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## The Grave of King Childeric I († 481/482).

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Thomas Calligaro, Michel M Kazanski, Patrick Périn. The Grave of King Childeric I († 481/482).. Jaroslav Jiřík Kateřina Blažková Jana Bezáková Barry Ager et al. (eds.). Royal Insignia of Late Antiquity from Mšec and Řevničov. Magnificent Finds from the Migration Period from Central Bohemia., Muzeum T.G.V. Rakovník, pp.72-79, 2022. hal-04060182

**HAL Id: hal-04060182**

**<https://hal.science/hal-04060182v1>**

Submitted on 6 Apr 2023

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2022



## Royal Insignia of Late Antiquity from Mšec and Řevničov

Magnificent Finds from the Migration  
Period from Central Bohemia

Jaroslav Jiřík  
Kateřina Blažková  
Jana Bezáková  
Barry Ager  
et al. (eds.)



**Decoration  
of the Grave  
Goods of King  
Childeric I**



# Decoration of the Cloisonné-style Grave Goods from the Grave of King Childeric I († 481/482)

Thomas Calligaro – Michel Kazanski – Patrick Périn

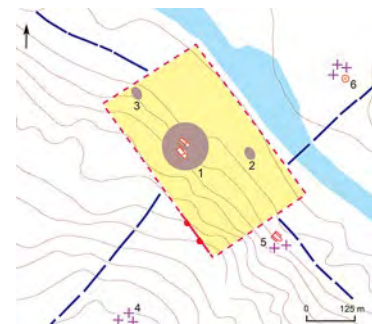
## Historical Review

The burial of King Childeric I († 481–482), father of Clovis I (481–482/511), was accidentally discovered in Tournai (Belgium), near the church of Saint-Brice **Fig. 1**, in 1653 during work on the foundations for a house by the canons **Fig. 2**. The gold objects and the large monetary treasure that accompanied the deceased were immediately dispersed but soon afterwards partially recovered on the initiative of Archduke Leopold-William, governor of the then Spanish Netherlands. He commissioned his personal physician, the scholar Jean-Jacques Chiflet of Besançon, to study and publish this extraordinary find. Thanks to the gold signet ring with a depiction of the royal bust and the inscription *CHILDIRICI REGIS* **Fig. 5**, Chiflet concluded that the deceased was King Childeric I, a historical figure cited in particular by Gregory of Tours in his *Ten Books of History* (*Dix livres d'histoire*)<sup>1</sup>. This is confirmed by the later emissions of Roman coins in the treasure bearing the name of the East Roman Emperor Zeno (476–491) **Fig. 4**.

In 1655, Jean-Jacques Chiflet published this archaeological find in a work entitled *Anastasis Childerici I. Francorum regis, sive thesaurus sepulchralis Tornaci Nerviorum effossus*, disseminated by the renowned publisher Plantin Moretus of Antwerp **Fig. 3**.

When Leopold-William left the Netherlands in 1656, these precious artefacts **Figs. 6–11**, together with the ‘francisca’, or throwing-axe **Fig. 12** and the royal spear **Fig. 13**, were taken to Vienna. After the death of Leopold-William in 1662, the Childeric Treasure became part of the Imperial Collections of Emperor Leopold I. In 1665, thanks to the arrangement by the Archbishop of Mainz Jean-Philippe de Schönborn, what was left of Childeric’s grave equipment was offered to Louis XIV as a “relic” of the First French Dynasty in return for his military assistance during a revolt by the Emperor’s subjects. The objects made their way to the Château Saint-Germain-en-Laye (now the National Museum of Archaeology (*Musée d’Archéologie nationale*) near Paris, where the court was then located, and were subsequently stored in the Royal Collections at the Palais du Louvre in Paris. From there, after they had been saved from the French Revolution, they were transferred to the Medal Cabinet (*Cabinet des Médailles*) in the Imperial Library (*Bibliothèque Impériale*), and then to the Royal Library in the Rue de Richelieu in Paris.

Unfortunately, Childeric’s burial equipment was stolen in November 1831 along with many other precious objects and coins. The robbers, who included Fossard, known as ‘Bonnet-Rouge’, a former convict, managed to melt down massive gold objects, including the king’s signet ring **Fig. 5 and 14**, the massive bracelet **Fig. 9** and the crossbow brooch **Fig. 8**, a sign of military and administrative dignity, perhaps given to Childeric for his help against the Visigoths and Saxons while fighting at the request of Syagrius, the last representative of Roman authority in Gaul. The corresponding seventeen gold bars were later retrieved. As for the gold objects inlaid with precious stones, the robbers had no time to remove them, and, surprised by a patrol while taking them to an accomplice’s house on the left bank of the Seine, they sank most of them in leather bags near the Pont-Marie bridge. In July 1832, all these bags, which contained, among other things, gold objects in the cloisonné style from Childeric’s grave **Fig. 15 and 16**, were recovered.



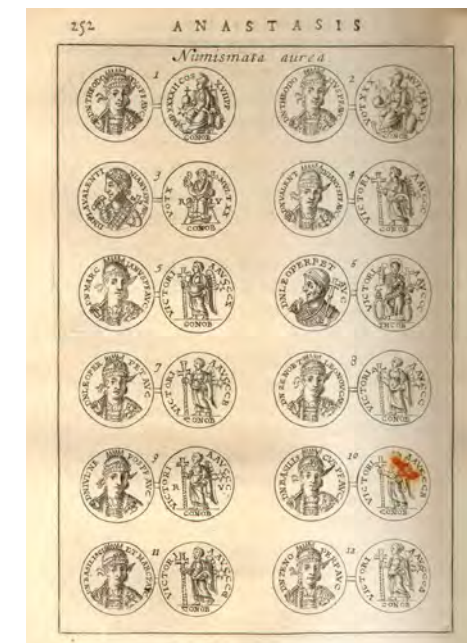
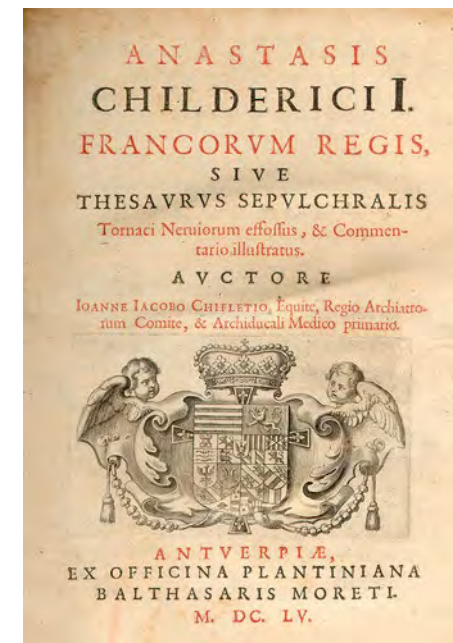
**Fig. 1:** Tournai at the turn of the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> century. Red dashed line: approximate delineation of the Late Antique castrum;  
1. Bishop’s Episcopal complex with basilica  
2 and 3: Extensive areas of *intra-muros* settlement in the 5<sup>th</sup> century  
4. Necropolis Cemetery in the Parc de l’Hôtel de Ville  
5. Funerary basilica of Saint-Piat; the church of Saint-Brice and the tomb of Childeric  
Kindly provided Raymond Brulet



**Fig. 2:** It was during the construction of this house by the canons of the neighbouring church of St. Brice that Childeric’s grave was discovered in 1653

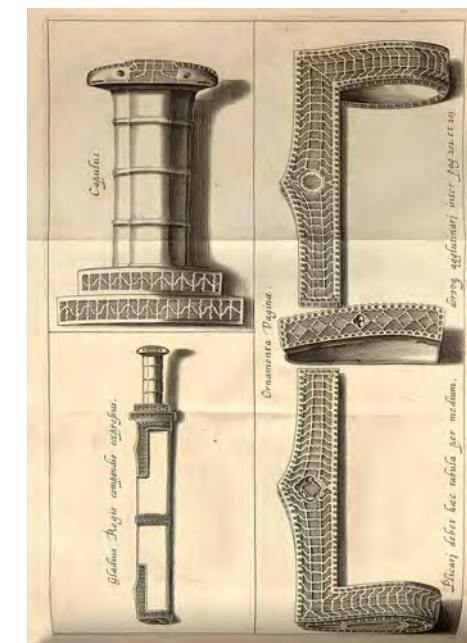
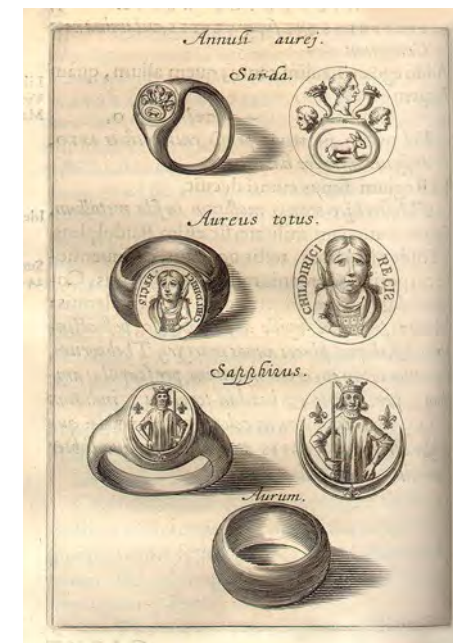
**Fig. 3:** Anastasis 1655. Cover of Jean-Jacques Chiflet’s book (1655)

**Fig. 4:** Anastasis 1655, p. 252. Several gold coin solidi from the Childeric Treasure, including of Zeno (474–491), which corresponds to the latest emission



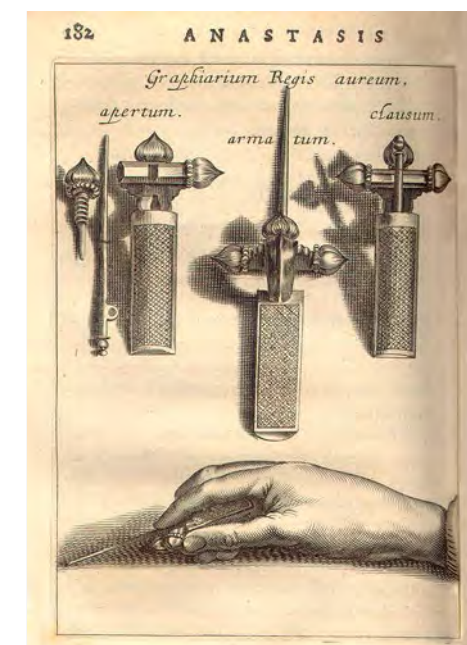
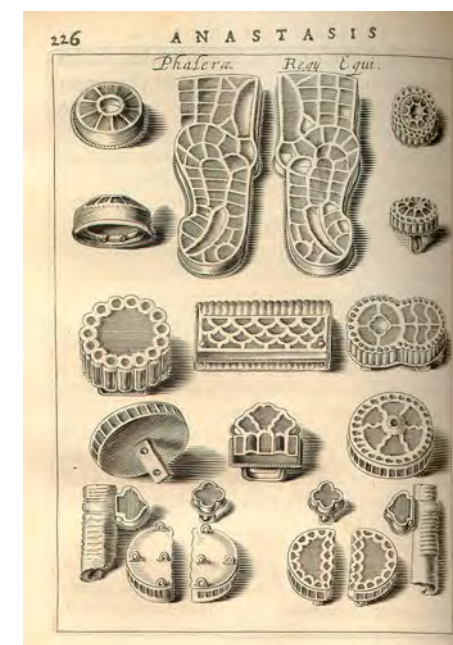
**Fig. 5:** Anastasis 1655, p. 96. Gold signet seal ring with Childeric’s emblem

**Fig. 6:** Anastasis 1655, double page after p. 202. Sword and scramasax decorations in the cloisonné style, which Chiflet incorrectly attributed to the same weapon



**Fig. 7:** Anastasis 1655, p. 226. Various gold objects in the cloisonné style, including zoomorphic finials of the purse (above)

**Fig. 8:** Anastasis 1655, p. 182. Gold crossbow brooch from Childeric’s grave, misinterpreted by Chiflet as a stylus (*gravoir*)



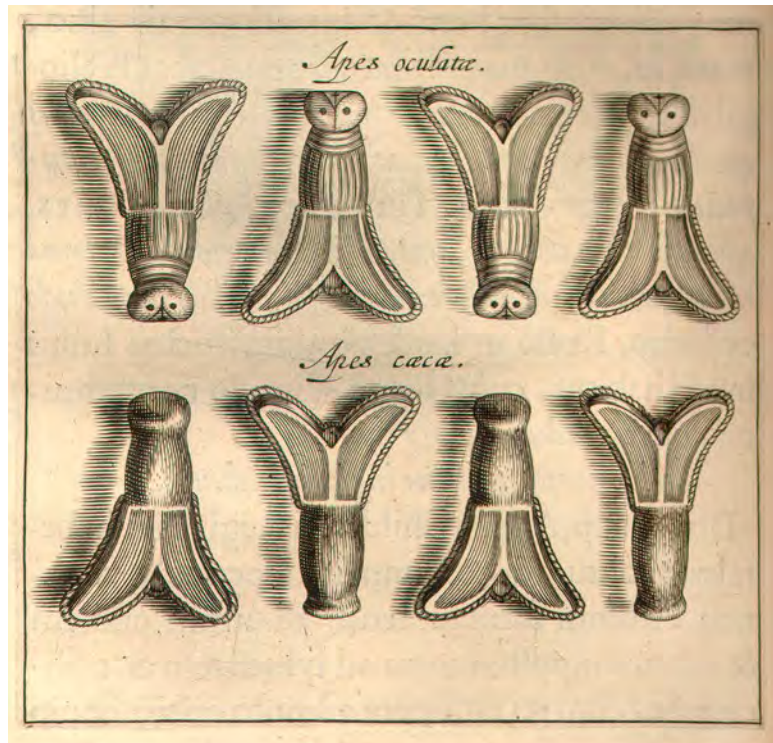


Fig. 9: Anastasis 1655, p. 236. Various costume accessories in the cloisonné style, surrounding the bracelet in pure gold (weight about 300 g) Coloured adaptation RGZM, author Ludwig Lindeschmit

Fig. 10: Anastasis 1655, p. 141. Part of the golden bees in the cloisonné style (two types)



Fig. 11: Anastasis 1655, p. 243. A crystal ball (5 cm in diameter), whose purpose is uncertain (sword bead, or end of a sceptre)



Fig. 12: Anastasis 1655, p. 210 „francisque” (throwing-axe)

With the exception of Abbé Cochet's book, published in 1859<sup>2</sup>, 19<sup>th</sup>-century scholars showed little interest in these royal antiquities, unlike the scholarly community of the last century, which devoted a number of studies to the Childeric Treasure<sup>3</sup>.

Excavations carried out between 1983 and 1986 by Raymond Brulet (University of Louvain) in the vicinity of the church of Saint-Brice in Tournai have also shown that Childeric had a lavish burial and was interred beneath a large tumulus on the perimeter of which sacrificial horses were buried<sup>4</sup> Fig. 17.

## The Merovingian Garnets Research Programme

Our programme of Merovingian garnets analysis, started in 1999 and initially limited to the Merovingian grave assemblages from the Basilica of Saint-Denis and to objects and costume accessories held at the Musée d'Archéologie nationale (MAN), soon expanded. It also included objects from other French museums and recent excavations, as well as archaeological finds from Great Britain, Belgium, the Netherlands, Germany and Romania. In this way, it was possible to analyse some 5,000 garnets, which today constitute the most representative database in the field<sup>5</sup>.

From the beginning, we also expected to be able to analyse the garnets from objects considered as masterpieces of Merovingian art, especially those in the Cabinet des Médailles at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France. However, it turned out that these objects could not be transferred to the Research and Restoration Centre of the French Museums (Centre de Recherche et de Restauration des Musées de France., C2RMF) for various reasons. It was therefore necessary to await the development of portable analytical equipment (see below), so that these analyses could be carried out on site. This work was carried out by Thomas Calligaro, research engineer at C2RMF, with considerable support from Mathilde Avisseau and Inès Villela-Petit, curators of the Cabinet des Médailles, just before its long closure for renovation. In addition to Childeric's Treasure, these analyses focused on the paten from Gourdon (Saône-et-Loire) Fig. 18, the fitting from Limons (Puy-de-Dôme) Fig. 19, and a fragment of the cross of Saint Eligius (treasury of the basilica of Saint-Denis) Fig. 20.

Following on from this, and thanks to the interest in our research of Eric Blanchegorge, chief curator of the Musée des Beaux-Arts et d'Archéologie of Troyes, we were also able to analyse the garnets from the famous "Pouan Treasure" (Aube), dating from the same period as that of Childeric Fig. 21. The time allowed by both the museums concerned and the availability of the C2RMF analytical equipment did not permit us to analyse all the garnets (several hundred), but only some of them, which we considered representative.



Fig. 13: Anastasis 1655, p. 218. Spearhead



Fig. 14: Electrotype of Childeric's signet seal-ring impression. Nantes, Dobrée Museum Musée Dobrée. See Salaün et al., 2008, fig. 1, photo G. Salaün

## Childeric's Treasure

Of the cloisonné-style decorative objects among Childeric's grave goods, the pommel and hilt of the sword, as well as the mouthpiece of its scabbard survived, together with one of the scramasax scabbard brackets and its chape, part of which is missing Fig. 15 and 16. The workmanship is of remarkable quality with cloisonné surfaces with wavy edges complemented on some of them by friezes of small hemispherical and rectangular garnets. Other cloisonné objects that have come down to us include: the sword pommel cap with half of a zoomorphic mount, a boss with polyhedral faces, part of a scabbard-binding with a heart-shaped applique, a semicircular mount, a tongue with a rectangular base, and finally two bees of two different types (from a large number that cannot be estimated) Fig. 37.

The burial equipment of Childeric's grave finds parallels in the "princely" graves of the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century, especially in Central European *Barbaricum*, where the deposition of precious objects accompanying the ruling elite was common. We are thinking in particular of the so-called "military leaders" graves at Blučina in southern Moravia<sup>6</sup> and Apahida in Transylvania<sup>7</sup>. On the other hand, graves with similar burial equipment have been found in the territory of the Western Roman Empire, which had been divided into several "barbarian" kingdoms, in fact Roman-Germanic kingdoms. Examples are the graves of the wealthy warriors of Pouan in Champagne Fig. 21<sup>8</sup>, or in Ravenna<sup>9</sup>. Unfortunately, most of these graves are old finds whose exact contents are unknown. However, it can be established that these high-ranking figures, sometimes royal like Childeric, were buried with ceremonial weapons such as swords, scramasaxes, horse harnesses and rich costume accessories. To these should be added symbols of power, some in Germanic tradition, such as massive gold bracelets with expanded, buffer-shaped ends (Tournai, Blučina, Apahida I, Pouan), and others in Roman tradition, such as crossbow brooches, perhaps imperial gifts reserved for high dignitaries of the Roman Empire (Tournai, Blučina, Apahida I), or even gold signet rings bearing names (Tournai, Apahida I, Pouan).

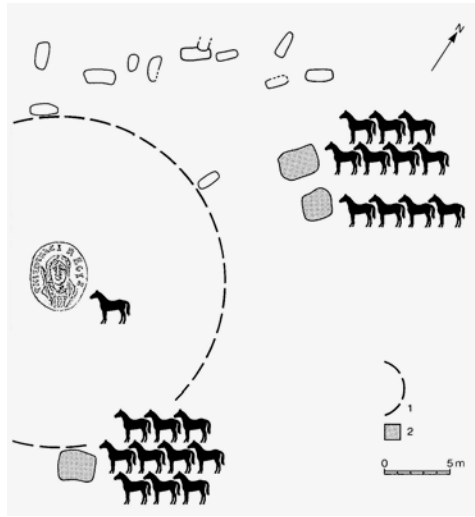
The quality of the cloisonné-style objects from Childeric's tomb has long led scholars to speculate on their Byzantine origin. This point of view is elaborated in great detail by Birgit Arrhenius in her book on Merovingian cloisonné objects<sup>10</sup>. According to her, a large part of them represent the production of Byzantine, probably Constantinopolitan workshops, since "barbarian" cloisonné goldsmithing of the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century probably did not reach such



Fig. 15: Gold fittings from the hilt and scabbard of Childeric's sword in the cloisonné style. Medal Cabinet (Cabinet des Médailles) of the French National Library Bibliothèque nationale de France

Fig. 16: Gold fittings from the scabbard of Childeric's scramasax in the cloisonné style. Medal Cabinet (Cabinet des Médailles) of the French National Library Bibliothèque nationale de France



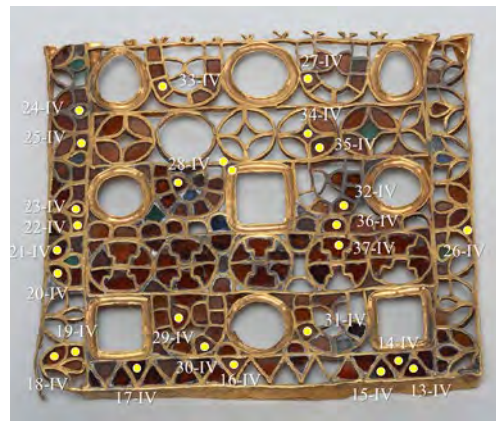


**Fig. 17:** The mound above Childeric's grave, identified by the location of the two groups of sacrificed horses on its perimeter. See Brulet 1991, fig. 8

**Fig. 18:** A The paten from Gourdon (Saône-et-Loire) accidentally discovered in 1845, with a gold chalice, both of small size. Approx. AD 500. Cabinet des Médailles de la Bnf Bibliothèque nationale de France

**Fig. 19:** Fitting from Limons (Puy-de-Dôme) accidentally discovered around 1850. Diameter 6.3 cm. 7<sup>th</sup> century. Cabinet des Médailles de la Bnf Bibliothèque nationale de France

**Fig. 20:** Fragment of the cross of St. Eligius. Basilica of Saint-Denis. Second quarter of the 7<sup>th</sup> century. Cabinet des Médailles Bnf Bibliothèque nationale de France



a high level of craftsmanship, whether it was cutting garnets into plates or setting them into perfectly shaped cells of gold sheet (compartments or cloisons).

On the other hand, B. Arrhenius suggested the possible existence of peripheral satellite workshops that used the same style and identical, but inferior techniques, whether it was cutting garnets or mounting them on paste in less elaborate cells. In developing this idea, we have assumed the existence of comparable workshops in the western Mediterranean, perhaps in Ravenna or at the court of the Visigothic kings in Toulouse, as shown by the apparently local design of some of the objects worked according to the 'Constantinopolitan' technique. It cannot be ruled out that at least some of King Childeric's objects came from workshops in the western Mediterranean, perhaps even from Ravenna<sup>11</sup>. It is possible, however, that Childeric, during his eight-year exile in the barbarian kingdom of Thuringia in the 570s, acquired some of the fine cloisonné objects with which he was buried at Tournai, especially the scramasax with a form of decoration typical of central Europe on its scabbard.



**Fig. 21:** Burial equipment from the "princely" tomb of Pouan (Aube) discovered in 1842. Late 5<sup>th</sup> century. Museum of Fine Arts and Archaeology, Troyes (Musée des Beaux-Arts et d'Archéologie de Troyes). Musées de Troyes



**Fig. 22:** In situ analysis of garnets from the Childeric's Treasure in the Cabinet des Médailles using a mobile XRF instrument. Photo T. Calligaro, C2RMF

The Thuringians were effectively in direct contact with the Byzantine world and undoubtedly with its goldsmith workshops.

At all events, and subject to new discoveries, it is likely that it was the grave of Childeric, the westernmost of the royal or princely tombs of the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century, that introduced the cloisonné style to Merovingian Gaul.

### Geochemical Analysis of the Garnets from Childeric's Treasure

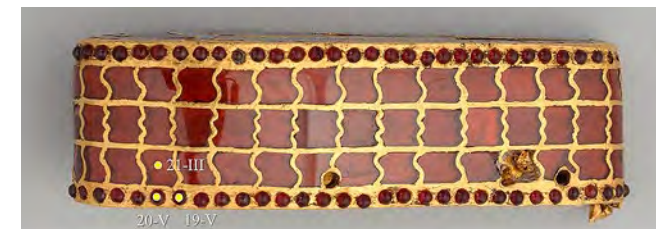
As mentioned above, the garnets from Childeric's Treasure were studied in-situ in the exhibition rooms of the Cabinet des Médailles of the French National Library. Their composition was determined directly, without touching or damaging them, by X-ray fluorescence (XRF) using specially adapted mobile equipment (Fig. 22). These analyses were complemented by images taken with a portable digital microscope (Dyno-Lite with 10× to 100× magnification), which allowed us to measure the dimensions of the garnets and to locate inclusions and, if necessary, to examine the substrate. Given the limited time available for this measurement due to limited access to the collections and equipment availability (four days), the study focused on 93 garnets selected from the total, but which represented a significant sample of garnets used in the objects from the treasure.

As the analysis of the garnets from the previously studied collections was carried out by the PIXE method using the AGLAE particle accelerator at the C2RMF, which is an accurate and fast technique, the X-ray fluorescence (XRF) method used here with the mobile device deserves a more detailed comment<sup>12</sup>. This procedure was made possible by recent advances in methodology and the development of equipment specifically designed for the study of cultural heritage. The instrument used (ELIO Bruker)<sup>13</sup> was purchased by C2RMF shortly before this measurement and adapted to the chemical analysis of garnets. Although the XRF analysis is slightly less efficient than the PIXE method, it allows the distinction of clearly Bohemian garnets (pyropes) (type V) from garnets from Portugal (type IV), India (types I and II) and Ceylon (type III). This is the core of the study, although it does not always allow the distinction between type I and II garnets, which are however scarce in the treasure. For details of the method and results, the reader is referred to a previous publication<sup>14</sup>.

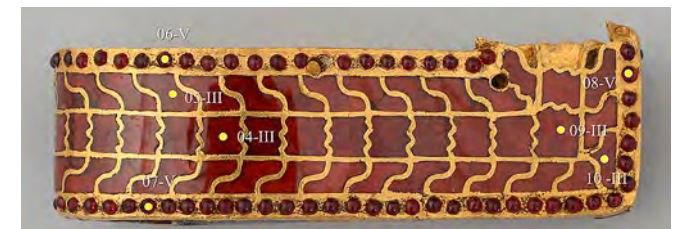
The classification of the garnets into five types was made by comparing the chemical composition measured by XRF with the chemical composition previously measured for the assemblage of Merovingian artefacts (5,000 analyses) using statistical methods based on Artificial Intelligence (Machine Learning), in particular, classification using decision trees (Random Forest and Boosted Trees) using the



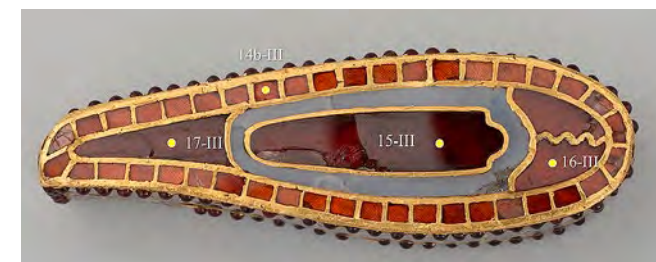
**Fig. 23:** Childeric. Detail of the sword pommel (inv. no. 56.443a). Type III garnets and a plate foil with a square grid pattern. Photo T. Calligaro, C2RMF



**Fig. 24:** Childeric. Scramasax scabbard chape (inv. no. 56.448), view 1. Measurement points and types of garnets. Photo A. Komenda, Bibliothèque nationale de France and T. Calligaro, C2RMF



**Fig. 25:** Childeric. Scramasax scabbard chape (inv. no. 56.448), view 2. Measurement points and types of garnets. Photo A. Komenda, Bibliothèque nationale de France and T. Calligaro, C2RMF



**Fig. 26:** Childeric. Scramasax scabbard chape (inv. no. 56.448), view 3. Measurement points and types of garnets. Photo A. Komenda, Bibliothèque nationale de France and T. Calligaro, C2RMF



**Fig. 27:** Childeric. Scramasax scabbard chape (inv. no. 56.448), view 4. Measurement points and types of garnets. Photo A. Komenda, Bibliothèque nationale de France and T. Calligaro, C2RMF



**Fig. 28:** Childeric. Scramasax scabbard mouthpiece (inv. no. 56.446), view 1. Measurement points and types of garnets  
Photo A. Komenda, Bibliothèque nationale de France and T. Calligaro, C2RMF



**Fig. 29:** Childeric. Scramasax scabbard mouthpiece (inv. no. 56.446), view 2. Measurement points and types of garnets  
Photo A. Komenda, Bibliothèque nationale de France and T. Calligaro, C2RMF



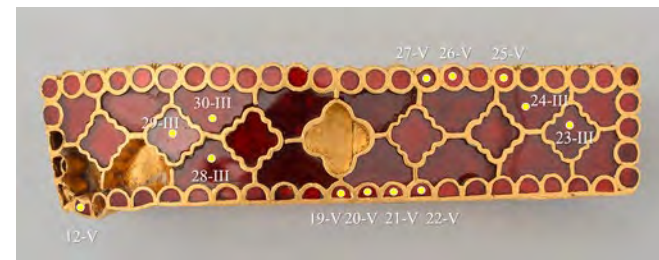
**Fig. 30:** Childeric. Scramasax scabbard mouthpiece (inv. no. 56.446), view 3. Measurement points and types of garnets  
Photo A. Komenda, Bibliothèque nationale de France and T. Calligaro, C2RMF



**Fig. 31:** Childeric. Scramasax scabbard mouthpiece (inv. no. 56.446), view 4. Measurement points and types of garnets  
Photo A. Komenda, Bibliothèque nationale de France and T. Calligaro, C2RMF



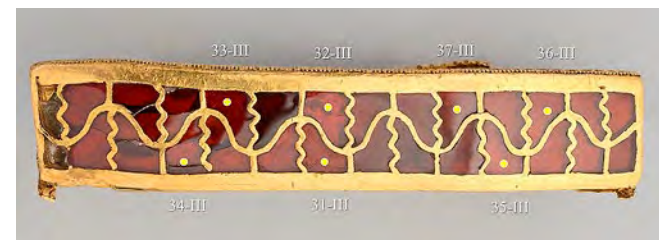
**Fig. 32:** Childeric. Mount (inv. no. 56.452); boss (inv. no. 56.454), element of scabbard scabbard binding (inv. no. 46.454); button boss (inv. no. 56.451); tongue (inv. no. 56.453). Measurement points and types of garnets  
Photo A. Komenda, Bibliothèque nationale de France and T. Calligaro, C2RMF



**Fig. 33:** Childeric. Sword scabbard mouthpiece (inv. no. 56.447). Measurement points and types of garnets  
Photo A. Komenda, Bibliothèque nationale de France and T. Calligaro, C2RMF



**Fig. 34:** Childeric. Sword lower cross-guard (inv. no. 56.445). Measurement points and types of garnets  
Photo A. Komenda, Bibliothèque nationale de France and T. Calligaro, C2RMF



**Fig. 35:** Childeric. Sword upper cross-guard (inv. no. 56.443). Measurement points and types of garnets  
Photo A. Komenda, Bibliothèque nationale de France and T. Calligaro, C2RMF



**Fig. 36:** Childeric. Part of the sword pommel (inv. no. 56.443a). Measurement points and types of garnets  
Photo A. Komenda, Bibliothèque nationale de France and T. Calligaro, C2RMF



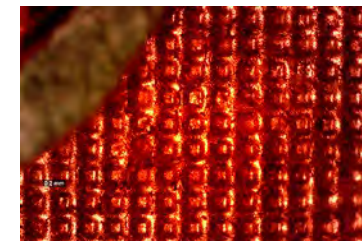
**Fig. 37:** Childeric. Two elements in the form of bees (inv. no. 56.449, right, inv. no. 56.450, left). Measurement points and types of garnets  
Photo A. Komenda, Bibliothèque nationale de France and T. Calligaro, C2RMF



**Fig. 38:** Childeric. Cabochon, garnet type V (inv. no. 56.448)  
Photo T. Calligaro, C2RMF



**Fig. 39:** Childeric. Round and flat garnet type V (inv. no. 56.447)  
Photo T. Calligaro, C2RMF



**Fig. 40:** Childeric. Gold foil 'paillon' imprinted with a square grid pattern (inv. no. 56.443)  
Photo T. Calligaro, C2RMF



**Fig. 41:** Childeric. Type III and V garnets (inv. no. 56.447)  
Photo T. Calligaro, C2RMF

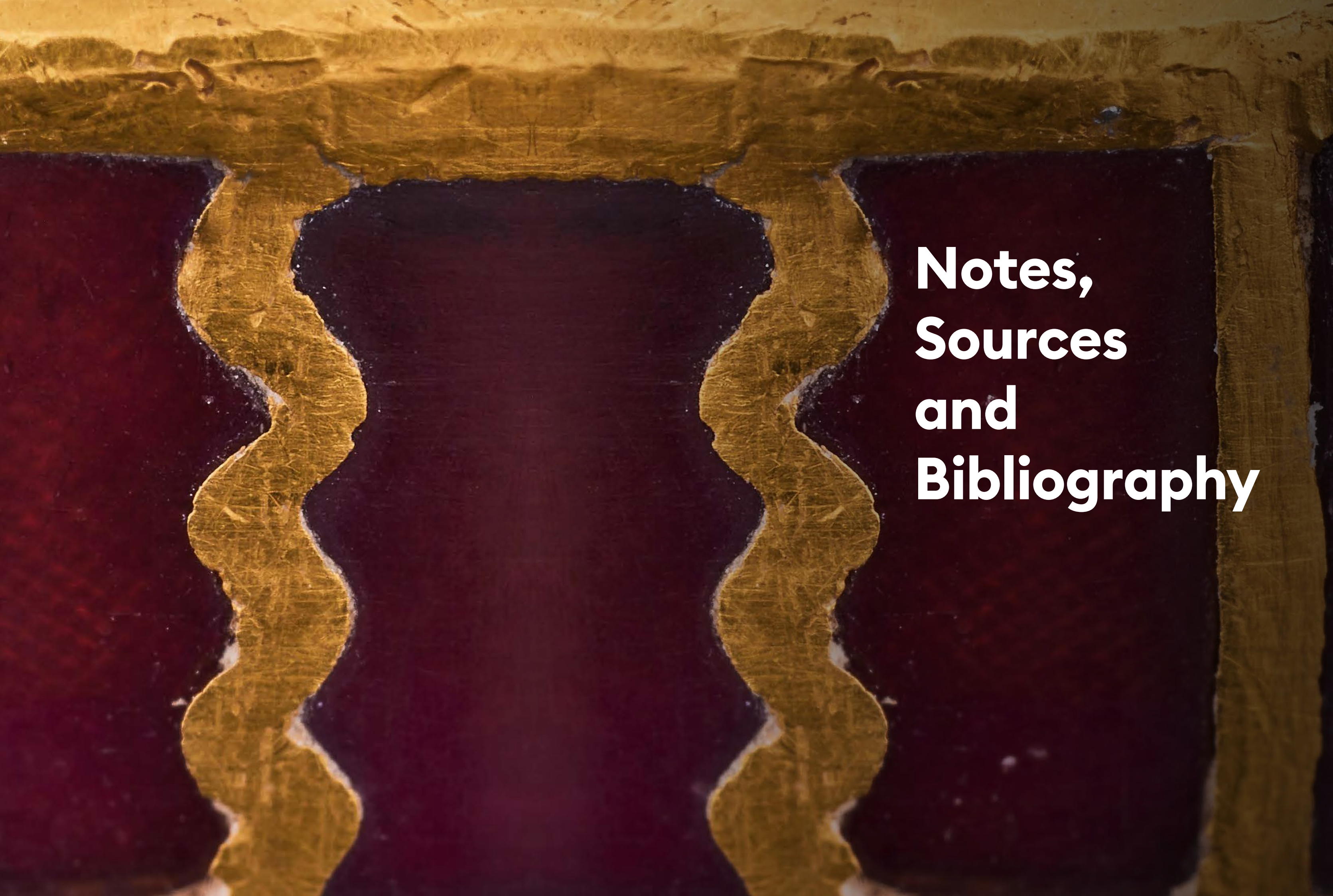
STATISTICA statistical processing software<sup>15</sup>. This method proved to be very effective and allowed the reclassification a posteriori of all the five types of garnets studied with a 98% success rate.

The garnets in the treasure have a remarkable cut and polish and have been inserted with exceptional care into the sometimes intricately-shaped gold cells Fig. 23. They have very few mineral inclusions. Among the 93 garnets analysed, there are 61 type III pyraldines from Ceylon, 5 type II almandines from India and 27 type V pyropes from Bohemia Table 1. The latter are located on five elements at the border of the decoration Figs. 24–37: the scramasax scabbard mouthpiece 56.446, the sword scabbard mouthpiece, 56.447 the scramasax scabbard's chape 56.448, the boss 56.451, and the mount 56.452. If we extrapolate these results to all the objects of the Childeric Treasure and hypothesise that the garnets that were not analysed are of the same type as those analysed according to their shape and arrangement, we obtain an even distribution: 409 Bohemian garnets (pyropes) to 434 Ceylon pyraldine garnets. They are divided as follows: 224 hemispherical cabochons of type V together with 220 flat garnets of type III (item 56.446), 49 flat round and crescent garnets of type V together with 20 flat garnets of type III (item 56.447), 120 type V crescent cabochons together with 182 type III flat garnets (item 56.448), 10 type V flat crescent garnets together with 12 type III flat garnets (mount 56.452) and finally 6 type V flat square garnets (boss 56.451). The diameter of the pyropes for the hemispherical cabochons varies between 2 and 2.5 mm Fig. 38, and for the round and flat ones Fig. 39 between 3 and 3.5 mm. A "paillon", or gold foil imprinted with a square grid pattern of 4 squares per millimetre was observed under the garnets Fig. 40, identical for all objects.

The parallel between these small pyropes and garnets from two early contexts previously studied is interesting: the bracelet cabochons from grave 123 of the Louvres-en-Parisis cemetery (Seine-Saint-Denis)<sup>16</sup> and those on the rim of the pectoral of the grave of Apahida III in Romania<sup>17</sup>, where the small hemispherical garnets on the border of the loop, 3 and 2.4 mm in diameter, are of type V. The decoration of the sword scabbard from grave 159 of the Louvres-en-Parisis cemetery contains round and flat garnets of type V, but of larger diameter (4 mm)<sup>18</sup>. The reason for the use of pyropes on small bordering elements, indistinguishable from other garnets, e.g. on the sword scabbard mouthpiece 56.447 Fig. 41, raises questions. What they have in common is that they are all small (<4 mm), although they are not always rounded (see quadrilateral elements). It can be assumed that, since pyrope garnets are always very small, they had to be supplemented with larger garnets of other provenance (type III) to create the central covering decoration. However, these could also have been used for the bordering decoration. The reason for the choice of Bohemian garnets remains an open question. In any case, it is now well documented that from at least the last third of the 5<sup>th</sup> century the Merovingian world knew and used Bohemian garnets, especially for the complementary decoration of the cloisonné cover, which required larger gems.

**Table 1: Type and origin of the analysed garnets and their distribution in the treasure**

Museum	Description	Inv. no.	Dating	Number of analysed garnets	Type of garnets					Representation of garnets	
					I India	II India	III Ceylon	IV Portugal	V Bohemia		
French National Library (Bibliothèque Nationale de France) Medal Cabinet (Cabinet des médailles)	<b>Childeric's Hoard</b>										
		upper cross-guard of the sword	56.443	482	7		7				▲▲▲▲▲▲▲
		sword pommel	56.443a	dtto	6		6			▲▲▲▲▲▲	
		lower cross-guard of the sword	56.445	dtto	9		9			▲▲▲▲▲▲▲▲▲	
		scramasax scabbard mouthpiece	56.446	dtto	18			14		4	▲▲▲▲▲▲▲▲▲▲
		sword scabbard mouthpiece	56.447	dtto	13			5		8	▲▲▲▲▲▲▲▲▲▲
		scramasax scabbard chape	56.448	dtto	18			13		5	▲▲▲▲▲▲▲▲▲▲
		bee A	56.449	dtto	2		1	1			□▲
		bee B (niello)	56.450	dtto	2		1	1			□▲
		boss	56.451	dtto	6					6	●●●●●●
		mount	56.452	dtto	8			4		4	▲▲▲▲●●●●
		tongue	56.453	dtto	3		3				□□□
		scabbard boss	56.454	dtto	1			1			▲



**Notes,  
Sources  
and  
Bibliography**



## Notes

### Chapter 2: Discovery of the Gold Jewellery Hoard at Mšec

- E.g. *Kruta 1971*.
- Jiřík – Peša – Jenč 2008*.
- In the case of the finds from Illerup-Ådal from the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, the spoils probably came from conflict with the most powerful rival of the northern barbarians – the Romans.
- The sites of Nydam-IA, IB and IC date from the Later Roman period. Ship finds also belong to this period. The Nydam II and III concentrations belong to the Migration Period, specifically the turn of the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries. These deposits consist of various finds, mainly parts of weapons thrown onto or laid on the shore of the lake. There is little time difference between the Nydam II and III sites. There is, however, a noticeable social difference: while at Nydam III the bronze objects are essentially of a simple nature, for Nydam II there is a clear proportion of objects of a higher social character (such as silver-gilt sword scabbard fittings, and Nydam-style objects with chip-carving). A layer from the Migration Period, referred to as Nydam IV, corresponding to roughly the first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century, consists of approximately 1000 objects deposited in one pit, which overlay earlier finds from the Roman period (*Bermann 1998*).
- Dickinson – Fern – Webster 2019*, 359–360.
- Dickinson – Fern – Webster 2019*, 359–360.
- Fettich 1953*.
- Tomka 1986*, 467, 481.
- Szameit 1997*, 239–243, pl. 4:3, 6–8, and 5:1–21
- Annals of Fulda (Ed. Bartoňková – Havlík – Masařík – Večerka 2002, 107–108).
- Medrano Marqués 2001–2002*, 283–285.
- Guest 2019*, 331–332.
- Jiřík – Pinar Gil – Vávra 2019*, 434, plate 8.
- E.g. *Svoboda 1965*; *Limburský et al. 2010*, *Vávra et al. 2007*; *Vávra et al. 2012*, *Doležal – Vávra 2015*; *Aspöck 2003*, *Klávnes 2013*, *Klávnes 2015a*.
- Lau – Pieta 2017*, 255–265.
- Řísuty – the discovery of a ceramic “foederate” jar from the first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century comes from an inhumation grave. Stored in the Museum in Slaný (*Svoboda 1965*, 273).
- Pchery, no. 671 – pottery and glass beads from the middle third of the 5<sup>th</sup> century, preserved from the burial site, Museum Slaný (*Svoboda 1965*, 256).
- Stehelčeves – graves from the second half or the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> century are located there (*Svoboda 1971*).
- Vinařice, a relatively well-known burial site from the entire 5<sup>th</sup> century (*Svoboda 1965*, 278).
- Svoboda 1965*, 272.
- A small bronze pincer-shaped brooch from the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> century comes from the excavations of the ploughed location Na Okrouhlici (Kolešovice area). A hoard of two silver bracelets with thickened and engraved ends from the late 6<sup>th</sup> century was discovered in a forest windfall near Lužná near Rakovník. However, the finds from the recent surveys of the ploughed area and forested area in the vicinity of the Dřevíč settlement (Kozojedy area) are crucial. Two brass bow-brooches with a rhomboid foot from the turn of the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries, a massive bronze decorated belt buckle tongue with an engraved animal from the 5<sup>th</sup> century, as well as a luxury silver-gilt horse harness ornament with silver damascening from the turn of the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries have been discovered here so far. These objects are proof of elites present in the hillfort during a period that left little evidence in the region.
- In Kněžívka (today part of the municipality of Tuchoměřice), a Migration Period burial site was partly explored and partly destroyed during the construction of the I/7 road Prague–Slaný in 1961–1962. This site is also connected with discussion about the possible location of an Arian church (*Droberjar 2005*, 39–44; *Motyková 2007*, esp. 469).
- A 5<sup>th</sup>-century settlement was identified in the Ruzyně cadaster, but its cemetery is unknown (*Kuchařík – Bureš – Pleinerová – Jiřík 2008*).
- Droberjar 2020*, 25, fig. 8:11.
- Daněček – Smíšek – Korený 2014*.
- Kuchařík – Bureš – Pleinerová – Jiřík 2008*.
- Svoboda 1965*, 268–269; *Korený 2012*.
- Svoboda 1965*, 261–269.
- Svoboda 1695*, 258–259.

30 *Korený – Havelková 2016*.

31 E.g. *Jiřík – Vávra – Kuchařík – Šmolíková (eds.) 2015*; *Vávra et al. 2012*.

32 pers. comm. Milan Kuchařík.

33 This is the find of the fittings of a spatha sheath, like those found on the example from the grave of the Grand Duke in Blučina, Brno-venkov district, of the same period as the find from Mšec (*Profantová 2018*).

34 E.g. *Svoboda 1965*; *Droberjar 1999*, *Droberjar 2020*, *Jiřík 2010*, *Jiřík et al. (eds.) 2015*. We can conclude that the find from Mšec is one of the most valuable discoveries of its kind within the Vinařice group in Bohemia and it may help to establish an interpretative framework for some other finds of “royal” character known from the Prague area. We are thinking in particular of a massive gold bracelet from the former Karlín district (*Droberjar 2001*) and a miniature of the same shape from Holubice (unpublished), which are probably not from graves (although in the first case we do not know the specific find conditions), but which again have counterparts in the most important grave complexes of their time (e.g. Apahida in Transylvania or Tournai in Belgium).

### Chapter 3: Natural Science and Technical Analysis

#### Non-destructive Analytical Assessment of the Finds

1 SEM/EDS analyses were carried out by the scanning electron microscopy equipped with an energy dispersive analyser (Tescan Mira3 LMU with the EDS analyser Bruker Quantax 200) at the laboratory of the Department of Chemical Technology, Faculty of Restoration, University of Pardubice. The measurement of the specimens took place in a high vacuum regime with an accelerating voltage of 20 kV, the detection of backscattered electrons and a data accumulation period of 300s. The data were evaluated using the Bruker Esprit software.

2 EDXRF analyses were carried out on the Spectro Midex device in the Nuclear Physics Institute of the CAS in Řež. Measurement of the samples took place in the metal samples arrangement in air using a work voltage of 45 kV and current of 0.5 mA. Data were evaluated using the Spectro XLabPro software.

3 Measured by collimator 2 mm.

#### Identification of the Non-metallic Parts of the Buckle

- Hanus et Hladký 2020*.
- Hanus 2013*, *2019*; *Hanus et al. 2019*.
- Kolesov and Geiger 1998*.
- Nasdala and Schmidt 2020*.
- Donais et al. 2016*

#### Cell Paste Analysis

- Hanus 2019*.

#### The Saga of the Bohemian Garnets in the Dark Ages

- Mellis 1963*.
- Farges 1998*, 323–330.
- Quast 2000*, 75–96.
- Calligaro – Périn – Vallet – Poirot 2007*, 111–144.
- Bugoi – Oanță-Marghitu – Calligaro 2016*, 401–406.

### Chapter 4: The Jewellery of the Tournai – Apahida – Mšec Group

- Quast – Schüssler 2000*.
- For the chronology of the occurrence of Bohemian garnets, see *Gilg – Gast – Calligaro 2010*; *von Freeden 2000*.
- Von Carnap-Bornheim 1995*.
- For the composition of the decorative motif on the buckle from the third grave from Apahida, see *Oanță-Marghitu – Niculescu – Șeclăman – Bugoi – Georgescu 2009*.
- Neuerwebungen 1997* (1998), 768, fig. 29.
- Gilg – Gast – Calligaro 2010*.
- For the chronology and provenance of the Tournai assemblage, with emphasis on the declarative value of the coins, see *Roymans – Heeren 2017*.
- E.g. *Peschlow 2008*.
- Charvát 1993*; *Charvát 2002*.

### Chapter 5: Symbolism and Geometry of the Buckle from Mšec

- For the Czech milieu last summarized by *W. Heizmann 2015*.
- Oanță-Marghitu et al. 2009*, 231, fig. 2a.
- Čiháková – Müller 2015*.
- Čiháková – Müller 2020*, 162–191.
- Hagia Sophia Ausstellungskatalog 2005*.
- Broug 2008/2019*, 50–53 and 105–114
- Pajares-Ayuela 2001*, 30, 122–130, 199–200, figs. 3-1, 3-2, 3-3, 5-15.
- For example, the columns decorated in polychrome style in the monastery of San Giovanni in Laterano in Rome (*Pajares-Ayuela 2001*, 112, figs. 234–235, 239) find their Late Antique or early Byzantine predecessors in Constantinople. The Archaeological Museum of Istanbul preserves under inv. no. 5680 T, 71. 121 T a polychrome decorated marble inlaid column with inlay of amethyst and green paste, which was removed during excavations in the Saraçhane district of Istanbul, near the famous aqueduct.
- Pajares-Ayuela 2001*.
- Pajares-Ayuela 2001*, 30–32, figs. 1-30.
- Pajares-Ayuela 2001*, 146–188, figs. 4-43, 4-44, 4-45.
- A fractal shape is self-similar, meaning that if we observe a given shape at any scale or resolution, we observe a recurring shape or motif. At the same time, although it has a complex shape at first sight, it is generated by the repeated application of simple rules.
- The term “recursive” refers to a state in which an object is in some sense part of itself.
- Kiss 1996*, fig. 14.
- Miks 2008*, 457–458, fig. 10–11, 15.
- Morín de Pablos 1994*, 26–29, 181–191, 299–310, fig. 6 A–B, 20, 50.
- Pajares-Ayuela 2001*, 241.
- Haas-Gebhard 2010*.
- Brogioło 2008*, 227–229, fig. 4.
- Hegewisch (ed.) 2008*, 231, cat. 39.
- Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, chap. X, sec. I.
- Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, chap. II., sec. I.
- Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, chap. XV., sec. VIII.
- Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, chap. VI.
- Haas-Gebhard 2010*.
- Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, chap. XV., sec. II
- Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, chap. XV., sec. II
- Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, chap. XV., sec. VII.
- Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, chap. XV., sec. V.
- Anthropological research on the remains of the inhabitants buried here clearly demonstrated their heterogeneous origins, and thanks to the local arid environment, even red and blonde hair was preserved, testifying to the movement of these inhabitants from areas originally north of the borders of the Roman Empire.
- Whitchurch – Griggs 2010*, 220, fig. 17–22.
- Whitchurch – Griggs 2010*, 229–231.

### Chapter 6: Decoration of the Grave Goods of King Childeric I

- Grégoire de Tours/Gregory of Tours (ed. 1937–1951).
- Cochet, Abbé 1859*.
- Kazanski – Périn 1988*; *Périn – Kazanski 2007*; *Quast 2015*.
- Brulet 1991*; *Kazanski – Périn 2005*.
- Pion – Gratuze – Périn – Calligaro 2020*, 819–859.
- L’Or des princes barbares 2000*, no. 33.
- Ibid. no. 29–31.
- Ibid, no. 27.
- Bierbrauer 1975*, 192–194, 298–302, pl. 30.
- Arrhenius 1985*.
- Kazanski – Périn 1996*.
- Calligaro – Castelle – Lebon – Mauran 2019*, 21.
- Galli – Caccia – Alberti – Bonnizoni – Arezi – Frizzi – Bombelli – Gironda – Martini 2017*, 437.
- Calligaro – Périn 2022*.
- Hilbe 2007*, 91.
- Calligaro – Périn 2018*, 79; *Hubert – Périn 2018*, 92 and 114.
- Bugoi – Oanță-Marghitu – Calligaro 2016*, 401.
- Hubert – Périn 2018*, 58, 105.

### Chapter 7: The Apahida Princely Graves

- The artefacts from the three Apahida graves are at present curated at the National History Museum of Romania and part of the Historical Treasury exhibition. Over time, many of these items were included in various exhibitions, some accompanied by catalogues. Thus, given the specificity of each exhibition and the subsequent editorial restrictions, I wrote different catalogue descriptions of the contexts and artefacts selected on each occasion (*L’or des princes barbares, 2000*, 172–191; *Wieczorek – Périn (eds.) 2001*, 147–160; *Oanță-Marghitu 2008a*; *Oanță-Marghitu 2008b*; *Oanță-Marghitu 2009*; *Oanță-Marghitu 2010*; *Oanță-Marghitu (ed.) 2014b*, 615–630; *Oanță-Marghitu (ed.) 2019*, 615–630; *Oanță-Marghitu 2014a*; *Oanță-Marghitu 2020*). The present paper may contain adapted excerpts of previous texts. I am very grateful to Adina Boroneanț for the English translation of this text.
- Findly 1889a*, *Findly 1889b*, *Hampel 1897*, 278; *Hampel 1905*, II, 39–43; III, pl. 32–36; *Fettich 1953*, 145–147; *Kiss 1987*, *Harhoiu 1998*, 158, pl. 58–60; *L’or des princes barbares, 2000*, 184–190; *Schmauder 2002*, II, 7–10 no. I, pl. 1–14; *Oanță-Marghitu (ed.) 2014b*, 615–619; *Oanță-Marghitu 2014a*, 157–164.
- Hampel 1897*.
- Deppert-Lippitz 2007*. Closest analogy to be found in *Deppert-Lippitz 2000*; on the structure of the Metropolitan Museum of Art brooch see Dandridge 2000.
- On this type of bracelets see *Werner 1980*.
- The rings (mainly the signet and monogram ones) have been the subject of various studies see *Werner 1967–68*; *Opreanu 1995*; *Opreanu 2014*; *Gudea 2010*; *Oanță-Marghitu 2016*; *Szabó 2020*; *Szabó 2021*.
- These artefacts were seen as part of a diadem-like head-dress see *Kiss 1987*; *Kiss 1995*, 310–311; *Schmauder 2002*, 81–89. I believe they should rather represent horse harness-fittings.
- For a proposal of reconstitution see *Kiss 1982*, 169–175.
- Horedt – Protase 1972*; *Horedt – Protase 1972a*; *Harhoiu 1998*, 159–160, pls. 61–68; *L’or des princes barbares 2000*, 172–183; *Schmauder 2002*, II, 10–18, pls. 15–31; *Oanță-Marghitu 2014a*, 157–164; *Oanță-Marghitu (ed.) 2014*, 615–616, 620–630.
- Horedt – Protase 1972*, 196.
- Oanță-Marghitu 2007*, 221, pl. 57; Quast 2018.
- By analogy with the artefacts collected from the other half of the burial.
- Kiss 1982*, 169–175.
- Horedt – Protase 1972*, 209.
- The general aspect could not have been much different from that of the emperor’s horse harness (probably Constantius II) showed on a plate found at Kertch (*Zaseckaja 1995*, 94, fig. 1) or of yet another emperor (Justinian or Anastasius) shown on the Barberini diptych (*Rom und Byzanz. Schatzkammerstücke, 1998*, 18; *Delbrueck 1927–1929*, no. 49; *Vollbach 1952*, no. 48). For further discussions see *Quast 2007*, mainly 43–48.
- Matei 1982*; *Horedt 1986*, 20, fig. 8; *Harhoiu 1998*, 160, pl. 69:6–7; *L’or des princes barbares 2000*, 191; *Schmauder 2002*, II, 18–19, pl. 32; *Oanță-Marghitu et al. 2009*.
- Oanță-Marghitu et al. 2009*.
- For technical details see also *Niculescu et al. 2011*, 620.
- Their initial presence cannot be excluded. Such pieces were made exclusively from gold and reusing the metal would have been equally easy and of a higher yield than the use of the cloisonné pieces (which were partially filled with paste and where the garnets should have to be removed previously). As indicated by the artefacts originating from the first part of the burial, the removal of the garnets had already started. This is strongly suggested by the large purse-lid where half of the garnets had already been taken out. The presence in the same community of several characters of high rank integrated within the Late Roman hierarchic system and entitled to wear crossbow brooches is also attested during the first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century at *Carsium* (Hârșova), a fortification on the right bank of the Danube in Dobruđa (*Deppert-Lippitz – Meier-Arendt – Babeș (eds.) 1994*, 220–221; *Oanță-Marghitu (ed.) 2014b*, 455–458).
- For example, one of the paintings in the Silistra-*Durostorum* burial represents a page presenting a belt. There are also other depictions of pages offering a mantle fastened with a brooch or presenting a pair of footwear and trousers. The central image shows a man wearing a mantle fastened with a crossbow brooch, while his wife is also present in the background (*Dimitrov 1962*, *Atanasov 2007*).
- It is interesting that there are small but noticeable differences among the elements integrated in the structure of the 27 appliqués. Thus, the set of accessories preserved its unitary aspect despite the fact that the gold foil backing came from different ingots with different gold content (*Niculescu et al. 2011*, fig. 2).

22 *Böhner 1948; Böhner 1987*, 421–433; *Menghin 1983*, 157–158; *Menghin 1994/1995*, 176–191.

23 *Chiflet 1655*, 204; *Kazanski – Périn 1988*, fig. 2. A similar mount was found in North Caucasus, at Zaragij in grave 118 (Naltchik, Kabardino-Balkarian Republic, Russia), *L’Or des princes barbares 2000*, 162–163.

24 *Horedt – Protase 1972*, 196.

25 *Calligaro et al. 2008*.

26 *Bugoi et al. 2016*, 404–405.

27 Many of the Greek or Roman adornments were filled with various types of paste, a way to obtain and preserve the shape of rings and beads. Within the scope of this paper, it is worth mentioning that on three of the spherical elements at Apahida paste was used and the same goes for the ring with a silver cameo from the Cluj-Someșeni hoard.

28 The similarities among such accessories (e. g. those in Childeric’s grave at Tournai and those from Apahida) are not only formal but also structural or technological as the same paste recipe was apparently used (*Arrhenius 1985*, 84, 96–126).

29 *Straume 1977*. A more detailed study of the existing vessel fragments may indicate this custom was more common than previously believed – see also the princely grave at Žuráň, Moravia (*Poulík 1995*), where two of the vessels had also been probably repaired (*Sedláčková 2016*).

30 *Chiflet 1655; Dumas 1975; Böhner 1981; Kazanski – Périn 1988; Böhme 1994; Périn – Kazanski 1996*.

31 *Horedt – Protase 1970; Horedt – Protase 1970a*.

32 *Nagy – Rotea 2010; Fritsch et al. 2010; Oanță-Marghitu (ed.) 2014b*, 637–640; *Lăzărescu 2019*, 96–99. For Florești-Polus see also *Alicu (eds.) 2008; Rotea et al. 2008* (mainly 59–64); *Ferencz et al. 2009; Lăzărescu 2009; Opreanu et al. 2007; Opreanu et al. 2010; Opreanu 2012*.

33 Two earring pairs from Apahida, one in gold, from the Migration Period (*Crîșan – Chirilă – Bărbulescu (eds.) 1992*, 31) and one in silver, with polyhedral terminals, from a grave inventory (*Csallány 1961*, 222–223, pl. 207:6; *Harhoiu 1998*, 161, pl. 91:E), two solidi from Theodosius II discovered in Cluj and Cluj-Someșeni (*Crîșan – Chirilă – Bărbulescu (eds.) 1992*, 132, 362). For a more recent review on Apahida area see *Marcu – Cupcea 2014*.

34 For the Someșul Mic Valley see *Horedt 1956; Gáll et al. 2017*.

35 An interesting situation was observed at Turda (Potaissa), ca. 30 km south-southeast of Cluj, where a female burial was found within the former castrum of the Fifth Macedonian Legion, in the area of the Thermae. The grave goods were made of gold and silver, some also inlaid with garnets. Among them was a buckle with decoration apparently inspired by the borders of small hemispherical garnets noticed on the accessories at Apahida or Tournai (*Bărbulescu 2008*). Moreover, if the artefacts dated to the 5<sup>th</sup> century from the so-called Moigrad hoard (Sălaj County, România) originate indeed in the area, one cannot overlook the proximity to the former Porolissum (further information on the Moigrad hoard in *Fettich 1953*, 161–170; *Horedt 1977; Makkay 1989*).

36 *Hampel 1905*, I, 430, fig. 1242; II, 50–51; III, pl. 43:3; *Csallány 1961*, 194, pl. 216:6–6a; *Harhoiu 1998*, 87, 187, pl. 95:C.

37 *Neuerwerbungen 1997 (1998)*, 761–763, fig. 29.

38 See *Schmauder 2002*, I, 145–149 (discussion), 348–349 (list); II, 118 (map). Additional in the list: *Hindman 2007*, cat. no. 7, 56–59, 215; from the antiquities trade: TimeLine, 24 052016, Lot. No. 925 (<https://www.sixbid-coin-archive.com/#/en/single/130629647?text=garnet%20gold> accessed on 28 012022).

39 Cabochons were used to mark the central area of the bezel, as seen on one of the rings from Cluj-Someșeni (fig. 20), or in groups of two or three adjacent cells, as seen on two pieces from Crimea (part of the *Berthier-Delagarde collection – Andrási 2008*, cat. no. 12–13, pp. 38–39, 72; pl. 7) and on a ring of unknown origin (*Hindman 2007*, 57).

40 Analogies for the pendants from Florești-Polus see *Lăzărescu 2019*, 95–96; *Tica 2021*. The belt buckle bordered with small hemispherical garnets associated with the pendant – in the child grave M. 12/2009 from Kranj-Lajh in Slovenia – is very interesting in aspect. In my opinion, the context highlights the attractiveness of the decoration using borders of small hemispherical garnets and the intentions of its reproduction.

41 *Getica 264*.

### Chapter 8: The Belt Buckle from Rüdern

1 Cf. generally von *Rummel 2007*.

2 Actually, the Apahida-Rüdern-Tournai group was worked out as a chronological stage by *Werner 1935*, 30–34, who used it to

describe the older section of his Group I (AD 450–480). Cf. *Ament 1970*, 62–65.

3 On the Childeric tomb, now *Quast 2015*, and on the dating ibid. 237. Cf. also the contribution by P. Périn in this volume.

4 *Christlein 1972*, 262; *Christlein 1978*, 163–164 no. 299.

5 *Arrhenius 1985*, 101–113; *Böhme 1994*, 98–103; *Kazanski 1994; von Freeden 1995*, 595–599; *Quast 1999*.

6 *Schiek 1983*, 52–53.

7 Modern colour illustration of the preserved finds in *Fuchs (ed.) 1997*, 152 fig. 148.

8 *Engels 2007*.

9 *Paulus 1859*.

10 *Paulus 1859*.

11 *Paulus 1859; Christlein 1972; Engels 2007*.

12 *Schmauder 2002*, 327–328 "list of finds".

13 *Quast 2015*, 176, fig. 3.

14 *Schmauder 2002*, 250.

15 *Wieczorek – Périn 2001*, 161. See also the contribution by R. Oanță-Marghitu in this volume.

16 *von Carnap-Bornheim 1995*. See also the contribution by M. Kazanski in this volume.

17 *Kiss 1991*, 119–120 with fig. 2. Critical to the find-spot, see *Schmauder 2002*, 250.

18 *Dimitrijević 1982/83*, 50, fig. 8.

19 *Calligaro – Périn 2018* (with further literature).

20 *Schähle 1956*, 16–17.

21 Menzer’s expert opinion is reiterated in *Schähle 1956*, 16–17.

22 I sincerely thank Susanne Greiff (University of Tübingen), for her assessment of the analyses from 1952.

23 *Quast 2011*.

24 *Tihelka 1963; Wieczorek – Périn 2000*, 166–168, no. 4.12.

25 Photo of the Ailenberg seen from the Neckar valley see *Fuchs (ed.) 1997*, 429 fig. 489.

### Chapter 9: Early Byzantine Jewellery from Olbia

1 *Kazanski 1996*, 324, 325; *Kazanski 2011*, 41–44; *Jordanes, Getica*, ch. LIII.

2 *Kazanski – Mastykova 2016*, 98,99, fig. 12.

3 *Kapošina 1950*, 107, fig. 49; *Ross 1965*, no. 166. pl. 79–82; *Kazanski – Mastykova 2014*, 97, 98.

4 *Arrhenius 1985*, 101, 102, 123.

5 *Zaseckaia 2010*, 137.

6 *Kazanski – Périn 1988*, 23, fig. 9.1–3.

7 *Werner 1980*. For the latest publications of the burials at Tournai and Blučina: *Quast 2015a, Tejral 2020*.

8 *Zaseckaia et al. 2007*, 48–60.

9 *Kazanski – Périn 1988*, 23, fig. 9. 4.

10 *Zaseckaia et al. 2007*, 48, pl. V.a, b.

11 *Kazanski 1996*, 324, 325; *Kazanski – Mastykova 2014*, 97, 98, with further bibliography.

12 *Bierbrauer 1975*, 162–167; *Kiss 1983*, 111.

13 *Bierbrauer 1975*, Taf. 32,3, 33,7, 86,4; *Baldini Lippolis – Pinar Gil 2010*, fig. 2.

14 *Baldini Lippolis – Pinar Gil 2010*.

15 *Ermolin 2012*, fig. 5.1, 2.

16 *Kiss 1983*, 101, 104, figs. 4, 5.

17 *Harhoiu 1998*, 171, pls. 70, 71.

18 *Harhoiu 1998*, 157–161, pls. 58–69.

19 *Kazanski – Mastykova 2014*, 97, 98; *Kazanski 2017*, 72.

20 *OAK 1903*, 150, fig. 294; *Kapošina 1950*, 104–106, fig. 47; *von Carnap-Bornheim 1995*.

21 *Kazanski – Mastykova 2014*, 97, 98; *Kazanski 2017*, 72.

22 *Quast 2015b*, pls. 9, 10, 17, 18.

23 *L’Or des princes barbares 2000*, cat. no. 30.7.

24 *L’Or des princes barbares 2000*, cat. no. 29.3, 5, 6, 9, 7, 10, 14.

25 *L’Or des princes barbares 2000*, cat. no. 31.

26 *Steuer 1997*, fig. 148.

27 *Tica 2021*, 151, fig. 7.

28 Cf. *Legoux et al. 2009*, cat. no. 15, etc.

29 *Aimone 2008*, cat. no. IV.35b.

30 *Wood 2008*, cat. no. IV.15.

31 *Zaseckaia 1993*, 62, cat. no. 130, 135.

32 *Harhoiu 1998*, pl. 66a, d, e; *Nagy 2007*, pl. 20.

33 *Kazanski 1994*, 138–143, figs. 1–4; *Böhme 1994*, 98–103; *Kazanski 1996*, 325; *Horváth et al. 2009*.

34 More in *Arrhenius 1985*, 100–113.

35 *Romans and Barbarians 1976*, cat. no. 157.

36 *Kiss 1983*, fig. 14.3, 6–8; *L’Or des princes barbares 2000*, cat. no. 29.35, 36, 32.

37 *Zaseckaia 1993*, 55, 56, cat. no. 98, 98.

38 *Zaseckaia et al. 2007*, 48–60

### Chapter 10: City of Carnium (Kranj) and one of the Graves from the Kranj-Lajh Cemetery

1 Its name comes in various forms: Carneola, patria Carnech/Carnich and patria Carnium.

2 *Ravennatis Anonymi, Cosmographia* 4.21, 22, 37.

3 *Šašel 1992*, 728–732; *Wolff 2000*, 103–105; *Štih 2001*, 8; *Knific – Lux 2010*, 32; *2015*, 29; *Bratož 2014*, 387–391; *Sagadin 2020a*, 202.

4 *Staab 1976*.

5 *Wolff 2000; Bratož 2014*, 387–395. Franc Kos lists all the geographical terms with comments that can be found in the *Cosmographia* and are related to the territory of present-day Slovenia and its immediate neighborhood (*Kos 1902*, 221–229, no. 182).

6 Carnium is the only settlement in Carneola which can be identified with certainty. Its location in Kranj should not be disputed, not only because of the geographical indication in the *Cosmographia* but also because of the linguistic equality of the ancient and modern toponym, because of the archaeological remains dating back to antiquity, and to the early and late Middle Ages, and because of written records from the 11<sup>th</sup> century (*Šašel 1992*, 730, notes 1–3).

7 “Item in valle eiusdem patriae...” (*Rav. Anon., Cosm. 4.22*); see *Bratož 2014*, 388.

8 It seems that at the beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> century, the defense system was no longer defended. Some parts of the *Claustra*, however, could be used for the defense of Italy at least in the first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century, possibly even later, until the 6<sup>th</sup> century (e. g. *Ciglenečki – Milavec 2009*).

9 For *Claustra* see, e. g. *Šašel – Petru 1971, Kusetič et al. 2014; Kos 2015; 2019; Ciglenečki 2016*.

10 *Šašel 1992*, 714; *Štih 2001*, 8–9.

11 *Šašel 1992*, 733–734, 738; *Bratož 2014*, 388–389.

12 *Ciglenečki 1987*, 126–127; *2008*, 489–490, 496–501, fig. 2.

13 *Knific – Lux 2015*.

14 *Ciglenečki 1997*, 191–192; *1999a*, 290–291; *1999b*, 302; *2000*, 120–121.

15 *Štih 2001*, 10.

16 Slavko Ciglenečki mostly researched the late antique colonization of the southeast Alpine area (e. g. *1999a; 1999b; 2000*). See also *Milavec 2021*. For hillfort settlements, see, e. g. *Ciglenečki 1987; 1992; 1994; 2008; Ciglenečki et al. 2011*, 273–287.

17 *Sagadin 2008*, 192. These are the communication routes which in the northwestern part of Slovenia and partly in Austrian Carinthia and Friuli reliably and by the shortest possible line through Upper Carniola and Soča Valley enabled access across the Alpine world to the Friulian Plain (*Ciglenečki et al. 2011*, 260, 262, fig. 5.1).

18 If we take into account the authors who believe that the prevalence of Gothic monetary finds is a fairly reliable indicator of their settlement (e. g. Kiss 1984; Demo 1994; Kos 2000) and consider other archaeological finds that can be linked to their occupation or rather control at the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> and first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> centuries, then we get a fairly clear picture of their settlement in Dalmatia, Noricum and Pannonia. This also shows that the northeastern border of the Gothic-controlled area was represented by the River Drava during its entire course, so that much of present-day Austrian Carinthia fell under their direct control (*Tica 2017*, 352–353).

19 *Sagadin 2008*, 139–140, 176, 188–189; *2020a*, 206–208.

20 For Aquileia-type brooches and their chronological classification, see *Bierbrauer 1975*, 102–104, 113.

21 *Sagadin 2008*, 142, fig. 29–30.

22 *Sagadin 2008*, 155, map 3; *2020a*, 208, fig. 4.

23 *Knific – Lux 2015*, 31.

24 *Sagadin 2008*, 145–146; *Urankar – Bešter 2014*, 26–28, 37–39, 42; *Knific – Lux 2015*, 31. There are no clear studies on the Late Antique urbanism or uniform publications on settlement remains in Carnium. Various data on settlement remains can be found in Maksimiljan Sagadin’s doctoral dissertation (2008), in various unpublished reports on excavations in the old town of Kranj, or in short articles

in the periodical *Varstvo spomenikov* (*Journal for the Protection of Monuments*), issued by the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Heritage of Slovenia. Reports and articles relating to settlement excavations in Carnium are cited in *Knific – Lux 2015*, 31, notes 10–12 and partly in *Bešter 2021*.

25 As an accidental find, a tremissis of Theoderic was also found in the Kranj-Iskra cemetery (*Demo 1994*, 183, cat. no. 28). The cemetery of Kranj-Iskra lies opposite Kranj-Lajh, on the other side of the River Sava. In addition to a little less than 250 Early Medieval (Slavic) graves, 30 Late Antique ones were also excavated at the cemetery. In the Late Antique graves widespread finds predominated, such as brooches with a shield-shaped base, earrings with polyhedral terminals or double-sided combs. In addition to the stray tremissis of Theoderic, the S-shaped brooch of the Schwechat-Pallersdorf type stands out, probably found in a secondary position at the left knee of the deceased in the otherwise destroyed grave 12 (for the cemetery see *Sagadin 1988*; for the brooch see *Milavec 2007*, 344–345, pl. 3: 9).

26 *Knific 1995*, 23–32; *Knific – Lux 2010*, 31–32; *2015*, 31. For the history of research at the Kranj-Lajh cemetery, see *Lux – Ravnik 2008*; for the history of research in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries also *Bras Kernel 2002*.

27 *Stare 1980*.

28 *Tica 2017*, 288–291; 356–364. Some other authors have also pointed out errors in Stare’s publication e. g. *Bóna 1981 – a review of Stare’s monograph; Knific 1995; Bras Kernel 2002; Milavec 2004; 2007*. In some recent publications, the authors, with the help of archival material and old publications, have already started to use revised data e. g. *Bitenc – Knific 2001*, 69, cat. no. 216, 77, cat. no. 245; *Knific 2005*, 334–337, 342, fig. 4: a; 9: 1, b; *Milavec 2004*, 38–39; *2007*, 336, notes 20, 22; 337, notes 48, 49, 51; 339, note 83; cat. no. 1, 2, 6, 7, 11.

29 *Žmavc 1904; Šmid 1907*.

30 E. g. in *Knific – Lux 2010; Tica 2021*.

31 *Podobnik 2016* (diploma thesis); *Urek et al. 2016* (excavation report).

32 E. g. in Bitenc–Knific 2001; *Zlata doba 2006; Vidrih-Perko 2013; Perko 2018*.

33 *Werner 1962*, 125.

34 E. g. *Vinski 1964*, 106–107; *1980; Ciglenečki 1999c; 2006*, 108–109; *Knific 2005*, 331; *Knific – Lux 2010*, 32; *2015*; 31; *Bitenc – Knific 2008*, 101; *Sagadin 2020b*, 14, 16. Joachim Werner, who also writes about Kranj in his monograph on the Langobards in Pannonia, points out that this is not a Langobardian but a Langobardian-age cemetery. The reason for this is that the cemetery shows mixed Germanic elements because Carnium was occupied by Germanic military units who brought their families with them (he mentions first the Ostrogothic and then the Langobardian presence; he does not mention the Alamannic and the Frankish presence). The burials of the indigenous population that lived in the settlement and its surrounding area played an important role since the beginning of late antique Carnium (*Werner 1962*, 127).

35 *Knific – Lux 2010*, 29, 31, fig. 6; *Urek et al. 2016*, 231, fig. 122; *Demo 2017*, 89–91, fig. 6: 2 (Gepid siliqua from grave 266 according to Stare); *Tica 2021*, 89, fig. 2.

36 *Vinski 1980*, 20; *Knific 2005*, 341, fig. 8: 31/3, 287/3; *Urek et al. 2016*, 231, fig. 121.

37 Bóna probably thought there was no information in Stare’s publication. At least for some of the graves from older excavations we have this information (e. g. Žmavc and Šmid publications), as well as for unfortunately unpublished graves excavated after 1982.

38 *Bóna 1981*, 297. Bóna believes that in the first half of the cemetery use, i. e. during the Gothic occupation, indigenous graves were prevalent in Kranj-Lajh.

39 Werner hinted that the indigenous element in Kranj-Lajh needs to be considered, and Vinski was the first to emphasize it in his studies.

40 According to Bóna, the first Langobards came to Pannonia in 526 (after Theoderic’s death), but at that time they took control of the area only by occupying forts and crossings across the Danube between Vindobona and the Csepel Island south of Budapest. The majority of the Langobards are said to have come to Pannonia in 546/547, when they took control of present-day Burgenland in Austria and the Transdanubia region of Hungary (*Bóna 1976*, 31).

41 *Bóna 1981*, 297–299.

42 There were also 5 Ostrogoth coins among other finds from the cemetery (*Demo 1994*, 38–39, 183).

43 *Bolta 1981*, 31, pl. 2: 7–10.

44 *Ciglenečki 1992*,

Ostrogothic occupation, based on the finds and a considerable number of deceased people with artificially deformed skulls (13). An undiscovered settlement near the cemetery supposedly belonged to foreigners, namely to the Germanic people – Ostrogoths (*Slabe 1975*, 77–98; *Tica 2017*, 281–288, 308, 353).

47 In Frascaro near Alessandria in Piedmont, a Gothic settlement with a cemetery from the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> and the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> centuries was partly explored between 1998 and 2007 see *Micheletto 2003*; *Bierbrauer 2007*, 106–113 (summarized and commented on by Egle Michelletto), *Giostra 2011*, 9–12, *Micheletto et al. 2019*. Neither the settlement nor the cemetery have been completely excavated. Some parts extend beyond the area intended for archaeological research. Until the publication of Caterina Giostra, where she briefly provided basic information on the excavations at Frascaro, 27 graves had been excavated. Micheletto mentioned 17 of them in 2003, which is also summarized by Brierbrauer. Neither the cemetery nor the settlement have yet been fully published (after *Giostra 2011*, 9, note 3).

48 These graves can be connected in one way or another with the Goths or related Germanic groups from the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> and the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century. Bow brooches or crossbow brooches were found in the graves and their location has been documented as well. Sites: Rakovčani near Prijedor, Pola, Miren in the Vipava Valley (2 graves), Narona (2 graves) and Collegno (*Tica 2017*, 312–313).

49 *Miletić 1970*, pl. 2: 7. For an anthropological analysis of the skeleton from a man’s grave no. 7, see *Pilarić 1970*. The deceased had an artificially deformed skull.

50 *Stare 1975*, 12–13, 17, pl. 1: 1–2; 3: 4–5.

51 *Micheletto 2003*, 700, 702, fig. 6–8; *Bierbrauer 2007*, 107, 109, fig. 12: 1–2.

52 A rich belt set, a purse, and a brooch of the Desana type were found in grave II in Globasnitz (luenna) in Carinthia. According to the wealth of finds the grave from Globasnitz represents an exceptional find among the male graves attributed to the Ostrogoths at the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> and in the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century (*Glaser 2006*, 94–96, fig. 6–8; *2008*, 134, cat. no. 49–59).

53 For comparison, see, e.g. *Menghin 1987; 2007*; for individual Germanic groups: the Gepids (*Csallány 1961*; *Bóna–Nagy 2002*; *Cseh et al. 2005*); Langobards (*Brogiolo–Chavarria Arnau 2007*; *Bóna–Horváth 2009*; *Tejral et al. 2011*; *Brogiolo et al. 2017*); the Alamanni (*Christlein 1991*; *Fuchs et al. 1998*); the Franks (*Wieczorek et al. 1996*; *Peragallo 1997*); Thuringians (*Schmidt 1961*; *1970*; *1976*); Baiuvarii (*Dannheimer–Dopsch 1988*).

54 49 excavated graves (*Slabe 1975*).

55 I have classified it as one of the Western Illyrian sites, although it is already located in the Vipava Valley, which belonged to the Regio X Venetia et Histria. 9 excavated graves (*Tratnik–Karo 2018*).

56 11 excavated graves; graves built with tegulae (*Uglešić 1995*; *Buljević 1999*).

57 *Micheletto 2003*, 699–701; *Bierbrauer 2007*, 107–109.

58 *Pejrani Baricco et al. 2019*.

59 The origin of such conclusions lies in a rather heated debate between Ágnes Salamon and László Barkóczi on the one hand and Eszter Vágó and István Bóna on the other. Solomon and Barkóczi cited the presence of combs in graves in Pannonian Late Antique cemeteries from the late 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries as one of the proofs of the presence of barbarian federates in Pannonia (1971). After their publication of a part of the cemetery from Csákvár in the 70s of the last century, Bóna in particular strongly opposed this and attributed most of the tombs with combs to the indigenous population (*Vágó–Bóna 1976*). Mária Biró adopted Bóna’s views and since her publications are one of the few monographic representations of Pannonian combs written in German and English, the authors mainly summarize these works (e.g. *1994*; *2000*; *2002*).

60 Early Roman combs made of organic materials were made from a single piece of wood, horn, bone, or ivory.

61 And even there, the presence of foreigners/federates is to be expected, as these are cemeteries along the Limes or at strategically important points in the interior of Pannonia (*Tica 2018*, map 2).

62 *Tica 2018*.

63 *Ilkjær 1989*, 58–60. Combs from these sites are of different types, small one-piece single-layer combs, composite single-layer combs and composite triple-layer combs all with high arc-shaped handles. The same types of combs appeared in some contemporary Danish and south Swedish cemeteries. In the cemetery of Møllegårdsmarken on the Danish island of Fyn, for example, 46 triple-layer combs were unearthed (*Ilkjær 1989*, 59–60). Combs as grave goods are also common in early Anglo-Saxon England (e.g. *Williams 2003*, 101–119; *Ashby 2014*, 165–172). These examples show that putting combs into graves was a common practice

among the Germanic peoples in general, not just among the eastern Germanic groups.

64 *Bóna–Nagy 2002*; *Cseh et al. 2005*.

65 *Bóna–Horváth 2009*.

66 *Schmidt 1970*; *1976*

67 E.g. *Geisler 1998*.

68 E.g. *Roth–Theune 1995*; *Koch 2001*.

69 E.g. *Maselli Scoti 1989*; *Ahumada Silva et al. 1990*.

70 *Bolta 1981*.

71 Cassiodorus, *Variae* 4.34.

72 *Vinski 1980*, 25; *Knific 1995*.

73 *Stare 1980*, fig. 16, pl. 2: 7–16; 3–6; *Knific 1995*, 38–39, fig. 16.

74 *Werner 1962*, 44. 75–78, 126, 169–171 (S-shaped brooches from the Kranj-Lajh cemetery).

75 *Stare 1980*, pl. 26: 4.

76 E.g. *Bierbrauer 1992*, fig. 2–5; *Martin 2014*, fig. 2, 4.

77 *Milavec 2004*; *2007*. 36 S-shaped brooches were found in the Kranj-Lajh cemetery.

78 *Milavec 2007*, 339–340; *Podobnik 2016*, 41–44.

79 There are different types of brooches: circular brooches, circular brooches with touching heads of birds of prey, bow brooches with a straight foot, „Thuringian” so-called brooches with bird heads (Vogelkopffibeln) and so-called pincer brooches (Zangenfibeln), square brooches, similar to belt straps with tongue-shaped fittings on the scabbard, brooches in the shape of birds of prey, etc. (see e.g. *Vinski 1980*, 20–21, colour pl. 3–4, 6; *Knific 2005*, 334–341; *Knific–Lux 2010*, 27; *Podobnik 2016*, 32–47; *Urek et al. 2016*, 227–231). Gold jewelry from the grave of the deceased, discovered in 1898 (fig. 7), also points to clothing typical of West Germans in the 6<sup>th</sup> century. The grave was studied by Helena Bras Kernel (*2002*) in her diploma thesis. Stare classified the finds from the grave as finds without grave data (*Stare 1980*, 77–78, pl. 114: 1–4, 7, 11), although the public was soon informed about the discovery of the grave (*Koblar 1898*), and the finds from the grave were also published in 1900 (*Neumann 1900*). See also *Bitenc–Knific 2001*, 69, cat. no. 216; *Knific 2005*, 338, fig. 6.

80 At that time, 92 new graves were excavated and 167 remains of grave pits were documented. They were emptied at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries (*Urek et al. 2016*, 109). These are mainly the remains of graves, which were explored by Šmid in 1905. In the southeastern part they came across the remains of excavations carried out by Schulz and Žmavc, and partly by those excavated at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries by the then owner of the land Tomaž Pavšlar (*Lux–Ravnik 2008*, fig. 4; *Urek et al. 2016*, Attachment 25).

81 We cannot effectively use the finds from Šmid’s graves. A simple bronze oval belt buckle was found in grave 60 (*Šmid 1907*, 64; *Stare 1980*, pl. 27: 60), in grave 60a only scattered bones were excavated, most likely the remains of a previously excavated grave (*Šmid 1907*, 64; *Stare 1980*, 56), and in a double grave (adult skull and skull and scattered bones of a child) a double-sided comb was found (*Šmid 1907*, 66; *Stare 1980*, pl. 35: 2). A 14 year old child was buried in grave 10/2009 with a comb at the skull, a collar with amber and glass beads, above the belt lay a bronze brooch with a triangular head and an elongated foot, decorated with dotted circles, a clay weight at the right ankle, and three coins at the right knee and left tibia, one from the middle of the 1st century, two from the 4<sup>th</sup> century (*Urek et al. 2016*, 130–131, pl. 84: grave 10/2009; 85: grave 10/2009). A similar brooch from a child’s grave 572 according to Stare (Schulz – grave 44) was included by Timotej Knific among the Roman copies of Germanic cast brooches (*Knific 2005*, 342, fig. 9: 1; see also *Stare 1980*, pl. 120: 3). Due to the presence of a comb in graves 572 and 10/2009, in addition to the fact that a small pot was placed at the feet of the deceased in grave 572, I believe that in both cases the deceased were not indigenous, but children of Barbaric (Germanic) provenance (*Tica 2017*, 298–299).

82 As far as I know, an attempt at horizontal stratigraphy of the cemetery did not yield tangible results.

83 The description of the grave is taken from *Urek et al. 2016*, 131–132, pl. 86, 87: 7–9.

84 Probably excavated by Šmid in 1905.

85 The pendant was published recently (*Tica 2021*).

86 *Tica 2021*, 155.

87 Interpreted as malachite (*Perko 2018*, 113, cat. no. 34) or Greek green porphyry (*Urek et al. 2016*, 243).

88 E.g. *Quast 1993*, 54; *Harhoiu 1997*, 112–115; *Schulze-Dörflamm 2009*, 91–94.

89 E.g. *Bierbrauer 1975*, 158–161; *Quast 1996*, 335–337; *Eger et al. 2017*, 221.

90 *Quast 1996*, fig. 7 (map of the distribution of belt buckles with quartz loops).

91 *Quast 1993*, 54.

92 *Quast 1996*, 340–341.

93 *Oanță-Marghitu 2010*, 223, cat. no. 40.c, 225, cat. no. 40.2; *2014*, 159, left fig. 160, right fig. 162, right fig. 164; *Oanță-Marghitu–Nagy 2014*, 617, cat. no. 167.1., 621, cat. no. 167.2.1., 622, cat. no. 167.2.2., 167.2.3., 623, 167.2.4., 624, cat. no. 167.2.5., 625, cat. no. 162.2.7., 167.2.8.

94 *Quast 2015*, 167–168, fig. 3, pl. 2: 1; 6: 1; 7: 1; 9; 10; 15: 3, 9, 11, 12, 14, 19; 16; 17; 18; 20; 21.

95 *Oanță-Marghitu 2010*, 223, cat. no. 40.a, 223, cat. no. 40.b, 224, cat. no. 40.1; *2014*, 161, left fig.; *Oanță-Marghitu–Nagy 2014*, 622, cat. no. 167.2.2., 626, cat. no. 167.2.10., 627, 628, cat. no. 167.2.12.

96 See chapter 2 of Kateřina Blažková, Jaroslav Jiřík and Jana Bezáková in this volume

97 *Koch 2001*, 65–66, code Y24, fig. 21: Y24; *Slabe 2003*, 85.

98 Fifteen garnets from the belt buckle were analyzed, six were classified as type I, four as type II, and five as type III. Types I and II garnets are predominantly almandines; the most likely origin of Type I garnets is Rajasthan in NW India; type III garnets are attributed to sites in Sri Lanka and South India, but many also originate from sites in East Africa and Madagascar; the precise location of type II garnets in India is still disputable, although the authors propose it is identical with type III garnets (*Šmit et al. 2014*, 91, table 2; for garnet types, see also *Calligaro et al. 2002*).

99 *Urek et al. 2016*, 243–244, fig. 144–146.

100 *Horváth 2012*, 210, fig. 2a; 4c.

101 E.g. on the mounts from Apahida (*Oanță-Marghitu–Nagy 2014*, 627, 628: cat. no. 167.2.12.) or the pendants from Keszthely-Fenekí Street (*Müller 2002*, fig. 7).

102 E.g. on mounts from the Domagnano treasure trove (*Kidd 1995*, fig. 31–33) or on a pair of bow brooches from a woman’s grave in the cathedral in Köln (*Doppelfeld–Pirling 1966*, 31, 33; *Doppelfeld 1980*, pl. 15: 10a, 10b; 17: 10b).

103 *Horváth 2012*, 210, note 5.

104 *Tica 2017*, 300.

105 *Tica 2020*, 194–195, map 2.

106 *Vinski 1972–73*, 178–179, 187. Probably from the Germanic grave comes a pair of silver gilded Thuringian so-called pincer brooches (Zangenfibeln) with a rhomboid foot. Vinski published only one brooch as a settlement find. Later, another identical brooch was found in the Archaeological Museum in Split.and Frane Buškariol found out that the brooches represent a pair and probably originate from a grave (*Buškarliol 1988*, 49, 61, fig. 1, 2, *Piteša 2009*, 22, no. 21, 22; *2014*, 23, cat. no. 1a, 1b)

107 Of course, it should also be considered that both Alamannian and Gepid finds cannot be fully linked to the time of Ostrogothic control over Carnium. Alamannian finds in Western Illyricum have been linked for decades with the Alamanni escape to the Ostrogoths after they were defeated by the Franks at Tolbiac in 506 (Ljubljana-Dravlje) (e.g. *Slabe 1975*, 60). They were also connected to the alleged Frankish invasion of the south-eastern Alps during the Gothic Wars (Kranj-Lajh) (e.g. *Vinski 1980*, 19, 21; *Knific 2005*, 337; *Sagadin 2016*, 24). Finds from the Gepid area can also be linked to the time of the Ostrogothic occupation of Carnium, and part of the Gepids possibly moved to Italy with the Langobards at the latest after the military defeat by the Langobards in 568.

108 I would like to thank Jaroslav Jiřík, who convinced me to write this text, Teja Sagadin, who translated most of the text, Kaja Stemberger Flegar for translating part of the text on the belt buckle, Blaž Kumer for all the help in making graphics and Primož Predan, who gave me time to write the article.

### Chapter 11: Almandines from India

- A single specimen has been classed as type IIIa, coming from Sri Lanka. *Abou El Nil–Calligaro 2020*, 247–264.
- Mulliez 1998*, 815–830; *Rolley 1998*, 711–718.
- Picard et al. 2012*, 300, 304–305.
- Several pieces of amber, under UV light, gave an opaque creamish fluorescence, with a blue tinge, similar to Baltic amber. Raman spectroscopy measures will confirm this hypothesis. Red coral and Baltic amber are, since the Roman period, goods for Far Eastern market trade (India...).
- Whitlock 1921; https://www.naturalhistorymag.com/picks-from-the-past/271575/how-diamonds-are-polished.
- Whitlock 1921; Roux (ed.) 2000.

### Chapter 12: Bohemian Garnet

- Hanus 2019*, *Hanus–Hyršl 2019*. In: *Hanus–Selucká–Stöhrová eds. 2019*.
- Hanus–Hyršl 2019*. In: *Hanus–Selucká–Stöhrová eds. 2019*.
- Hanus 2019*.
- Vrána 2008*. In: *Hanus 2019*.
- Hanus 2019*.
- E.g. *Hanus 2013*; *Sýkora 1952*; *Zahálka 1884a*, b, c and many others.
- Krejčí 1877*; *Zahálka 1883*; *Zahálka 1884 a, b, c*; *Sýkora 1952*; *Bučková et al. 1965* and others.
- Malec 1997*.
- Hanus–Hladký 2019a*.
- Malec 1997*. In: *Hanus et al. 2013*.
- Hanus–Hladký 2019a*.
- Strnad 1972*.
- Hanus–Hladký 2019b*.
- Hanus 2019*, *Hanus–Hladký 2019b*.
- Vrána 2008*.
- Hanus–Hladký 2019b*.
- Hanus–Hladký 2019b*.
- Hanus–Hladký 2019b*.
- Hanus–Hyršl 2019*. In: *Hanus–Selucká–Stöhrová eds. 2019*.

### Chapter 13: The Era of Odoacer and Theoderic in Italy

1 The form of this ruler’s name varies widely in our sources. The most important and trustworthy ones call him Odovacar (Cassiodorus), Odoacer (Jordanes, Eugippius), Odoacar or Odoacer (Marcellinus Comes), Odoacar or Odoachar (Anonymus Valesianus), and Odoakros (Procopius). Consequently, there is no consensus among modern scholars, either: some call him Odoacer (Amory, Halsall, Treadgold), Elton and Martindale have Odovacer, and Heather calls him Odovacar – incidentally, these two forms actually appear to be closest to his original Germanic name, reconstructed by *Schönfeld 1911*, 174–176 as \*Aud(a)-wakrs. Odoaker is most often found in the Czech bibliography (*Bednaříková 2003*; *Češka 2000*), although Češka also mentions Odovakar (*Češka 2000*, 240).

- Anonymus Valesianus 8, 37 (*superveniente Odovacre cum gente Scirorum*).
- Jordanes, *Romana* 344 (*Odoacer genere Rogus*).
- Marcellinus Comes, s. a. 476 (*Odoacar rex Gothorum*).
- Jordanes, *Getica* 242 (*Odoacer Torcilingorum rex*). Van Nuffelen and Van Hoof (*2020*, 333) identify these Thorcingi as either Thuringians or, possibly, a Turkic-speaking group under Hunnic rule. *MacGeorge 2002*, 286: “*The boring truth is that this is, almost certainly, Jordanes’ misspelling of Thuringi*”. On the other hand, Bednaříková (*2003*, 312) identifies the Thorcingi (which she calls the Turcilingi) as an East Germanic tribe without further arguments.
- Anonymus Valesianus 10, 45 (*cuius pater Edico dictus*).
- Jordanes, *Getica* 277 (*Scirorum reliquias... cum Edica et Hunuulfo eorum primatibus*). If Edica and Hunuulfus were leaders of the Scirians, then this Hunuulfus could be identical with Odoacer’s brother Onoulfus (Eugippius, *Vita Severini* 44, 4: *fratrem suum misit sum multis exercitibus Onoulfum*). In any case, Schönfeld (*1911*, 144) reconstructed this name as Hunvulfus.

8 Priscus, *Fragmenta* 8. This Edekón was clearly a Hun, see *Maenchen-Helfen 1973*, 388, and „that a large number of sources would completely fail to notice that the King of Italy was a Hun seems incredible“ (*MacGeorge 2002*, 284). To make matters more complicated, about that time there was a leader of some Saxons in Gaul, called Adovacrius (or Odovacrius), who made a deal with Childeric (Gregory of Tours, II, 18–19). This Adovacrius has been “often, though almost certainly incorrectly, identified with Odoacer, the future king of Italy” (*Halsall 2007*, 271). MacGeorge (*2002*, 105) concurs: “*It is hard to see how or why the same man would have been leading Saxons in north-west Gaul*”. Moreover, Odoacer is never described as a Saxon in our sources.

- Eugippius, *Vita sancti Severini* 7; quoted by Anonymus Valesianus 10, 46. When this happened is anyone’s guess: it could have been in the 450s, perhaps soon after the death of Attila (*MacGeorge 2002*, 287) or in the 460s. In any case, Odoacer is described as a young man (*iuvenis*) by Eugippius.
- Procopius, *Wars*, V, 1, 6.
- O’Flynn 1983, 133.
- Anonymus Valesianus 8, 38 (*eo tempore quando Attila ad Italiam venit se illi iunxit et eius notarius factus fuerat*).
- MacGeorge 2002*, 276–277.

- ↑ *O’Flynn 1983*, 137.
- ↑ *Jones 1964*, 244. More importantly, as Jones pointed out, these federates were probably irregularly paid, which explains their mutiny in 476. Elton (*2018*, 218) concurs: „*probably fed up with irregular pay*“.
- ↑ This is a difficult problem. According to Elton (*2018*, 219), Zeno appointed Odoacer as patricius; *Martindale 1980*, 793 (*“the title s conferred by Zeno in 476/7”*), but cf. *Jones 1964*, 245: *“Zeno, so far as we know, never appointed Odoacer patrician”*. Halsall (*2007*, 281), too, maintains that Zeno refused to grant Odoacer the title. Similarly, we must ask whether Zeno, in 476 or at any later point, recognized Odoacer as ruler of Italy. Elton (*2018*, 219) claims he did (in 476, *“Zeno recognized Odoacer”*), but cf. *Treadgold 1997*, 162: *“Zeno had never recognized Odoacer’s kingship in Italy.”*
- ↑ *Elton 2018*, 219.
- ↑ Some of our sources make very clear that Odoacer used the title king (Evagrius, *Historia ecclesiastica*, II, 16; Cassiodorus, *Chronica*, 476: „*nomenque regis Odovacar adsumpsit, cum tamen nec purpura nec regalibus uteretur insignibus*“).
- ↑ *Elton 2018*, 220; *Halsall 2007*, 285; *Bednaříková 2003*, 312. Steinacher (*2010*, 340) believes this to have happened in 487.
- ↑ See Jordanes, *Getica*, 79–81, for a complete genealogy of the Amali. Most of the names are otherwise unknown. Cf. *Van Nuffelen – Van Hoof 2020*, 259–261.
- ↑ For the best modern account of these groups in the Balkans in the 470s, see *Heather 1991*, 272–293.
- ↑ *Heather 1996*, 216.
- ↑ The normal form is Theoderic, following the Latin form *Theodericus* and the Greek *Theuderichos*; the original Gothic name should be reconstructed as \*biuda-reiks (*Schönfeld 1911*, 234).
- ↑ *Heather 1991*, 308.
- ↑ Anonymus Valesianus (II, 49) makes quite clear that Theoderic was ordered to rule Italy until Zeno arrived there (*si victus fuisset Odoachar, pro merito laborum suorum loco eius, dum adveniret, tantum praeregnaret*).
- ↑ *Goffart 2006*, 201; *Kharalambieva 2010*, 251.
- ↑ This is the view of Heather (*1996*, 219). According to Elton (*2018*, 221), Odoacer was starved into surrender.
- ↑ Jordanes, *Getica* 295 and *Romana* 349.
- ↑ *Heather 1991*, 308.
- ↑ *Halsall 2007*, 288; *Heather 1996*, 220. Cf. *Collins 2008*, 127: *“around 497”*.
- ↑ *Heather 1996*, 221.
- ↑ *Dessau (ed.) 1892–1916*, 827 (*rex Theodericus, victor ac triumphator, semper Augustus, bono rei publicae natus, custos libertatis et propagator Romani nominis, domitor gentium*).
- ↑ *Jones 1964*, 242.
- ↑ *Humphries 2008*, 529. Some prefer to call this king Gaiseric (e. g. *Halsall 2007*) or even Genserik (*Elton 2018*). For these variants, see *Schönfeld 1911*, 99–101.
- ↑ *Heather 1996*, 231.
- ↑ Procopius, *Wars*, III, 8, 11–13. Halsall (*2007*, 288) maintains that this happened in 500.
- ↑ Heather (*1996*, 236) maintained that “by the time they entered Italy, the Ostrogoths probably numbered around 100,000 men, women and children.” Elsewhere (*1996*, 164), Heather translates this number into an army of c. 25,000–30,000 men, but cf. *Heather 1991*, 302: “over 20,000 warriors” and *Humphries 2008*, 531: *“as large as 25,000”*. On the other hand, Cristini (*2021*, 271) believes that Theoderic “probably led only 40,000 Ostrogoths to Italy, that is, more or less 10,000 fighting men, and many died during the struggle against Odoacer.”
- ↑ Gesalic is the preferred form (e. g. *Heather 1996* or *Halsall 2007*). However, as the original form probably was \*Gaisa-laiks (see *Schönfeld 1911*, 107), we should call this king Gesalech.
- ↑ Cassiodorus, *Variae*, V, 43 and 44.
- ↑ See *Martindale 1980*, 64, *“Amalaricus”*, and 510, *“Gesalicus”*; but cf. *Heather 1996*, 232, who believes it happened probably in 513.
- ↑ *Steinacher 2010*, 340.
- ↑ Cassiodorus, *Variae*, IV, 2 (*damus tibi quidem equos, enses, clipeos et reliqua instrumenta bellorum*).
- ↑ For example, *Sarantis 2009*, 20 who also believes that this happened in 507. Cf. *Martindale 1980*, 946, *“Rodulfus”*.
- ↑ Procopius, *Wars*, 6, 14. According to Schönfeld (*1911*, 193), the proper form of his name should be „*Rodvulf*“ in any case.
- ↑ Paulus Diaconus, *Historia Langobardorum*, I, 20.
- ↑ *Merrills 2005*, 128 (year 493).

- ↑ *Sarantis (2009*, 20) and Jarnut (*1982*, 20) are quite certain about this date. Christie (*1998*, 22) says *“probably c. 508”*. Collins (*2008*, 128), without discussion, offers the year 510; Bednaříková (*2003*, 307) even proposes the year 512.

- ↑ See for example *Sarantis 2010*, 366. Cf. Steinacher (*2010*, 345) and Wagner (*1967*, 193–194), who are more cautious about such identifications.

- ↑ Jordanes, *Getica*, 24 (*quibus non ante multos annos Roduulf rex fuit, qui contempto proprio regno ad Theoderici Gothorum regis gremio convolavit*).

- ↑ Van Nuffelen and Van Hoof (*2020*, 232, n. 108) remind us that Jordanes’ Rodvulf was a king of the *“Ranii”* or even of seven various tribes including the Ranii, which are listed by Jordanes. Nevertheless, Merrills (*2005*, 128) decided to merge these two Rodvulfs (*“Procopius refers to a king Rodolphus of the Heruli, who was killed in battle against the Lombards in 493, and who may have enjoyed temporary sanctuary in previous years with Theoderic in Moesia”*), even though Jordanes’ Rodvulf *“was king not many years ago”* (see above). A number of scholars decided to place this Jordanes’ Rodvulf in Scandinavia, e. g. *Goffart 1988*, 95 (*“the Dani drove the Herules from their homes, and a tribal king, Roduulf (Rodolph), preferred to emigrate to Gothic Italy”*) or *James 2014*, 190 (*“Jordanes claims that a Scandinavian king called Rodulf emigrated to Italy to serve under Theodoric.”*).

- ↑ *Elton 2018*, 249.

- ↑ Jordanes, *Romana* 356 and *Getica* 300–301; Marcellinus Comes, 505. See also *Amory 1997*, 397.

- ↑ *Heather 1996*, 252. The year was 510, according to Elton (*2018*, 249).

- ↑ *Halsall 2007*, 288.

- ↑ *Amory 1997*, 449.

- ↑ Alaric II was king of the Visigoths in 484–507; Sigismund was king of the Burgundians in 516–523; Herminifredus was king of the Thuringians in 507/511 – ca. 532. See Van Nuffelen and Van Hoof (*2020*, 361). A letter to Herminifredus, king of the Thuringians, is preserved in Cassiodorus’ *Variae* (IV, 1).

- ↑ *Bjornlie 2013*, 173. In addition, there are two curious letters of Theoderic to the nations of the Warni (V, 1) and the Haesti (V, 2), who lived near the Baltic Sea. In either case, the possible mutual trade with a native commodity (locally produced swords and amber, respectively) is the content of the letter. Neither letter addresses a named person.

- ↑ Cf. *Amory 1997*, 453 (Sigeric), *Martindale 1980*, 1008 (Sigiricus), *Halsall 2007*, 302 (Sigistrix), and *Heather 1996*, 248 (Sergeric). Schönfeld (*1911*, 206) plausibly reconstructed his name as \*Sigisricus.

- ↑ Gregory of Tours, III, 5.

- ↑ Theoderic’s date of birth is unknown and various years have been suggested (see *Van Nuffelen – Van Hoof 2020*, 347). The year 452 (or 453) seems plausible (*Doležal 2012*, 231).

- ↑ Jordanes (*Getica* 304) says barely 10 years old (*vix decennis*), while Procopius (*Wars*, I, 2, 1) asserts that he was 8 at the time.

- ↑ Her name slightly varies in our sources (Amalasuenta, Amalasuinta, Amalasuinthā); Schönfeld (*1911*, 16) reconstructed it as \*Amala-swinþa.

- ↑ In 531, according to Kobylinski (*2008*, 531). In 534, according to Collins (*2008*, 128). Between 531 and 534, according to Heather (*1996*, 262) and Halsall (*2007*, 284).

- ↑ Halsall (*2007*, 303), Collins (*2008*, 116) and Van Dam (*2008*, 199) date this event to 534, Heather (*1996*, 262) to 532 and 533.

#### Chapter 14: Childeric, Odoacer... and Bohemia?

- ↑ *Fischer – Lind 2015*.
- ↑ *Brambilla 1870*; *Peroni 1967*; *Chiaravalle 1994*; *Arslan – Turchetti 2015*; *Degani, M. 1959*; *Baldini – Pinar Gil 2010*. See also *Arslan 2005*; *Fischer 2014a*.
- ↑ *Fischer 2014b*; *Fischer – Lind 2015*.
- ↑ *Fischer – Lind 2015*.
- ↑ *Fischer – Lind 2015*.
- ↑ *Quast 2010*; *Quast 2015*; *Quast 2021*; *Fischer – Lind 2015*.
- ↑ *Pröttel 1988*.
- ↑ *Tóth 2010*.
- ↑ *Bierbrauer 1975*.
- ↑ *Kiss 1983*; *Tejral 1982*; *Prohászka 2008*; *La Picardie 1986*; *Timpel 2001*, all with further literature.
- ↑ *Aimone 2010*; *Degani 1959*.
- ↑ See the chapter of Stanislav Doležal in this volume.
- ↑ *Jiřík–Vávra–Kuchařík–Šmolíková (eds.) 2015*.

- ↑ *Pinar Gil – Manzelli 2017*, with further literature.

- ↑ *Militký 2013*.

- ↑ *Pinar Gil – Manzelli 2017*.

- ↑ See chapters of T. Calligaro and R. Hanus in this volume.

- ↑ *Idem*.

- ↑ See *Schmauder 2002*, with further literature.

- ↑ *Possenti 2005*.

- ↑ See *Schmauder 1999*, with further literature.

- ↑ *Tica 2021*. See also the separate chapter of the author in this book.

- ↑ *Bierbrauer 1975*; *Haas-Gebhard 2013*.

#### Chapter 15: Discovery of a Magnificent Horse Harness Pendant near Řevničov

- ↑ *Korený et al. 2021* (in press).
- ↑ E. g. in *Voß 1998*.
- ↑ *Kmošek – Prášil 2014*.

#### Chapter 16: Finds in the Scandinavian Zoomorphic Style from Řevničov and Dřevíč

- ↑ *Stolpe – Arne 1927*, 5–9.
- ↑ *Klevnäs 2013*, 4; *Klevnäs 2015*, 15.
- ↑ *Arwidsson 1954*, 15–21.
- ↑ *Bruce-Mitford 1978*.
- ↑ *Fern – Dickinson – Webster (eds.) 2019*.
- ↑ *Werner 1981*, 244–252.
- ↑ *Oddy et al. 1983*; *Kristoffersen 2019*.
- ↑ *Bemmann – Bemmann 1998*.
- ↑ *Salin 1904*, 234, fig. 527.
- ↑ *Haseloff 1974*; *Haseloff 1981*; *Hilberg 2009*, 188–204, figs. 7.19–7.29.
- ↑ For find from the province of Scania see *Salin 1904*, 238, fig. 535. This style is mainly found in the Scandinavian region on broochess, where animal figures are used to varying degrees in the decoration of the jewellery, both in the Roman-derived border designs around the edges of the decorative surfaces of the foot and head-plate, and within the main decorative fields (cf., for example, the brooches from Vestfold amt. in Norway *Salin 1904*, figs. 523 and 534). Another characteristic feature is the symmetry of jewellery and decoration along the horizontal axis (collectively *Salin 1904*, 214–245).
- ↑ *Salin 1904*, 293–297.
- ↑ E. g. *Weetch 2014*.
- ↑ *Salin 1904*, 192–195, fig. 465.
- ↑ *Svoboda 1965*, pls. 79:10–11, 83:6–7, 88:1, 110:1.
- ↑ *Jiřík–Vávra–Kuchařík–Šmolíková (eds.) 2015*, fig. on page 161.
- ↑ *Svoboda 1965*, 151.
- ↑ *Korený 2012*, 161–165, fig. 2.
- ↑ *Salin 1904*, fig. 592.
- ↑ *Salin 1904*, 246–247, figs. 542–544.
- ↑ *Salin 1904*, 248–255, figs. 547–566.
- ↑ *Salin 1904*, 270, figs. 595–599.
- ↑ *Bruce-Mitford 1978*, 107–115.
- ↑ *Fern 2019*, 208–232; *Speake 2019*, 232–247.
- ↑ *Salin 1904*, 270–290, figs. 603–627.
- ↑ *Arwidsson 1942*, 121.
- ↑ *Olsén 1945*, 94–95.

- ↑ *Arwidsson 1942*, 115. It should be added, however, that this decorative technique was known to jewellers from the north of the continent as early as the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century as shown by the beautiful examples of clasps from the burial site in Gronów and Czarnowko, grave no. 400 (Schuster 2018, 113, figs. 50–51).

- ↑ *Olsén 1945*, 79–89, figs. 47–64.

- ↑ *Olsén 1945*, 89–102; for a more recent commentary on this motif, see *Speake 2019*, 245.

- ↑ *Salin 1904*, 304–304, figs. 646–650, 655, 662. One of the latest finds of this type is a decorated sword hilt from grave no. 1 in Trezzo sull’Adda (*Berndt 2020*, 305, fig. 3).

- ↑ *Salin 1904*, 309, pl. 665.

- ↑ *Arwidsson 1942*, 54–59, pls. 20–21, figs. 46–48.

- ↑ for a comparison see: *Akhmedov 2007*, figs. 6:1, 2, 3–7.

- ↑ An example of this is the similar bosses from the halter known from grave 1782 in Krefeld-Gellep (last published: *Kazanski 2021*, 347, figs. 10, 12).

- ↑ *Arwidsson 1954*, 53–54, 129, tab. 14.

- ↑ See the separate chapter by Charlotte Hedenstierna-Jonson and John Ljungkvist.

- ↑ See the separate chapter by Naďa Profantová.

- ↑ *Profantová 2013*.

- ↑ See the separate chapter by Petr Charvát.

#### Chapter 17: Relief-decorated Horse Harness Pendant from Řevničov

- ↑ *Bishop 1988*, figs. 29–31, 43–48.

- ↑ *Godłowski 1995*, 155, fig. 4: 3.

- ↑ *Werner 1981*, fig. 14c.

- ↑ On the discovery, significance and decorative style of horse harness and saddle fittings see *Näsman 2017*, 121–123, fig. on page 106; *Kristoffersen 2019*.

- ↑ *Tomka 2008*, 25, figs. on pages 14 and 21; *Hegewisch (ed.) 2008*, 316–317.

- ↑ *Hegewisch (ed.) 2008*, 270–273, cat. no. 72/5–18, 19–22; *Poulik 1995*, 76–77, fig. 52a.

- ↑ *Oexle 1992*, pl. 172.

- ↑ *Fern et al. 2019*, 92–96, figs. 2.66, 2.71.

- ↑ *Arwidsson 1954*, 129, fig. 82.

- ↑ *Weetch 2014*.

- ↑ *Speidel 2004*, 165.

- ↑ *Böhner 1994*, fig. 18:5.

- ↑ *Arwidsson 1942*, 26–35, pl. 1–5, fig. 19–28.

- ↑ *Arwidsson 1954*, 22–28, fig. 9–13, pl. 1–6.

- ↑ *Miks 2008*, 11, fig. 18.

- ↑ *Born 2003*.

- ↑ *Miks 2008*.

- ↑ *Von Gall 1990*, 39.

- ↑ *Fern et al. 2019*, 70–85, fig. 2.46–2.57.

- ↑ *Stolpe – Arne 1927*, pl. 41:1.

- ↑ *Schmidt 1961*, 156–7, 176, fig. 61.

- ↑ *Müller-Wille 2006*, 143, fig. 15.

- ↑ *Kazanski 2019*, 19–20, fig. 1.

- ↑ *Voght 2006*.

- ↑ *Voght 2006*, esp. distribution map on fig. 65.

- ↑ *Overlaet 1982*, 191 and connected non-numbered photographic files; cf. *Vogt 2006*, fig. 41.

- ↑ *Born 2003*, fig. 6, 105, pl. 19.

- ↑ *Wahl et al. 2014*.

- ↑ *Hegewisch (ed.) 2008*, 375, cat. no. 186.

- ↑ *Barnes 2000*, 69–73, fig. 7.

- ↑ *Kaz*

- ↑ In the unpublished reports on the results of the analyses, the Bohemian type garnets were part of the objects denominated ZKS\_2014\_0078-CS and ZKS\_2015\_0084-CS according to the RGZM system.
- ↑ *Hildebrand – Hildebrand 1873; Stolpe – Arne 1927; Arwidsson 1942; Arwidsson 1954; Arwidsson 1977.*
- ↑ *Lamm 1962; Sten – Vretemark 1988.*
- ↑ *Bratt 2008.*
- ↑ *Ljungkvist 2006*, 44.
- ↑ *Bruce-Mitford 1978*, fig. 72; *Lamm 1962*, fig. 3.
- ↑ *Stolpe – Arne 1927*, pl. 4:1.
- ↑ *Arwidsson 1977*, fig. 57.
- ↑ Catalogue entry for inventory number SHM 27141, Swedish History Museum, which it is possible to access online via https://mis.historiska.se/mis/sok/sok.asp. See also *Friberg-Johansson 1978; Palm 2002.*
- ↑ *Sten – Vretemark 1988.*
- ↑ E.g. *Stolpe – Arne 1927*, pls. 5:3, 6:5, 36:7.
- ↑ E.g. *Arwidsson 1954*, fig. 34; *1977*, fig. 108; pl. 7.
- ↑ In the system of the RGZM, this particular object is denominated ZKS\_2015\_0083-CS.
- ↑ For an overview, please see *Hilgner 2016*, 3, and references cited within.
- ↑ *Adams 2011; Hilgner 2018; Hamerow 2017; Hedenstierna-Jonson et al. 2017.*
- ↑ *Hamerow 2017*, note 7; *Hilgner 2018*, 307.

### Chapter 19: Samo Negucians

- ↑ In summary *Martindale 1992*, 1109–1110; About the Fredegar’s Chronicle, the main source about the life of Samo, see recently *Lake 2015.*
- ↑ *Charvát 2002; Charvát 2007*, 54–55; *Wamser 2010*; latest *Calligaro – Périn 2019*, esp. pages 111–119; *Drauschke 2019*, 22, 27.
- ↑ *Charvát 2002.*
- ↑ *Hilgner 2016*, 405, 412; for the burial in sarcophagus no. 49 in Saint-Denis near Paris, see *Périn et al. 2012*, 110–111; *Périn-Calligaro 2005*, 192.
- ↑ *Greiff 2015*, 74–75: locality Louvres, Dép. Val d’Oise,France, ca. AD 480–520, further Horb-Altheim, Germany, last 3<sup>rd</sup> of the 5<sup>th</sup> century.
- ↑ *Calligaro – Périn 2019*, 117.
- ↑ *Korený 2015*, 225–227.
- ↑ *Militký et al. 2021*, 199, 206–207, 214, fig. 4.
- ↑ *Macháček – Nedoma 2020; Macháček – Nedoma et al. 2021.*
- ↑ *Jelínková 2012*, 9–15.
- ↑ *Vích – Profantová et al. 2021.*
- ↑ *Fourlas 2019*, 98–100, fig. 6.6.
- ↑ Martynivka in Ukraine see *Vích – Profantová et al. 2021*, 395–397, 406.
- ↑ *Tejral 2005*, 198, tab. 1, „vorlangobardisch“; *Müller-Wille 2006*, 131 fig. 4, map.
- ↑ *Drauschke 2019*, 20, fig. 1:4, map.
- ↑ *Fourlas 2018*, 120; *Fourlas 2019*; for the Germanic names in the contemporary Byzantine inscriptions see *Huttner 2018.*
- ↑ *Middleton 2005*, 343–344.
- ↑ *Kaiser 1980*, 471.
- ↑ *Declercq-Verhulst 1991.*
- ↑ *Pietri-Heijmans 2013*, 497–508.
- ↑ *Kazanski 1992.*
- ↑ 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 7<sup>th</sup> Century AD, *Košnar 1994.*
- ↑ *Nowakowski 2007.*
- ↑ *Callmer 2015*, 13–15.
- ↑ *Middleton 2005*, 341.
- ↑ *Tomková 1998*, 99; also *Kuna – Profantová et al. 2005*, 201.
- ↑ *Curta 2003*, 288–289.
- ↑ *Adelson 1957*, 114; *Militký 2013*, 68–69, 78–80.
- ↑ *Militký 2013*, 68–69.
- ↑ *Adelson 1957*, 116.
- ↑ *Militký 2009*, 360; *Militký 2013*, 68–69, 78–80.
- ↑ *Adelson 1957*, 135–137.
- ↑ *Passera 2018*, esp. pages 521–541.

- ↑ *Militký 2009*, 358–359, 363; *Militký 2013*, 67.

- ↑ *Morrison 2003*, 82–84; *Morrison. In: Papadopoulou 2015*, 208; *Morrison 2016*, 195–197.

- ↑ *Morrison 2016*, 198.

- ↑ *Kaiser 1980*, 469–471.

- ↑ Fragment of the cross of Saint Eligius: http://medaillesetantiques.bnf.fr/ws/catalogue/app/collection/record/ark:/12148/c33gbd3p8 (Date of view 17<sup>th</sup> February 2022).

### Chapter 20: Trade and Relationships at the Turn of the Epochs

- ↑ Hildigis is known through the work *Origo gentis langobardorum* (7.5), where he appears as an unsuccessful successor to the Lombard throne. Due to adverse circumstances, he and 3,000 other Lombards had to flee to the Slavs in 535, where he gained an important social and military position. He is later known thanks to his incursions led by the Slavs and Gepids into the Byzantine Balkans and in 550 thanks to his incursion into Italy to help the Ostrogothic king Totilo.
- ↑ *Pleinerova 2000; 2007.*
- ↑ *Profantová 2008*, 619–644; *2015a*, 97–16 with a map.
- ↑ *Kuna – Profantová et al. 2005; Profantová 2013*, 149–182.
- ↑ *Profantova 2015b*, 248–263, fig. 2, 3.
- ↑ E.g. the burial site of Lučístoe in Crimea see *Aibabin – Chajredinova 2009.*
- ↑ However, many of the brooches are finds without grave contexts. The graves remain without anthropological identification, and some are female, judging by the accessories, such as beads and pendants (*Jakobson 2009*). The Antes are lantalized in the territory of Ukraine. They are not an ethnically homogeneous group, although they have been repeatedly associated with the Slavs.
- ↑ E.g. *Nagy 1998*, pl. 102.
- ↑ The brooches are partly unpublished; summary in *Profantova 2015a*, 97–116 with a picture.
- ↑ *Hajšman – Řezáč – Sokol – Trnka 2019*, fig. 97.
- ↑ *Curta 2009*, 45–77.
- ↑ *Lutovský 2016*, 201–210.
- ↑ *Profantová 2008b*, 29–30, 215–232, figs. 3, 4.
- ↑ About the treasure e.g. *Radoměřský 1953*, 109–127; *Garam 2001* (in later citation the ornaments were dismantled). The treasure can be seen in Bratislava Castle or in the Nemzeti Museum in Budapest. In Prague it was exhibited only in 1994 in the Náprstek Museum.
- ↑ *Profantová 2013*, 149–182.
- ↑ *Klanica 2008*, 109, figs. 91 and 92, object 132a is stratigraphically later. This is the earliest discovery of donkey bones from the Early Middle Ages.
- ↑ *Profantová 2010*, 203–270; figs. 12: 9, 13: 2.
- ↑ *Profantová 2010*, fig. 26:7; the fittings are the same size 22×22 mm. Research of J. Bláha.
- ↑ *Profantová 2016*, 65, fig. 3:1, 2.
- ↑ *Müller 2020*, 69–99, fig. 6.
- ↑ *Kraskovská 1972.*
- ↑ We would like to draw your attention only to the similar fittings from Bulgaria – without location, and to similar fittings from Eastern Europe, mainly *Kovalevskaja 2000*, 160, fig. 17:3. Another – a possible model – was found in Palmyra as part of just a 4-piece belt set, *Eger 2016*, 153–173, fig. 4:3.
- ↑ It appeared on the web as www.lovecpokladu.cz in 2021, without location.
- ↑ *Militký 2009*, 357–393.
- ↑ *Profantová 2015c*, 74–82.
- ↑ *Makarova – Pletneva 2003*, pl. 64:15 and pl. 20:43, 45.
- ↑ *Curta 2021*, figs. 40–41.
- ↑ It is thanks to D. Daněček that I can describe the buckle stored in the Central Bohemian Museum in Rostoky u Prahy.
- ↑ *Garam 2001*, pl. 134 and also 59:8.
- ↑ *Garam 2001*, pl. 59:4.
- ↑ In 1897, the quarry IV R. Hartmann was opened.
- ↑ *Niederle 1918*, 10, fig. VI; *Profantová 1992*, 605–778.
- ↑ *Belinskij – Härke 2018 (eds)*, fig. 129:22, 130:35, 131:42, pl. 18.
- ↑ The interpretation was based on 8 vessels – mostly urns, representing typical handmade ceramics, often decorated with waves – and on the newly emergent cremation rite. Cf. *Pleterski 2015*, 227–248.

- ↑ This is where the problem with ornaments dating back to the entire 6<sup>th</sup> century arises – unless they come from a clear archaeological context. Objects dating from the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century and broadly dated may be related to both the decline in settlement associated with Germanic tribes, and to the property (e.g. spoils, or gifts) of newly settled inhabitants. This possibility is indicated, for example, by an imported circular vessel found in situ in a house in Břežno near Louny, or an unusual circular ornament/brooch from the 6<sup>th</sup> century found in Svržno in Domažlice, probably associated with pottery tentatively dated to the 7<sup>th</sup> century. Cf. *Pleinerova 2000; Profantova 2008*, 619–644.

- ↑ Actually, there is no archaeological evidence for the slave trade in Central Europe in this period, and the situation with historical sources is no better. The reasoning was extrapolated from later records of Slavic slaves in the Islamic Mediterranean, but even these records do not make it possible to determine where – in Slavic lands – the slaves came from.

- ↑ Understanding the intensity of the more sophisticated use of resources in the local landscape is, of course, strictly limited for the Prague-type Pottery Culture. For example, considerations of local cooperation and distribution of goods and services can only be based on very indirect clues. The situation in Rostoky can be interpreted, thanks to natural historical analyses, as indicating that part of the population may have consumed grain, including millet, from various sources, e.g. that it was imported to the settlement. *Kuna – Hajnalova et al. 2013*, 59–147.

- ↑ The Runic alphabet has been associated exclusively with Germanic tribes so far. *Machaček – Nedoma et al. 2021*, 1–8, figs. 2, 3, 5.

- ↑ On the data of Fredegar see *Lutovský – Profantová 1995*. Also the Czech translation of Fredegar’s Chronicle (Fourth Book/ Continuation), 2020. Czech participation in the revolt against the Avars is more hypothetical, but in the other battles it is more evident also due to the geography of the conflicts.

- ↑ *Gandila 2018*, pl. 15.

- ↑ *Pleterski 2015*, 227–248. It may be an environmentally influenced manifestation in a funeral ritual.

- ↑ Spearheads from Bohemia are known only from the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century (Plužná). A unique perforated spearhead comes from the border of Bohemia and Moravia, which may be from the 7<sup>th</sup> or 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century. *Vích – Profantová et al. 2021*, 383, fig. 12:4.

- ↑ In this case, the burial of a one-eyed nobleman from Kunbábony in Hungary, previously associated directly with the ruler who ascended the Avar throne in 631, is known. Today, this burial, albeit with golden vessels, an imported amphora with wine and a golden belt, is interpreted with more caution.

- ↑ *Lutovský – Profantová 1995*. The approximate extent of the empire depicted on the map can be found there.

- ↑ If it wasn’t a corrupted title.

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### Chapter 8: The Belt Buckle from Rüdern

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### Chapter 10: City of Carnium (Kranj) and one of the Graves from the Kranj-Lajh Cemetery

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