Hérault district; 12 – El Hinojal, Badajoz district; 13 – Casa de la Zua, Albacete district; 14 – Vindrac, Tarn district; 15 – Montmirat, Gard district; 16 – Cacabelos, Castro Ventosa, León district; 17 – Badajoz, Badajoz district (1, 2, 4 after: Kazanski 1999b; 3, 5, 6 after: Kazanski, Lapart 1995; 7, 8, 10, 11, 14, 15 after: Kazanski 1994b; 9 after: Molinero Perez 1948; 12, 13, 16 after: Pérez Rodríguez-Aragón 1997; 17 after: Koenig 1980)

retinue and troop of Prince Vidimer Amal, who moved to the Visigothic court in the 470s.<sup>43</sup>

A brooch with a returned foot of the Chernyakhiv tradition lay below the chin, near the cervical vertebrae.<sup>44</sup> It was certainly in secondary use or was very old, since the other grave goods, and particularly the radiate-headed brooches and the large buckle, are typical of Hispano-Visigothic antiquities in the second half of the 5th c. However, as we can see from the examples of the graves in Diurso and Nouvion-en-Ponthieu, this is not the only case of brooches of type Ambroz 16/4.III being found in the Post-Chernyakhiv period.

It is also worth mentioning two small (7.0 and 7.3 cm long, excluding the knob) silver radiate-headed brooches of the Chernyakhiv tradition of type Ambroz IBA (Fig. 25.5:17), found at an unknown place in south-western Spain, perhaps from the vicinity of Badajoz, Badajoz district (Spain).<sup>45</sup>

From southern Gaul there are crossbow brooches with a platform on the back. A variant with a platform at the spring occurs as surface finds in Quarante, Hérault district (France; Fig. 25.5:7). This is a bronze crossbow brooch with a straight foot-plate, a short catch-plate, and a spring-holder shaped like a vertical perforated plate in continuance of the back-plate, and a semicircular shield at the spring-holder. The platform on the back-plate is recognizable *de visu*.<sup>46</sup> The second variant comprises bronze shield-less brooches from Rodelle, Aveyron district (France), and Aspiran, Hérault district (France; Fig. 25.5:8, 10–11).<sup>47</sup> The first piece originates from an inhumation grave (from the 1870 excavations), placed within a prehistoric dolmen. The brooch lay by the skull. No information is available concerning other grave goods. The second brooch was a surface find from a Gallo-Roman settlement, accompanied by a few fragments of grey polished, or “Early Christian”, pottery (“DSP” in French archaeologists’ jargon) from the Late Roman Period. These brooches have a pronounced platform on the end of the foot-plate, decorated with a crossed design, and a platform on the back-plate, also with crossed design. They are obviously related to two very similar brooches without back platforms (Fig. 25.5:10), one of unclear provenance and the other from Roujan, Hérault district (France), from a Gallo-Roman settlement, without any associated Late Roman finds.<sup>48</sup> Similar brooches with crossed designs on the end of the foot-plate and no platform on the back-plate are known in Spain, particularly from the cemetery of Duratón,

43 Périn 1993.

44 Molinero Perez 1948, 34, Lám. 14.3.

45 Koenig 1980, 231, tab. 60. c, d; Pérez Rodríguez-Aragón 1997, 631, fig. 6.3.

46 Feugère 1988, 10, fig. 5.5; Kazanski 1994b, 161–162; 1999b, 17; Pinar Gil 2015, fig. 2.2.

47 See Feugère 1988, 5, 6, fig. 2.2.4; Kazanski 1994b, 168; 1999b, 17.

48 Feugère 1988, 5, 6, fig. 2.3, 5.



and in Portugal, at Conímbriga, Coimbra district.<sup>49</sup> It is thought that southern Gallic brooches with cross designs were preceded by crossbow brooches with a returned foot with an engraved design, well-known in the Chernyakhiv and the Wielbark Cultures.<sup>50</sup> However the platform on the back of southern Gallic brooches resembles some brooches of the Wielbark and Dollkeim-Kovrovo Cultures.<sup>51</sup> These brooches, typical of the Vistula basin, are combined under type Gródek 47.<sup>52</sup> Although this type includes several variants, the feature of the platform at the spring-holder was not a criterion for classification. They date from the Later Roman Period, specifically Stages C2–D2, i.e. from the 260s/270s to the 450s AD. Brooches of type Gródek 47 survived into the first half of the 5th c. according to the find in the hoard of Frombork/Frauenberg, near the Vistula estuary, with a coin from AD 433.

In the Migration Period, cross-bow brooches with specific relief decoration on the back and the bow appeared in southern Gaul (Fig. 25.5:14–15). They preceded the brooches of types Duratón and Estagel.<sup>53</sup> They are known in Vindrac, Tarn district (France) and Montmirat, Gard district (France).<sup>54</sup> These brooches are made of bronze. One piece is from a sarcophagus with a child's inhumation, where it made a pair with another similar brooch, without corrugation, which probably preceded type Estagel. One of these brooches lay at the waist, another, with remains of textile, on the left shoulder of the skeleton. In the Later Roman West, this way of wearing brooches is known only in traditional East Germanic costume.<sup>55</sup> On the belt there also was an oval iron buckle.<sup>56</sup> The second brooch, also of bronze, was discovered on the modern surface of a site of unknown character. Parallels to both brooches are known in Normandy and Spain, but they very probably date to the Early Merovingian Period. The chronology of southern Gallic brooches remains unclear. The prototypes for crossbow brooches with a corrugated body are Later Roman brooches, from Stages C2–C3 (AD 260/270–360/370), of smaller size but with the same decoration (*Raupenfibeln*), a relatively small catch-plate and a short foot-plate.<sup>57</sup> They form the group labelled Schultze 21,<sup>58</sup> which more

49 Kazanski 1994b, fig. 6.8–6.11, López Quiroga 2015, fig. 14.45, 14.46.

50 Schulze-Dörrlamm 1986, 683.

51 Kazanski 1994b, 161–162; 1999b, 17; Pinar Gil 2015, 518, fig. 6.

52 Andrzejowski, Prochowicz, Rakowski 2008.

53 On which, see Schulze-Dörrlamm 1986, 643–650.

54 Kazanski 1994b, 165.

55 For details see Kazanski, Périn 2008, 196–198; Périn, Kazanski, 2011, 317–321; Pinar Gil 2015, 531–538.

56 Feugère 1988, 7.

57 Kazanski 1994b, 168; Pinar Gil 2015, 522, 523, fig. 8.

58 Schultze 1977, 24, 25.

or less corresponds to M. Tuszyńska's series I of small corrugated brooches.<sup>59</sup> These brooches are rather widespread in the southern Baltic Sea area. They are found in the former East Prussian territory, in the Lower Vistula area, and on the Baltic islands. It seems that the corrugated brooches appeared in the West as a result of certain contacts with southern Baltic zone and the Lower Vistula basin in the Migration Period.

As has already been mentioned, some of the artefacts from southern Gaul and Spain originate from the layers of the Later Roman villas. They comprise bronze brooches with a returned foot of type Ambroz 16/2, Series 1, Variants 2 and 4, in Canet, Dordogne district (France), in Aquitania,<sup>60</sup> in El Hinojal/las Tiendas, Badajos district in south-western Spain, in a layer with coins of Theodosius,<sup>61</sup> and in Casa de la Zua, Albacete district in south-eastern Spain.<sup>62</sup> In addition, combs of the Thomas III type have been found during excavations of villas in Aquitania, such as Beaucaire-sur-Baïse, Gers district (France),<sup>63</sup> Séviac-Montréal-du-Gers, Gers district (France),<sup>64</sup> Bapteste, Lot-et-Garonne district (France)<sup>65</sup> and Mireval-Laurgais, Aude district (France).<sup>66</sup>

This relationship between East Germanic artefacts and villas in Aquitania may reflect the settlement of the Visigoths according to the so-called "hospitality law," granting the barbarians, as a reward for their military service, with one-third of the Roman population's real estate.<sup>67</sup> However, W. Goffart has supposed that this law foresaw not the real expropriation of the property of Roman citizens, but a payment to the barbarians of one-third of money equivalent of its price.<sup>68</sup> W. Goffart's hypothesis raised a point of discussion. It seems that different forms of payment could occur in different regions of the Empire. In the case of southern Gaul and Spain, where the Visigoths found themselves as masters, they certainly practised direct occupation of Roman land. However, this view may be oversimplified. The finds of East Germanic artefacts in villas in Spain actually originate from the southern half of the Iberian Peninsula, although, according to the written sources, the Visigoths gained a foothold primarily in the northern half. Therefore, it is better for now to leave

59 Tuszyńska 1988, 179, 180.

60 Kazanski, Lapart 1995, 198, fig. 10.1; Kazanski 1998, 375, fig. 1.18.

61 Pérez Pérez Rodríguez-Aragón 1996, 176, 177, fig. 3.1; 1997, 629, fig. 1.2; Kazanski 2000, 192, 194, fig. 1.8; 4.

62 Pérez Rodríguez-Aragón 1996, 176, 177, fig. 3.2; 1997, 629, fig. 1.3.

63 Kazanski 1985; Kazanski, Lapart 1995, 197, fig. 7–9; Kazanski 1999b, 15, fig. 1.2.

64 Kazanski, Lapart 1995, 197, fig. 3.3, 3.6; Kazanski 1999b, 15, fig. 1.2.

65 Kazanski, Lapart 1995, 197, fig. 3, 3.1, 3.2; Kazanski 1999b, 15.

66 Cases, Passelac 2014.

67 Rouche 1979, 23, 161–169.

68 Goffart 1980.

final conclusions as to why Chernyakhiv goods appear in the Late Roman villas contexts open.

In Italy, the presence of the Goths was episodic before the late 5th c., i.e. before the establishment of Teodorich's Ostrogothic kingdom. Finds are very rare, actually restricted to the cemetery of Sacca di Goito, Mantova district (Italy), in the basin of the left bank of the Po, north of the city of Mantua. There is only a preliminary publication discussing the cemetery,<sup>69</sup> which comprised inhumations from the age of the Late Empire. At least three graves contained brooches of the Chernyakhiv tradition with Sarmatian mirrors.

Grave 206 contained a pair of silver radiate-headed brooches of type Ambroz 1AA, measuring 6.3 cm in length, and two hemispherical gold foil appliquéés (Fig. 25.6:3).<sup>70</sup> In grave 210 there were a bronze radiate-headed brooch of the type Ambroz 1AA, measuring 4.5 cm in length, one bronze crossbow brooch with a cast foot-plate, measuring 3.9 cm in length, whose origin can be linked to eastern or central European Barbaricum in the Later Roman Period,<sup>71</sup> a bronze bracelet, and a Sarmatian mirror with a side loop (Fig. 25.6:2).<sup>72</sup> Finally, grave 214 contained a pair of radiate-headed silver brooches of type Ambroz 1AA, measuring 4.5 cm in length, a silver brooch with a returned foot of the frequently mentioned type Ambroz 16/4.III, and a bronze bracelet of the Roman tradition (Fig. 25.6:1).<sup>73</sup> Before complete publication of the site, any interpretation of these finds will remain preliminary. Quite plausibly, these are graves of military settlers of barbarian origin, as Italian scholars have suggested. In any case, their assimilation (acculturation), according to the evidence of the grave goods and grave types, was quite advanced.

It is important to note a pair of small radiate-headed brooches of the Chernyakhiv tradition, of type Ambroz 1AA and allegedly from the vicinity of Varese Lake, Varese district in northern Italy, from I. von Diergardt's collection. They are made of silver, covered with gold foil and decorated with isolated garnets, and measure 7.7 cm in length (Fig. 25.6:4). According to J. Werner, the Italian origin of these brooches is an apocryphal.<sup>74</sup> In fact, all the parallels to small radiate-headed brooches of the Chernyakhiv tradition with

69 Sannazaro 2006.

70 See Sannazaro 2006, 63, fig. 2.

71 See for example: Ambroz 1966, 70, 71; Schultze 1977, 14–16.

72 See Sannazaro 2006, 61–63, fig. 1. The preliminary publication of 2006 confuses illustration numbers 1 and 4. This error also occurs in my previous publications, such as Kazanski 2012.

73 See Sannazaro 2006, 64–67, fig. 4; 5.

74 Werner 1961, 26, tab. 19.87.

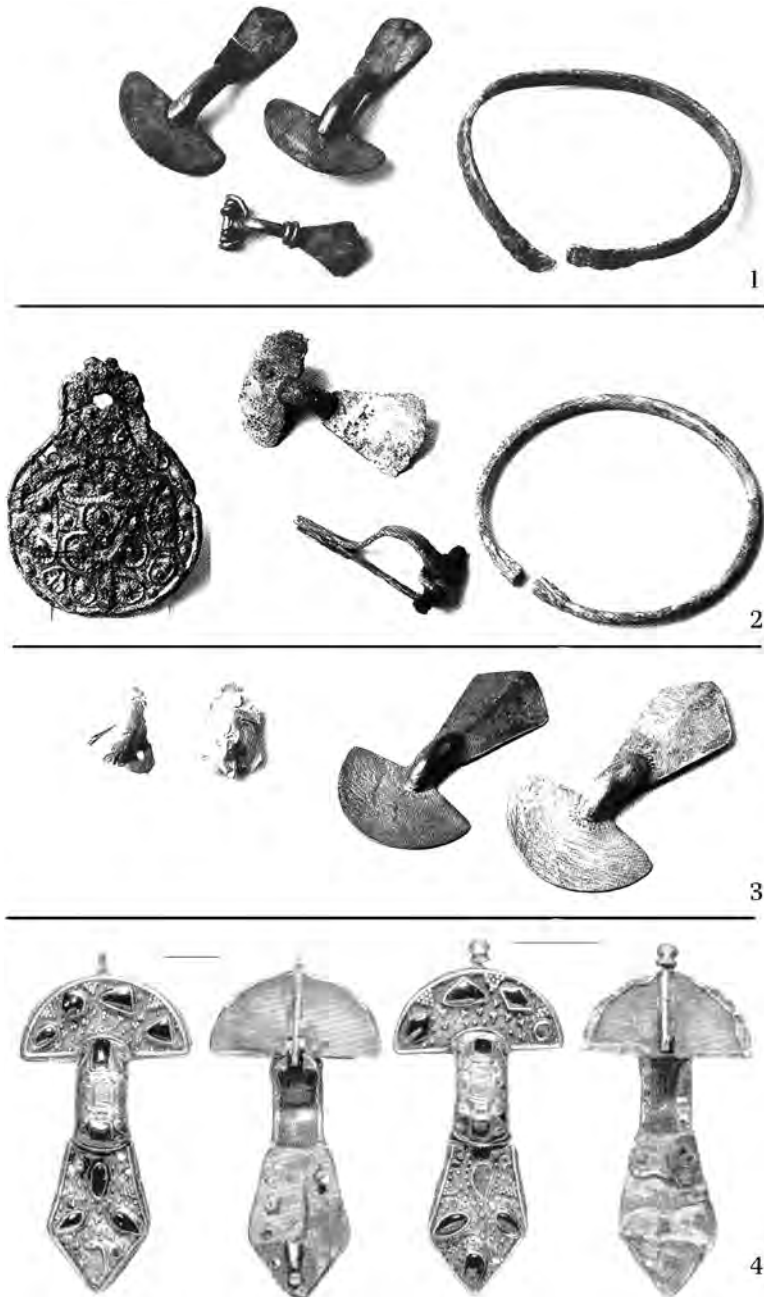


FIGURE 25.6 East Germanic artefacts from Italy: 1 – Sacca di Goito, grave 215; 2 – Sacca di Goito, grave 210; 3 – Sacca di Goito, Mantova district, grave 206; 4 – Varese, Varese district (1–3 after: Sannazaro 2006; 4 after: Werner 1961)

polychrome decoration known to me originate not from the Roman West, but the Cimmerian Bosphorus.<sup>75</sup>

The territory which is now southern Germany, where a few Late Chernyakhiv artefacts are known, formed a part of the Roman province of Raetia. No presence of Goths as a specific group in the area is documented by written sources, and so rare finds of artefacts of interest should rather reflect the appearance of relatively small barbarian groups or individuals of eastern European origin. Among these finds are combs of type Thomas III (Fig. 25.7:1–6). Some of these were found in forts, perhaps because natives of eastern Europe served in the Roman garrisons there.<sup>76</sup>

A grave at Götting, Bad-Aibling district (Germany), in Upper Bavaria, supplies evidence of some Post-Chernyakhiv traditions there.<sup>77</sup> It contained a radiate-headed brooch, a derivative of brooches of type Ambroz IBA, a comb with a triangular back of type Thomas II, of a Roman tradition, and a grey ceramic wheel-thrown vessel resembling Chernyakhiv vases (Fig. 25.7:7–9). That vessel could also have derived from a Roman tradition, however, as did all the Chernyakhiv pottery. The symbol scratched on the foot-plate of a brooch resembles Later Roman engraved designs on soldier's belts.<sup>78</sup>

In case of Britain, well-studied archaeologically, we actually have only two finds of brooches of the Chernyakhiv tradition. Firstly, there is a cross-bow brooch with returned foot from Saint Albans, county of Hertfordshire (England), north of London (Fig. 25.8:1), with a flaring triangular foot-plate of the already mentioned type Ambroz 16/4–III.<sup>79</sup> Although its connection with the Chernyakhiv Culture is obvious, the chronological range of this type is wider than the early stage of the Migration Period discussed here, enveloping the Later Roman Period too.

The second brooch was discovered in the famous hoard of Traprain Law, East Lothian, in southern Scotland, east of Edinburgh, north of Hadrian's Wall. The latest coin in the hoard is of to Honorius.<sup>80</sup> It has been thought that the hoard belonged to a local chief who established, in one way or another, a political connection with the Empire. The hoard contained a small radiate-headed brooch (Fig. 25.8:3), most likely an imitation of the Chernyakhiv type

75 Shchukin, Kazanski, Sharov 2006, fig. 161.17; 165.10.

76 Schwarz 1972–1973, fig. 23.1; Keller 1979, tab. 12.5; Fischer, Spindler 1984, fig. 71, 1, 2; Kühn 1974, fig. 93.

77 Keller 1971.

78 E.g. Böhme 1974b, tab. 94.13, 108.3, 120.11.

79 Böhme 1986b, 490, fig. 15.3.

80 Curle 1923.

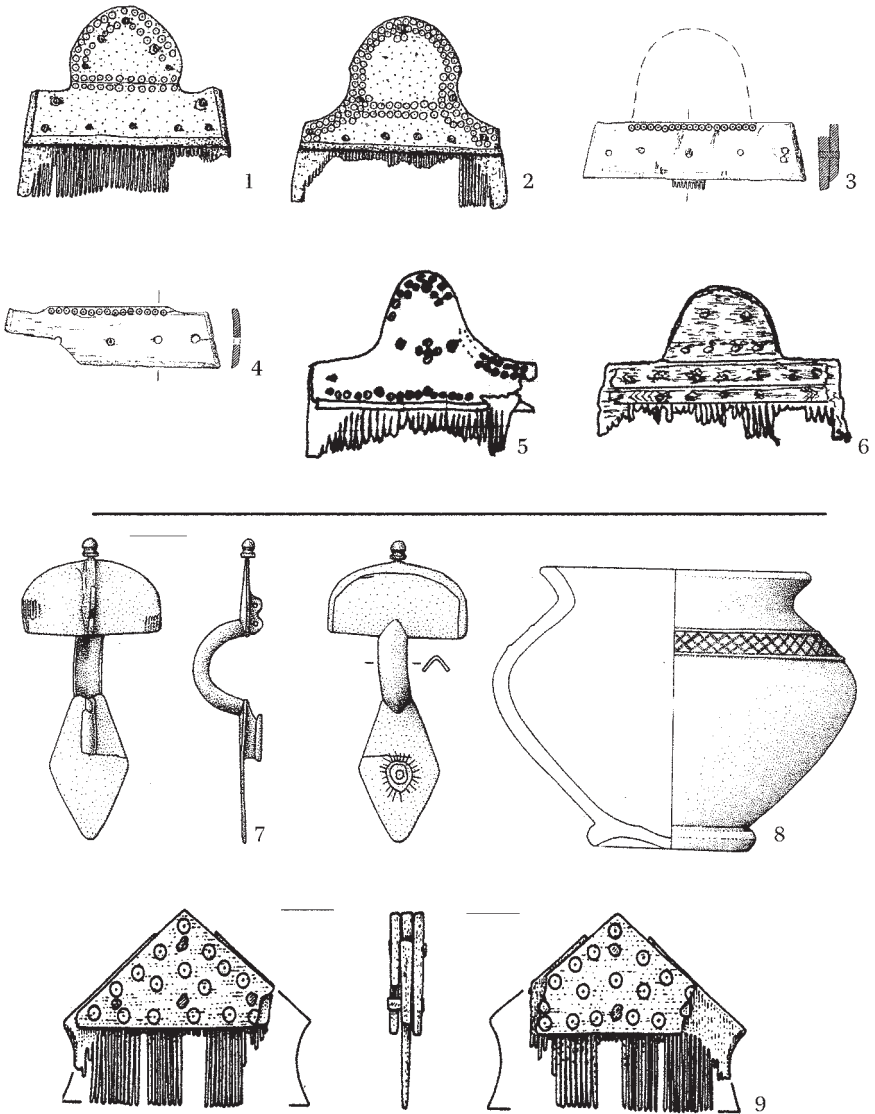


FIGURE 25.7 East Germanic artefacts from Raetia: 1, 2 – Abusina-Eining, Niederbayern district; 3, 4 – Regensburg-Niedermünster, Oberpfalz district; 5 – Neuburg-an-der-Donau-Stadtberg, Oberbayern district; 6 – Gross-Umstadt, Hessen district; 7–9 – Götting, Bad-Aibling district (1, 2 after: Fischer, Spindler 1984; 3, 4 after: Schwarz 1972–1973; 5 after: Keller 1979; 6 after: Kühn 1974; 7–9 after: Keller 1971)

Ambroz 1АБ.<sup>81</sup> Finally, we should also mention grave B1 of the cemetery at Kingsholm, Gloucester, Gloucestershire (England) in which were found, *inter alia*, shoe-fittings with silver buckles and two strap-ends (Fig. 25.8:9–12).<sup>82</sup> This type of strap-end is typical of Pontic and Danubian mounts of Alano-Sarmatian origin.<sup>83</sup>



Thus the artefacts of the East Germanic and Alano-Sarmatian tradition which were known in the Roman West during the Age of Migrations were concentrated mostly in Gaul and Spain. Nowadays it is difficult to determine if this is a reflection of the true historical situation or is related to our present level of archaeological information. Women's artefacts are more informative because, as already noted, they, in contrast to men's goods, were of an "ethnographical" nature. There is one case of osteological analysis (Angers) which shows categorically that persons buried with the Chernyakhiv artefacts had features distinguishing them from the mass of the Gallo-Roman population.

The artefacts of interest here are scattered in space and do not form any territorial cluster, except in the Rhine basin and in Aquitania. One may suppose that these zones of concentration are related to particular historical processes, such as the participation of the barbarians in the defence of the Rhine limes, and the settling of Goths in the occupied lands of southern Gaul. East Germanic and Alano-Sarmatian artefacts usually appear at Roman sites and in the context of the Roman culture, which indicates a relatively high degree of integration into Roman society. It is important to notice several cases in which Sarmato-Alanic goods appear in the same complex (Reims, Troyes, Sacca di Goito), which indicates the probability of symbiosis of groups of East Germanic and Iranian-speaking barbarians. These groups could possibly have forged a certain unity before they came to the Imperial territory, for example within joint armies of barbarians, such as the huge force of Radagaisus.<sup>84,85</sup>

81 Curle 1923, pl. 32.145; Böhme 1986b, 491, fig. 15.2. It is interesting that the knobbed decoration on the brooch from Traprain Law finds parallels located far to the east, on a brooch of the Chernyakhiv tradition from the cemetery of Baital-Chapkan, Republic of Karachayevo-Cherkessia (Russia), in the northern Caucasus (see Mastykova 2009, 50, 51).

82 See Böhme 1986b, 503, fig. 25.

83 Kazanski, Akhmedov 2007, 255, 256.

84 Kazanski 2012.

85 Michel Kazanski, French National Centre for Scientific Research (CNRS), Paris, France.

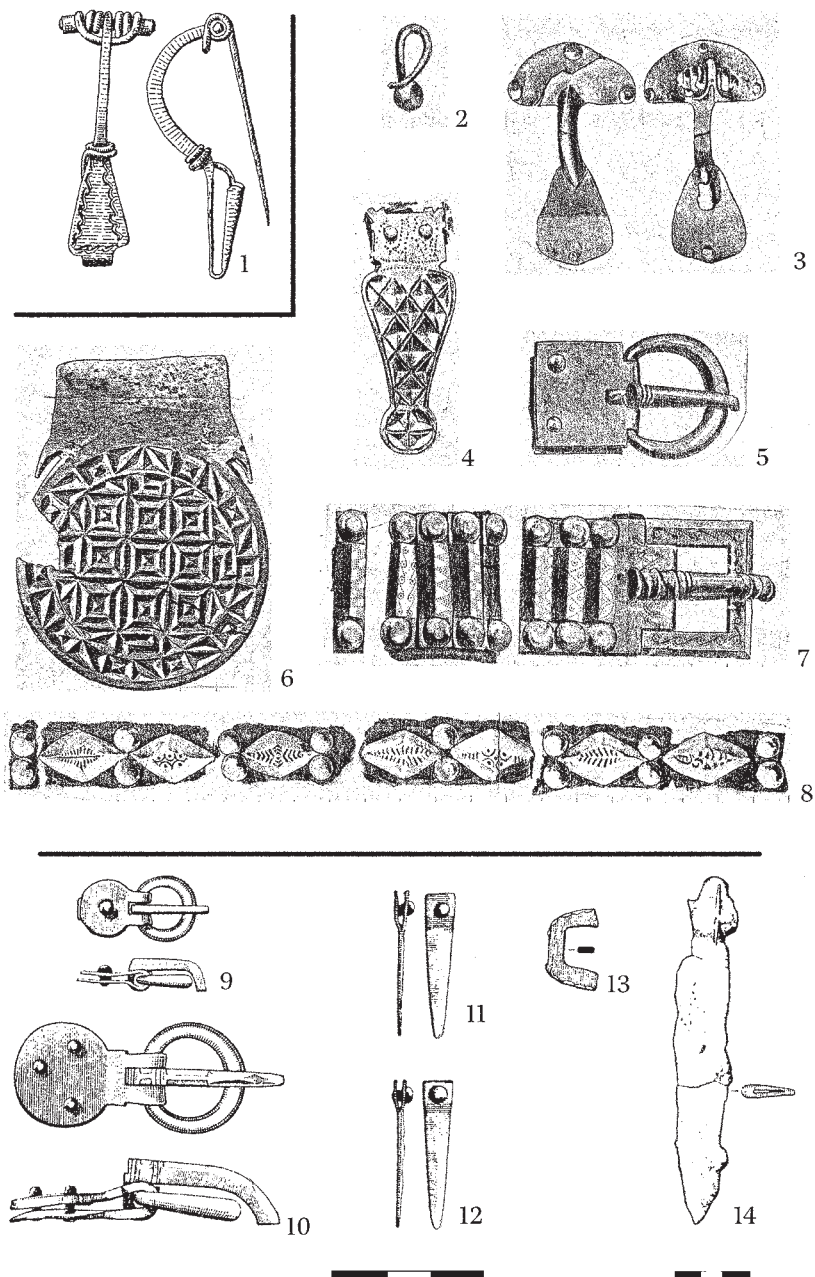


FIGURE 25.8 Chernyakhiv brooches and some associated finds from Britain: 1 – Saint Albans, Hertfordshire; 2–8 – Traprain Law, East Lothian; 9–14 – Kingsholm, Gloucester, Gloucestershire, grave B1 (1, 9–14 after: Böhme 1986b; 2–8 after: Curle 1923)