

BARBARIAN JEWELLERY, SOCIAL SPACE, URBAN CULTURE

A Contribution to Fashion Theory in the Early Migration Period (Western Europe, ca. 400–480 CE)

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Personal mobility and cultural transfer have been at the core of the archaeological research on Migration Period funerary assemblages since the 19th century. In the last few decades, a combination of progress in archaeological dating, renewed theoretical approaches and consistent incorporation of archaeometrical and archaeobiological data has brought forward a much more accurate picture of the channels and players favouring the dissemination of manufactures, technologies and aesthetic tastes. Regarding the latter, however, a substantial part of the scholarly contributions has focused its attention on the short-term perspective, thus privileging explanations based on historical events. This paper is an endeavour to explore the dissemination of fashion elements of Central and Eastern European origin in the late Roman West combining a short- and mid-term approach to the cemetery evidence with the examination of spatial and contextual data. The results show that the 'eastern fashions' in the West had an autonomous evolution, deriving from the connections between production centres, distribution channels and personal networks as well as from the contacts with late Roman aesthetic tastes and values. It is argued that the exposure to a strong 'mainstream' culture is indeed not only a convincing explanation for the quick changes undergone by 'eastern' fashion in terms of production, accumulation and use of several fashion items, but also the main reason of its rather ephemeral character. The interaction between 'Roman' and 'eastern' fashions, it seems, developed according to a trickle-down model, which showed the Roman values having a noticeably dominant position. The peripheral position of the 'easter' fashions in the 5th century West is better mirrored by its general absence, or short-livedness, in cultural central places.

Keywords: Western Europe, Late Antiquity, Migration Period, funerary archaeology, fashion theory, clothing, social mobility, culture transfer, identity, taste.

INVASIONS AND FASHIONS

Were a survey to be carried out on the most relevant historical event occurring during the 5th century in Western Europe, among the most frequent answers would be the 'barbarian invasions' or 'migrations'. Interest in the phenomenon is also very striking when one looks at the academic milieu, where several generations of archaeologists, historians and art historians have tried to record the traces of the barbarian presence in the West, as well as their effect on different aspects of Late Roman politics, economy, society and culture. As a result of decades of thorough classification and data analysis, archaeologists can depend on reliable short-term chronologies, insights on the production and distribution of artefacts, a wider range of theoretical approaches and even new contextual data, a crucial issue for the discipline. In the last few years, the rapid development of isotopic and paleogenomic approaches to the identification of the birthplace and genetic heritage of the skeletons retrieved in early medieval graves, have multiplied and refined avail-

able indexes on personal mobility. The dialogue of these data with archaeological sources is not always easy, mostly due to the lack of a sufficient number of large-scale biological research projects carried out over chronologically and geographically coherent collections of samples. However, truly promising results have been published in the last years (e.g. *Alt et al. 2014; Amorim et al. 2018; Brather-Walter 2019; Francisci et al. 2020; Possenti 2019; Schiffels/Sayer 2017; Veeramah et al. 2018; Vida et al. 2017*).

Displacement of populations and long-distance migration are indubitably present in the 5th century, though they do not need to be interpreted as the only channel of spread of cultural elements: trade, personal networking, mobility of craftsmen and phenomena related to fashion may have been just as important (a useful explanatory model: *Quast 2009*). Trade routes, transport infrastructures and commercial activities are well documented among the material remains of the 5th century West, thanks in particular to pottery evidence (e.g. *Bonifay 2004; McCormick 2001, 83–114; Panella 1993; Parker 1992; Pieri 2005; Reynolds 1995; Wickham 2005, 708–759*).

The efforts of historians in completing and commenting epistolary evidence and prosopography corpora simultaneously permit evaluating the reach and consistency of personal networking among the rich and powerful (e.g. *Amherdt* 2004; *Amory* 1997, 348–485; *Jones* 1980; *Mathisen* 1999; *Müller* 2018a; 2018b). Despite important contributions in the last few years (e.g. *Beghelli* 2020; *Marsili* 2019; *Pazienza* 2020; *Pesch/Blankenfeldt* 2012; *Pinar Gil* 2017b), there is still room for improvement with regard to craft itinerancy.

By contrast, the dissemination of fashion in the 5th–6th century and its many implications are apparently not among the most thoroughly researched topics. In archaeological literature, ‘fashions’ are often evoked as contrasted to phenomena of personal mobility: ‘foreign’ features in specific communities are attributed to ‘fashions’, rather than as hard evidence for migrations (e.g. *Arce* 2011, 41, 42; *Coumert/Dumézil* 2010; *Domínguez Monedero* 1986; *Heather* 2005, 212, 213). Such arguments, however, show some weaknesses, as they tend to avoid proving, describing and explaining in detail the alleged fashion phenomena. Generally speaking, this use of the term ‘fashion’ relies on a very widespread, yet deeply biased understanding of the concept that connects it with triviality, irrelevance and deception (*Barnard* 2002, 1–7, 20–22, 46–48).

Fashion can be defined in many ways (e.g. *Barnard* 2002, 8–22; 2014, 25–40). For purposes of archaeological research, a useful definition is ‘clothing that is of a type or style acceptable to a large number of people over a period of time’ (*Condra* 2013, 10) archaeological research on fashion should therefore aim to identify the emergence, evolution and eventual demise of widely used types and styles of clothing and, of course, attempt to connect them with concurrent social, cultural and historical developments, as this paper intends to do (see also below). This kind of conception lies behind the most comprehensive contributions to the archaeology of ‘Barbarian’ fashions from Late Antiquity. Scholars such as Michel Kazanski, Philip von Rummel and Oksana Gopkalo have thus explored the possibility that the spread of clothing and features of adornment may have ultimately been related to the formation and communication of tastes among different aristocratic groups (*Gopkalo* 2019; *Kazanski* 1989; 1996; *Pinar Gil* 2015; *von Rummel* 2007). Despite these valuable efforts, however, there still remain large unexplored areas regarding the social milieus in which fashions were born, the channels through which they spread, and the organization of production of and trade in fashion items.

Fashion is a complex social phenomenon, with a number of social, cultural and economic implications (e.g. *Barnard* 2002, 22–26, 29–46, 102–125, 127–154; 2014, 73–214; *Barthes* 1983; *Braudel* 1979, 271–290). Many of them should be traceable through material remains. Fashions involve the production and use of physical objects, specific gestures and behaviours, and they develop in specific territories and social spheres. When they are successful, they evolve and spread over time, and when not, they are usually replaced by newer fashions. These processes, involving changes in typology, ways of using and combining specific items, as well as geographical distribution and locational background, can be recorded and studied archaeologically. Likewise, archaeology can address the role of the various players involved in the different stages of the process (users, manufacturers, traders, trend-setters, trend-followers).

It is common among cultural and social scientists to attribute the birth of fashion phenomena to late medieval or early modern times (e.g. *Braudel* 1979, 271–290). According to illustrious scholars such as Georg Simmel and John Flügel, fashions are born exclusively in complex societies possessing both socializing and differentiating forces and offering incentives and true chances for social mobility (*Flügel* 1930, 139–141; *Simmel* 1905, 13, 14). As such, they appear to be a relatively recent phenomenon, as pre-capitalist societies may not possess a sufficient degree of complexity. It is however difficult to avoid an impression that this kind of conception derives, to a large extent, from superficial knowledge of the relevant sources available for many pre-modern periods, in particular material sources. Late Roman and early post-Roman Western Europe, for instance, provide excellent examples of sudden and widely spreading transformations of clothes: Henri Marrou spoke about an actual *revolution du costume*, from the *toga* to the shirt, thus summarizing the change in Mediterranean clothes, as visible in many iconographic depictions (*Marrou* 1977, 15–20). The study of early medieval cemeteries, moreover, was able to define at least two significant breaks in the evolution of women’s clothing, during the mid and late 5th century, on one hand, and the late 6th–early 7th centuries, on the other (*Martin* 1991a). Funerary assemblages also mirror other important elements of fashion phenomena, such as quick evolution and diffusion, multiplicity of sources, differences in use and spread according to social groupings, issues related to multiculturalism, as well as others relevant to labour and production. As will be seen, these phenomena are best outlined by metal accessories, jewels and fittings, preserved in larger

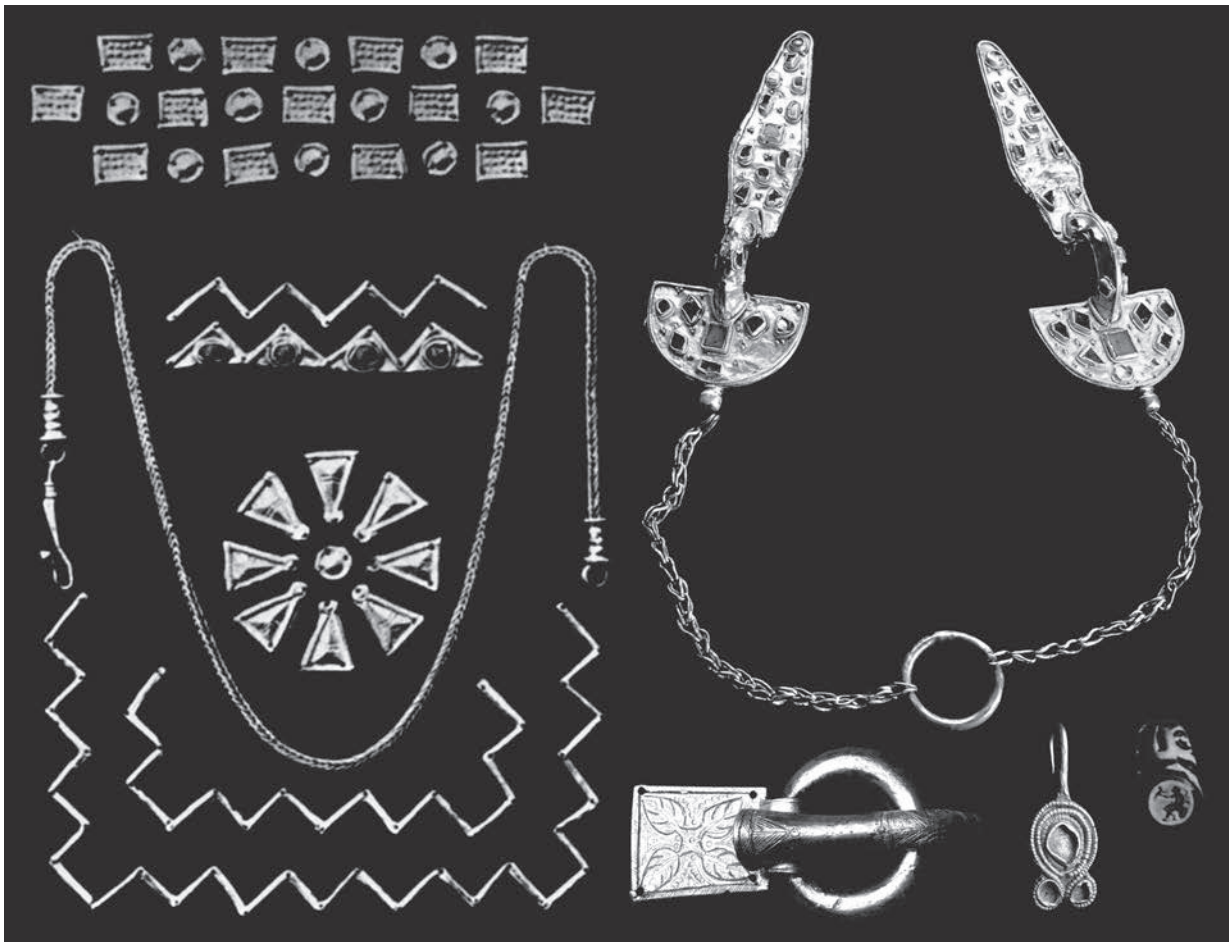


Fig. 1. Airan/Moult (different scales; after *L'or des princes* 2000; Robillard 1875).

numbers than the textile components of clothes. In addition, there is little doubt that, from a historical point of view, the West of the 5th century possessed every *conditio sine qua non* to give birth to fashion phenomena. It had quickly become a stage for new groups of people, emerging powers and, of course, a location favourable to opportunities for social improvement. Particularly notorious examples are the so called 'imperial Barbarians', who became high state officials in the wake of their successful military careers (Chauvot 1992; see also below).

WEALTHY 'EASTERN' WOMEN IN THE WEST

Graves containing precious 'Eastern' metal objects related to female clothing are well attested in the West, especially in the D2 period. To this period belong the westernmost examples of the Untersiebenbrunn group (Fig. 1–3), namely Airan, Hochfelden and, as traditionally assumed, Balleure

(Aldne-le-Bayourse/Blondiaux/Pilet 1992; Arcelin 1895; Hatt 1965; Kazanski 1982, 20–24; 1989, 59, 60; 1996; Pilet 1995; 2007; Robillard 1875; Salin/France-Lanord 1949), the bulk of Western graves with pairs of pins (Merida, Malaga, L'Hostalot and Moreuil; Heras Mora/Olmedo Gragera 2015, 282, 283; Jiřík/Pinar Gil 2019, 457, 459, 461, 464; Koenig 1981; Pérez Rodríguez-Aragón 1999; Pinar Gil/Ripoll López 2008, 112–116; Quast 2005, 263–272; Ulloa/Grangel 1996, 354, 356), and some graves furnished with Pannonian-type cicada brooches (Merida, Ladispoli and presumably Beaurepaire; Buisson 1992; Cosentino 1986, 64, 65; Heras/Olmedo 2015, 283, 284; Kazanski/Périn 2000, 17) as well as those with necklace components in gold foil (Merida, Granada-Albaicín; Heras Mora/Olmedo Gragera 2015, 283; Tempelmann-Mączyńska 1986). The synchrony between this Western group of finds and its easternmost parallels seems to be confirmed by the Spanish contexts, where both stratigraphic data and associated artefacts such as Isings 96 beakers suggest a dating to the first half of the 5th century (Pinar Gil 2017a, 18, 47, 54, 63). A recent find from

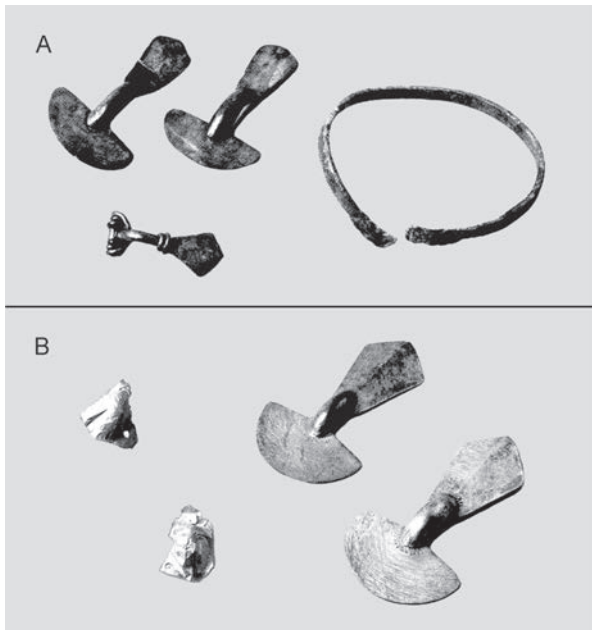


Fig. 4. Sacca di Goito. A – grave 214; B – grave 206 (after *Sannazaro 2006*).



Fig. 5. Pollenzo (different scales; after *Micheletto 2004*, completed with photographs by Joan Pinar Gil).

Seysses in southern Gaul (*Wisigoths 2020*) shows a pair of gold pins being deposited much later (early E1 period). In all likelihood, they were considerably old objects at that time.

Finds certainly going back to the preceding D1 period are less numerous. They have been reviewed by Michel Kazanski in a number of recent papers (*Kazanski 2016; 2020*). The main objects manufactured in precious metal are silver (post-)Černjachov brooches of Ambroz I AA–AB type (Angers, Reims, Troyes, Sacca di Goito). Their association with gold artefacts is much less frequent, although the pair of brooches from Sacca di Goito grave 206 (Fig. 4: B) was actually combined with adornments in gold foil (*Sannazaro 2006*, 63). To a slightly later period may belong the bow brooches of Villafontana type, another form derived from late Černjachov traditions. The pairs found at Villafontana, Baudemont and the Merida region (*Bierbrauer 1968; Kasprzyk 2011*, 340–343, fig. 3: 3, 4; *Koenig 1980*, 231, 232, pl. 60) were probably part of the goods deposited inside unrecorded graves. To the early group of precious-metal imports can also be added a number of finds of silver crossbow brooches with an attached foot. The attribution of the trapezoid-footed examples from grave 214 at Sacca di Goito (Fig. 4: A), and from the looted grave 54 at Novion-en-Ponthieu (*Piton 1985*, 39, 40; *Sannazaro 2006*, 64, 65) to respectively periods D1 and D2, is proven by their association with a pair of Ambroz I AA bow brooches and a Neubauer 2 belt buckle with a rectangular plate.

COMMON TRENDS IN THE EVOLUTION OF WESTERN GRAVE ASSEMBLAGES

The graves with pairs of bow brooches are the only finds in which a development over generations can be observed, thus enabling scholars to identify a number of trends in the composition of grave goods over time. In addition to the already discussed graves with ‘Eastern’ imports of the D1/D2 periods, the available evidence includes some similar, but slightly later, assemblages.

The most visibly related grave goods are combinations of pairs of middle-sized silver bow brooches, frequently including light gold objects or decorations. This group is clearly defined by the graves of Pollenzo-Vittorio Emanuele sq. (Piemont, Italy; Fig. 5), Merida-Almendralejo st. 1 (Extremadura, Spain; Fig. 6) and Lezoux – Les Saint-Jean F30 (Auvergne, France; Fig. 7; *Heras Mora/Olmedo Gragera 2015*, 280, 281; *Micheletto 2004*, 383–393; *Vertet/Duterne 1999*, 337, 338), and can be completed with the somewhat ‘reduced’ inventory of the grave of Castelbolognese (Fig. 8; Emilia Romagna, Italy; *Bierbrauer 1991*, 541–546), and with a number of related brooches without a proper archaeological context, from Baudemont (Bourgogne, France; Fig. 9), the Saône Valley, the Merida (Extremadura, Spain; Fig. 10) and Brescia regions (Lombardy, Italy; *Bierbrauer 1975*, 338, 339, pl. 52: 2; *Kasprzyk 2011*, 340–343, fig. 3: 1, 2; *Koenig 1980*, 231, 232, pl. 61).



Fig. 6. Merida-Almendralejo st., grave 1 (different scales; after *In Tempore* 2018).



Fig. 7. Lezoux (after *L'or des princes* 2000, completed with a photograph by Michelle Beghelli).

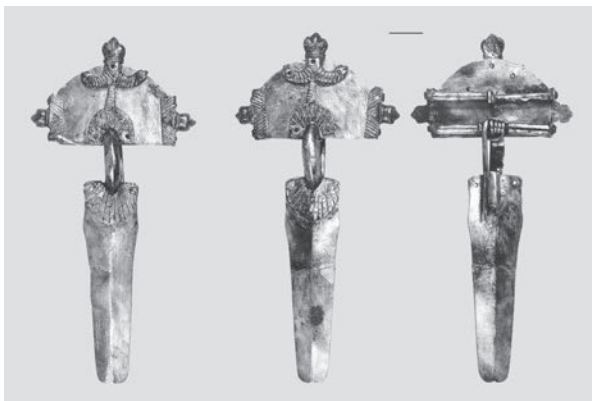


Fig. 8. Castelbolognese (after Bierbrauer 1991).

The group can be broadly synchronized with the central European D2/D3 period: in addition to the evolved forms (with respect to the Western Untersiebenbrunn group) of the larger proportion of the brooches, the graves belonging to the group are characterized by the presence of chronological data from both the D2 and the D3 periods. Among the earliest components from a typological viewpoint, one should mention the *appliqués* in gold foil from Merida, attested in the West both in D2 (Airan, Hochfelden) and D2/D3 (Carthage-Koudiat Zâteur; Eger 2001, 349–370, with former literature) assemblages, as well as the spherical beads in gold foil

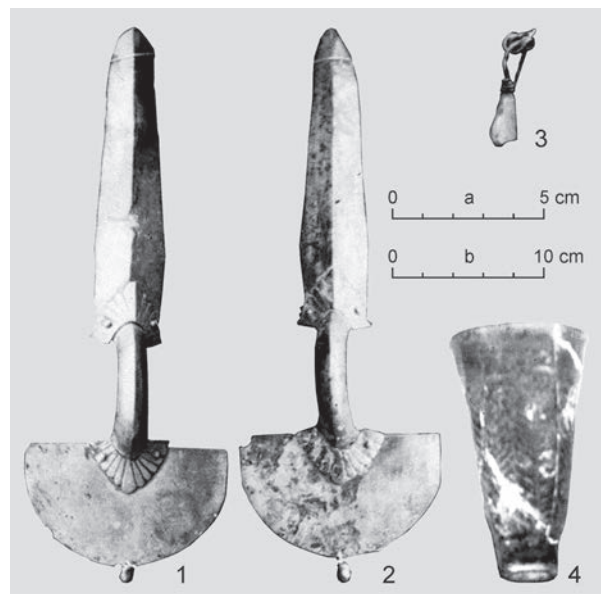


Fig. 9. Baudemont (after Kasprzyk 2011, modified). Scale: a – 1–3; b – 4.

from Pollenzo, which belong to the same type retrieved in Merida- Almendralejo st. 2, dating to period 1 in the regional chronology (ca. 380/90–440/50 CE; Pinar Gil 2017a, 63), broadly coeval with the Central European D2 period. As for the crossbow brooch from Pollenzo, the reconstruction of the

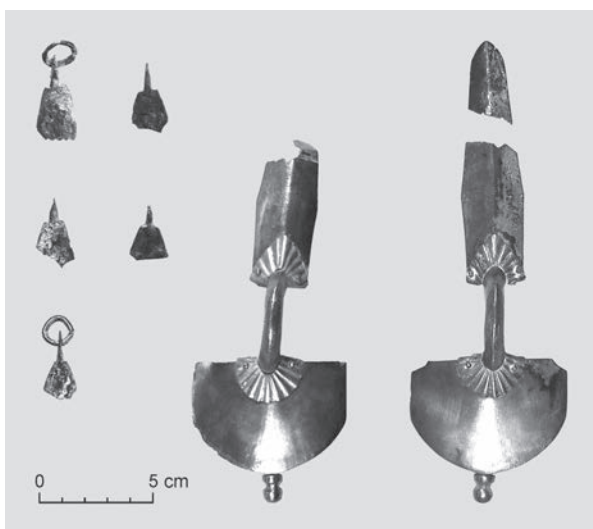


Fig. 10. Merida? (after Koenig 1980).

remains preserved at the Museum of Bra¹ enables identifying the item as a variant of Almgren 159 brooches, well attested in Central Europe. The best parallels, though, cluster in Silesia and Slovakia, and are attributed to the C3 and D1 periods (Godłowski 1995, 157, fig. 6: 4, 5, 8; Pietal/Ruttikay 1997, 149, fig. 11: 3). Although fragmentary, the form and proportions of the brooch suggest a slightly later chronology (see also below). From a typological viewpoint, the grave of Pollenzo therefore appears to be the earliest of the whole group. This conclusion is also supported by the form and proportions of the two silver bow brooches, since they are closely related to the ones from Balleure. These observations are compatible with the results of the ¹⁴C dating, which suggest that the burial surely took place no later than 435 CE (Micheletto 2004, 389, n. 48).

The gold trefoil pendants from Lezoux appear instead to be an evolved, stylized variant of the objects found in Bohemian and south German graves (Ament 1992, 68, 69, pl. 4; Christlein 1974; Jiřík et al. 2015, 152; Svoboda 1965, 277, pl. XXXI). In these contexts, they are often associated with D2/D3 and D3 brooches (Úherce, Eschborn grave 43, Praha-Zličín grave 61). At Zličín 42, the presence of a brooch recycling a solidus struck under Honorius (393–423) gives an indicative *terminus post quem* to the whole Western group. Moreover, the grave of Lezoux contained a disc brooch with a *repoussé*-decorated metal sheet, belonging to a type frequently occurring in Spain and southern France, which began to be deposited in graves during period 2 in the

regional chronology (440/50–470/80 CE), broadly corresponding to the Central European D3 period (Pinar Gil 2017a, 21, 48). This element allows one to acknowledge Lezoux as one of the latest assemblages of the whole Western group.

Judging by the form of the bow brooches, it is likely that the finds from Castelbolognese belonged to this same horizon. On the basis of stylistic and typological criteria, Volker Bierbrauer attributed the brooches from Castelbolognese to the second quarter of the 5th century (Bierbrauer 1991, 587). The main criterion was the palmette-shaped decorative plates set on both ends of the brooches' bows. It has been convincingly argued, though, that the decoration plates of the silver bow brooches in silver sheet is by no means a reliable chronological index, while the shape of the foot offers far more solid grounds for dating the items (Proházka 2003, 78–82; Tejral 1997, 344–346). Florian Gauß attributed instead both the Lezoux and Castelbolognese graves, as well as the Balleure assemblage, to his group II, broadly dated to the 5th–6th century (Gauß 2009, 272–279). As for Michel Kazanski and Patrick Périn, they suggested that the brooches from Lezoux should be dated significantly later, since the form of the foot was similar to Visigothic period brooches of the late 5th and early 6th century (Kazanski/Périn 1997, 206, 209). The examination of associated objects from Lezoux, in addition to observations on general evolutionary trends within this group of graves (see also below), allow one to attribute both Lezoux and Castelbolognese to the third quarter of the 5th century. It seems likely that the bigger bow brooches from Baudemont belong to this same period. The most recent objects recorded at this find spot (pair of bow brooches, crossbow brooch with attached foot and glass bowl) build up an apparently coherent grave inventory that should be dated shortly after 450 CE (see also below).

The bulk of brooches from unclear archaeological contexts find clear parallels in Danubian lands during the D2/D3 period. The larger brooches from Baudemont and their close counterparts from the Saône Valley (perhaps from Baudemont itself; Kasprzyk 2011, 343, 344, with former literature) can thus be compared to some specimens retrieved in Pannonia (e.g. Kiss 1980, 106, pl. I), whereas the examples from south-western Spain have an exact counterpart in Grocka (Dimitrijević/Kovačević/Vinski 1962, 120, pl. II: 2; Milinković 2005, 204, fig. 32: 1). The fragmentary brooch from Brescia displays a morphology which can be compared to the

¹ I would like to express my gratitude to Giovanna Cravero (Museo Civico di Archeologia, Storia e Arte, Bra), Egle Micheletto and Sofia Ugge (Soprintendenza Archeologica del Piemonte) for their kind permission to examine and photograph the finds from Pollenzo curated in Bra.

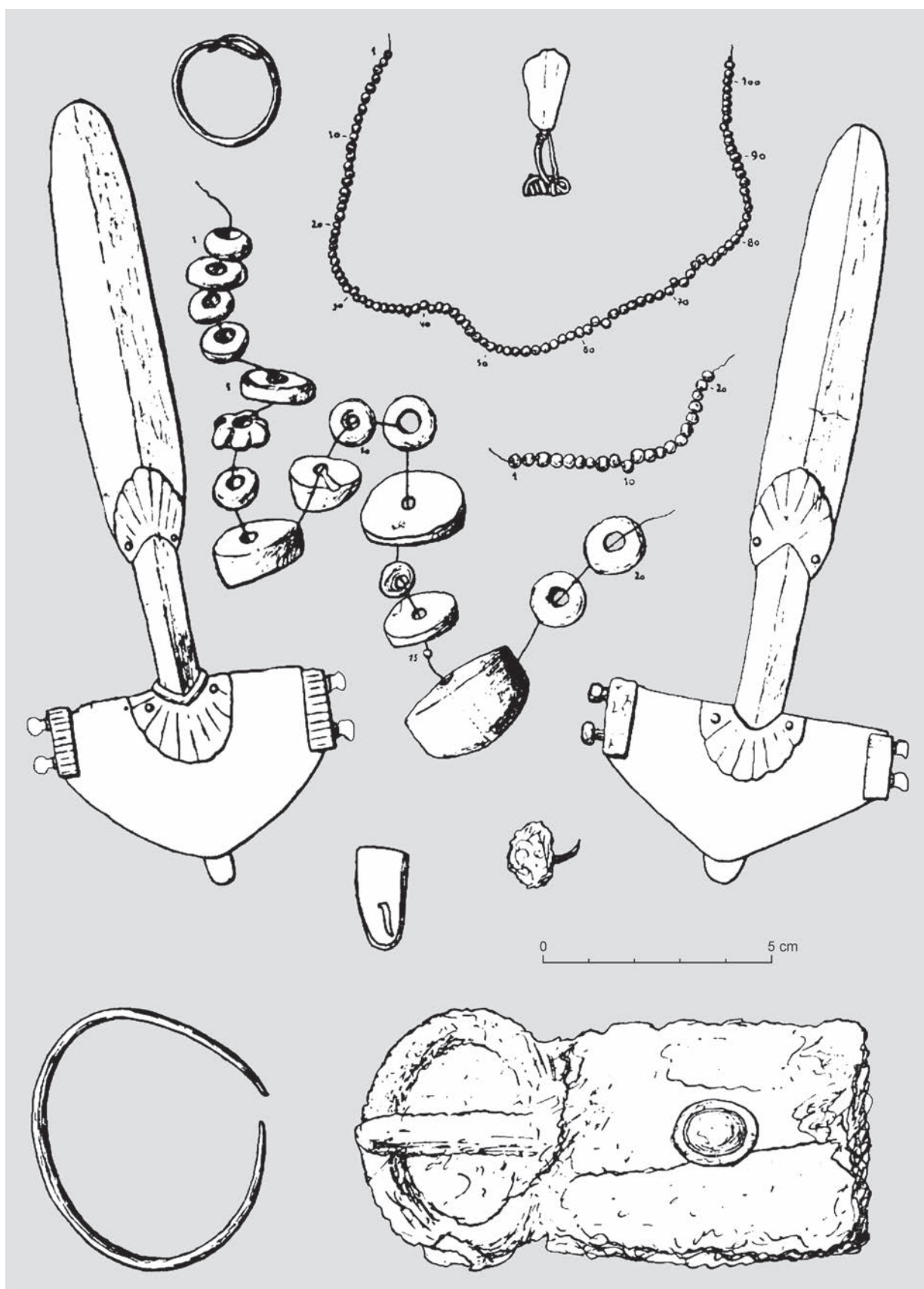


Fig. 11. Duratón, grave 79 (after Molinero 1948).

Merida-Almendralejo st. pair, due to the form and proportions of the headplate and the presence of palmette-shaped plates. Its date should probably also be placed in approximately the D2/D3 period. This appears to be consistent with its geographical location, too (see also below).

In the West, the latest assemblages of grave goods still reminiscent of Ponto-Danubian fashions of the early Migration Period are the well-known graves with bow brooches in metal sheet of the early Visigothic period, occurring most frequently in central Spain. Although the majority of the brooches in this area were made in copper alloy, some graves contained genuine silver examples, such as the ones recorded at Duratón, grave 79 (Fig. 11). A woman was buried in this grave during period 3 of the regional chronology (470/80–500/10 CE), corresponding to an early time span sometime during Central European period E1. The pair of silver brooches, displaying formal similarities to two brooches found at Szabadbattyán, was associated, among other objects, with necklaces of glass and amber beads, an iron belt buckle with rectangular plate and a two-pieced brooch with attached foot of Almgren 159 type.

Although based on a limited amount of evidence, these data are clear enough to outline a consistent chronological sequence, enabling one to carry out a diachronic examination of the composition of these grave inventories over a time span of roughly 100 years. In addition, they bring forward a number of evolutionary trends that can be divided into the following groups: evolution of the forms and combinations of certain objects, general oscillations in the quantity and quality of the artefacts deposited in the graves, and changing patterns of association of 'original' and 'recycled' objects of both Mediterranean and Central European provenance.

FORMS AND COMBINATIONS

The morphological evolution of the middle-size bow brooches in silver sheet is one of the most evident examples of changes undergone by 'Eastern' grave goods over time. It follows a clear pathway running across the D2, D2/D3 and D3 periods. The Untersiebenbrunn-type brooches from Airan, with their characteristic gold and inlay decoration and the absence of decorative plates on the bow's ends and on the headplate's sides, belong to the starting point of the sequence. This is also suggested by the form of the footplates, which reach their maximal width towards the middle of their total length. The brooches from Balleure and Pollenzo, showing similar footplates and lateral

ornamental plates, appear to follow in time. The brooches from Merida are closely related to the Pollenzo and 'Brescia' ones, especially in terms of their headplates, showing similar forms and proportional relations to the footplates. In addition, the lateral decoration of the headplates is also strongly related to the Pollenzo brooches. The form of the footplates and the presence of decorative palmettes, instead, brings the Merida brooches closer to the Lezoux-Castelbolognese group. The latter appears very homogeneous, showing more evolved forms of the brooches' footplates. Their maximal width corresponds to the upper third of their length and they acquire a characteristic tongue-shaped form, which foreshadows the usual 'Visigothic' shapes of the E1 period in Gaul and Spain. Judging from the exact position of the maximal width, the brooches from Castelbolognese should be acknowledged as later than the ones from Lezoux. In addition, the two pairs of brooches display very similar decorative patterns, visible in the ornamented plates and the shape of the buttons at the headplates.

As mentioned, the main morphologic traits of the 'Western' brooches are very similar to the ones recorded in Central Europe, with a number of nuances. Unlike in easternmost territories (e.g. *Bierbrauer* 1991; *Gauß* 2009, 447, 448, 454–481, 489–518, 521–526, 532–541; *Tejral* 1988; 1997), palmette-shaped *appliqués* are the only decoration attested in the West between 440/50 and 500/10 CE. This may help explain why this type of decoration was overwhelmingly predominant among the E1, Visigothic period finds in Spain and Gaul (*Pinar Gil* 2017a, 48–50). A particular evolution of the Western palmette-shaped plates can be observed in the brooches from Lezoux and Castelbolognese. These display a decorative set that has not been recorded in the Danubian lands or further east. Similar, yet simplified decorations are known instead in some E1 brooches found in Spain and Gaul (*Bierbrauer* 1997, 179, pl. 2: 3; *Molinero Pérez* 1971, pl. L: 2). As regards the morphology of the brooches, the general tendency to displace the major width of the footplates from the middle to the upper third of their total length was followed in the West, just like in Danubian territories and the Black Sea region. However, unlike in the easternmost areas, this feature was not accompanied by a substantial increase in the overall size of the brooches. All of the Western graves contained middle-sized brooches, measuring between 14 and 18 cm, whereas in the East, especially after 450 CE, the length of this kind of brooch often exceeded 20 cm. Despite a quite limited amount of case examples, there is enough evidence, therefore, to conclude that 'Western' brooches formed a remarkably coherent assemblage, displaying a particular morphological and decora-

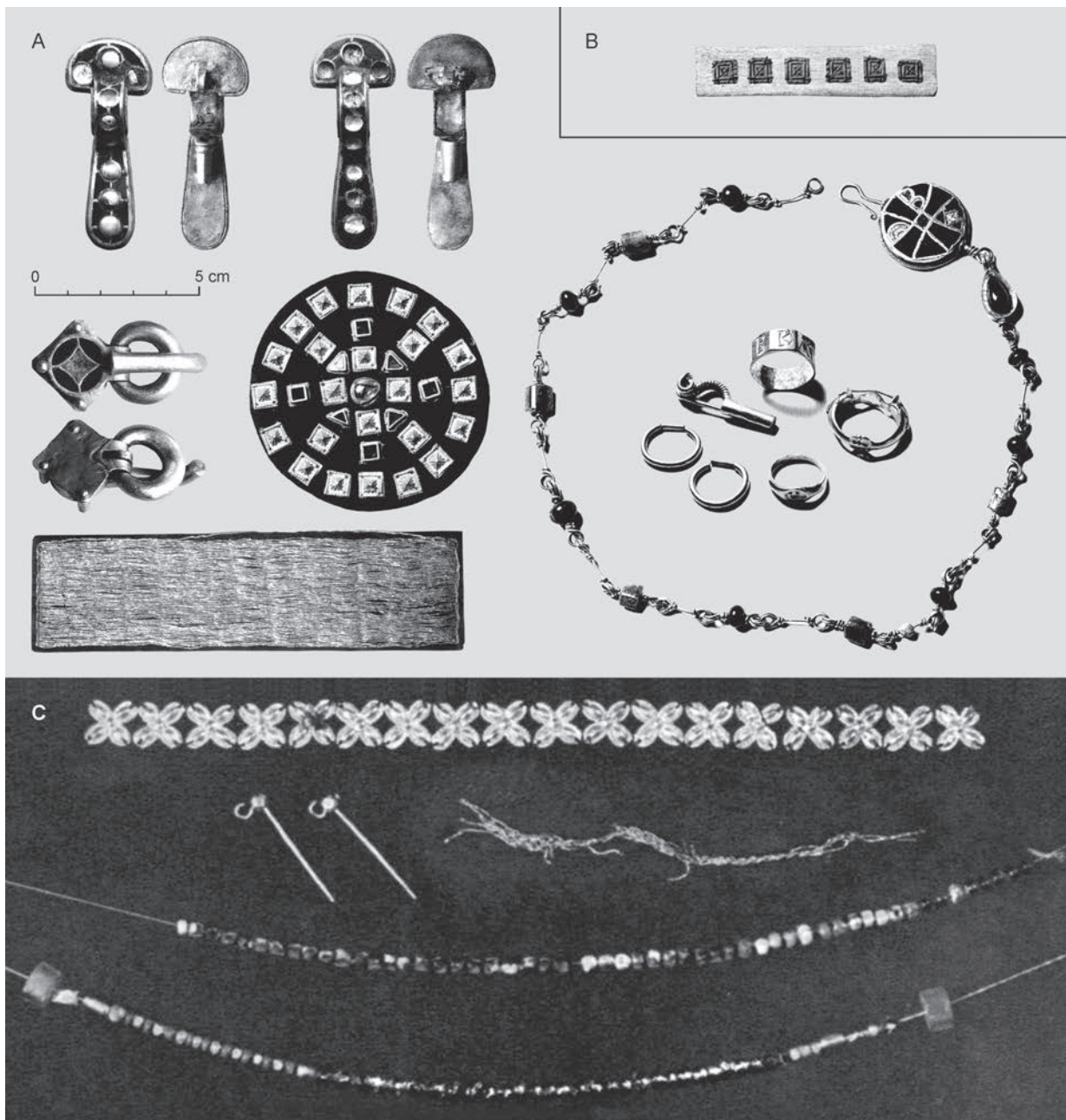


Fig. 12. Examples of gold-furnished graves in Africa and Gaul. A – Carthage-Koudiat Zâteur; B – Lézeville; C – Hippone-‘great basilica’ (after Eger 2001; Königreich 2009; Marec 1958; Salin 1922).

tive repertoire and following well-defined evolutionary trends that distinguish them from similar clusters in Central and Eastern Europe.

In addition to their form and decoration, the way in which the brooches were combined appears to be another feature changing over time. Without exception, the bow brooches were worn in pairs in every grave recorded in the West. That was also the usual way of using them in easternmost territories. The most striking feature seems to be the relatively frequent presence

of a ‘third’ brooch, apparently used to close the undergarment (*tunica, camisa*) on the top of the chest (Quast 2005, 278–284), as a sort of uppermost shirt button. In the West, such a combination is attested as early as period D1 (Sacca di Goito 214), and goes on until the later E1 period, as shown by Castiltierra 455 (Arias/Balmaseda 2015, 998–1010) and, possibly, Madrona 321 (Molinero Pérez 1971, pl. XCII: 1), found in central Spain and dating from the later spans of regional period 4 (500/10–530/40 CE). In between, combinations of

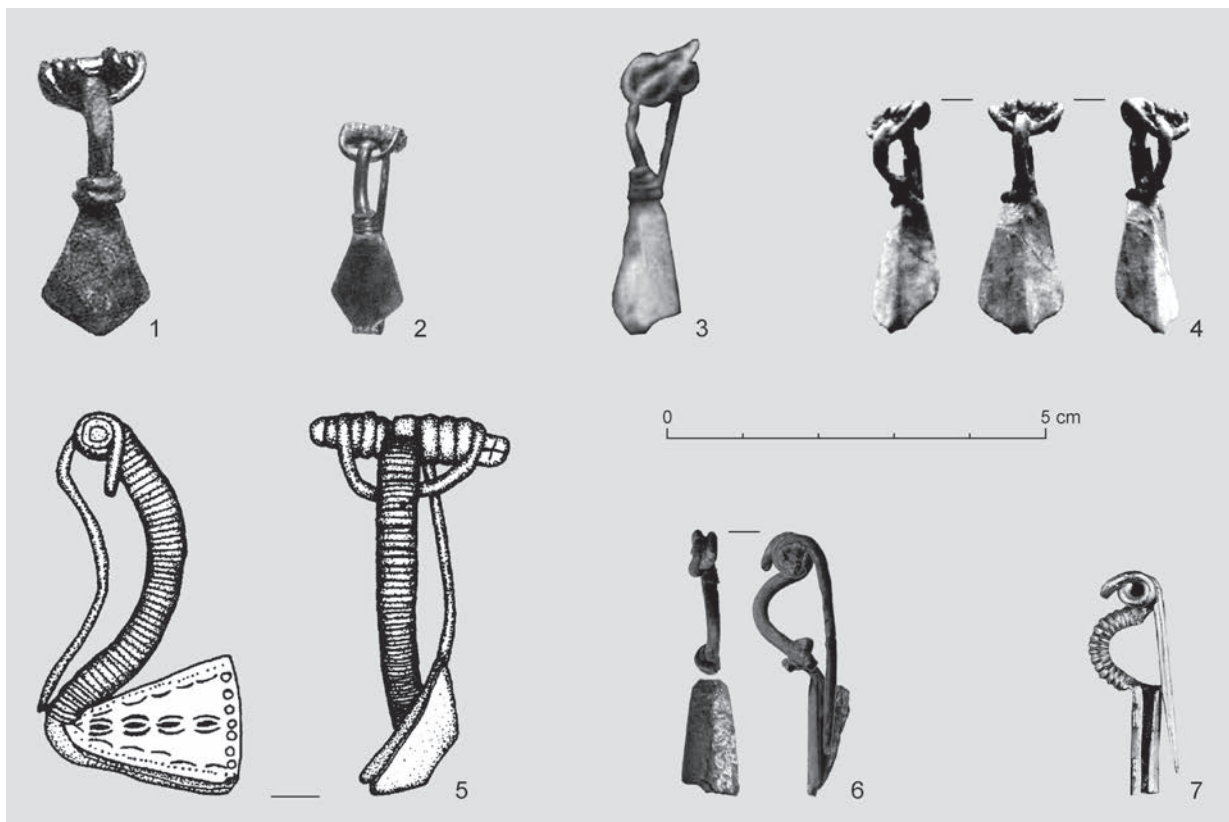


Fig. 13. Small crossbow brooches in the West. 1 – Sacca di Goito, grave 214; 2 – Novion-en-Ponthieu, grave 54; 3 – Baudemont; 4 – Duratón, grave 79; 5 – Teriola/Zirl; 6 – Pollenzo; 7 – Carthage-Koudiat Zâteur (after Höck 2003; Kasprzyk 2011; Kazanski 2000; 2020; Sannazaro 2006, completed with photographs by Michelle Beghelli and Joan Pinar Gil).

three brooches are also well attested during the D2/D3 and D3 periods, as demonstrated by examples from Pollenzo, Lezoux and probably, Baudemont. In addition, a comparable combination of brooches can be observed in the Koudiat Zâteur grave in North Africa (Fig. 12: A), dating from the D2/D3 period. Although the evidence is currently inconclusive, one can assume that this kind of combination was also known in the West during the D2 period. Hints in this direction are provided by the occurrence of ‘third’ brooches at Pollenzo, one of the earliest graves of the Western D2/D3 group from a typological point of view.

These ‘third brooches’ themselves show remarkable typological homogeneity. They are small sized objects (less than 4 cm long) belonging to two major groups: crossbow and disc brooches. Crossbow brooches (Fig. 13) occur in the earliest graves, although they are attested until the late E1 period (Kazanski 2000). They appear to be strikingly homogeneous: two-piece brooches with attached rhomboid foot belonging to the Almgren 162 type have been identified at Sacca de Goito and Duratón. In view of these parallels, it appears very likely that the items recovered from Baudemont formed

a similar combination. Another brooch closely related to this group has been reconstructed from the fragments recorded at Pollenzo. It shows a very similar foot, also attached to the bow, yet it is made in one piece, which permits its classification among examples of Almgren 159 type. Similar technological features are shown by the one-piece gold brooch with a straight foot from Koudiat Zâteur, corresponding to type Almgren 171. The presence of disc brooches instead appears to be a later development, since they are only recorded during the D3 and E1 periods. The earliest type includes specimens decorated with *repoussé* metal sheets, appearing in the D3 and E1 periods (3 and 4 in regional Visigothic chronology: in addition to Lezoux, see Duratón 190, possibly Madrona 174, Castiltierra 455; Arias/Balmaseda 2015, 998–1010; Molinero Pérez 1948, 60, pl. XXXIII: 4; 1971, pl. XVIII: 2; LXXVII: 2). In the E1 period, new brooches with inlay decoration (Fig. 14) appear alongside bow brooches in metal sheet (Castiltierra 432, Madrona 347; Arias/Balmaseda 2015, 954–962; Molinero Pérez 1971, pl. XCIV: 2).

Before the late 5th century, three-brooch combinations were particularly frequent in north-western

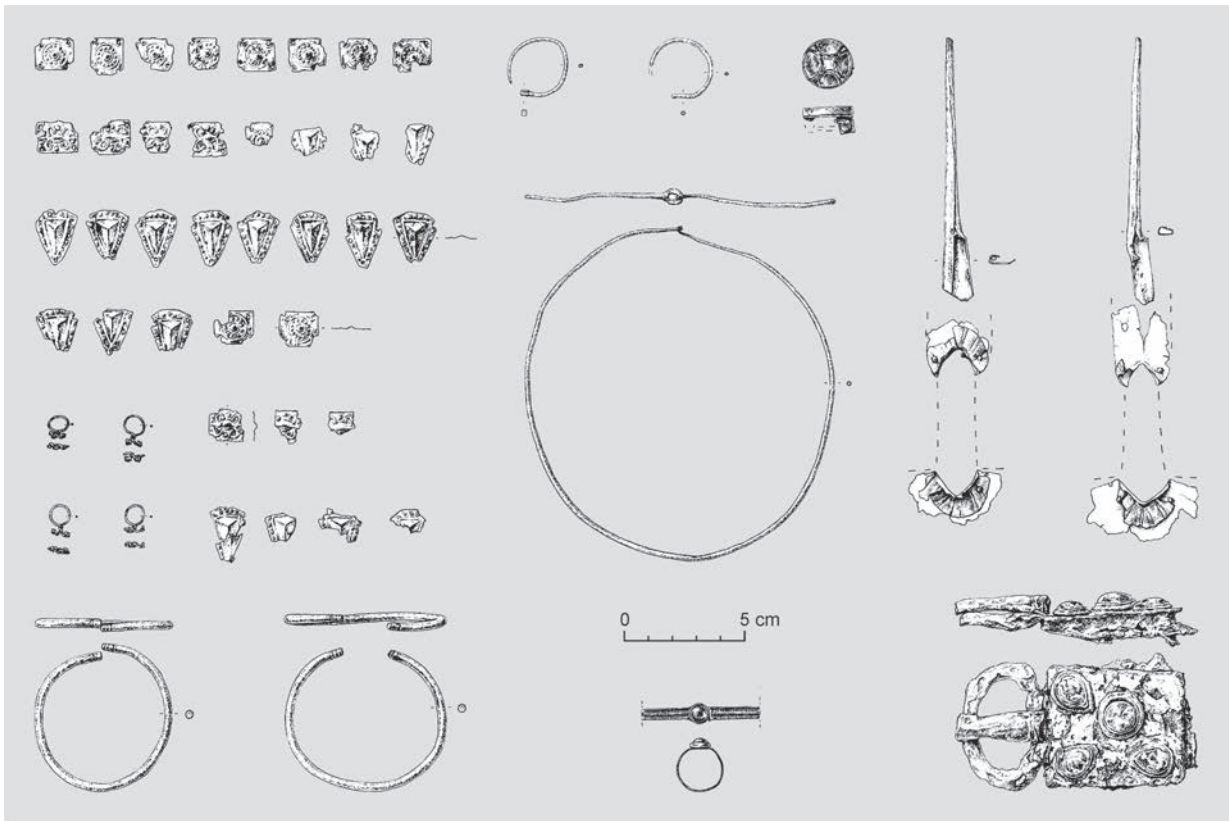


Fig. 14. Castiltierra, grave 432 (after Arias/Balmaseda 2015).

Italy and in central France. After 470/80 CE, instead, all evidence clusters in the Segovia province in central Spain. Such combinations seem to be particularly frequent between the D2 and D3 periods, when about a third of the total number of recorded graves hosting pairs of bow brooches contained also a 'third' brooch. It is worth mentioning that in *coeval*, comparable assemblages in the middle Danube valley and in the northern Black Sea region, this combination appears to be far less frequent, and is seldom attested before 450 CE. The burials at Tiszalök and Smolín (Kovrig 1951; Tejral 1973) belong to the late D2/D3 period. Only the woman from Vranja (Dautova-Ruševljan 1980–81), displaying an unusual combination of two small casted bow brooches and a crossbow brooch, may have been buried somewhat earlier. In these graves, the 'third' brooches are also crossbow ones with an attached foot, made in one (Smolín, probably Vranja) or two pieces (Tiszalök). Despite the formal and technological affinities of these brooches with the westernmost finds, the appearance of the Eastern combinations may have been very different from the Western ones. In the Danube and Tisza lands, the 'third' brooches were considerably larger objects, showing a more much balanced proportionality when compared to the pairs of bow brooches. This kind

of proportional relation is also recorded in the West, but only at the very beginning of the sequence, in grave of Sacca di Goito 214. A number of direct parallels in the Černjachov area can be mentioned for this Italian assemblage (Mastykova 2007, 209). The later development of combinations of big bow and small crossbow brooches with *attaché* foot during the D2/D3 and D3 periods should however be acknowledged as a Western phenomenon.

The gold foil ornaments of the D2 period also evolved in their own peculiar way in the West (Tab. 1). Unlike their easternmost counterparts (Tab. 2), Western ornaments generally consist almost exclusively of pyramid/square-shaped and triangular *appliqués*, a tendency that is particularly noticeable at the end of the sequence. The sum of these two forms amounts to at least 50–60% in Castiltierra 432 and 455 (Arias/Balmaseda 2015, 954–962, 998–1010). They date from different moments of the E1 period and contain cheaper, copper-alloy versions of these ornaments (Fig. 14). Two disturbed graves from Castiltierra and Madrona reflect a quite similar picture, although they contained only sparse remains of such ornaments (Arias/Balmaseda 2015, 443, 444; Molinero Pérez 1971, pl. LXV: 2). It is relevant to emphasize that the same morphological tendency was already recognizable during the D2/D3 period,

Tab. 1. Composition of the main combinations of appliqués in metal foil from Western Europe.

Period	Assemblage	Shape of the appliqués							
		Square	Rectangle	Rhombus	S	Circle	Triangle	M/W	Inlay
D2	Airan/Mould	–	min. 13	–	–	min. 11	min. 8	min. 29	min. 2
D2	Hochfelden	–	–	20	18	82	–	–	–
D2/D3	Merida 1	24	–	–	25	21	18	–	–
D2/D3	Koudiat Zâteur	139	–	–	–	–	–	–	30
E1	Castiltierra 432	11	7	–	–	–	18	–	–
E1	Castiltierra 455	5	9	–	–	–	8	–	–

Tab. 2. Composition of the main combinations of appliqués in gold foil from the Middle Danube and the Northern Black Sea regions.

Period	Assemblage	Shape of the appliqués							
		Square	Rectangle	Rhombus	S	Circle	Triangle	M/W	Inlay
D2	Lučistoje 82	–	–	–	–	66	33	110	–
D2	Untersiebenbrunn	min. 10	38	–	42	89	64	min. 222	1
D2	Regöly	–	–	–	–	27	16	77	1
D2/D3?	Džurga-Oba 29	–	–	–	–	120	–	–	–
D3?	Bakodpuszta 1-2	2	–	–	–	4	–	–	–

as shown by the graves from Merida (where these two forms amount to almost 48%) and Koudiat Zâteur in North Africa (82%, reaching up to 98%, if one assimilates the triangular and square garnet-inlaid *appliqués* to the *repoussé* ones). In addition to a gradual diminution of the morphological variety of the *appliqués*, a decrease in the total amount of *appliqué* pieces can be also noted. The two graves from Castiltierra contained 22 and 36 pieces, much less than the grave at Merida (D2/D3 period: 88 pieces), and even less than those at Hochfelden and Airan (D2 period: 120 and 160 respectively), as will be seen later. With 169 reported *appliqués*, Koudiat Zâteur appears to belong to a category of its own.

A comparison between the African and Spanish graves, on the one hand, and the two western D2 graves, on the other, indeed demonstrates that early 5th century pieces of jewellery were very different from their later counterparts. Although fragmentary, the available data suggest that the Airan ornaments had a very characteristic composition: no pyramidal *appliqué* has been identified so far, whereas the triangular ones were not among the most frequent forms (less than 13% of the minimal number of surely attested *appliqués*). Such a composition, indeed, compares fairly well with those of Airan's middle Danube counterparts (Tab. 2), especially Untersiebenbrunn (pyramids: 2%, triangles:

14%, M/W: 47.5%), but also Regöly, with no pyramids at all and triangles slightly over 13% (Kubitschek 1911, 43–47; Mészáros 1970, 76–80; Nothnagel 2013, 16, 17). Further east, a very similar set of *appliqués* has been recorded at Lučistoje (Aibabin/Hairedinov 1999, 288, fig. 13–15; Kazanski/Mastykova 2006, 291, 292), with no pyramids and a very similar proportion of circles (31.5%), triangles (16%) and M/W *appliqués* (52.5%). Hochfelden instead appears to be true exception both in the West and in the lands of the middle Danube, because of its reduced typological repertoire (only three forms: rhomboid, S-shaped and discoid) and the presence of rhomboid-shaped *appliqués*. Typologically reduced sets of *appliqués* are known in the Pontic area, however. Grave 29 at Džurga-Oba contained 120 discoid *appliqués* (Ermolin 2012, 342, 343, fig. 3: 8). Interestingly enough, the number of *appliqués*, from what one can gather from published information, is exactly the same as at Hochfelden. The main feature shared with middle Danube assemblages is the proportion between circular and S-shaped *appliqués*, which is comparable to the Untersiebenbrunn set (a ratio close to ¼ at Hochfelden and to ½ at Untersiebenbrunn). Generally speaking, however, the Hochfelden combination has little in common with any other westernmost find. This fact can be seen as a further point to posit the north Black Sea origin of the majority of goods deposited

in the grave. The only possible 'Western' connection of the gold foil adornments at Hochfelden may be the rhomboid shaped *appliqués*, which show some degree of resemblance to the poorly preserved remains retrieved at Sacca di Goito 206. The (post-) Černjachov character of the associated brooches at these locations argue in favour of Pontic connections for both graves.

Typological differences between the Western finds of the period from D2/D3 to E1 and their D2 period 'forerunners' appear to be ultimately related to functionality. On the basis of their position on the skulls of skeletons, the metal *appliqués* from Merida and Castiltierra can be certainly identified as components of headdresses or diadems. This implies a substantial difference, for instance, with the find from Hochfelden. In this grave, adornments in gold foil were found over the skeleton's upper thorax, wrists and elbows, thus suggesting that they were not part of a headdress, but of the seams of a garment meant for the upper body. A similar purpose may be attributed to the gold foil components from Airan, which were found clustered on the skeleton's upper thorax. One can assume that the closely related adornments recorded at Untersiebenbrunn, Regöly and Lučistoje had this same function (Kazanski/Mastykova 2006, 291).

A more dubious case is that of Koudiat Zâteur. Although the typology of the *appliqués* from this site follows general Western guidelines, their number stays very close to that of probably imported sets of the D2 period, such as Airan's. In addition, references to the original position of the *appliqués* are quite vague. They were found '... on the upper part of the skeleton...' (Delattre 1916, 15). Considering the common compositional features shared with the Spanish finds, especially with the broadly coeval grave from Merida, it seems reasonable that at least part of the *appliqués* formed part of a headdress. In favour of this hypothesis are the affinities between the inlaid *plaquettes* from Koudiat Zâteur and numerous examples of late Roman diadems (see also below), as well as the numerous gold threads recorded in the grave, attributed by Christoph Eger to the remains of a luxury hairnet (Eger 2012b, 349–351).

If this hypothesis is acceptable, it would imply that in the Western Mediterranean (both in North Africa and in Spain) there was a major shift in the use of gold foil adornments of 'Eastern' tradition between the D2 and D2/D3 periods. From that period on, as far as the similar compositions of the headdresses from Merida and Castiltierra can tell, a clear typological continuity between the D2/D3 and late E1 period can be observed. It is worth emphasizing that the development of this

kind of ornament in Africa had its own peculiarities. Apparently, the reduction of the formal repertoire of *appliqués* was much more drastic than in Spain. In addition to Koudiat Zâteur, the grave in the cistern of the 'great basilica' at Hippo Regius (Marec 1958, 51–53) is a very striking example of this tendency. It contained 18 identical, four-leaved items (Fig. 12: C). The number of *appliqués* (similar to the much later Castiltierra 455, and very restricted in comparison with the D2 assemblages in the West) may be considered as supporting the attribution of the burial in the D2/D3 period, as already suggested (Jiřík/Pinar Gil 2019, 464, 465; Quast 2005, 272).

This overall tendency in the West has a possible counterpart in the Middle Danube area, in the problematic 'grave 1–2' in the 'Bakodpuszta' cemetery (Kiss 1983, 101–112; Schmauder 2002, 30–32). It appears likely that the gold *appliqués* belonged to a headdress included in a jewellery set deposited during the D3 period, as suggested by the parallels of the arm rings, the necklace with oval and heart-shaped garnets and the finger rings. Such a jewellery set appears to display strong links with the Western Mediterranean, as the possible combination of two different types of necklace (e.g. Baratte et al. 2002; Fiocchi Nicolai 2013), the decoration of the *cloisonné* panel of the belt buckle (analogies in likely late 5th century Italian products; Bachran 1975, 144; Baldini 2006; Giostra 2012, 241, 242; Glaser 2003), and the comparison with rich 'Barbarian' assemblages of the mid and late 5th century West (Koudiat Zâteur, Desana; Aimone 2010) suggest.

The evolution in Western assemblages from the period D2/D3 onwards suggests that the graves of the Untersiebenbrunn group may not necessarily have been the only source of inspiration for their ornamental sets in gold foil. It is of interest here to explore the links between the headdresses with *appliqués* of 'Eastern' type, on the one hand, and similar garments recorded in Western Europe during the 5th and 6th centuries, on the other. Diadems and headbands recorded at cemeteries of Late Antiquity in the Danube and Rhine valleys, as well as in the West Mediterranean (Fig. 15), appear to be convincing predecessors of the headdresses with 'Eastern' *appliqués* from D2/D3 and later periods. Examples from Salemi, Strasbourg, Mayen, Regensburg, Intercisa and Šarkamen (Pace 1916, 714; Popović 2005, 47–49, 80; Martin 1991b, 23–26) display features that strongly recall the evolutionary trends of later 'Eastern' headdresses. A limited overall number of metal *appliqués*, amounting to less than thirty units, and a reduced formal repertoire, usually consisting of combinations of only two different forms of *appliqués*. Their function as headdresses is certain,

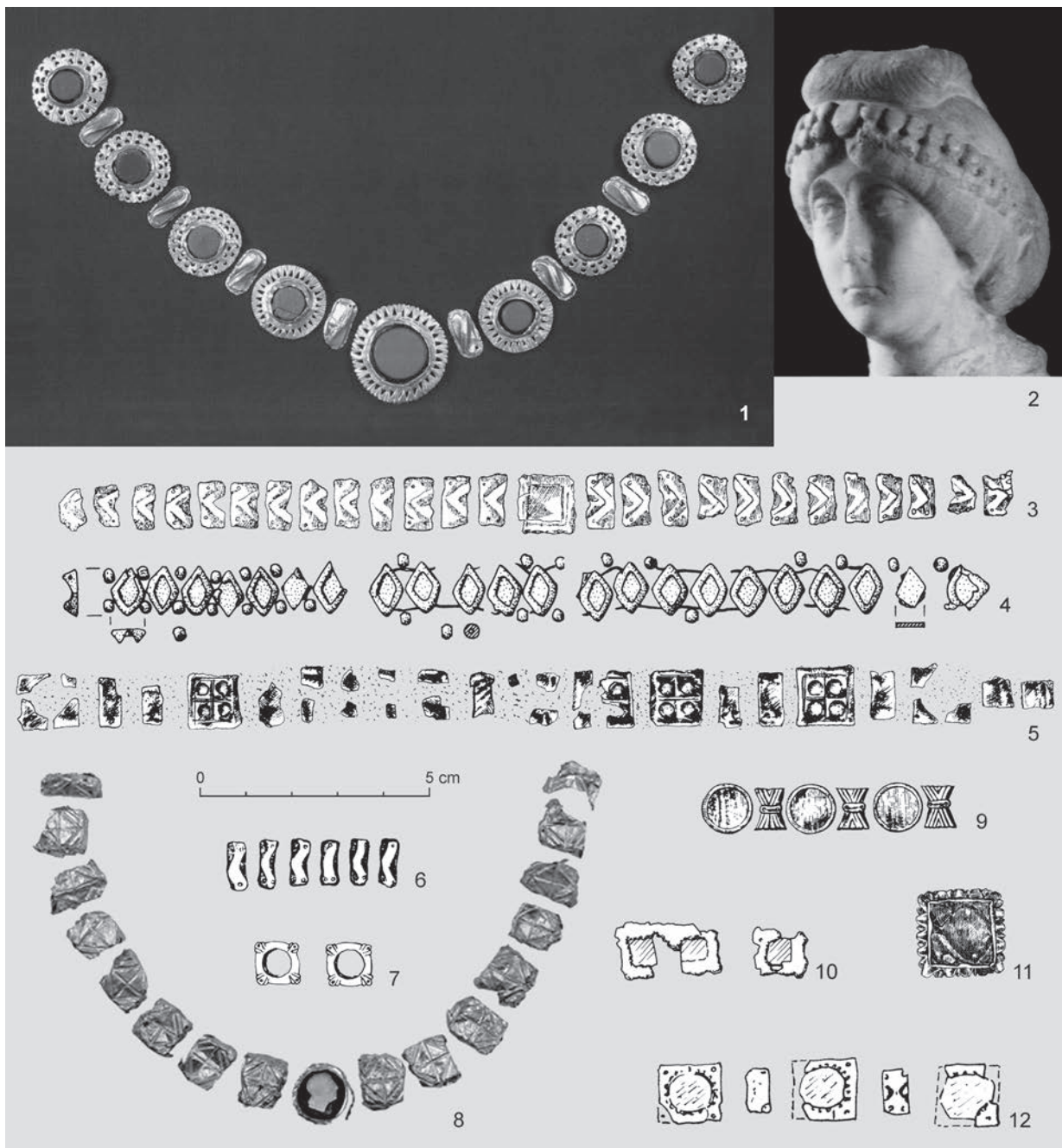


Fig. 15. 4th–5th century headdresses. 1 – Šarkamen; 2 – portrait of Aelia Flaccilla; 3 – Mayen; 4 – Regensburg; 5, 10 – Intercisa; 6, 9 – Strasbourg; 7 – Tokod; 8 – Salemi; 11 – St. Aldegund; 12 – Somogyszil (after *Martin 1991b*; *Popović 2005*; *Weitzmann 1977*, completed with photographs by Michelle Beghelli).

due to the position of the *appliqués* in Mayen grave 257 and Intercisa grave 1134 (*Grünewald 2011*, 325, 326, pl. 63; 64; *Vágó/Bóna 1976*, 84, pl. 20), the latter being a particularly striking example.

Interestingly enough, restricted numbers and limited formal sets of *appliqués* are also common

features in late 5th–early 6th century headdresses found in the West. Examples such as Hordain grave 282 (*Demolon 2006*, 174, 175) and Lezéville (Fig. 12: B; *Salin 1922*, 57–59, pl. IX), respectively amounting to eight and six identical gold foil adornments, should be mentioned. The formal evo-

² I would like to thank Catherine Michel (Musée Denon) for her kind permission to examine and photograph the finds from Balleure, curated in Châlon-sur-Saône.

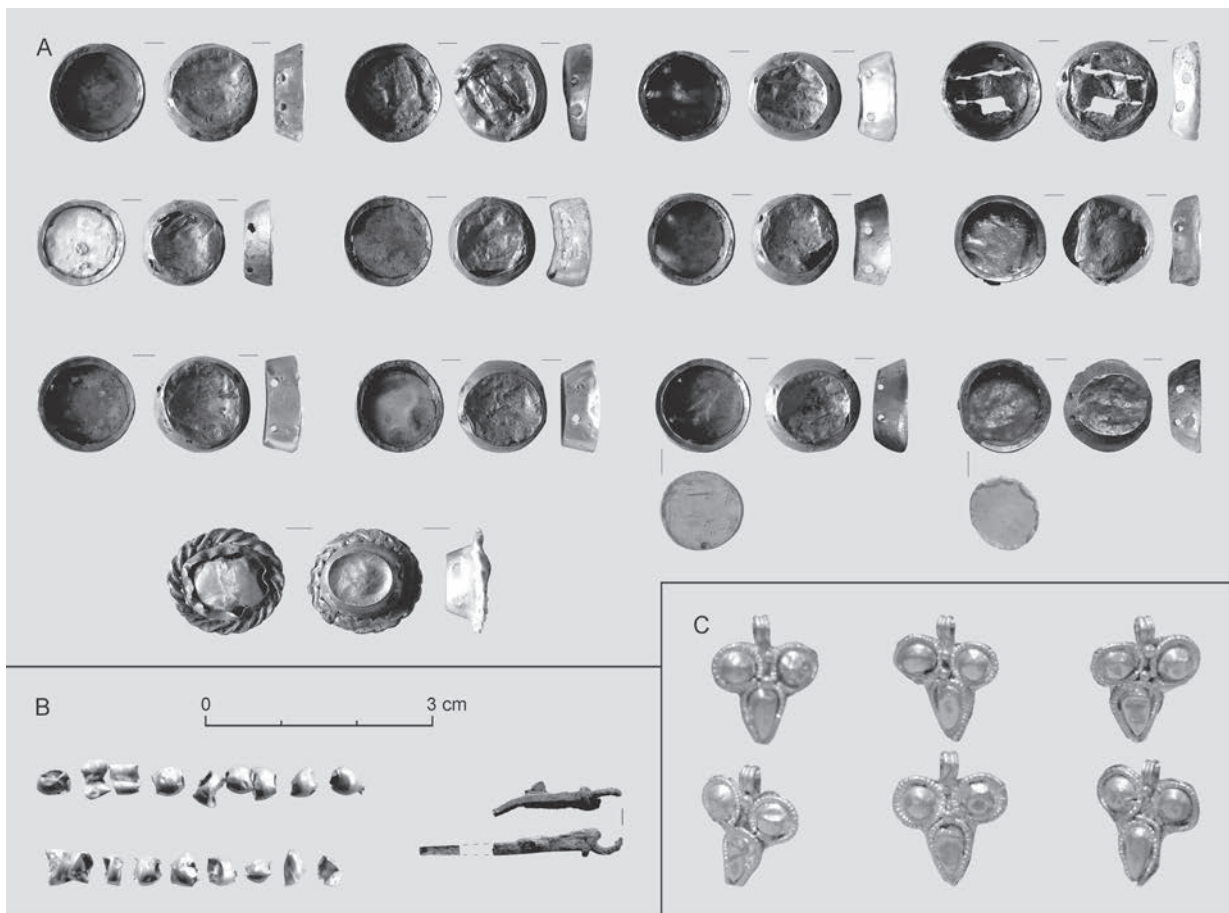


Fig. 16. Diadems and necklaces with gold components in 'eastern' jewellery sets from Western Europe. A – Balleure; B – Pollenzo; C – Lezoux (photographs by Michelle Beghelli and Joan Pinar Gil).

lution of headdresses with 'Eastern' metal *appliqués* throughout the second half of the 5th century thus mirrors the clear tendency to converge with their western counterparts of Late Antiquity.

In this context, particular attention should be given to the discs in gold foil and glass inlays retrieved at Balleure (Fig. 16: A).² They can easily be identified as components of a headdress belonging to this same group, with its best parallels in the Rhine and Danube regions, as shown by inlay-decorated examples from Strasbourg, Mayen, Regensburg and Šarkamen (Martin 1991b, fig. 11; Popović 2005, 47–49, 80). A similar disposition of the metal components, displaying a larger, distinct central element, can be observed at Mayen and Šarkamen, as well as in roughly contemporary depictions of Mediterranean nobility, such as the portrait of Aelia Flaccila, who passed away in 386 CE (Weitzmann 1977, 12). In particular, the headdress from Salemi in Sicily, displaying a mounted glass cameo as the central element, strongly resembles the Balleure headband. The burial at Balleure belongs to either the late D2 or the early D2/D3 period. It can thus be considered

a forerunner for the D2/D3 and later headdresses. The inlaid *plaquettes* (14 rectangular, 13 triangular and two circular/drop shaped) recorded at Koudiat Zâteur strongly support this view, since they have real parallels among late Roman diadems, regarding both their forms and their numbers.

Changes in the form of the glassware placed with the 'Eastern' jewellery sets can be also mentioned among the evolutionary trends in this kind of deposit. The amount of well-preserved evidence is extremely restricted. The specimens from Hochfelden, Balleure and Merida, as well as a beaker with no stratigraphic context from Baudemont, are the only examples identified so far. A comparison between the assemblages dating from the D2 period and the ones from the D2/D3 period, however, again shows some remarkable differences. In the D2 assemblages, bell-shaped beakers of the form Isings 96 occur with remarkable frequency. This is proven by not only the Hochfelden grave, but also other coeval western deposits showing 'Eastern' connections, such as two graves at Merida-Almendralejo st. and L'Hostalot, respectively containing two belt

buckles of Neubauer 1 type and a one-pieced brooch of Almgren's type 171, and a pair of gold pins (*Heras Mora/Olmedo Gragera* 2015; *López Quiroga* 2015, fig. 18; *Pérez Rodríguez-Aragón* 1999; *Ulloa/Grangel* 1996, 354–356). In addition, Isings 96 beakers and pairs of gold pins have been recorded also at the cemetery of Beiral (*López Quiroga* 2020, fig. 17). Interestingly enough, this type of beaker occurs frequently in similar funerary assemblages of the middle Danube area (e.g. *Tejral* 1997, 339, 340). This fact of course does not necessarily imply that the finds in the West should be regarded as imports, since the form was also widespread in the Western Mediterranean (e.g. *Foy* 1995, pl. 9; *Sánchez de Prado* 2018, fig. 236; *Sternini* 1995, fig. 16). However, the presence of this specific drinking vessel provides a considerable amount of information on the tastes, habits and traditions of the D2 'Easterners' residing in the West. The example of Hochfelden, narrowly connected to the Pontic region, is once more revealing, because Isings 96 beakers are also frequent among the D1 and D2 grave goods of the north Black Sea region (e.g. *Ivachenko* 1995; *Sazanov* 1995).

Continuous use of this form into the D2/D3 graves with bow brooches in silver sheet can be noticed in Merida and also possibly in Baudemont. The first example contained a footed bell-shaped beaker, which can be considered an evolved parallel of the D2 Isings 96 forms. Since the grave can be safely dated to the mid-5th century, the beaker should be regarded as a predecessor of the typical late 5th and 6th century footed beakers. Similar beakers with a conical foot are known in southern France and Spain during both the first and the second half of the 5th century (e.g. *Foy* 1995, pl. 10, 22; *Sánchez* 2018, fig. 236). The specimen from Baudemont belongs to Feyeux's type 50, attested in north Gallic funerary contexts as from the second half of the 5th century (*Périn* 1995, fig. 4). Unlike in the previous period, the later drinking vessels found in Western graves are connected to regional, Western forms that have no direct parallel in middle Danube and north Black Sea graves of the same period.

The flask recorded at Balleure is the one true exception in the overall sequence, because the object is very unlikely to have been part of a drinking set. It appears reasonable that the early age of the deceased (who was identified as a young girl) conditioned the choice of the glassware to be deposited in the grave. It is interesting to mention that the broadly contemporary and rich grave from Vienna-Mödling, provided with a glass set consisting of a similar flask and two beakers, was also a young girl's burial. Belonging to Feyeux's type 20, the flask from Balleure can be broadly attributed to the 5th–6th centuries (*Périn* 1995, fig. 3).

QUANTITY, QUALITY, EXCLUSIVITY

Apart from ordinary changes in the forms and functions of some grave good components, the comparison between the contents of the Western graves brings to the fore other types of evolutionary trends. Among them, a decrease in the frequency of several categories of grave goods and/or their disappearance is manifested rather clearly.

Arm rings occurred quite frequently in Eastern assemblages throughout the D2, D2/D3 and D3 periods. In the West, though, they were completely absent before the E1 period, with only two early exceptions at Sacca di Goito. An unconfirmed instance is reported from Baudemont. The late Roman snake-headed arm rings from Sacca di Goito 210 and 214 should thus be regarded as local elements brought into the early 'Eastern' clothing set (see also below).

Composite belt buckles should be mentioned among the most visible 'disappearing' elements. They were absent in every single grave with pairs of bow brooches dating to the D1 period (Sacca di Goito, Angers, Cholet, Reims). That represents a substantial difference with regard to late Černjachov clothing tradition, where belt buckles were a very common accessory in female clothing (*Hopkalo* 2011). Generally speaking, belt fittings were extremely rare among 'Eastern' grave goods in the West before the late 5th century. One can mention only the examples of Airan, Balleure and Koudiat Zâteur. A further case is possibly found among the materials from the Merida region, where a D2 belt buckle may have been associated with the aforementioned pair of Villafontana bow brooches (*Quast* 2005, 297). The tendency appears to be very clear: following the D1 period, when no cases have been recorded, belt buckles were introduced in Western graves during the D2 period (67% of verified cases, including Balleure), probably connected to a 'new wave' of Eastern immigrants. Its frequency began to decrease already during the D2/D3 period (33%), and in the D3 period was not recorded anymore (again 0%), thus returning relatively quickly to the situation of the D1 period. Like many other changes in the composition of the grave goods, the disappearance of the belt buckles happened very early, during the transition between the D2 and D2/D3 periods. This was indeed the likeliest moment in which the burial at Balleure was made. The presence of a belt buckle among the grave goods could indeed be regarded as a sort of 'fashion anomaly' deriving from the premature death of the girl buried in the grave. It is interesting to stress that the opposite trend was recorded in similar graves in the middle

Danube and northern Black Sea regions, where the presence of composite belt buckles in this kind of assemblage became increasingly common between the D1 and D3 periods. The wide use of composite belt buckles in E1 period graves in central Spain must hence be regarded as a regional development having little to do with the overall evolution in the West. It may be worth mentioning that other deposits with 'Eastern-type' precious metal components from the E1 period found elsewhere in the West do not include belt buckles. This may be the case of Domagnano, Han Potoci and Reggio Emilia (Baldini/Pinar Gil 2010; Bierbrauer 1973; 1975, 272–281, 302–309, pl. XVIII–XXI; XXXII–XXXV; Degani 1959; Vinski 1954), for instance.

Earrings appeared and vanished in this group of graves in a similar way, suggesting that the trends outlined by the belt buckles were by no means arbitrary. Absent in D1 graves and ubiquitously attested in the D2 period, those of Balleure and Pollenzo are the latest contexts in which earrings have been recorded before disappearing in the middle decades of the 5th century. These adornments were gradually reintroduced in 'Eastern' graves during the E1 period. Central Spanish finds show indeed a much lower use of earrings in period 3 (470/80–500/10 CE) than in period 4 (500/10–530/40 CE). The decrease in the use of earrings during the D2/D3, D3 and partially E1 period appears to be, once more, a genuinely Western development, since the opposite tendency can be detected in the middle Danube region between the D2/D3 and D3 periods (e.g. Bierbrauer 1991; Tejral 1988; 1997; 2007). Development in North Africa appears to have been more similar to the Danubian one, as three out of four D2/D3 gold-furnished graves of 'Eastern' tradition contained earrings of local, Western Mediterranean types.

With only two examples recorded in the D2 (Airan) and D3 periods (Lezoux), finger rings occurred very seldom in the Western group prior to the E1 period. Much like the earrings and the belt buckles, this kind of jewel was massively associated to 'Eastern-styled' clothing only after 470/80 CE, and in particular after 500/10 CE. Also in easternmost territories, finger rings were not a very frequent component of post-Černjachov grave assemblages. However, graves containing two finger rings point to direct relations between the E1 Western finds and the D2 to D3 'Eastern' assemblages, as shown by the comparison between the examples at Untersiebenbrunn, Mezőkövesd-Mocsolyás or Duratón (grave 106, 445 and 526; Kubitschek 1911; Lovász 1999; 2005; Molinero Pérez 1948, 39, pl. XXVII: 4; 1971, pl. VI: 2; XXXVIII: 1). Much like the earrings, combinations of two finger rings began to be broadly used in central

Spain only at the end of the E1 period (regional period 4). Duratón grave 176 is the only example that dates from before 500 CE. It nevertheless contained a quite unusual combination of three finger rings (Molinero Pérez 1971, pl. XLVII: 1).

The last examples of 'vanishing' artefacts are glass vessels, whose latest occurrences were recorded at Merida and Baudemont, although the latter cannot be surely attributed to any short chronological period. No assemblage surely attributed to the D3 or E1 periods contained glass drinking vessels or flasks. In the easternmost regions, this type of object is not frequent in female graves after the D2 period, although is still documented in the late D2/D3 or D3 period (Kosino/Barabás; Bóna/Nagy 2002, 17–21). Lastly, the frequent presence of pottery in the easternmost graves stands in contrast to the Western group, in which only one ceramic vessel has been recorded (Merida-Almendralejo st. 1, containing a jug with globular belly).

Some time ago, Magdalena Mączyńska carried out a diachronic survey on the evolution of 'east Germanic-styled' grave goods (Tempelmann-Mączyńska 1989). She concluded that a general tendency throughout the 1st to the 6th centuries was a perceptible decrease in the quantity and variety of objects deposited within these graves. She popularized the term *reduziert* with regard to the latest materializations of the Ponto-Danubian female cloth of the Migration Period. The 5th century Western group conclusively proves that this process was much faster in the West than elsewhere. By the D3 period, the graves found in the West contained only a 'minimalistic' combination of brooches, excluding from the grave goods any object not related to the personal appearance of the deceased, and even limiting the occurrence of non-functional accessories such as earrings or necklaces. In this respect, the earliest E1 graves recorded in central Spain show relevant differences to the overall Western evolution, pointing to a significant break between the pre- and post- 470/80 deposits. The reappearance of belt buckles, necklaces, arm rings, finger rings and, to a lesser extent, earrings, suggests that the predecessors and the sources of inspiration for the Visigothic period's 'Eastern' jewellery sets may have been other than D2 to D3-period Western assemblages. This reformulation of the 'Eastern fashion' shared with previous Western assemblages selected specific aspects only, such as the combinations of three brooches, certain morphological features of the bow brooches and the headdresses, as well as a number of topographical features (see also below).

Some of these quantitative differences, tending towards a reduction in the absolute numbers of

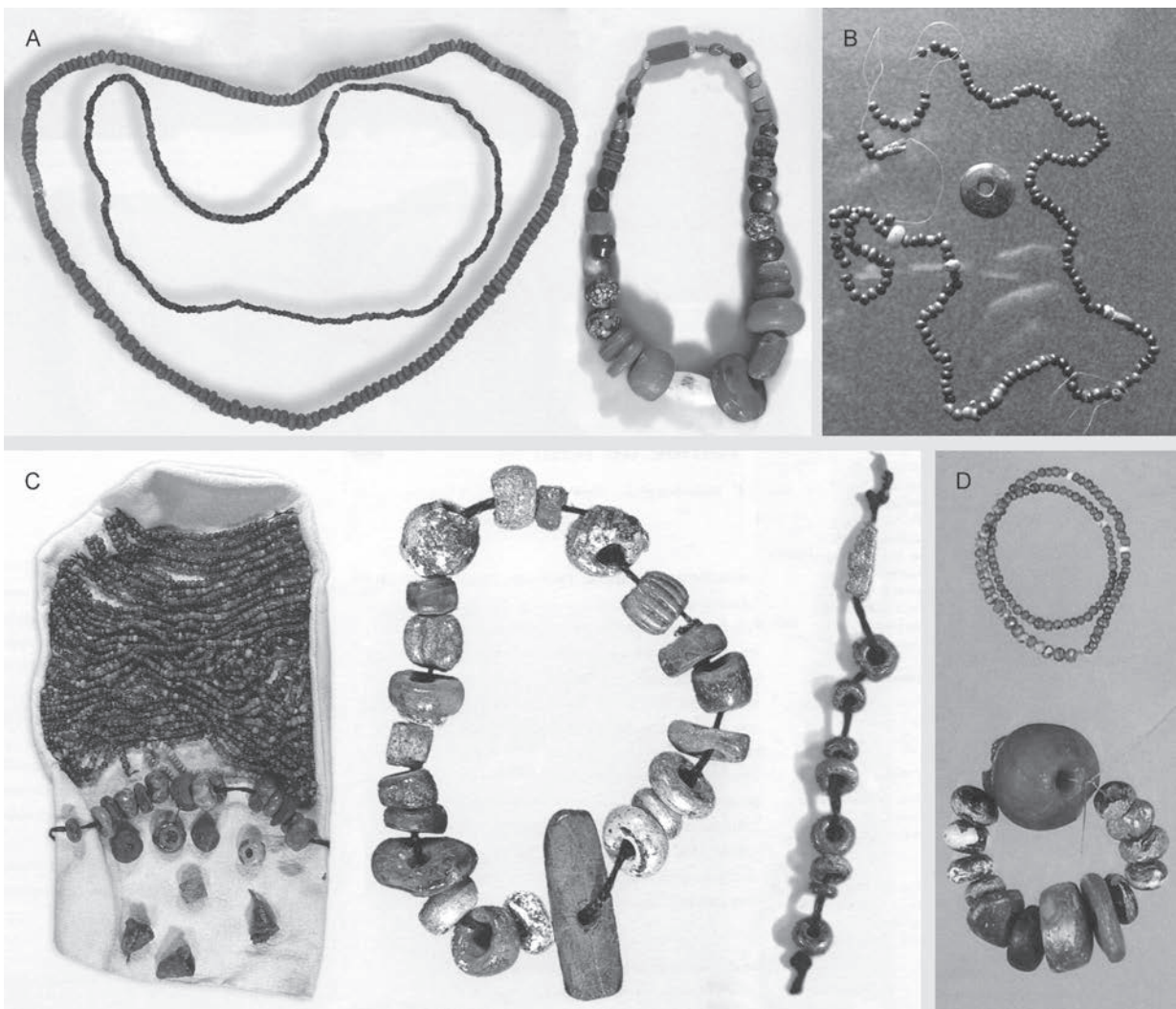


Fig. 17. Combinations of bead necklaces. A – Smolín, grave XXXII; B – Turda; C – Lezoux; D – Duratón, grave 79 (different scales; after Bărbulescu 2008; I Goti 1994; *L'or des princes* 2000).

grave goods, had a number of qualitative implications. Necklaces in braided gold wire, for instance, were a very expensive artefact, occurring only in very exclusive jewellery sets and deposits. They occurred in two of the D2 Western assemblages (Hochfelden and Airan), while they were completely missing among later grave goods. Apparently, they were gradually replaced by less exclusive neck ornaments combining gold, silver, amber and glass beads and pendants. An eloquent comparison can be made between the neck and chest ornaments retrieved at the chronologically consecutive graves of Airan, Balleure and Pollenzo. In addition to the above-mentioned necklace in gold wire, Airan contained an unspecified number of amber beads

and a silver loop in loop chain linking the two bow brooches. The number of raw materials (metal in particular) used for these ornaments is far higher than in the necklace components retrieved at Balleure, made up of silver pendants and glass and amber beads (see also below). At Pollenzo, 18 beads in gold foil may have formed part of a necklace fastened by a pair of bronze hook-shaped clasps (Fig. 16: B). A large cylindrical glass bead completed the hanging jewellery for the upper body. This comparison highlights the fact that, by the beginning of the D2/D3 periods, jewellery for upper body became much simpler and, generally speaking, less exclusive. Other D2/D3 assemblages contained only a single amber bead (Merida) and, possibly, a neck-

³ I would like to thank Sandrine Berthelot (Musée de Normandie, Caen) for sharing information on the Airan gold, and Bernadette Schnitzler (Musée Archéologique, Strasbourg) for her kind permission to examine the finds from Hochfelden conserved in Strasbourg.

lace with silver pendants, vaguely resembling the ones from Balleure (Merida region; *Koenig* 1980, 231, 232, pl. 62). The same tendency was still visible in the D3 period: besides six light gold pendants (Fig. 16: C), the grave of Lezoux contained at least two necklaces of glass and amber beads (Fig. 17: C). That of Castelbolognese, as mentioned, contained no neck or chest ornament, and belonged to a time that can be understood as the final stage of the overall trend towards the simplification and reduction of 'Eastern' jewellery sets.

A very visible indication of this tendency is a gradual reduction in the weight of gold artefacts (Tab. 3). The estimated amount of gold at Airan and Hochfelden was higher than 55 g.³ For Airan, the gold foil covering the plates of the brooches (assessed at 40 g by Robillard) and the weight of one presumably missing earring should be added to this estimation as well. The grave of Balleure contained a much lower amount of gold, below 13 g. This weight is indeed very similar to the usual standards of the D2/D3 period graves, as shown at Merida (estimated weight around 11–13 g) and Pollenzo (little more than 3 g). This is once again another feature bringing Balleure closer to the D2/D3 group than to the previous D2 one. A later development of this same trend is shown by the burials made during the D3 period: at Lezoux,⁴ the gold necklace pendants weighted about 1.5 g, whereas no gold adornment was found among the Castelbolognese grave goods. Likewise, no necklace element in gold has been recorded in Western 'Eastern-styled' graves of the E1 period. The phenomenon was not exclusive to gold artefacts, though. Other objects in precious metal show a similar trend. For instance, the weight of the silver neck/upper chest ornaments at Airan (chain: 28 g) and Balleure (axe-shaped pendants: 12 g) follow the same tendency as gold jewellery. To this comparison, one should also add the aforementioned pendants attributed to the Merida region, hypothetically related to a D2/D3 grave with bow brooches in silver sheet. Although their weights are unknown and their integrity is by no means assured, the five preserved trapezoid pendants are obviously of a lower quantity of silver than the 13 pendants of Balleure. Lastly, the evolution of finger rings reveals a similar tendency. Being a very rare element among the Western grave goods, the possibilities of comparison are limited to only two instances. The results speak for themselves, however. The gold finger ring with *cameo* inlay from Airan appears to be a much more exclusive artefact than the thin bronze one found at Lezoux.

Tab. 3. Minimal amount of gold recorded in 'eastern' assemblages from Western Europe.

Period	Assemblage	Minimal gold amount
D2	Airan/Mould	96 g
D2	Hochfelden	56 g
D2	Balleure	12 g
D2/D3	Merida	11 g
D2/D3	Pollenzo	3 g
D3	Lezoux	1.5 g

The decrease in precious metal objects in 'Eastern' graves was much swifter and more dramatic in Western Europe than in the middle Danube or northern Black Sea lands. Gold was less present in the D2/D3 than in the D2 periods, but it still appeared in earrings, necklace beads (*Dindesti*, *Perjámos*; *Németi* 1967; *Proházka* 2003) and even neck rings (*Levice-Kusá Hora*; *Novotný* 1984, 111–113). In addition, the amount of silver tended to increase during this period. Larger bow brooches, composite belt buckles as well as earrings, finger and arm rings and pendants in silver are frequent among the latest Danubian graves, and thus compensate, to a certain extent, the absence of gold. In the West, by contrast, the decrease in precious metal artefacts was already noticeable as early as the late D2 or early D2/D3 period, and went on uninterrupted until the E1 period and beyond. Both silver and gold objects were extremely rare throughout the whole period of use of all Visigothic period cemeteries in central Spain, including bow brooches of Eastern tradition, overwhelmingly produced in copper alloys.

The regional group in North Africa evolved very differently, displaying a much more pronounced continuity when compared to D2 traditions. Three out of four graves with gold jewellery attributable to the D2/D3 period (*Koudiat Zâteur*, *Douar ech Chott* and *Temple of Ceres Basilica*; *Eger* 2001; *Koenig* 1981, 308–312) were furnished with gold necklaces. As mentioned, earrings were also popular, and one grave contained a composite belt buckle in the clearest *Untersiebenbrunn*-group tradition. An interesting correlation between the settlement contexts and contents of these graves can be noticed. As we will see, this might help explain the particular evolution of the African group (see also below).

⁴ I am grateful to Fabienne Gateau (Musée Départemental de la Céramique, Lezoux) for her kind permission to examine and photograph the finds from Lezoux.

In the European West, the decrease in necklaces made of precious metal was somewhat balanced by an increasing use of glass and amber beads. Absent both at Sacca di Goito and Hochfelden, these objects can be attested at Airan, Balleure, Pollenzo, Merida and Lezoux. Apparently, the presence of such components was at first rather limited. Balleure contained ten beads of amber, glass and bone and Airan, an unspecified number of amber beads, whereas at Pollenzo and Merida only one bead (made of glass and of amber respectively) was recorded. From this perspective, the absence of any elements of necklaces in the grave of Castelbolognese may be interpreted as the final stage of this sequence. That would leave Lezoux as a lone exception in the West, being the only pre-E1 assemblage with a consistent presence of glass and amber beads. The combination of various bead necklaces strongly resembles broadly contemporary deposits in the Danube lands and the Carpathian basin (Fig. 17: A, B), such as Smolín, Tiszalök or Turda (Bărbulescu 2008; Kovrig 1951; Tejral 1973). Similar combinations of necklaces are also well attested in the E1 period in central Spain, especially in the earliest assemblages, like Duratón 79 (Fig. 17: D). Further clues connecting the graves of Smolín and Lezoux with the centre of Spain are outlined by small conical and bell pendants, well known in Visigothic period cemeteries such as Castiltierra, Duratón and Madrona. The uncommon elements from necklaces recorded at Lezoux can be regarded as a result of the unusually tight connections with the Danubian milieu of the D2/D3 period, as one shall see in the next chapter.

LOCAL AND IMPORTED, ORIGINAL AND RECYCLED

The examples of Lezoux and Duratón introduce the last group of compositional features of the 'Eastern-style' graves in the West. The frequent combination of objects originating from different workshops and different manufacturing traditions and showing traces of dissimilar service lives before their deposition.

It is widely known that Migration Period graves in the Ponto-Danubian tradition recorded in the West contain an amount of regional or local objects, manufactured according to Late Roman trends. Among the jewellery sets, it is relatively easy to identify the headdress from Balleure, the bead-and-clasp necklace from Pollenzo and the finger ring from Airan as products of Late Roman workshops. More disputed appears to be the case of the three-foiled gold pendants from Lezoux.

Their best parallels cluster in South-Western Germany, Bohemia and Lower Austria, therefore suggesting an origin in that area. Some features, however, could also suggest a Mediterranean origin that would be easier to conciliate with the Gallic find spot (Baldini/Pinar Gil 2010, 117, 118). Disc-shaped 'third' brooches, like the Lezoux one, have instead an unquestionable Western origin, probably Gallic. Be that as it may, there is little doubt that the most eloquent examples of late Roman jewellery integrated within 'Eastern-flavoured' combinations of accessories come from Northern Africa. Contexts such as Koudiat Zâteur, Douar ech Chott and Thuburbo Maius display whole Mediterranean jewellery sets that include necklaces, finger rings and earrings. Lastly, one should also consider as genuinely local or regional products the components of the drinking set found at Merida-Almendralejo st. As mentioned, the glass vessels from Hochfelden and Balleure belong to types that are widespread in both the West and the Danube lands. In the latter region, they often occur in grave deposits, together with 'Eastern' objects. Their identification as local or imported goods therefore remains uncertain, especially in the current absence of chemical analyses.

Almost every one of the examined Western graves contained also some 'Eastern' items. As emphasized, the gold foil adornments of Airan and Hochfelden (and the textiles they were sewn to) must be considered as imports from Central or Eastern Europe. The gold necklace from the latter site was clearly manufactured in the northern Black Sea region, as shown by its technological details (clearly differing from its Western parallels; Pinar Gil 2007, 175, 176). Another Eastern import in that grave consists in a pair of small silver bow brooches. Their size, proportions and decoration are again best paralleled in the Pontic region (Kazanski/Mastykova 2018, 109). Something similar can be said about the bow brooches from Airan, which are the only Western European component of a group of graves clustered in the middle Danube, and the Carpathian and Black Sea regions (Kazanski 1996, 109–118). In addition, the trilobed earring from Airan has a number of parallels in the northern Black Sea region (Aibabin/Hairedinov 1999, 288, fig. 13; Damm 1988, 125, 126, fig. 73; 74; Džanov/Juročkin 2001; Ermolin 2012, 342, 343, fig. 3: 4, 5; Mączyńska et al. 2016, 105, 106, pl. 37; Zaseckaja 1993, 53, 77, pl. 22; 50).

Identifying the bow brooches as actual 'Eastern' imports becomes increasingly difficult from one period to the next. Just like the Hochfelden and Airan brooches, the bulk of the C3/D1 examples can be safely identified as actual imports from

Central and Eastern Europe, including Ambroz I AA and I AB brooches. The slightly later Villa-fontana type should be assessed likewise. It seems that some of these early imports gave birth to local productions. This is how the Cholet (D1?) and the Koudiat-Zâteur/Pistoia type (D2/D3?) brooches (Eger 2001, 353–361; 2008, 184–187; 2012a, 177–182; Kazanski 2020, 59–61; Koenig 1980, 229, pl. 60; von Rummel 2007, 296–305), both deriving from Ambroz' I AA type, should be seen.

The brooches from Balleure and Pollenzo (late D2–early D2/D3 period) may also be considered products from Central European workshops. In favour of this assumption, some close parallels recorded in the Danube and Tisza valleys were noticed, for instance items from Hódmezővásárhely-Sóshalom (Nagy 2005, 82, fig. 2), Kiskőrös (Kiss 1983, 114, fig. 10) and Ilok (Dimitrijević/Kovačević/Vinski 1962, 76, 77, pl. II: 2). The pair of brooches from the 'Merida region' has its closest comparable material in the Middle Danube region. In addition to their anomalous size for a Western context (see also above), the 'Merida' and 'Grocka' objects share the same decorative elements and formal features, as well as an unusual technological trait: the plates and the bow were cast and soldered together, as the presence of casting residues on the back of the plates and the thick walls of the bow testify. Those from 'Merida' were probably among the latest bow brooches manufactured in Central Europe to be deposited in the 5th century West. It appears likely that the 'Merida' pair of big bow brooches was originally associated with five silver pendants that can be likewise regarded as imports from the Danubian lands. A similar origin can be attributed to the axe-shaped pendants from Balleure. In both cases, good counterparts are known in Pannonia during the D2 and D3 periods, as demonstrated by examples from Rabapordány and Szekszárd-Palánk grave 217 (Alföldy 1932, 72–75; Kiss 1996, 55–57, fig. 6–8).

The brooches from Merida-Almendralejo st., Baudemont, the Saône Valley, Lezoux, Castelbolognese and Brescia do not have fully convincing morphological parallels in easternmost territories, which makes their interpretation as imports rather doubtful. The brooches from Lezoux and Castelbolognese, in particular, are quite homogeneous from a technological, decorative and morphological viewpoint (Gauß 2009, 354; von Rummel 2007, 326, 327). Accordingly, it seems reasonable to attribute both of them to a Western European production centre. Working with such a limited number of finds does not permit pinpointing the location of

this workshop, although the continuity of similarly decorated brooches in the E1 period in northern Gaul (e.g. Bierbrauer 1997, 179, 200, pl. 1; 2: 3) favours the hypothesis of a Gallic location. The continuous presence of bow brooches in silver sheet in eastern Gaul throughout the whole 5th century (D1/D2, D2, D2/D3 and D3 examples are attested) can be considered a further argument supporting the Gallic hypothesis. The workshop responsible for the manufacturing of the brooches from Baudemont and the Saône Valley, which display highly homogeneous morphologic and decorative features, should be placed somewhere in eastern Gaul, as remarked by Michel Kasprzyk (2011, 344).

It seems that these production centres located in Gaul played a part in the manufacture of the E1 'Visigothic' brooches (Fig. 18). To that group belongs the pair of brooches from Duratón grave 79, which, remarkably, has close formal parallels at Szabadbattyán and Esztergom (Kiss 1980, 105–110, pl. III; X). The brooches from Duratón 79, however, can hardly be classified as imports, as suggested by details such as their wide bows, tongue-shaped feet and ornamental side plates (showing the main characteristics of the central Spanish products). Two morphologically related brooches have been discovered at Saint-Laurent-des-Hommes (Hernandez/Scullier 2019). On technological grounds,⁵ as the brooches are cast in a single piece, they can be safely attributed to a Western (Gallic?) workshop. The brooches from Duratón and Saint-Laurent-des-Hommes appear to be the result of a long-lasting typological trend occurring exclusively in the West. Features such as the wide bows and the overall proportions of the Duratón 79 brooches allow a direct comparison with the Baudemont ones which, in turn, also show good analogies within the typological repertoire recorded at the Szabadbattyán cemetery. Comparable belt buckles have also been recorded both at Baudemont and Szabadbattyán. The role of central Gallic workshops as 'mediators' between the Danubian traditions and the early 'Visigothic' ones is further confirmed by the Lezoux assemblage. Much like the Baudemont specimens, the bow brooches from Lezoux appear to have an indirect relation with the lands along the middle Danube. Although they are certainly produced in the West, similar objects are known in Pannonia, as best demonstrated by brooches from Ménfőcsanak (Tomka 1982, 479, pl. 25). It is certainly no coincidence that the best eastern analogies for the brooches of Lezoux, Baudemont, Saint-Laurent-des-Hommes and Duratón (Ménfőcsanak, Szabadbattyán, Esztergom) cluster in a specific region, namely the

⁵ I am grateful to Jérôme Hernandez (INRAP) for kindly sharing information on the brooches from Saint-Laurent-des-Hommes.

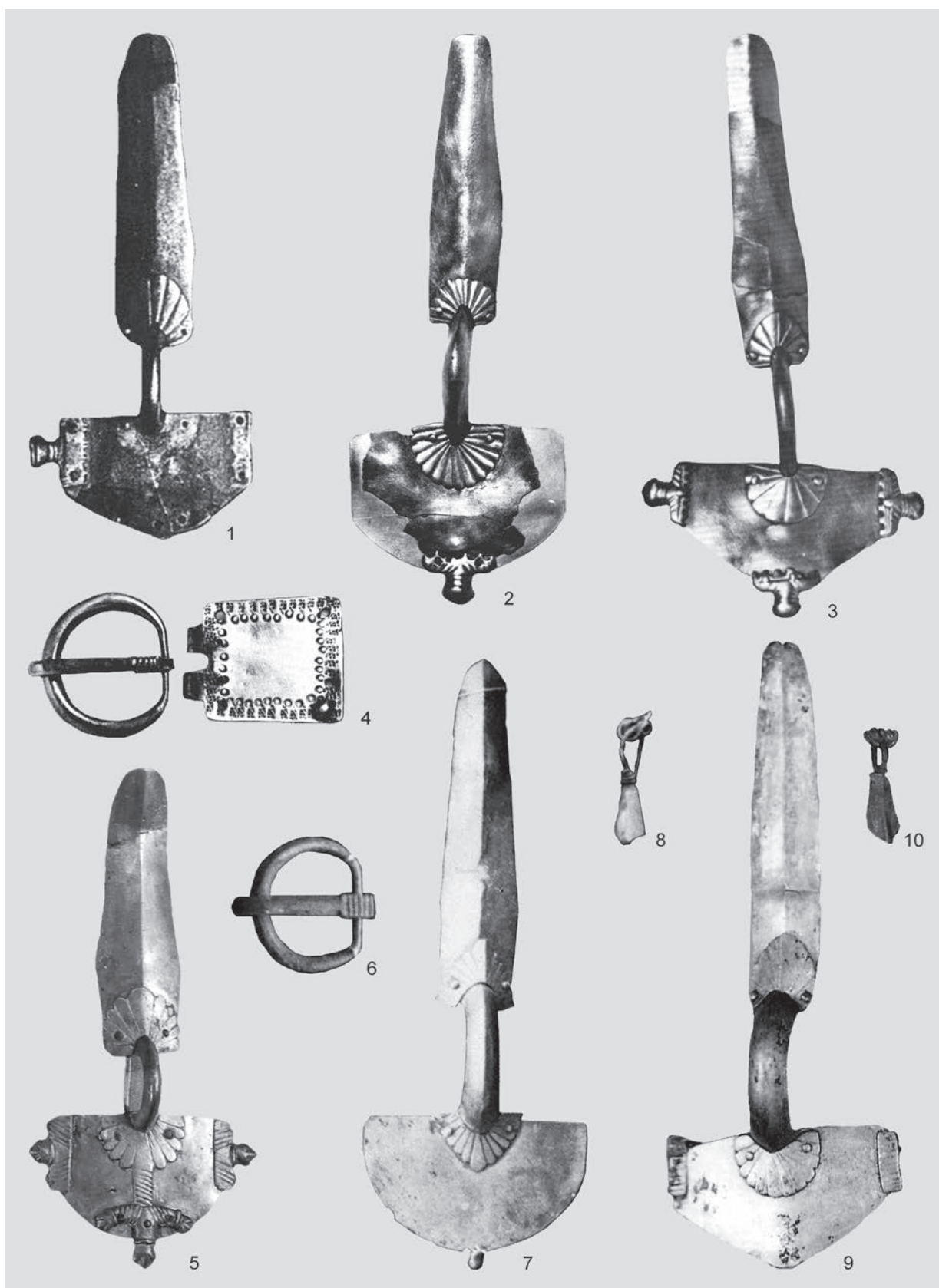


Fig. 18. Brooches and buckles in north-western Pannonia, central France and Spain. 1 – Ménfőcsanak; 2–4 – Szabadbattyán; 5 – Lezoux; 6–8 – Baudemont; 9, 10 – Duratón (different scales; after *I Goti* 1994; *Kasprzyk* 2011; *Kiss* 1980; *L'or des princes* 2000; *Tomka* 1982).

north-eastern border of Pannonia, between Lake Balaton and the banks of the Danube. This may be the region where the workshops manufacturing this kind of brooches may be located. In similar manner, the relative closeness of Baudemont and Lezoux enables to identify central Gaul as the area where Pannonian brooches of the D2/D3 period were collected as source material for local workshops manufacturing 'Eastern' brooches during the D3 period. It appears that these Gallic productions may in turn have been the direct forerunners of the Duratón 79 brooches. In support of this hypothesis, one should point out the remarkable similarities between the three-brooch sets and the bead necklaces recorded at Lezoux and Baudemont, on the one hand, and some of the earliest 'Eastern' graves at Duratón (e.g. number 79 and 190), on the other. Such a background confirms the Lezoux grave as a sort of ancestor of E1 graves in central Spain, as already observed by Michel Kazanski and Patrick Périn (1997, 206, 209).

This survey shows that imports of bow brooches in silver sheet from the Middle Danube area became rare during the D2/D3 period, and disappeared completely during the D3 and the E1. Gaul appears to have been the region in which the first western synthesis of Danubian traditions took place, inspiring later developments in Italy, Spain and Gaul itself. The amount of evidence is very limited, and yet the mapping of the early imports and their later derivatives reveals a coherent pattern, reflecting a distribution of 'Eastern' bow brooches throughout central Gaul that follows an East-West flow: Baudemont (D2 to D2/D3 or D3), Balleure (D2/D3), Lezoux (D3) and Saint-Laurent-des-Hommes (E1). The production of bow brooches in metal sheet by Western European workshops is consistently attested in the E1 period. At least two different workshops were operating synchronically in northern Gaul and central Spain at the beginning of the 6th century (Bierbrauer 1997, 168). In the central Iberian Peninsula, at least two groups of similar bow brooches, with specific distribution patterns, can be related to various workshops. One operating at Castiltierra or its surroundings, producing three-pieced, riveted big brooches with triangular, carved decorative plates (Pinar Gil 2014, 119, 120) and another producing brooches cast in one piece, probably located somewhere in Toledo province (Catalán 2013). The overall tendency in Western Europe is therefore similar to the North African picture, where bow brooches recorded in the D2/D3 period show specific features that should be linked to African (or at least Western Mediterranean) workshops (Eger 2001, 360, 361; Jirik/Pinar Gil 2019, 469–472, 476; von Rummel 2007, 296–310).

The identification of small crossbow brooches as Central European imports poses a similar set of problems. The 'Western' series of two-pieced brooches (Fig. 13: 1–5) shows a clear typological evolution during the entire 5th century. The earliest brooches (Sacca di Goito: D1 period, Novion-en-Ponthieu: D2 period) show relatively long bows and wide footplates, while the latest specimens (Baudemont: D3 period?, Duratón: E1 period) have shorter bows and much longer and narrower footplates. This impression is further strengthened by a brooch found at the *castellum* of Teriola-Zirl (Höck 2003, 48, 49, pl. 5), with 'early' proportions combined with a punched decoration, which suggest a date in the D2 period. This shift in the proportions of the brooches is an evolutionary trend observable in many other types of crossbow brooches throughout the 5th century and the early 6th (e.g. Schulze-Dörrlamme 1986). Against such a backdrop, it seems clear that the later brooches can hardly be considered imported goods from easternmost territories. The forms and proportions of the specimens from Sacca di Goito and Novion-en-Ponthieu are instead very similar to their Central and Eastern European counterparts, and may be regarded as true imports. Arguing in favour of this hypothesis is also the fact that both deposits contained other probable 'Eastern' imports, for instance bow brooches and composite belt buckles.

The examination of one-piece crossbow brooches retrieved in Western deposits during the D2/D3 period reflects similar trends (Fig. 13: 6, 7). The specimen from Pollenzo appears to be a unicum in Western Europe, which in the absence of further evidence makes its attribution to an Eastern workshop very likely. The type was widespread between the early 3rd and early 5th century in eastern Central Europe and Scandinavia (Almgren 1897, 186–198; Ambroz 1966, 49–51). It is particularly well attested in the area of the Przeworsk culture (Godłowski 1995; Mączyńska 1998, 420–422), although the closest counterparts to the Pollenzo specimen, with double-sloped feet and comparable proportions, are loosely attested in Poland, Slovakia, the middle Danube region and the Carpathian basin (Mączyńska/Jakubczyk 2017, 291–293; Tejral 2011, 75, 76). Among them, the closest formal parallel recorded so far appears to be the brooch from Nitra-Párovské Háje (Pieta/Ruttikay 1997, 149, fig. 11: 3), attributed to the early Migration Period. The chronology of this variant is determined by the contexts recorded at Żerniki Wielkie and, especially, at Fântanele 'Rât' grave 2 (Marinescu/Gaiu 1989, 128; Zotz 1935, 62, 63), both suggesting that the brooches were deposited during the D1 period. The brooch recorded at the Roman *castellum* of Batina/

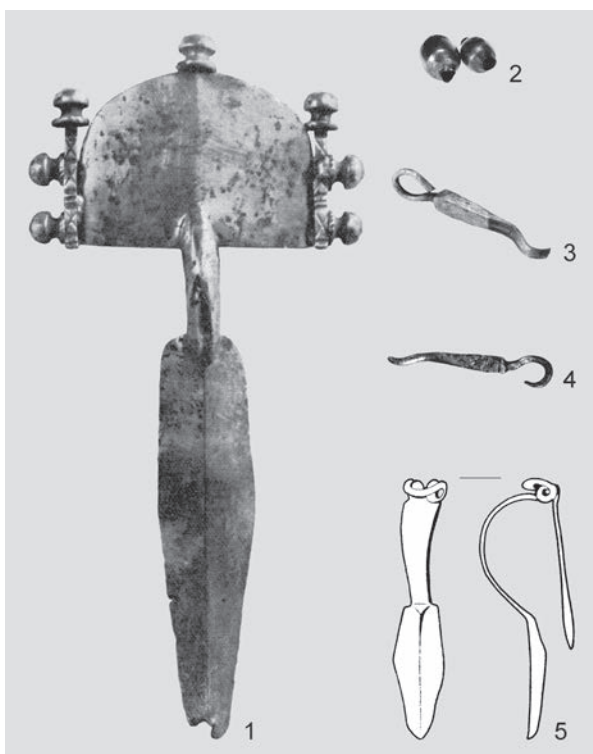


Fig. 19. The Pollenzo assemblage and the typological repertoire in the lower middle Danube. 1 – Ilok; 2–4 – Zmajevac; 5 – Batina (different scales; after *Dimitrijević/Kovačević/Vinski 1962; Filipović 2010*).

Kiskőszeg (*Dimitrijević/Kovačević/Vinski 1962, 67*) appears to be particularly relevant in establishing the provenance of the Pollenzo brooch, as good counterparts for other components of the Pollenzo deposit are close to the Danube-Drava confluence (Fig. 19). For instance, similar necklace elements have been recorded at the nearby cemetery of Zmajevac, while a pair of comparable bow brooches was found at Ilok (*Dimitrijević/Kovačević/Vinski 1962, 76, 77; Filipović 2010, 47–51*). The ‘third’ brooch from the rich grave at Koudiat Zâteur can be regarded instead as a snapshot of a later stage of the history of ‘Eastern fashion’ in the West. It is a one-piece brooch with straight foot, distantly related to the Pollenzo specimen, which shows comparable links with the Barbaricum metalwork traditions. Similar brooches are well attested in the C3/D1 periods in Silesia, Slovakia, Moravia and Bohemia. The best parallels, displaying fluted or roped decoration over the brooches’ bows, originate from Slovakia and Moravia (*Jiřík/Pinar Gil 2019, 421–426*). Unlike the Pollenzo brooch, however, the Koudiat Zâteur specimen is not the only object of this type recorded in the West, since some parallels are known in the Rhine valley and South-Western Spain (*Jiřík/Pinar Gil 2019, 452–453, 460, 476*). A handful of

stratigraphic contexts and the comparison between regional typological repertoires allow one to suggest period D2 as the most likely date of arrival of this type of object in the West. It seems that during this period some derivatives of the Central European prototypes began to be produced in western Hispania, as suggested by the different proportions shown by the Central European and some Spanish and Portuguese finds. The D2/D3 period specimen from Koudiat Zâteur displays an even more developed morphology, with a much shorter bow and much longer footplate. It is made of gold, a feature that, for this specific type of brooch, has not been recorded so far in Europe. In this context, it seems very likely that the brooch was locally manufactured in North Africa or elsewhere in the Western Mediterranean, just like the jewellery set, the pair of bow brooches and, probably, the *appliqués* in gold foil retrieved from the same grave.

The headband *appliqués* from Koudiat Zâteur are part of another evolutionary tendency noticed in Western deposits. Very much like the brooches of Barbarian tradition, the evolution of these adornments mirrors the emergence of Western workshops producing derivatives of Eastern garments with gold *appliqués*. As mentioned, these elements were brought to the West during the D2 period (Airan, Hochfelden), perhaps even slightly before, at least in relative-chronological terms (Sacca di Goito: D1 period). Every available piece of evidence suggests that by the mid-5th century, these garments were no longer used, and that the gold *appliqués* of ‘Eastern’ tradition began to be used as embellishment for headbands of Western tradition from Late Antiquity. The two D2/D3 attested contexts (Merida and Koudiat Zâteur) are crucial for understanding this process. At the latter site (Fig. 12: A), the head-dress combined typical ‘Eastern’ forms (pyramids in gold foil) with innovative elements such as the drop-shaped mount and several inlaid *appliqués*. Even the ‘Eastern’ pyramids seem locally made, as suggested by the unusual star-shaped central motif, a feature unknown in the East. Similar components can be recognized elsewhere in the West. A looted grave of the Lezévillle cemetery in Northern Gaul (Fig. 12: B) contained six rectangular *appliqués* with a star-shaped central motif (*Salin 1922, 57–59, pl. IX*), probably belonging to a headband. The occurrence is not exceptional, as demonstrated by the quatrefoil *appliqués* from Hippo Regius (Fig. 12: C), which do not have parallels in easternmost territories. Merida is a snapshot of the immediately preceding situation, because it appears to be the latest known context in which gold foil items are still following Eastern typologies. The available evidence, though, may suggest that they were reassembled

into a headband according to new aesthetic and functional criteria.

Dismantling, reassembling and recycling selected precious-metal elements was not exclusive to jewellery in gold foil, indeed, it is quite frequently observed among the most characteristic items of personal decoration of the Western group of deposits. A rather usual phenomenon in the West show gold artefacts of the Unteresienbrunn circle merging with local jewellery components. In addition to its pin-shaped pendants and fasteners, the upper chest gold decoration from Beiral (López Quiroga 2001; Rigaud de Sousa 1979) is formed by six dissimilar Late Roman amphora-shaped beads and two biconical ones (to compare: *Deppert-Lippitz* 1997, 63–65, fig. 1). At Merida and Hippo, similar adornments fastened with pins are combined with probably Late Roman gold pendants and beads (*Pinar Gil* 2020, 195, 196). Nine pin-shaped pendants originally belonging to an Unteresienbrunn type necklace appear in a necklace found at Biron (*Maurin* 1999, fig. 71). They are combined with glass beads and a hooked clasp recalling Late Roman manufacture. A similar case is that of the necklace from La Valleta del Valero (*Pinar Gil* 2007), in which a Mediterranean lion-headed ending and a heart-shaped clasp may have been later additions to an Unteresienbrunn type necklace. Judging by the chronology suggested by the parallels of the various components and the stratigraphically secure contexts of Merida and Hippo Regius, the ‘reassembling boom’ seems to have taken place during the D2 and the early D2/D3 periods. In the broad framework of development of ‘Eastern’ deposits in the West, it seems, therefore, that the recycling of jewellery components belonging to different manufacturing traditions foreshadowed the massive integration of local jewellery sets in the ‘Eastern-styled’ deposits, best illustrated by the North African D2/D3 group.

The combination of dissimilar jewellery items did not always imply dismantling objects and putting together pastiches. The closely related deposits from Balleure and Pollenzo are good examples. The gold ‘spacers’ and the silver pendants found at Balleure have repeatedly been interpreted as components of a single necklace, on the sole basis of the number of both types of items (twelve and thirteen, respectively). As emphasized, a number of convincing parallels suggest that the gold components belonged to a headband instead of a necklace. The grave would have thus contained a set combining a ‘Late Roman’ headband with a ‘Barbarian’ necklace with axe-shaped pendants (*Gulyás* 2015). A jewellery set that for example announces that from Koudiat Zâteur, with nevertheless a lesser influence of Mediterranean traditions. In all likeli-

hood, the necklace components preserved at Pollenzo can be attributed to two different necklaces: a typical necklace with gold beads and a bronze clasp from Late Antiquity, and another represented by only a big cylindrical glass bead. The fact that they were found in different areas of the grave speaks in favour of their belonging to two different necklaces. The gold beads were found next to the remains of the skeleton’s skull, whereas the glass bead was found in the thoracic area, under one of the bow brooches. Comparable combinations of jewellery items are attested in Pannonia during the D2 and D3 periods. Szekszárd-Palánk grave 217 (*Kiss* 1996, 55–57, fig. 6–8) hosted both components of a ‘Roman’ gold necklace and a ‘Barbarian’ silver one. In all likelihood, the grave contained at least two different necklaces, one formed by gold beads and a clasp belonging to a tradition going back to Late Antiquity (remarkably similar to the Pollenzo necklace), and a second consisting of silver axe-shaped pendants, probably combined with glass beads (as perhaps also in Balleure). At Rábapordány, a gold necklace combining tubular spacers and raceme-shaped pendants of northern Pontic origin (e.g. *Kubitschek* 1911, 47; *Mączyńska et al.* 2016, 116–118; *Nothnagel* 2013, 17) was combined with a second necklace formed by silver axe-shaped pendants, silver polyhedral beads and probably also amber beads. The latter can be connected with middle Danube traditions and strongly recalls the components of the Balleure necklace.

A PECULIAR SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION AND SETTLEMENT BACKGROUND

Although ‘Eastern-style’ rich graves are not numerous in the West, they are sufficient to call to mind two main patterns in their relation with surrounding landscapes: a remarkably low correlation with major urban centres and a tendency to cluster together in the same regions over time.

Generally speaking, these graves hardly occur inside or in the immediate vicinity of major urban centres. At the beginning of the ‘Western sequence’, some D1 graves with silver bow brooches appear in Gallic city cemeteries, for instance in Reims, Troyes and Angers. Several D1 finds, however, remained on the margins of the Roman West’s main economic and religious centres. In Italy, the cemetery from Sacca di Goito is located on an ancient road (*Menotti* 2006, 53, 54) about 15 km from the ‘secondary’ city of Mantova, and 40–50 km to the nearest bishopric sees (Verona and Brescia). Apparently, Gallic sites such as Baudemont (where a pair of Ambroz I AA brooches were apparently

found; Kasprzyk 2011, 344) and Cholet followed a similar pattern.

The phenomenon can most clearly be noticed during the D2 and D2/D3 periods. Airan is spatially connected to a *vicus* located at a distance of 20–30 km from more important centres like Vieux-la-Romaine and, especially, Lisieux (attested as the seat of a bishopric in the 6th century; *Delacampagne* 1990, 46). Similarly, Hochfelden is located 28 km from the seat of the regional bishopric of Strasbourg (*Flotté/Fuchs* 2000, 358–360), while Balleure is 27 km away from Châlon-sur-Saône (*Rebourg* 1994b, 508). The cemetery unearthed at Baudemont (*Rebourg* 1994a, 191) shows, as mentioned, no evident spatial relations with any major 5th century city. As for the Po Valley, Pollenzo, it is connected to a ‘secondary city’ (*Micheletto* 2004; 2006), located 12 km from the nearest bishopric, Alba. The possible grave of Villafontana, 18 km from Verona (*Capuis et al.* 1990, 100–165) is similarly located. It thus appears that during the D2 and D2/D3 periods, Merida was the only major centre where this type of grave was popular, as one can surmise by looking at the cemetery on Almedralejo st. Two other graves of the D2 and D2/D3 periods may have been placed in the city or its immediate vicinity. Of course, without precise provenance data, their relationship with Late Roman Emerita remains unknown. The burials may indeed have been located in relatively distant suburban or rural sites, as is suggested by the broadly contemporary find of a silver Almgren 162 brooch from the Roman *villa* at El Hinojal/Las Tiendas (27 km from Mérida, stratigraphically associated with a coin of Theodosius I; *Álvarez* 1976, 459). As for the find from ‘Brescia’, it is not possible to determine to what extent it was related to the city of Late Antiquity.

The geographical background associated with D3 and E1 finds paints a very similar picture. Castelbolognese is the grave with a tighter relation to urban landscapes, being located in the surroundings of the Via Emilia at a distance of just 7–8 km to both Faenza and Imola. Lezoux, instead, was a ‘secondary centre’, identified as a *vicus* (*Provost/Jouannet* 1994, 108–164), located 25 km east of the regional ‘central place’, the city of Clermont-Ferrand. This is a settlement background strongly akin to the cases of Airan and Pollenzo. A very similar range of landscapes is also recognizable around the earliest Visigothic period graves of this type, clustered around Duratón (a probable ‘secondary city’ whose characteristics in Late Antiquity are still poorly known; *Martínez Caballero* 2014, 149–190) and Castiltierra (a possible hilltop settlement?).

The overall picture suggests that middle-size regional centres (large *vici* or small cities: Airan,

Pollenzo, Lezoux, Duratón, Castiltierra) and rural environments relatively distant from major cities (Sacca di Goito, Villafontana, Hochfelden, Balleure, Baudemont) were the most common type of settlement to which this kind of grave was related in the 5th century. Other recurring locations were in strictly urban environments (Angers, Reims, Troyes, Merida) or suburban ones (Castelbolognese). The picture in Western Europe therefore appears slightly different than in Northern Africa, where similar graves are closely related to urban landscapes.

As mentioned, another relevant feature of the spatial distribution of these graves is their tendency to cluster together in the same regions throughout the 5th century. Besides the Visigothic period cluster in central Spain (from E1 period onwards) and the one from the early Vandal period in Tunisia (D2/D3), at least three regional clusters are identifiable. One around the city of Merida in south-western Spain (D1/D2–D2/D3), another in the Saône Valley in eastern Gaul (D1–D2/D3) and the last one in the Po Valley in northern Italy, between the Po itself and Lake Garda (D1–D2/D3). In addition, less visible clusters may be mentioned around the cities of Angers (Cholet and Angers itself: D1) and Strasbourg (Strasbourg: D1/D2, Hochfelden: D2, Obernai, a recently identified small countryside cemetery and settlement: D1/D2 periods).

None of the regional clusters is particularly well known, since the exact provenance of several ‘Eastern’ finds remains uncertain and the structure of the settlements of Late Antiquity has not been reconstructed to the same extent. They are nevertheless sufficient to admit that a remarkable degree of spatial continuity between the D1 and D2/D3 periods is perceptible. This appears to be a relevant datum when trying to understand the spread of grave good specifics: graves dating from the D2 and D2/D3 periods are found almost exclusively in regions where similar finds of the D1 or D1/D2 periods are known, burials from Airan and Pollenzo being the only present-day exceptions. As for the D3 period, the finds tend to occur in peripheral areas of the aforementioned clusters, as suggested by items from Lezoux and Castelbolognese. A supra-regional connection of sorts between these two graves and the neighbouring clusters in Gaul and Italy cannot be excluded, even if its exact nature and extent cannot be determined in the current state of research (see also above).

Mid-range connections, however, are likewise suggested by some typological features. Those of the brooches from Balleure and Pollenzo, on the one hand, and Lezoux and Castelbolognese, on the other, reflect direct links between the as-

semblages recorded in Gaul and in northern Italy. These direct relations are further supported by a comparison between the composition of deposits accompanying the deceased at Balleure and Pollenzo (polyhedron-headed earrings, gold adornments and similar bow brooches), on the one hand, and of those at Baudemont and Pollenzo (the only Western graves that plausibly contained clay loom weights), on the other. As for the headdresses from Merida, Hippo Regius and Carthage, they connect south-western Spain to North Africa. In this particular case, the finds are part of a specific sequence of distribution of artefacts and habits from eastern Central Europe to North Africa throughout the late 4th century and the first half of the 5th, which can be broadly connected with the displacements of Sueves, Vandals and Alans (Jiřík/Pinar Gil 2019, 458–467). The far-reaching connections of D2/D3 North African assemblages can also be seen in the spread of the *cloisonné* bow brooches of Koudiat-Zâteur/Pistoia type, for which an explanation in terms of historically recorded migrations can hardly be claimed (see also above).

Another interesting feature of these regional clusters is the changing relationship of graves to their central and peripheral areas. It is common that at the very beginning of each regional sequence, no 'Eastern' grave was situated in any of the major cities of the relevant regions (Merida, Châlon-sur-Saône, Strasbourg, Verona). In some cases, these 'Eastern' features left the countryside and entered the city much later. In the case of Merida, the pairs of bow brooches in silver sheet are certainly attested in the city's cemeteries in the D2/D3 period only. The evolution of the Po Valley cluster, with its latest reminiscence at Castelbolognese, mirrors a similar movement towards the city. In other cases, this kind of burial apparently never reached urban centres, as the examples in eastern Gaul show. The corollary to this relates to the Gallic cities in which 'Eastern' graves of the D1 period are recorded: Reims, Troyes, Angers. With the possible exception of Angers, which was related to Cholet (an unclear link in any case, because they are separated by more than 50 km and a major river), no spread of these graves to the surrounding countryside is proven until now. Moreover, no later 'Eastern' grave is known in any of these cities.

It thus seems that either way, the history of this particular type of grave goods ended in the city. Bearing this in mind, it is important to stress that no city has so far yielded any proof of continuity of this type of burials over more than a generation. Urban lifestyle apparently did not particularly encourage this kind of burial, which always remained a rarity in this specific environment.

CONCLUSION

Eastern Barbarians and the West: Personal mobility, fashion dissemination, fringe cultures and urban lifestyle

The combined examination of the composition of 'Eastern-styled' grave goods and the related archaeological contexts allows one to draw a number of conclusions. The most immediate of them is that an approach in terms of event-based history is not enough to explain the presence of 'Eastern' grave goods in the West and their evolution throughout the 5th century. Identifying individuals buried in 'Eastern' clothes as immigrants from Central and Eastern Europe is an interpretation common among specialists. Christian Pilet, Michel Kazanski, Volker Bierbrauer and Egle Micheletto, for example, identified the individuals buried at Airan, Balleure, Hochfelden, Lezoux, Castelbolognese and Pollenzo as migrants from lands on the Danube or in the Black Sea area (e.g. Bierbrauer 1991, 587, 588; Kazanski 1989, 63; Micheletto 2004, 389; Pilet 2007, 240–242), while Javier Heras and Ana Olmedo attributed the grave from Merida to a 'Suevian princess' (Heras Mora/Olmedo Gragera 2018) and Christoph Eger identified the woman buried at Koudiat Zâteur as a member of the Vandal aristocracy (Eger 2001, 378–388). In my view, this kind of event-based explanation is difficult to prove for a number of cases and, be that as it may, it addresses only one piece of the story: it can hardly explain the phenomena recorded in the mid-term.

There is sufficient evidence to suggest that there was an autonomous evolution of 'Eastern' grave goods in the West. This is supported by the recorded changes in the composition of the funerary deposits and the morphology of several artefacts (see also above). This fact has a number of implications regarding the production, circulation and use of various artefacts. Evidence suggests that many components of the 'Eastern' clothing set (bow brooches in silver sheet, crossbow brooches with attached foot, *appliqués* in gold foil) were indeed produced and spread in the West only. In some cases, significant functional changes regarding the easternmost forerunners can be noticed (e.g. the *appliqués* in gold foil for upper body clothes used as headdresses in Spain and Africa). The 'Eastern' – and therefore 'foreign' character – of these assemblages is indeed only part of the picture, since local and imported goods occur together quite often in these graves. Different components of a single funerary deposit belonging to sharply different manufacturing and clothing traditions were indeed a common phenomenon: from the

D2/D3 period, the rule was those brooches in the 'Eastern' tradition (despite probably being produced in the West) were associated with 'local' western Mediterranean jewels such as headbands, necklaces or earrings, as best shown by the finds from North Africa. The phenomenon was already perceptible in some assemblages of previous periods like Sacca di Goito 210 and 214 (bracelets) and Airan (finger ring). Products manufactured in the Mediterranean region appeared frequently in 'Eastern' graves. Yet other innovations in the composition of the grave goods provide an indication of how the dialectics between 'Eastern' and 'Western' cultural expressions developed in these particular contexts. Judging from the tendency to reduce the total number of objects deposited in the graves (see also above), and shifts in the function of particular items reminiscent of the Barbaricum like *appliqués* in gold foil, which tended to merge into West European headdresses from the D2/D3 period onwards (see also above), it appears that Mediterranean parameters of visual appearance and grave good selection were constantly gaining ground over Central and Eastern European traditions. The extremely narrow inventory of the Castelbolognese grave is probably the most eloquent example of this process.

The beginning of the archaeological sequence is marked by D1 and D2 graves containing actual imports, objects that were probably manufactured in Central or Eastern Europe (see also above). In some cases, the way of combining and wearing clothing accessories and adornments makes the 'Eastern' origin of the buried individuals very likely. For example, the combination of three brooches from Sacca di Goito 214 recalls the territory of the Černjachov culture, while the brooches, *appliqués* in gold foil, gold necklace and bronze mirror recorded at Hochfelden suggest an origin in the northern Black Sea region. Ongoing research on the anthropological remains at the important site of Obernai confirm that the Strasbourg region received newcomers from Eastern Europe at that period.⁶ The Hochfelden lady was therefore not an isolated case. Another good candidate to be identified as a genuine 'Easterner' is the lady buried at Airan. The bow brooches and combination of gold foil adornments find their best parallels in the Middle Danube region, although the earrings and the braided necklace may suggest a north Pontic origin (Pilet 2007, 240). These are the assemblages that best mirror possible phenomena of mobility.

Accordingly, they are the ones that agree more easily with short-termed historical interpretations deriving from historically attested Barbarian migrations or from Late Roman military garrisoning (e.g. Kazanski 1993; 2016; 2020), although the written sources are not particularly explicit on this matter.

There is little doubt that 'Eastern' features were introduced in the West between the late 4th and early 5th centuries by migrants from Central and Eastern Europe. From this point on, though, they can hardly be regarded as type fossils indicating long-distance migration. 'Eastern' objects began to be used and combined with other products available in the Western markets by people who, in all likelihood, were already settled in the West for a long time. As a consequence, local workshops eventually started to produce 'Western' derivatives of old prototypes originating from the Barbaricum. Neither 'Barbarian' nor 'Roman' cultural systems were reciprocally impervious. As a result, portable finds, elements of visual appearance and burial practices gradually lose with time their reliability as clues for long-distance personal mobility. As early as periods D2/D3 and D3, it is almost impossible to determine the Barbarian descent of an 'Eastern grave' without further palaeo-biological or contextual data. Since 'Eastern' cultural traits evolved and merged with 'Western' elements, the decrease in chances of identifying mobility is balanced by an increasing amount of evidence on other aspects. For instance, on the role and place of 'Eastern' traditions in the culture of the West in Late Antiquity. The phenomenon, as one can see, goes well beyond the identification of Barbarians on Roman soil. It involves a time span of several decades and many players, including immigrants and their descendants, as well as craftsmen, traders and a range of elements of western ecosystems like economic structures, fashion standards, aesthetic tastes and prestige symbolism. As stated for fashion and clothing, approaching the phenomenon from a merely ethnic- or provenance-based perspective would be an oversimplification, as much as taking into consideration only its economic, status or gender implications (e.g. Sawchuk 1987, 52–60).

The first and most straightforward conclusion one can draw from the examination of 5th century 'Eastern' sets of accessories is that they were by no means static. Their general composition changed rather quickly, as did the typology and the function of many accessories. This evidence can be

⁶ I am grateful to Madeleine Châtelet (Strasbourg) for kindly sharing information on this important site. Some preliminary results can be found at <https://www.inrap.fr/un-site-archeologique-d-exception-obernai-bas-rhin-plus-de-6-000-ans-d-5306> [11. 1. 2021]

hardly reconciled with traditional views on the modern origins of fashion (see also above). According to such views, clothing changes in a much slower way in 'traditional societies' than in modern Western countries. This is an important point, because swift changes and the constant integration of innovations are two fundamental attributes of any fashion phenomenon (Gopkalo 2019, 191). Of course, what is 'fast' and what is 'slow' in the particular context of archaeological research is rather difficult to quantify. Likewise, trying to establish which 'changes' in clothing are meaningful, and which are not, would probably find no consensus among scholars. A demonstrable fact, however, is that the pace of changes in the composition of accessories related to 'Eastern fashion' agrees fairly well with the estimated length of fashion cycles in the dress of modern women: based on observations of parameters such as length, size and form of specific types of garments, these studies have concluded that women's dress changes significantly approximately every 30–50 years (Lowe/Lowe 1982, 535; Richardson/Kroeber 1940, 137–148; Young 1937, 118).

The evolution of the sets of accessories is of course a highly imperfect and incomplete dataset when working with parameters such as fashion cycles or the evolution of clothing. Unlike historians of modern dress, no consistent chronological sequence showing how forms, sizes, sewing techniques and textile colours evolved in the short term is available for the Late Roman and post-Roman West. As one waits for the development of such a dataset with promising and fast-developing research on archaeological textiles, the best snapshots of changes in dress are still provided by combining metal accessories and jewellery. This type of evidence suggests that clothing and fashions evolved rather quickly with time. In the present author's view, the widespread assumption that women's dress had a stable, often archaizing aspect in traditional societies (e.g. Kazanski/López Quiroga/Périn 2018, 67, 68) fails to explain the rather dynamic phenomena recorded by archaeology.

Change and dynamism seem to be the rule in those rare contexts in which archaeology is able to operate on both short- and long-term perspective. One might wonder to which extent the perception of the static nature of ancient fashions derives from the paucity of available sources. Generally speaking, pre-modern iconography and written sources do not bring together sufficiently consistent and precise datasets. A good example is provided by 'Eastern fashions' in the West which, without archaeological finds, would remain completely invisible to modern scholars. The comparison with

'folkloric clothing' is sometimes used to approach dress phenomena in traditional societies. Quite often, however, surviving 'folkloric clothing' is only a reinterpreted and consciously fossilized static snapshot of what once was an actual living culture (many examples in Condra 2013). The picture resulting from the combination of such fragmentary and potentially misleading sources conveys a static impression that may conceal the subtle, yet constant progression of fashion cycles. Be it as it may, it seems that approaching clothing as a stable element of a 'traditional society' does not fit well with the 5th century archaeological evidence. A good way to deal with fashion phenomena using archaeological tools is by merging contextual and geographical data in the analysis. These permits putting together a much more nuanced picture, partially balancing both the insufficient number of recorded finds and the disparate quality of available documentation. With this perspective in mind, it is important to emphasize some possible correlations between the evolution in the composition of the grave goods and their spatial distribution. The gradual accommodation of 'Eastern' elements into the West European cultural system suggested by the evolution of funerary deposits can be followed by looking at spatial relations between these graves and the Late Roman landscape. As mentioned, 'Eastern' graves had a tendency to get closer to cities with time in almost every regional cluster (see also above). Quite paradoxically, their appearance in the city implied the 'end of the journey' for this type of grave goods, as no urban cemetery has revealed any continuity in this kind of burial over more than one generation. Since this process took place at the same time as the increasing 'Westernization' of funerary deposits, it seems likely that the two phenomena were mutually interwoven.

Indeed, the effect of the urban environment on the evolution of 'Eastern-style' burials seems to be the elephant in the room when it comes to their interpretation. The close correlation between the formation and transformation of aesthetic tastes and consumption habits, on the one hand, and geographical locations and spaces on the other, have been already highlighted by social scientists (e.g. Skandalis/Banister/Byrom 2015). Weakly related to cities and towns, the majority of 'Eastern' cultural features tended to remain at the periphery of major economic, political, cultural and religious centres in the West during Late Antiquity. Cities of this period were actual strongholds of mainstream 'Late Roman' culture (e.g. Liebeschuetz 1992). In the field of burial practices, wealthy urban graves displayed a whole set of features that distinguished them from contemporary 'Eastern' graves: groups

of few, yet very valuable jewels (usually consisting of combinations of earrings, necklaces and finger rings manufactured in gold and gemstones), close spatial relations to monumental funerary buildings (churches or mausoleums) and also quite often valuable containers for the body (sarcophagi or graves with inscribed, sculpted or mosaic-adorned tapping slabs). Fifth-century examples of this kind of burial have been identified mainly in major cities of the Western Mediterranean like Marseille, Rome, Canosa or Solin. Similar jewellery sets have also been discovered in hoards in cities like Carthage, Ténès, Elx and Rome (Pinar Gil 2015, 250–258, with former literature). As far as grave evidence can tell, ‘Eastern fashion’ was a kind of fringe culture with very limited diffusion, and tended to be assimilated very quickly (in two or three generations) into mainstream culture. It had no significant presence in central places. Moreover, it seems that contact with urban environments speeded up the assimilation of all ‘fringe features’.

This picture is hardly compatible with Michel Kazanski and Philip von Rummel’s influential hypothesis on the *habitus barbaricus*. They posit that it became trendy among 5th century Western aristocracies (Kazanski 1989, 66; von Rummel 2007, 403–406). The marginal geographical position, the general decreasing exclusivity and the short life of ‘Eastern’ fashion made any significant impact on 5th century ‘mainstream’ culture of Western elites quite unlikely. Depictions and descriptions of Easterners inhabiting the 5th century West show quite the opposite. Cultural elements related to prominent characters such as Stilicho (a second-generation Roman Vandal) or Athaulf (probably born in the Barbaricum and raised in Rome’s frontier provinces) are easily recognizable as ‘mainstream Roman’. So is every single item related to their visual appearance (e.g. Assorati 2020; Kiilerich/Torp 1989). Stilicho and Athaulf are just telling examples of ‘Easterners’ living and operating in central urban environments (Rome, Narbonne, Barcelona). The fact that they were inhabitants of major cities said more about their visual appearance than their Barbarian ancestry. This is repeatedly highlighted by archaeological finds, which point out that the journey of ‘Eastern fashions’ in the West ended rather abruptly after first contact with city life. This fact goes against another popular view on Barbarian fashions in the West, best formulated by Coumert and Dumézil (2010). In their view, the first-generation Barbarians settling in the West adopted very quickly many aspects of Roman culture (including clothing standards), in order to gain higher social acceptance and boost their integration process. ‘Imperial Barbarians’ such as Stilicho

himself or the Ardaburians in Constantinople are paradigmatic examples. The other side of the coin would later be generations of Western populations with a ‘Barbarian’ migration background, which would rely once more on their ‘traditional culture’ in a process of renewed appreciation of their foreign roots. This view thus attributes an ethnographic value to ‘Barbarian’ clothes, a value quickly lost by migrants settling down in the West and much later retrieved as a folkloric element by their (would-be?) descendants. As refreshing as it may seem, the validity of this ‘ethnographic-folkloric model’ is not supported by hard data, and is definitely not compatible with archaeological evidence of ‘Eastern fashions’.

As a matter of fact, this kind of historical-archaeological survey can hardly be a substitute for thorough research on the diachronic evolution and dissemination of particular sets of clothing features in their regional and settlement backgrounds. The combination of a handful of examples scattered along a broad time span and geographical area, deriving from very heterogeneous sources (narrative and juridical texts, iconographical depictions and selected aspects of funerary archaeology), with references to ‘Barbarians’ as its only fil director, can be quite misleading. Systematic research on archaeological evidence, instead, brings together a more comprehensive network of relationships between contexts and phenomena, and hence provides a more suitable framework to understand the development and implications of fashion. What is strongly suggested is that interaction between ‘Eastern’ and ‘Western’ features crystallized within a ‘trickle-down’ model for the spread of fashion, where innovation and trend-setting took place within the highest strata of society, and later reached other social groups who in turn struggled to imitate the visual appearance of the dominant class (Barnard 2002, 42, 43; Bourdieu 1979, 41, 42, 59–67, 222–230, 258–267; Mayntz/Nedelmann 1987, 654; McCracken 1985; Simmel 1905, 8–12). It is a model that can easily be recognized when investigating many burial assemblages and other deposits from Late Antiquity (Pinar Gil 2016; 2017c). When considering that in the middle run, ‘Eastern-style’ burials tended to become increasingly accommodating with regard to the compositional and locational features of aristocratic city graves, the kinds of mutual relations that were established between the two groups of deposits and the direction in which influences flowed suddenly becomes clear. Late Roman fashion had a stronger influence, which did not seem to be permeable to any element from ‘Eastern Barbarian’ habits. These were therefore kept on the fringe of socio-cultural

space. A single, yet significant exception would be the early Vandal period graves in North Africa (Fig. 12). Their locational features fit comfortably with Late Roman standards, while their composition includes entire sets of Mediterranean gold jewellery. Apparently, 'Eastern fashion' succeeded in gaining a place among the wealthiest social circles in North Africa, thus attaining a position similar to that of local dominant mainstream culture. When the overall evolution of Western Europe is considered, however, it appears more likely that these people were particularly successful 'Easterners', rather than local aristocracies adopting elements of the 'Eastern fashion'. Be it as it may, further changes in grave goods in North Africa suggests that success may have been ephemeral: increasingly 'Mediterranean' traits of visual appearance and burial practices became hegemonic soon enough, during the D3 and E1 periods (Jiřík/Pinar Gil 2019, 467–469).

This short-termed success, however, left some revealing traces on how the transfer of fashion elements between social groups operated. What was common in the West was that selected element of luxury jewellery sets would disappear from typical late Roman contexts at the very moment that they began to be used in combinations of 'Eastern fashion'. African assemblages are probably the most egregious example. Gold earrings combining pearl, inlaid and drop-shaped pendants occur in Carthage's Late Roman jewellery sets of the early or mid-5th century (Baratte *et al.* 2002), while the latest examples (mid-5th century) are 'Eastern-styled' jewellery sets (Koenig 1981, 310–312). A similar phenomenon may be seen in Italy. These earrings are attested in the Late Roman assemblage from Consolazione square in Rome (Ross 1965, 1, 2, pl. I–V), and date from the mid- to late 5th century. Broadly coeval or slightly later may be the Desana earring, probably linked with an 'Eastern' combination of accessories from the late 5th century (Aimone 2010). The peculiar chronological relationship between Late Roman and 'Eastern' jewellery sets is best shown by a variant of these earrings, which display pearl pendants instead of drop-shaped zephyrs. Two pairs are attested in two graves found at Pope Marcus's Basilica in Rome and Douar-ech-Chott in Carthage (Eger 2001, 371–376; Fiocchi Nicolai 2013). The first contained a typical late Roman jewellery set from the early 5th century, while in the African burial an 'Eastern' combination of crossbow brooches from the second third of the 5th century was discovered.

In the *Modekarussell* (Mayntz/Nedelmann 1987, 654) of the 5th century West, 'Eastern fashion' not only received innovations at a late time: attempts

at 'westernizing' Eastern dress immediately triggered an attempt by the 'legitimate culture' to distinguish itself from its competitor. This kind of action-reaction pattern was identified by Pierre Bourdieu as a constant in the reciprocal interaction between the 'old' bourgeoisie, on the one hand, and successful social climbers on the other (Bourdieu 1979, 9–106). On the basis of similarities in their behaviour, similar relative positions within social space for the 'legitimate' Late Roman nobility (characterized by a higher purchasing power, access to a better education and a long-and-deeply rooted social network) and for the most distinguished Eastern newcomers can be hypothesized. The general principles of the comparison seem to operate successfully, as regards attested 'cultural investment' in terms of education, shown by particularly successful Easterners such as Theodoric the Great. The latter was educated in classical Greco-Roman values by the best teachers, in a highly exclusive environment.

The rather ephemeral history of 'Eastern fashion' in the West, and its asymmetrical interaction with Late Roman dress, calls to mind the role of fashion in the fierce competition for cultural domination and supremacy between different social groups, as described by Malcolm Barnard. He postulated that items of fashion and clothing were actually weapons and a means of defence used in the struggle for positions of relative power (Barnard 2002, 40, 41). The example of earrings with drop-shaped zephyrs (see also above) is quite useful in illustrating this hypothesis. An important fact about these jewels is that, unlike in the West, their use among city-based upper social strata until Justinian's reign is well attested in easternmost territories. This is clear when one looks at the grave in Cavtat (Janković 2007, 48, 49) and the universally famous mosaic of the San Vitale church. It can be argued that the lack, or lesser influence, of 'Barbarian' fashions competing with Late Roman standards, favoured the continued success of these specific earrings in this geographical area. Yet even in the core of powerful 'Barbarian' *regna*, 'Eastern fashion' was apparently no challenge to the codes of Late Roman fashion. Social promotion, archaeologically traceable through the approach to urban central places, implied eventually giving up Eastern features. Material sources cannot establish whether it occurred because of social pressure from 'legitimate' groups, or via a genuine transformation of tastes, a phenomenon which in any case correlates tightly with social mobility (Bourdieu 1979; Daloz 2010; Gronow 1997; Hennion 2004). The transformation in 'Eastern fashions' and their permanent abandonment is therefore another additional manifestation

of the same phenomenon, shown by the adoption of elements of 'legitimate culture' among successful people of Eastern origin, such as the Vandals enjoying Roman baths in North Africa, Theodoric the Great building a monumental mausoleum for himself in Ravenna or an anonymous Goth landowner aiming to make his estate properties conform to the legislation of the day.

Although scarce, scattered and pushed into a fringe niche, 'Eastern fashion' evolved over time in a rather coherent manner, showing that in Western Europe it was by no means developing in isolation. The various regional clusters are themselves consistent evidence of mutual communication. Each of them, moreover, was also exposed to contacts with local manifestations of mainstream culture. The answer to how exactly this communication operated remains largely hypothetical. As major economic and trading locations seem to be off the table, middle- and long- distance trade with 'Eastern' artefacts does not appear to be the most likely explanation. Moreover, trade could hardly explain similar tendencies in the configuration of grave deposits recorded in every regional cluster. Hence, contacts within wide, occasionally far-reaching personal networks both between and within the various regional clusters seem to be the most likely vehicle for spreading 'Eastern' fashion in the West, probably reinforced by occasional displacements of people within different western territories, and perhaps also from barbarian lands (as suggested by the examples from Lezoux and Duratón 79; see also above). It seems important here to stress the particularly tight bonds between northern Italy and eastern Gaul, on the one hand, and between south-western Spain and North Africa, on the other. To what extent such contacts implied episodes of actual personal mobility cannot be determined without proper bio-archaeological analyses.

This 'Western network model', persistent throughout the 5th century, and apparently not directly linked to major historical events, might explain the survival of certain peculiarities (for instance the use of specific types of 'third brooches' and headdresses, the 'survival' of old jewellery items such as the Seyssel pins, as well as the general shortage of objects in precious metal)

in E1 cemeteries in central Spain and southern Gaul. As mentioned, continuity throughout the D2, D2/D3 and D3 periods is obvious when one looks at the typological evolution of artefacts and trends in the composition of the deposits. In many regional clusters (the territory of Merida, the Po and Saône Valleys; see also above), a high stability in the geographical distribution of 'Eastern' artefacts between the D1 and D2/D3 periods can also be noticed. E1 finds in central Spain instead are a quite dissimilar group as regards their geographical location as well as the morphological and technological features of the main objects (for instance, the bow brooches in metal sheet), the composition of grave goods (that frequently include earrings, glass and amber beads, bracelets, finger rings, belt buckles and, more sporadically, torques). A similar picture can be gathered in northern Gaul (*Bierbrauer 1997*). Apparently, 'Eastern' graves of the early Visigothic period were much more related to burial practices of the D2/D3 and D3 periods in the Danube and Tisza Valleys than to their 'predecessors' in the West. In this context, the presence of selected 'old Western features' in the early Visigothic period can be attributed to undefined contacts with the 'Western network', perhaps smoothed by the integration of earlier (D1–D3 periods) and later (E1 and subsequent periods) groups in quite comparable settlement backgrounds.

Whatever the case, the available evidence suggests that Visigothic period finds in central Spain open a quite different window on the history of 'Eastern' fashions in the West, mirroring renewed contacts with Central Europe. The early E1 period indeed seems to be a turning point in the entire West. Besides the wide diffusion during this period of early Merovingian combinations of four brooches in northern Gaul and the territories east of the Rhine (e.g. *Martin 1991a*), lavish late 5th century graves in territories such as central Gaul (Cholet; *Zeiss 1941*, 96, 97) and North Africa ('Hippo'; *Quast 2005*, 243–246) mirror the success of 'Mediterranean-influenced' combinations of disc brooches and gold jewels. Interestingly enough, this phenomenon is also increasingly attested in northern Gaul and Spain throughout the mid- and late 6th century.

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Barbarské šperky, sociální prostor, městská kultura

Príspevek k teorii módy v časně době stěhování národů (západní Evropa, cca 400–480 n. l.)

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SOUHRN

Pohyb jedinců a kulturní transfer byly jádrem archeologického výzkumu pohřebišť období stěhování národů již od počátků zkoumání. V posledních několika desetiletích přinesla kombinace pokroku v archeologickém datování, nových teoretických přístupů a důsledného začlenění archeometrických a archeobiologických dat mnohem jasnější obraz způsobů rozšíření a jeho nositelů, upřednostňující rozšíření výrobků, technologií a estetického vkusu.

Pokud jde o druhou možnost, nositele hmotné kultury, podstatná část vědeckých příspěvků zaměřila svou pozornost na krátkodobou perspektivu, čímž upřednostnila vysvětlení založená na historických událostech, jako jsou historicky zaznamenané migrace. Přesídlení obyvatelstva a migrace na dlouhé vzdálenosti byly v 5. stol. nepochybně přítomny, ale není nutné je interpretovat jako jediný kanál šíření kulturních prvků. Obchod, osobní sítě, mobilita řemeslníků a módní jevy mohly být stejně tak důležité. V tomto obecném pozadí je zrození, vývoj a šíření módních jevů stále velkou neznámou.

Dle mnohých sociologů můžeme najít módu výhradně ve složitých společnostech, které mají jak socializační, tak diferenciací síly a nabízejí pobídky a skutečné šance na sociální mobilitu. Jako takové jsou považovány za relativně nedávný fenomén, protože předkapitalistické společnosti nemusí dosahovat dostatečné míry complexity. Pozdně římská a raně post-římská západní Evropa však poskytují vynikající příklady náhlých a široce rozšířených transformací oděvů.

Například pohřební výbava zrcadlí řadu fenoménů souvisejících s módou, jako je rychlý vývoj a šíření prvků oděvu, kombinace více zdrojů inspirací, sociálně předpojaté vzory v používání, význam a šíření, multikulturalismus a řadu dalších otázek souvisejících s prací a výrobou. Tyhle jevy nejlépe nastiňují kovové doplňky, šperky a kování, které se zachovaly v mnohem větších počtech než textilní součásti oděvů.

Hroby z 5. stol., vybavené páry lučíkovitých spon jsou obzvláště důležité pro přiblížení vývoje módních fenoménů na Západě, jelikož je to jediná skupina souborů, na které lze pozorovat vývoj ponticko-podunajských tradic skrze několik generací. Tyto nálezy naznačují, že na Západě došlo k autonomnímu vývoji „východních“ hrobových milodarů, což nejlépe ukazují změny ve složení hrobových výbav a v morfologii jednotlivých artefaktů. Identifikace specifické „východní módy“ na Západě má řadu významných dopadů týkajících se

výroby, oběhu a použití artefaktů. Mnoho komponent „východních“ oděvních souborů (postříbřené lučíkovité spony, samostřílové spony s podvázanou nožkou, nášivky ze zlatého plechu) bylo skutečně vyrobeno a šířeno pouze na Západě. V některých případech lze, při porovnání s východními prototypy artefaktů, zaznamenat významné funkční změny (např. nášivky ze zlatého plechu pro oděvy horní části těla, používané ve Španělsku a Africe jako diadém).

„Východní“, a tedy „cizí“ charakter těchto souborů je pouze jednou částí rovnice, protože místní i importované zboží se ve zmíněných hrobech vyskytovalo pospolu poměrně často. Různé složky jedné hrobové výbavy náležející k odlišným výrobním a oděvním tradicím jsou běžným jevem. Od období D2/D3 byly spony „východní“ tradice (ačkoliv pravděpodobně vyráběné na Západě) zpravidla doprovázeny „místními“ šperky nebo doplňky jako jsou čelenky, náhrdelníky nebo náušnice původem ze západního Středomoří.

Zvýšení frekvence středomořských výrobků ve „východních“ hrobech a s tím spojené inovace ve složení hrobových výbav nechávají nahlédnout do vzájemných vztahů mezi „východními“ a „západními“ kulturními projevy, které se vyvinuly v těchto konkrétních kontextech. Soudě podle tendencí k snižování celkového množství předmětů uložených v hrobech a posunu ve funkci jednotlivých artefaktů odkazujících původem na barbarikum, se tedy zdá, že středomořské parametry vzhledu a výběru hrobových milodarů neustále vítězily nad středo a východoevropskými tradicemi. Jedním z prvních závěrů zkoumání „východních“ souborů osobních doplňků z 5. stol. je, že v žádném případě nebyly neměnné. Jejich obecné složení se měnilo poměrně rychle, tak jak se měnila i typologie a funkce jednotlivých komponentů. Tyto důkazy lze jen stěží srovnávat s tradičními pohledy na moderní původ módy. Jelikož rychlý vývoj a neustálá integrace inovací jsou dvěma základními atributy jakéhokoli módního fenoménu, zdá se, že obraz západu v 5. stol. byl mnohem blíže současným západním zemím než „tradičním společnostem“. Tempo změn ve složení doplňků souvisejících s „východní módou“ ve skutečnosti opravdu odpovídá odhadům délky módních cyklů v dnešní dámské módě.

Další zajímavou vlastností souborů šperků a oděvů „východního stylu“ na Západě je měnící se vztah hrobů s ohledem na jejich centrální a okrajové oblasti. Společným znakem vývoje je, že na samém počátku každé

regionální sekvence v severní Itálii, střední Francii nebo ve středním Španělsku nebyl v žádném z velkých měst příslušných klastrových regionů odkryt „východní“ hrob. V některých případech se tyto „východní“ rysy pohřbů rozšířily z venkova do měst mnohem později nebo vůbec. Městský životní styl, podle všeho, jmenovaný druh pohřbů nepovzbuzoval a ten v tomto konkrétním prostředí zůstal vždy pouze ojedinělým.

Vliv městského prostředí na vývoj pohřbů „východního stylu“ je důležitým údajem, pokud jde o jejich interpretaci. Většina „východních“ kulturních rysů byla na městské aglomerace vázána pouze slabě, a naopak měla tendenci zůstat na periferii hlavních hospodářských, politických, kulturních a náboženských center pozdně starověkého Západu. Pokud jde o archeologii, „východní móda“ se zdá být jakousi okrajovou kulturou, která se šířila jen velmi omezeně a měla tendenci být velmi rychle asimilována (dvě až tři generace) do kultury hlavního proudu a nebyla významně přítomna v centrálních místech. Navíc se zdá, že kontakt s městským prostředím výrazně urychlil asimilaci všech „východních“ rysů.

Archeologické důkazy silně naznačují, že interakce mezi „východními“ a „západními“ rysy vykristalizovaly v modelu šíření módních trendů „*trickle down*“ („stékání“), ve kterém inovace a určování trendů začíná vždy v nejvyšších vrstvách společnosti a později

je přijato další, nižší sociální skupinou, která se snaží napodobit vizuální vzhled dominantní skupiny. Pozdně římská móda se tak ukazuje v silnějším postavení, které se nezdá být propustné pro prvky zvyků „východních barbarů“ a tudíž je udržuje na okraji sociokulturního prostoru.

„Východní móda“ v 5. stol. na Západě nepřijímala inovace pouze opožděně, pokusy „pozápadnit“ východní šaty okamžitě vyvolaly reakci „legitimní kultury“ na odlišení se od konkurence. Tento druh vzorce akce-reakce naznačuje, že „legitimní“ pozdně římská nobilita a nejvýznamnější východní přistěhovalci zaujíмали v sociálním prostoru různé relativní pozice, které lze srovnávat například s vzájemnou interakcí mezi „starou“ buržoazií a úspěšnými sociální prvolezci v moderních západních společnostech.

Dokonce ani v jádru mocných „barbarských“ království nebyla „východní móda“ pro pozdně římský styl oblékání zjevně žádnou výzvou, se sociálním povýšením se tak předpokládalo i postupné opuštění východních zvyků v odívání. Proměny „východní módy“ a její definitivní opuštění jsou tedy jen další známkou stejného jevu, který se projevuje přijetím prvků „legitimní kultury“ mezi úspěšnými jedinci východního původu, jako jsou Vandalové užívající si římské lázně v severní Africe nebo monumentální mauzoleum, které si nechal vystavět Theodorich Veliký.

