

Romania Gothica II

The Frontier World

Romans, Barbarians and Military Culture

The Romania Gothica Conference

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ROMANIA GOTHICA II

The Frontier World Romans, Barbarians and Military Culture

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Front cover

Diptych of Stilicho as *magister militum* in *chlamys* with *tunica*

Museo del Duomo e Biblioteca Capitolare, Monza

Back cover

Stilicho's sword with inlaid gemstone

(István Bóna: *Das Hunnenreich*. Corvina – Konrad Theiss Verlag:

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A NOTE ON FEMALE CLOTHING IN 5TH-CENTURY SOUTHERN GAUL

Joan Pinar Gil

THE FIND OF BRAGAYRAC – LES PORTES¹

From 1998 to 1999, a number of stray finds in the place known as Les Portes in Bragayrac (Haute-Garonne, southern France) led to the identification of a rural settlement dating back to the 4th and 5th centuries.² Among the documented artefacts, one may mention two bronze crossbow brooches made of two independent pieces and having short pin fasteners (*Fig. 1.1-2*). Their general features point to the classical classification proposed by M. Schulze-Dörrlamm:³ the terminal button on the foot of the first brooch is reminiscent of Schulze-Dörrlamm's type Estagel, while the flat and trapezoidal foot of the second brooch permits its attribution to type Duratón, especially to a south Gallic series defined by the presence of carved crosses on the foot ending (Rodelle – La Goudalie, Roujan – La Grange-Montels, Aspiran – Saint-Georges, Estagel gr. 118, "Hérault?").⁴ Similar objects are also known in Spain, as the brooches from El Gatillo de Arriba grave 4 and the church of San Ildefonso in Zamora show (*Fig.*

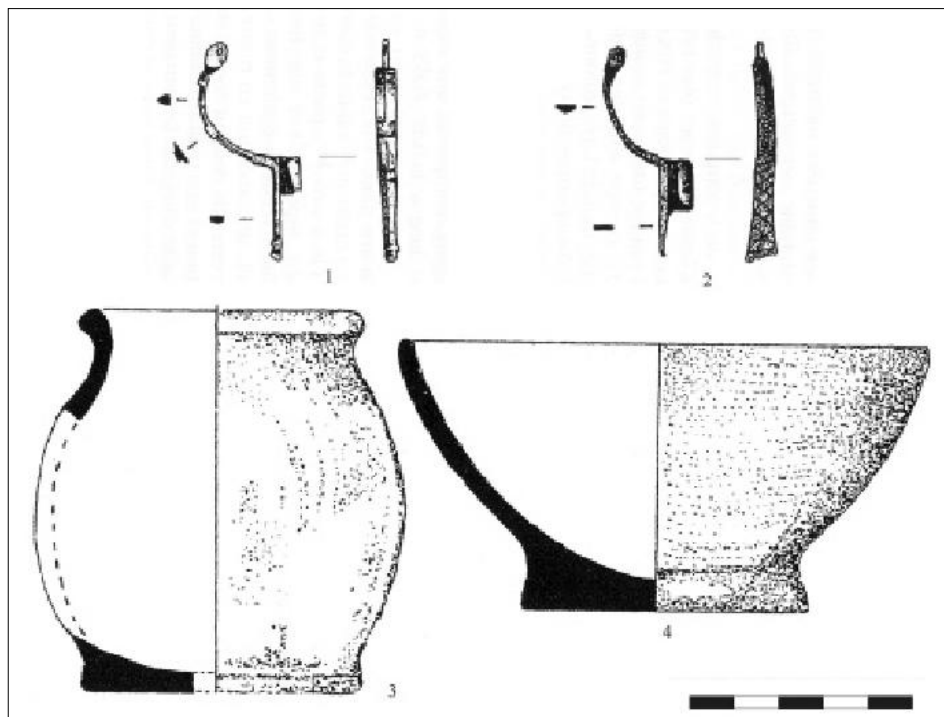


Fig. 1. Bragayrac – Les Portes (after MASSENDARI 2006)

¹ RESMED. The research for to this paper received funding from the EU's Seventh Framework Programme (FP7/2007-2013-MS-CA-COFUND) under grant agreement n° 245743–Post-doctoral programme Braudel IFER-FMSH, in collaboration with the Labex RESMED.

² MASSENDARI 2006, 126-127.

³ SCHULZE-DÖRRLAMM 1986.

⁴ FEUGÈRE 1988, fig. 2.2-5, 3.14; LANTIER 1949, 56; KAZANSKI 1994, fig. 6.1-6; KAZANSKI 1998, fig. 2.1-6.

4.10-11).⁵ It must be noted, however, that the general proportions of the brooches from Bragayrac – the bow being longer than the foot – distinguishes them from the bulk of productions of type Estagel and Duratón. The site yielded also an amount of pottery, collected in close proximity to the brooches. Besides typical 4th- and 5th-century western forms, some hand-made pots and dishes show technical and morphological resemblances to the later productions recorded in the territory of the Černjahov culture (Fig. 1.3-4).⁶

The finds from Bragayrac have been chosen as the point of departure of this paper for two main reasons: in the first place, they furnish new data for identifying the prototypes of late 5th-/early 6th-century crossbow brooches in southern Gaul, an issue already dealt with by M. Kazanski in a series of papers.⁷ Second, they reintroduce, in an eloquent way, the problem of the connections between this type of manufacture and central and eastern Europe.

EARLY CROSSBOW BROOCHES IN SOUTHERN GAUL

The morphology of the brooches from Bragayrac is connected to a small group of fibulae recorded in southern Gaul, made of bronze in two pieces, with a short pin fastener, the bow being longer than the foot. Among the examples one may mention those from Séviac, Toulouse – Gué du Bazacle, Toulouse – Pl. Esquirol, Le Vernet – Le Mouraut gr. 83, Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges, Molandier – Bénazet gr. 356, Maguelone gr. 2187, L'Isle-Jourdain – La Gravette (Gers) and Albias – *Cosa*.⁸ Central and eastern European parallels have been identified for nearly all of them.⁹ A brooch found at Quarante – La Mas-sale, defined by a semicircular plate located on the bow's upper ending, may be included in the same group: in spite of having different proportions – closer to Estagel and Duratón types' classic forms, it is clearly connected to some brooches found mainly in the territories of the Wielbark and Černjahov cultures, dating back to the 4th / 5th centuries (Fig. 2).¹⁰ A similar, yet insufficiently known brooch has been recorded in grave V at the Zarza de Granadilla (Cáceres) cemetery.¹¹ Judging from the associated grave goods (Fig. 12.C), it should be dated not before the second quarter of the 6th century.

The brooch with terminal button from Bragayrac, together with the one from Albias, can be regarded as a "*fibule annonciatrice du type Estagel*", as M. Kazanski noted. Their eastern prototypes tend to be concentrated in the territories of the Wielbark, Przeworsk, Černjahov and Kiev cultures,¹² as well as in Scandinavia¹³ and both northern¹⁴ and southern Germany (Fig. 3).¹⁵ Belonging to Almgren's group VI.2, these morphologically heterogeneous finds can be dated between the 3rd and 5th centuries; one may mention the fibulae from Borkowice gr. III (Western Pomerania, Poland), Nydam (Denmark), and Vi Alvar (Öland, Sweden), dating back to the late 4th or 5th century, as three of the latest examples from dated contexts.¹⁶

The second, trapezoid-footed brooch from Bragayrac points to a similar context, despite the current lack of parallel finds in southern Gaul. Closely related brooches, with trapezoidal foot and short pin

⁵ CABALLERO et al. 1991; FLÖRCHINGER 1998, 127-129, pl. 22.4.; Hispania Gothorum, 383; MORÍN-BARROSO 2010, fig. 8.

⁶ MASSENDARI 2006, 126-127, fig. 39.

⁷ KAZANSKI 1994, 1998, 1999, 2010.

⁸ MONTURET-RIVIÈRE 1986, 239-240; FEUGÈRE 1988, fig. 3.10, 5.1, 4; FOUET-SAVÈS 1972, pl. I.4; FEUGÈRE 1985, pl. 159.2004-2005; Archéologie Toulousaine, 108, 163; BACH et al. 2002, 534, fig. 215.1, 5-6; CATALO et al. 2008, 262-263; PAYA 2010, 284, fig. 10; BOURDARTCHOUK-PORTET 2006, fig. 1; CAZES 2003; HERNANDEZ 2001, n° 320; LEGRAND-GARNOTEL 2004, fig. 59; HERNANDEZ-RAYNAUD 2005, 179; KAZANSKI 1999, 17, fig. 2.13.

⁹ KAZANSKI 1994, 163-165, 171-173; KAZANSKI 1998, 376, 381; KAZANSKI 1999.

¹⁰ KAZANSKI 1994, fig. 1.1; KAZANSKI 1998, fig. 5.1; KAZANSKI 1999, fig. 1.4.

¹¹ DONOSO-BURDIEL 1970, fig. 6.

¹² KAZANSKI 1994, 163-165; KAZANSKI 1998, 381.

¹³ NERMAN 1935, pl. 9.64; RASMUSSEN 2010, fig. 61; STJERNQUIST 2010, fig. 12.

¹⁴ SCHNELLENKAMP 1940, 261, fig. 2.1; BRANDT 1960, 80, pl. 19.54.

¹⁵ KOCH 1974, fig. 3.3.

¹⁶ MACHAJEWSKI 1992, 158-163, pl. XXXVI.6; BEMMANN-BEMMANN 1998, pl. I.9; BITNER-WRÓBLEWSKA 2001, 41, pl. VIII.10.

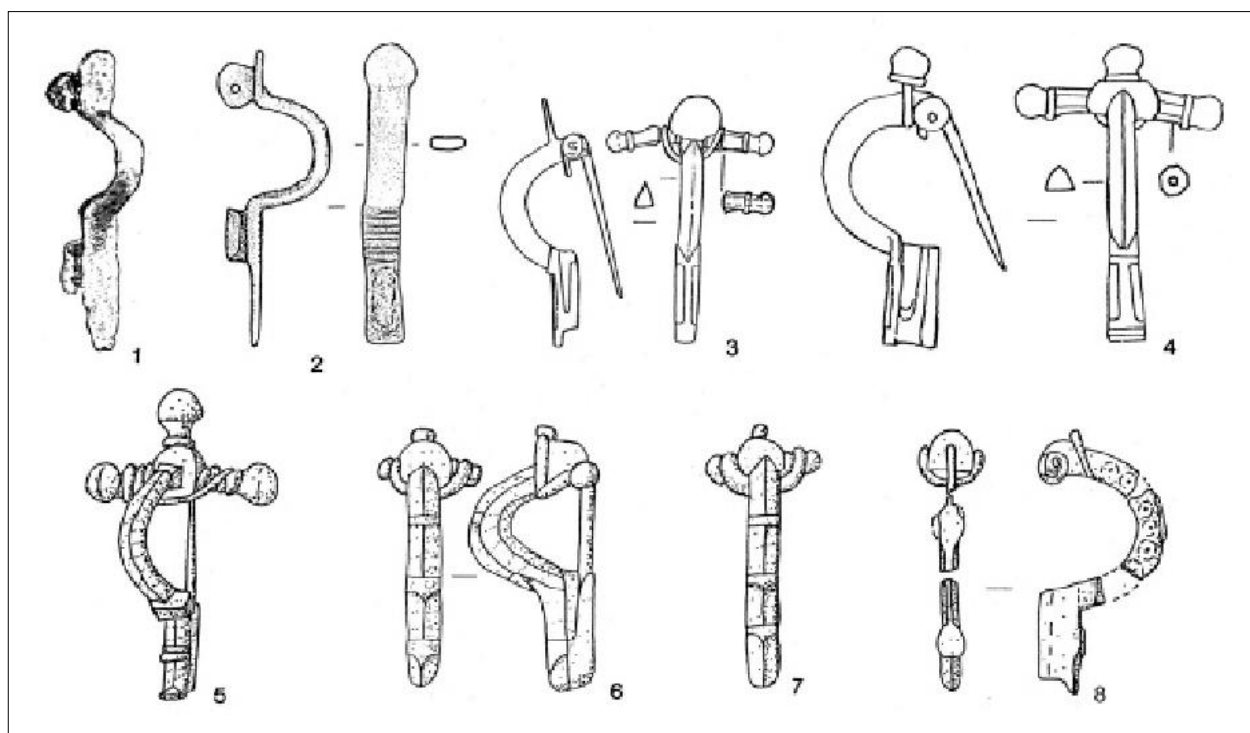


Fig. 2. Two-pieced crossbow brooches with circular head-plate. 1. Zarza de Granadilla, gr. V; 2. Quarante; 3. Bârlad – Valea Seacă, gr. 342; 4. Izvoare – Neamt, gr. 10; 5. Greibau, gr. 56; 6-7. Wielbark, gr. 548; 8. Cecele, gr. 359. No scale (1 after DONOSO–BURDIEL 1970; 2-8 after KAZANSKI 1998)

fastener, are attested all along a wide corridor connecting present-day northern Germany,¹⁷ Scandinavia¹⁸ and the southern Baltic Sea area (Fig. 4).¹⁹ Some examples occur occasionally in the neighbouring territories, for example in Moravia²⁰ or in southern Germany,²¹ while in western territories some related forms – although displaying almost exclusively long pin-fasteners – are also well documented.²² Similar forms are also well attested in the northern Black Sea region in the 4th century.²³ They frequently display a carved decoration of simple geometric motives – mainly in zigzag – that is reminiscent of both the Bragayrac brooch and some central Spanish late 5th-/early 6th-century crossbow brooches. Small fibulae such as those found in Boromlja gr. 7 or Uspen'ka gr. 1654,²⁴ dating back to the end of the 4th century or the beginning of the 5th century and displaying bevelled decoration and narrow springs, may be regarded as convincing prototypes of later artefacts such as Duratón gr. 10 and 294.²⁵ The proportions of the latter are remarkably close to the Bragayrac brooch. Unfortunately, Duratón 294 (Fig. 20.D) has so far not been verified as a reliable closed assemblage, and it is not certain whether the trapezoid-footed crossbow brooch belonged to the early 6th-century burial recorded in the grave.

¹⁷ KUCHENBUCH 1938, pl. XXIX.12; BRANDT 1960, pl. 19.172; SCHULDT 1955, fig. 267-268; GENRICH 1954, pl. 1.D, 2.E, 24.A.

¹⁸ ALMGREN–NERMAN 1923, pl. 34.488; HEIDEMANN 2010, fig. 61-62.

¹⁹ TISCHLER 1902, pl. IV.12-16, IV.18-24; ÅBERG 1919, fig. 45-48; NOWAKOWSKI 1996, pl. 105.5-6; KAZANSKI 1994, fig. 4.10-14; BITNER–WRÓBLEWSKA 2001, pl. IV.3; NIEZABITOWSKA 2008, pl. 11.

²⁰ ZEMAN 1961, fig. 46.C.

²¹ WERNER 1969, pl. 39.34; PESCHECK 1978, pl. 88.3.

²² A number of examples in BÖHME 1974.

²³ KOVÁCS 1912, 311-314, fig. 86; AMBROZ 1966, 71, pl. 10.17; KRAVČENKO 1967, pl. IX.5, IX.16-17; SYMONOVIČ 1967a, fig. 7.30; SYMONOVIČ 1967b, fig. 6.5; BARCEVA et al. 1972, fig. 14.2-8, 14.15, 14.19-20, 14.22; BARAN 1981, pl. XXIX.19; ŠČERBAKOVA 1990, fig. 4.4; ŠČUKIN et al. 2006, 80, fig. 72.12, 72.18; MAGOMEDOV 1999, fig. 11; GUDKOVA 1999, fig. 59.1-3; PETRAUSKAS 2002, fig. 8; PALADE 2004, fig. 16.2; ŠOVAN 2005, pl. 4.B.3, 6.B.2; VORNIC 2006, fig. 87.14, 119.6-7, 119.11; GAVRITUHIN–VORONCOV 2008, fig. 10.33; KUHARENKO 1955, pl. II.

²⁴ GAVRITUHIN–VORONCOV 2008, fig. 10.22-23, 10.34; Vostočnaja Evropa, fig. 12.58, 13.8-9.

²⁵ MOLINERO 1948, 21, pl. XXV.2; MOLINERO 1949, fig. 5; MOLINERO 1971, pl. I.2, XXIX.2.

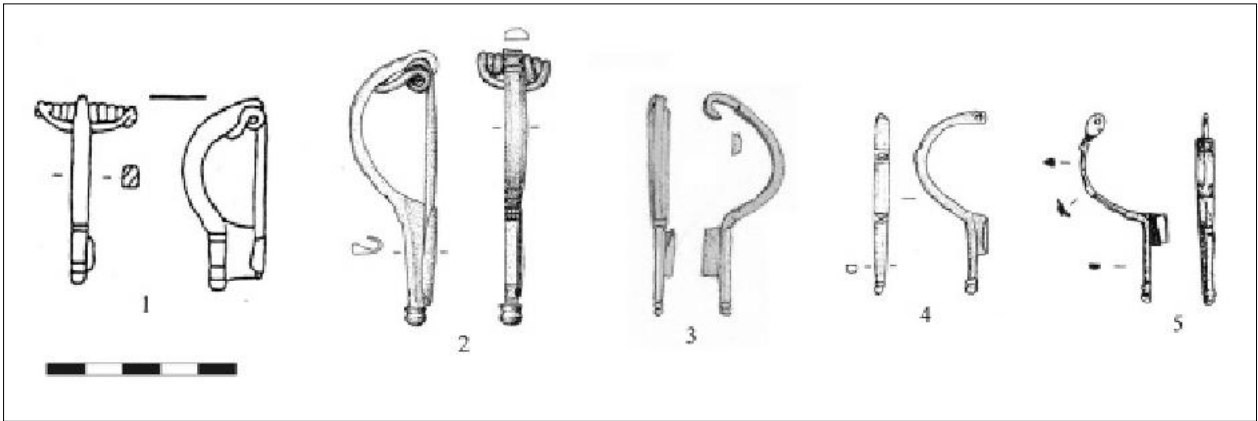


Fig. 3. Two-piece crossbow brooches with terminal button. 1. Wielbark, gr. 510; 2. Nydam; 3. Preetz, gr. 54; 4. Albias – Cosa; 5. Bragayrac – Les Portes (1, 4 after KAZANSKI 1994; 2 after BEMMANN–BEMMANN 1998)

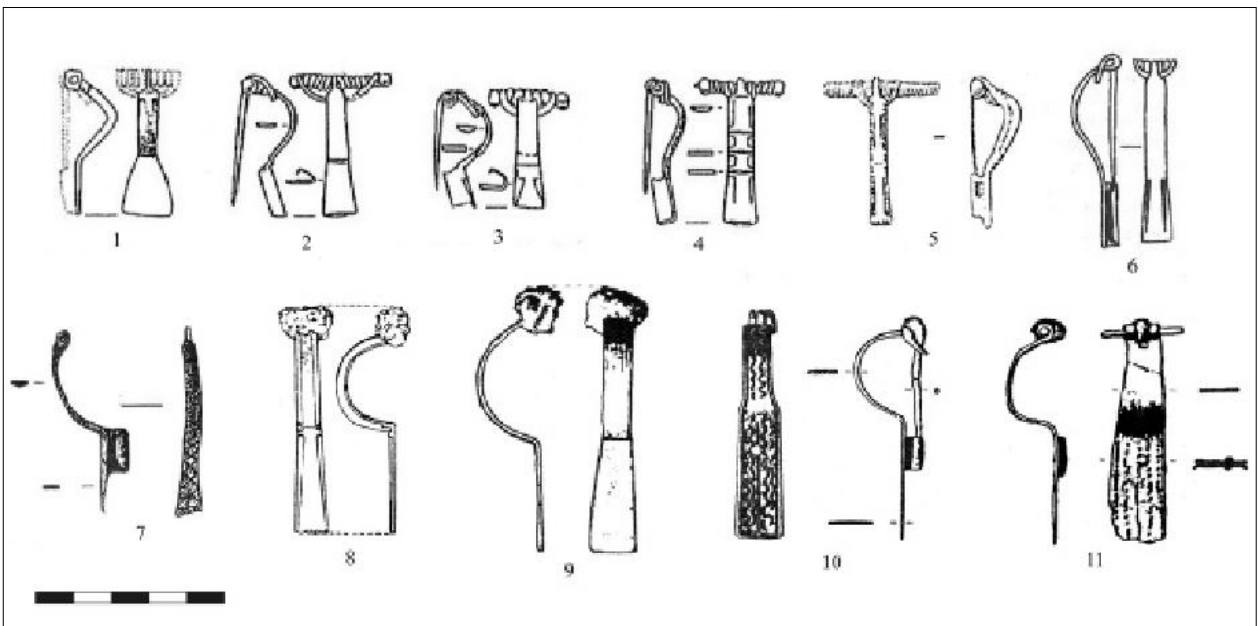


Fig. 4. Two-piece crossbow brooches with trapezoidal foot. 1. Černjahov; 2, 3. Uspen'ka; 4. Boromlja; 5. Privol'noje; 6. Gorodok; 7. Bragayrac – Les Portes; 8. Duratón, gr. 10; 9. Duratón, gr. 294; 10. Zamora – San Ildefonso; 11. Cáceres – Gatillo de Arriba, gr. 4 (1-4 after GAVRITUHIN–VORONCOV 2008; 5 after KUHALENKO 1955; 6 after GUDKOVA 1999; 7 after MASSENDARI 2006; 8-9 after MOLINERO 1971; 10 after MORÍN–BARROSO 2010; 11 after CABALLERO et al. 1991)

Other variants of the brooches of type Duratón seem to have had identical connections with eastern territories: one thinks of the rectangular-footed, bevelled pieces best represented by finds from El Carpio de Tajo gr. B, which correspond remarkably to pieces occurring over wide areas of the central and northern European *barbaricum* (Fig. 5). Especially prevalent in northern Germany,²⁶ they are also attested in the Oder region and Silesia,²⁷ in north-eastern Gaul²⁸ and in eastern Pomerania.²⁹ They are

²⁶ KUCHENBUCH 1938, 86, pl. 29.11; GENRICH 1954, 46, 54-55, 62, 70, pl. 2.A, 8.D, 11.C, 17.D, 24.D; LASER 1965, pl. 46.259.2; SAGGAU 1981, 204, pl. 169.

²⁷ FRENZEL 1929, pl. XVI; FRENZEL et al. 1934, fig. 305; DOMAŃSKI 1982, pl. XXV.B.

²⁸ VERMEULEN 1992, 430, fig. 10.1; KAZANSKI 1998, fig. 3.17; STEIDL 2000, pl. 62.

²⁹ PEISER–KEMKE 1914; GODŁOWSKI 1972; GODŁOWSKI 1981, 108, fig. 27; KAZANSKI 1994, fig. 8.3; SKVORZOV 2004-05, 131, pl. 45; SZYMAŃSKI 2006, fig. 4.9-13.

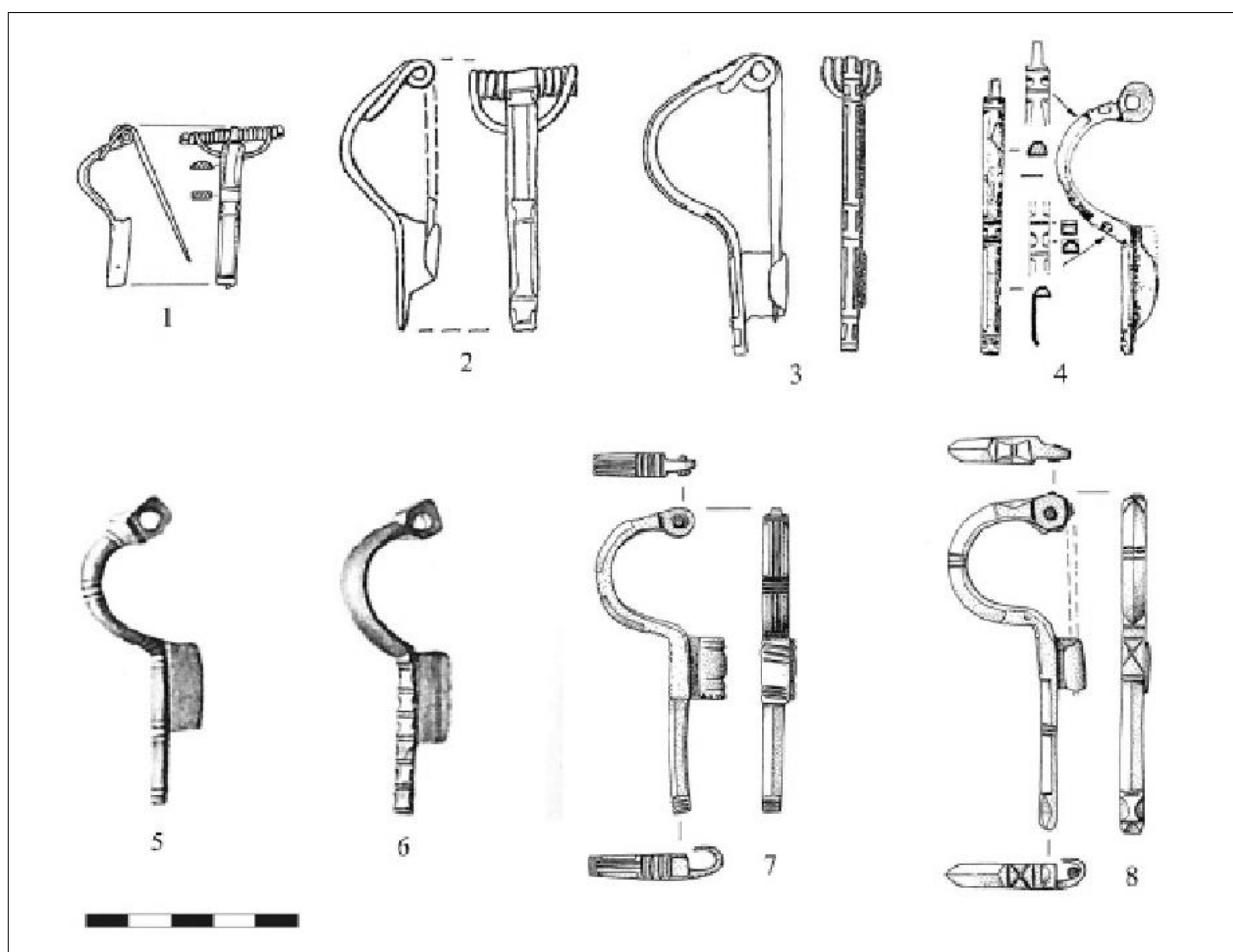


Fig. 5. Two-piece crossbow brooches with bevelled or fluted decoration. 1. Bârlad – Valea Seacă, gr. 292; 2. Luboszyce; 3. Burk, gr. VI; 4. Tyras; 5-6. Frombork; 7-8. Carpio de Tajo, gr. B (1 after PALADE 2004; 2 after DOMAŃSKI 1979; 3 after FRENZEL 1929; 4 after GOROHOVSKI–SON 1989; 5-6 after GODŁOWSKI 1972; 7-8 after SASSE 2000)

well attested also in the Černjahov – Sîntana de Mureş area, as examples from Obuhiv,³⁰ Tiras,³¹ Čalyk,³² Bârlad – Valea Seacă gr. 292³³ and an uncertain find spot³⁴ show. The associated artefacts recorded in grave complexes such as Rothebude barrow VII/gr. 9,³⁵ Berlin gr. 17,³⁶ Bordsesholm³⁷ and Gleschendorf gr. 9³⁸ bear witness to of a dating within the 4th century or the early 5th century.³⁹ The example from Luboszyce comes from a 4th-century context,⁴⁰ while the Frombork treasure should not be dated before the early 5th century.⁴¹

³⁰ KRAVČENKO 1983; KAZANSKI 1994, fig. 8.4.

³¹ GOROHOVSKI–SON 1989, 74, fig. 2.4.

³² ŠČERBAKOVA 1990, fig. 2.2-3.

³³ PALADE 2004, 124, fig. 203.

³⁴ BARCEVA et al. 1972, fig. 14.14.

³⁵ SZYMAŃSKI 2006, fig. 4.9-13.

³⁶ GENRICH 1954, 46, pl. 2.A.

³⁷ SAGGAU 1981, 204, pl. 169.13799.

³⁸ GENRICH 1954, 55, pl. 11.C.

³⁹ WERNER 1951; KELLER 1974.

⁴⁰ DOMAŃSKI 1979, 89-100.

⁴¹ BITNER-WRÓBLEWSKA 2001, 39-41.

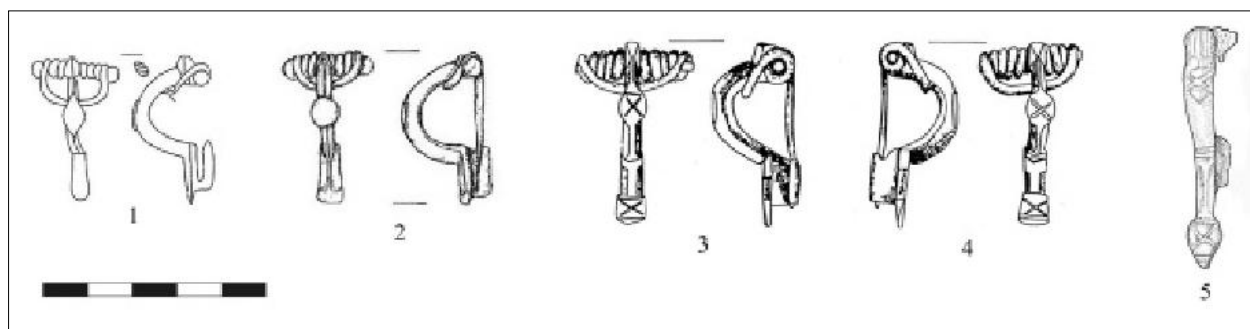


Fig. 6. Two-piece crossbow brooches of type Gródek nad Bugiem and later derivatives. 1. Węgrowo, gr. 19; 2. Ulów, gr. 1; 3-4. Gródek nad Bugiem, gr. 47; 5. Maguelone, gr. 2187 (1 after KURZYŃSKA–SOSNOWSKI 2007; 2 after NIEZABITOWSKA 2007; 3-4 after KOKOWSKI 1993; 5 drawing by I. Gras Valero after *Foreigners in Early Medieval Europe*: <http://www2.rgzm.de/foreigners/frame.cfm?Language=UK>)

A number of *barbaricum*-originated crossbow brooches belonging to this group show close formal resemblances to southern Gallic finds: one could mention, in first place, the brooches decorated with groups of parallel grooves, such as those from Nydam,⁴² Bol'šoe Isakovo gr. L-20,⁴³ Kovrovo gr. 146 and 163, Korkliny barrow 3, gr. 5, Roes, Hallbjens and the Frombork hoard itself,⁴⁴ corresponding closely to the decoration of the brooches from El Carpio de Tajo gr. B and 110 and Estagel gr. 118,⁴⁵ as well as of the early examples from Séviac, Toulouse – Pl. Esquirol and L'Isle-Jourdain – La Gravette. The clothing accessories in combination with the brooches in Kovrovo 163, Bol'šoe Isakovo and Hallbjens date back to the late 4th / early 5th century,⁴⁶ their presence in the Frombork hoard pointing to a similar dating.

The punched decoration along the axis of some of these objects – Kovrovo 146, Bjärby and War-nikam, the latter being a trapezoidal-footed exemplar typical of the Baltic Sea area – can be also be noticed on some western brooches, such as those from Roujan, Rodelle, Estagel gr. 118 and Camino de los Afligidos.⁴⁷ The latter, belonging to type Estagel, displays a circular, flat register in the middle of its bow: it is a feature connected mainly with the Baltic Sea basin,⁴⁸ which in the West can be seen first in the exemplar derived from productions of type Gródek nad Bugiem found in Maguelone and, in a rectangular variant, in the aforementioned brooch from Albias and in a series of fibulae of the types Duratón and Estagel recorded in southern Gaul, as the examples from Rodelle, Aspiran, Toulouse – Saint-Pierre-des-Cuisines, Sérignac and Sète show. The brooch from Maguelone, in its proportions and morphology, appears to be a direct link between western and eastern productions, finding a particularly close parallel in the brooches from Gródek nad Bugiem gr. 47 (Fig. 6).⁴⁹ This type of brooch is disseminated mainly in the area of the Wielbark culture during the late 4th and 5th centuries.⁵⁰

The aforementioned example from Séviac appears to be another variant of the same type of early western Mediterranean crossbow brooches: its foot becomes thinner towards its end. In southern Gaul, the type is also represented by a fibula found in Toulouse – Gué du Bazacle. Another exemplar found in Cazères displays very similar features, yet showing slightly different, earlier – 4th-century? – proportions.⁵¹ Close counterparts to the brooches from Séviac and Toulouse have been identified in northern, central and eastern Europe (Fig. 7).⁵² Evidence of long-distance connections may be discerned

⁴² RAU 2010, 203-204, pl. 6.4.

⁴³ SKVORZOV 2004-05, 126, pl. 24.

⁴⁴ BITNER-WRÓBLEWSKA 2001, pl. III-VII.

⁴⁵ RIPOLL 1985, 64-68, fig. 7, 9; RIPOLL 1993-94, 199, fig. 3.B; SASSE 2000, 195-196, 209-210, pl. 2, 10. *Supra*, note 4.

⁴⁶ BITNER-WRÓBLEWSKA 2001, 39-41, 50-52, 64-65.

⁴⁷ *Supra*, note 4.

⁴⁸ TUSZYŃSKA 1988; ANDRZEJOWSKI et al. 2008.

⁴⁹ KOKOWSKI 1993, 46-48, fig. 38.

⁵⁰ ANDRZEJOWSKI et al. 2008, 47-49.

⁵¹ *Infra*, notes 137-138.

⁵² NORDIN 1881-83, fig. 1; NERMAN 1935, pl. 9.64; BARAN 1981, pl. XXXV.15; KAZANSKI 1994, fig. 8; KAZANSKI 1998, fig. 3.

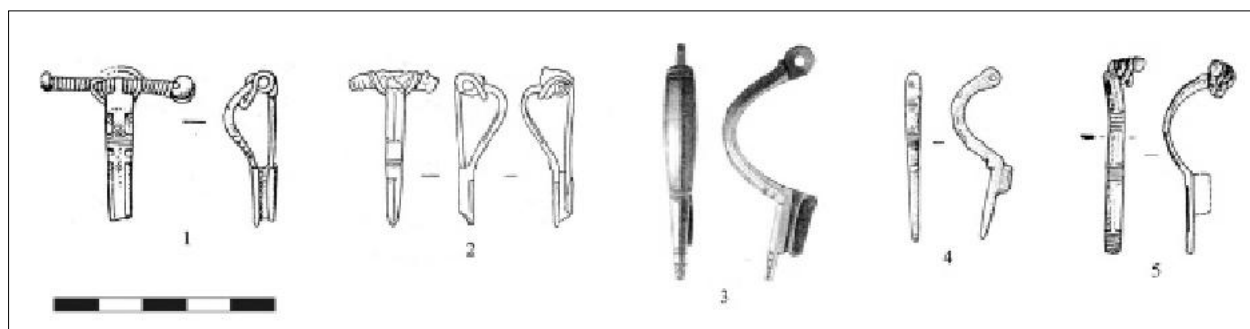


Fig. 7. Two-pieced crossbow brooches with sharp foot and bevelled or fluted decoration. 1. Obuhiv; 2. Dubroviči; 3. Tingstäde; 4. Toulouse – Gué du Bazacle; 5. Montreal-du-Gers – Séviac (1-2, 4-5 after KAZANSKI 1998; 3 after NORDIN 1881-83)

also in the ornamental motives of some southern Gallic brooches, such as the incised motives in X and the rope-like pattern, as already pointed out by M. Kazanski.⁵³ Among the clearest examples are the fibulae from Grebieten, Suchodolý and Saltuna,⁵⁴ their measurements and proportions matching perfectly the features of western brooches found at *Conimbriga*, Roujan or Duratón grave 331 (X-motives) and Montmirat, Vindrac, Zarza de Granadilla, Santos de la Humosa, Camino de los Afligidos, Fraga (?) and Secá (rope-like decoration) (Fig. 8).⁵⁵

The brooches from Le Mouraut 83 and Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges display similar connections to *barbaricum*-rooted traditions (Fig. 9). The presence of one button on the top of each bow permits comparison with the *Bügelknopffibeln* of type Gurina,⁵⁶ while the terminal buttons on their feet resemble the type Estagel brooches. A brooch from the castle of Sines (Alentejo, Portugal)⁵⁷ might be cited among their best Mediterranean analogies, its measurements and proportions evoking the southern Gallic group of early crossbow brooches. The wide bow of the Sines brooch finds a close counterpart in a rural settlement by Micăsasa (Sibiu, Romania),⁵⁸ its measurements and proportions being almost identical to the brooches from Le Mouraut and Sines. A similar combination of wide bow and upper button can be seen on a small rhomboid-footed *Bügelknopffibel* found in the Černjahov Culture settlement at Čerepin in the Ukraine.⁵⁹ Furnished with a short catch plate that can be compared to the later, westernmost artefacts, the brooch can be dated from the second half of the 4th century to the early 5th century,⁶⁰ a chronology that can be assumed also for the Micăsasa brooch on the basis of its general morphology. The main features of the two eastern European brooches are also manifest in the group of small, so-called “Sarmatian” brooches – Almgren VII 2, 28-31 –, widespread across central Europe during the 2nd/3rd century.⁶¹ Brooches featuring wide bows ending in a button, tight pin fasteners and a terminal button on their straight feet, as exhibited by examples from Masłomęcz,⁶² Rodnoj Kraj,⁶³ Igołomia,⁶⁴

⁵³ KAZANSKI 1994, 168; KAZANSKI 1998, 376; KAZANSKI 1999, 17.

⁵⁴ KAZANSKI 1994, fig. 4-5; BITNER-WRÓBLEWSKA 2001, pl. VI.4, both with earlier literature. KLINDT JENSEN 1957, fig. 89.4.

⁵⁵ DA PONTE 1972, pl. VII.32; KAZANSKI 2000, 192, fig. 1.9; FEUGÈRE 1985, 126, pl. 159.2008; FEUGÈRE 1988, 7-8, fig. 1.3, 3.11-12, 17; MOLINERO 1971, pl. XXX.2; DONOSO-BURDIEL 1970, fig. 6; NUÑO 1991, fig. 1.A-B; VÁZQUEZ DE PARGA 1963, pl. XVII.5-8; MÉNDEZ-RASCÓN 1989, fig. 56.23; MAYA 1985, 177-182, fig. 4.

⁵⁶ SCHULZE-DÖRRLAMM 1986, 663-668.

⁵⁷ DA PONTE 2006, 485, n^o 300.

⁵⁸ COCIȘ 2004, 211, CXIII.1593.

⁵⁹ BARCEVA et al. 1972, pl. 15.7; BARAN 1981, pl. XXXI.10.

⁶⁰ GAVRITUHIN-VORONCOV 2008, 37.

⁶¹ MĄCZYŃSKA 1999; MĄCZYŃSKA 2003; SCHULTE 2011, 127-133.

⁶² KOKOWSKI 1987, fig. 29.G.

⁶³ TERPILOVSKI 2004, fig. 63.12.

⁶⁴ DOBRZAŃSKA 1990, pl. LXII.1.

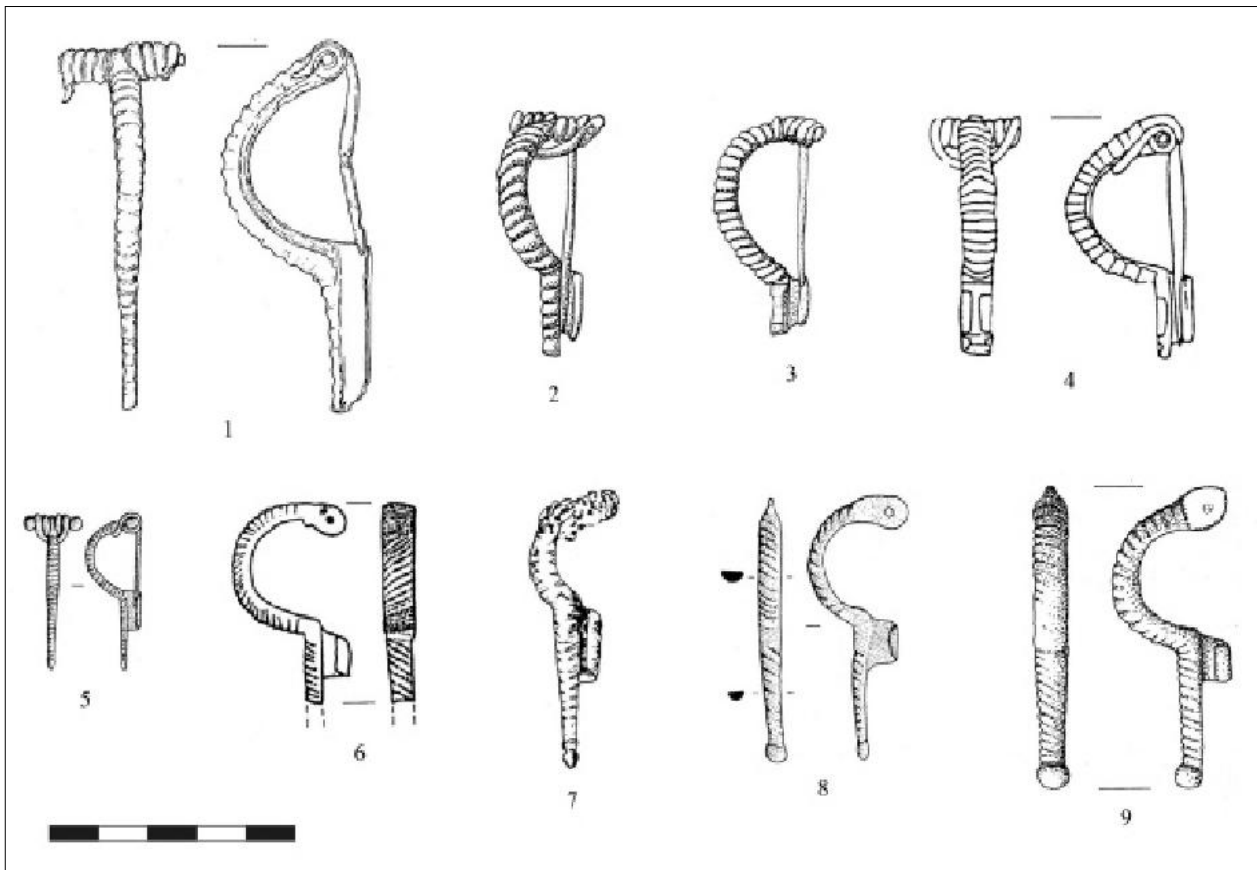


Fig. 8. Two-piece crossbow brooches with roped decoration. 1. Saltuna; 2. Dollkeim; 3. Scherappen, gr. 25; 4. Pruszcz Gdański-7, gr. 328; 5. Vindrac-Alayrac – Le Vieux Village, gr. 110; 6. Zarza de Granadilla, gr. 5; 7. Alcalá de Henares – Camino de los Afligidos; 8. Montmirat; 9. Santos de la Humosa (1 after KLINDT JENSEN 1957; 2-8 after KAZANSKI 1998; 9 after NUÑO 1991)

Ripnev II,⁶⁵ Lețcani gr. 23, Khersones gr. 529, Prieschka, Kryspinów, Gașior or “northern Dacia”,⁶⁶ may perhaps be regarded as more or less distant prototypes of later finds like the Micăsasa and the western European brooches. From this perspective, the brooches from the settlements at Cabești-Milești in Moldavia and Udeni in Muntenia might be regarded as links between 3rd-century and 4th- to 5th-century productions: they were respectively found together with coins minted in 270-275 and 302-303.⁶⁷ Two further brooches, found in the city of *Porolissum* (Sălaj, Romania)⁶⁸ and in the aforementioned 5th-century hoard from Frombork⁶⁹ may be regarded as further evidence for the central and eastern European connections of the “proto-Gurina” western brooches: with a general morphology resembling type Duratón brooches, the button on their bows’ endings identifies them as close counterparts to the brooches from Sines, Le Mouraut and Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges.

⁶⁵ BARAN 1964, fig. 6.10; BARCEVA et al. 1972, fig. 14.25; BARAN 1981, pl. XXXV.10.

⁶⁶ MĄCZYŃSKA 1999, pl. 5.8, 7.9, 8.6, 8.9, 8.11, 9.8-9.

⁶⁷ MĄCZYŃSKA 2003, 305-307.

⁶⁸ COCIȘ 2004, 211, CXIII.1592.

⁶⁹ PEISER-KEMKE 1914; GODŁOWSKI 1972.

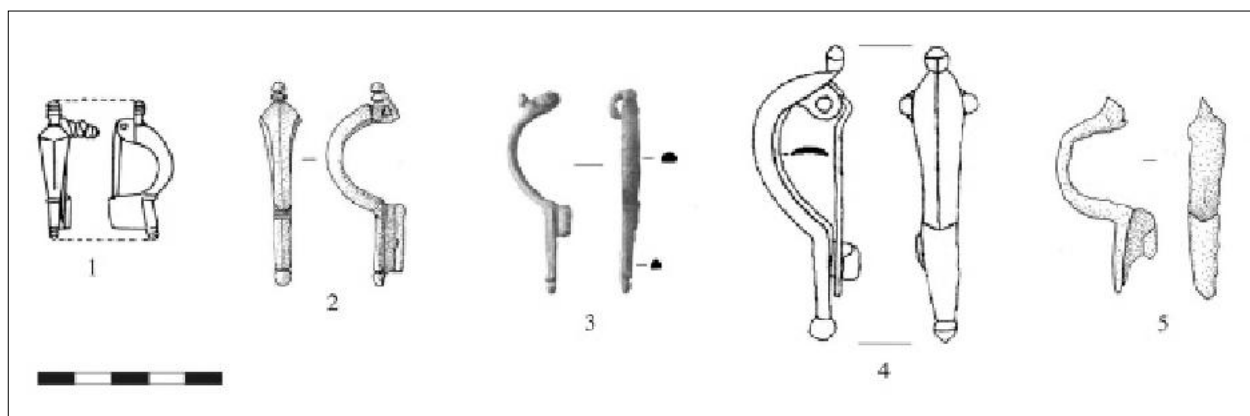


Fig. 9. Two-pieced *Bügelknopffibeln* with terminal button. 1. Lețcani, gr. 23; 2. Micăsasa; 3. Le Vernet – Le Mouraut, gr. 83; 4. Sines; 5. Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges (1 after BLOȘIU 1975; 2 after COCIȘ 2004; 3 drawing by J. Hernandez; 4 after DA PONTE 2006; 5 after BOUDARTCHOUK-PORTET 2006)

CHRONOLOGY

There are as yet few dating elements of assistance in defining the chronology of this southern Gallic group of brooches, even if the situation has been remarkably improved in the last few years. Relying exclusively on typological arguments, both M. Feugère and M. Kazanski dated them to a stage prior to the use of fibulae of types Estagel and Duratón, broadly to the mid 5th century or to its second half.⁷⁰ The examination of a small group of recent finds from southern Gaul becomes of particular significance when trying to confirm and clarify this proposal.

The first item is the aforementioned grave 83 in the Le Mouraut cemetery (*Fig. 10.C*).⁷¹ Inside, a pair of crossbow brooches was combined with an iron belt buckle with a rectangular plate covered by a silver sheet with punched decoration. The position of the grave within the cemetery area suggests a date around the third quarter of the 5th century. This find, together with its counterpart from Sines, may help to place the production and use of type Gurina brooches in a western Mediterranean context, in which the finds from the territories of the Visigothic *regnum* are the earliest recorded so far. The second chronologically relevant find belongs to grave 2187 at the church of Maguelone (*Fig. 10.B*).⁷² Within, a fibula that is undoubtedly to be identified as a later derivate of the Gródek nad Bugiem type was associated with a bronze-cast bow brooch with triangular head and rhomboidal foot of type Bakodpuszta. Both the morphology and the decoration of this bow brooch find numerous counterparts in the middle Danube area, dating back to the mid 5th century or to the first decades of its second half.⁷³ The combination of brooches is therefore consistent with a date in the third quarter of the 5th century, just as Le Mouraut 83. The third and last southern Gallic grave find comes from the cemetery of Molandier – Bénazet (*Fig. 10.A*), still in the process of study.⁷⁴ It contained two iron brooches associated with an iron belt buckle from the beginning of the second half of the 5th century,⁷⁵ that is the same period as Le Mouraut 83 and Maguelone 2187.

⁷⁰ FEUGÈRE 1988, 7; KAZANSKI 1994, 163; KAZANSKI 1998, 381. See also SCHULZE-DÖRRLAMM 1986, 669-674, on the proportions between crossbow brooches' bow and foot as chronological indicators. KAZANSKI 1999, 17, argued for the need to confirm the chronology of the finds in southern Gaul.

⁷¹ *Supra*, note 8. I want to thank sincerely the colleagues D. Paya and J. Hernandez for sharing information on the site and for the allowance to include in this paper J. Hernandez's drawings of objects from Le Mouraut (graves 79, 83 and 104).

⁷² *Supra*, note 8.

⁷³ TEJRAL 1988, 286; TEJRAL 1997, 349-350; TEJRAL 2008, 253-254.

⁷⁴ *Supra*, note 8. I want to thank sincerely the colleague J.-P. Cazes for sharing information on the site and for the allowance to include his drawings of objects from Bénazet (grave 356).

⁷⁵ PINAR 2008, 402-403.

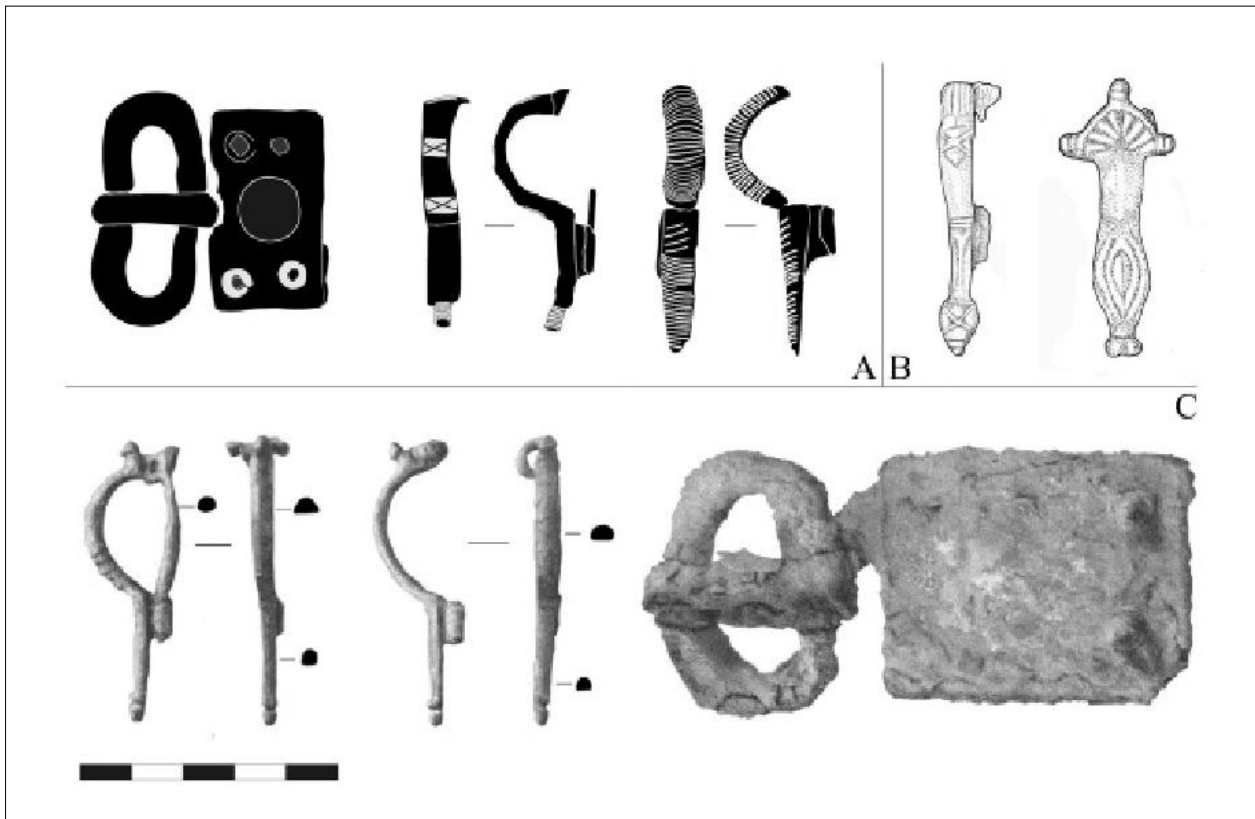


Fig. 10. Closed contexts with crossbow brooches of type Albias/Bragayrac in southern Gaul. A. Molandier – Bénazet, gr. 356; B. Maguelone, gr. 2187; C. Le Vernet – Le Mouraut, gr. 83 (A drawings by J.-P. Cazes; B drawings by I. Gras Valero after *Foreigners in Early Medieval Europe*: <http://www2.rgzm.de/foreigners/frame.cfm?Language=UK>; C drawings by J. Hernandez)

In Hispania, brooches with similar, “early” proportions have been identified in graves such as Duratón 129, 344 and 526 and Boadilla de Arriba 8.⁷⁶ On the basis of the presence of an iron belt buckle with cabochon decoration in Duratón 344 (Fig. 11.A), the grave should be dated to the last third of the 5th century.⁷⁷ A similar dating is also suggested by the position of Duratón 129 (Fig. 11.C) and Boadilla de Arriba 8 in their respective cemeteries. Duratón 526, in contrast, is associated with a clothing combination dating from the first third of the 6th century (Fig. 11.D). It should be stated, however, that the typological details of the pair of *Blechfibeln* found in this grave suggest an early stage of this time span.⁷⁸ The evidence from funerary contexts therefore indicates a chronology within the second half of the 5th century, which is also supported by a fragmentary crossbow brooch recorded in the large midden of Tarragona – Vila-roma Street (Fig. 11.B).⁷⁹ The object is too badly preserved to be typologically classified, but its form, measurements and proportions nevertheless correspond closely to the main features of the early crossbow brooches in southern Gaul and central Spain. The associated metal accessories and pottery sequence suggest a chronology within the second quarter of the 5th century or shortly after.⁸⁰

⁷⁶ MOLINERO 1948, 48, pl. XXIX.1; MOLINERO 1971, pl. IX.1, XXXI.2, XLVII.1; PINAR 2012, fig. 6.B.2.

⁷⁷ PINAR 2010a, 27; PINAR 2010b, 49.

⁷⁸ PINAR 2010a, 27; PINAR 2010b, 49-50.

⁷⁹ TED’A 1989, fig. 212.

⁸⁰ *Contextos ceràmics*, 318; MACIAS 1999, 182-192; VIGIL 2009, 130.

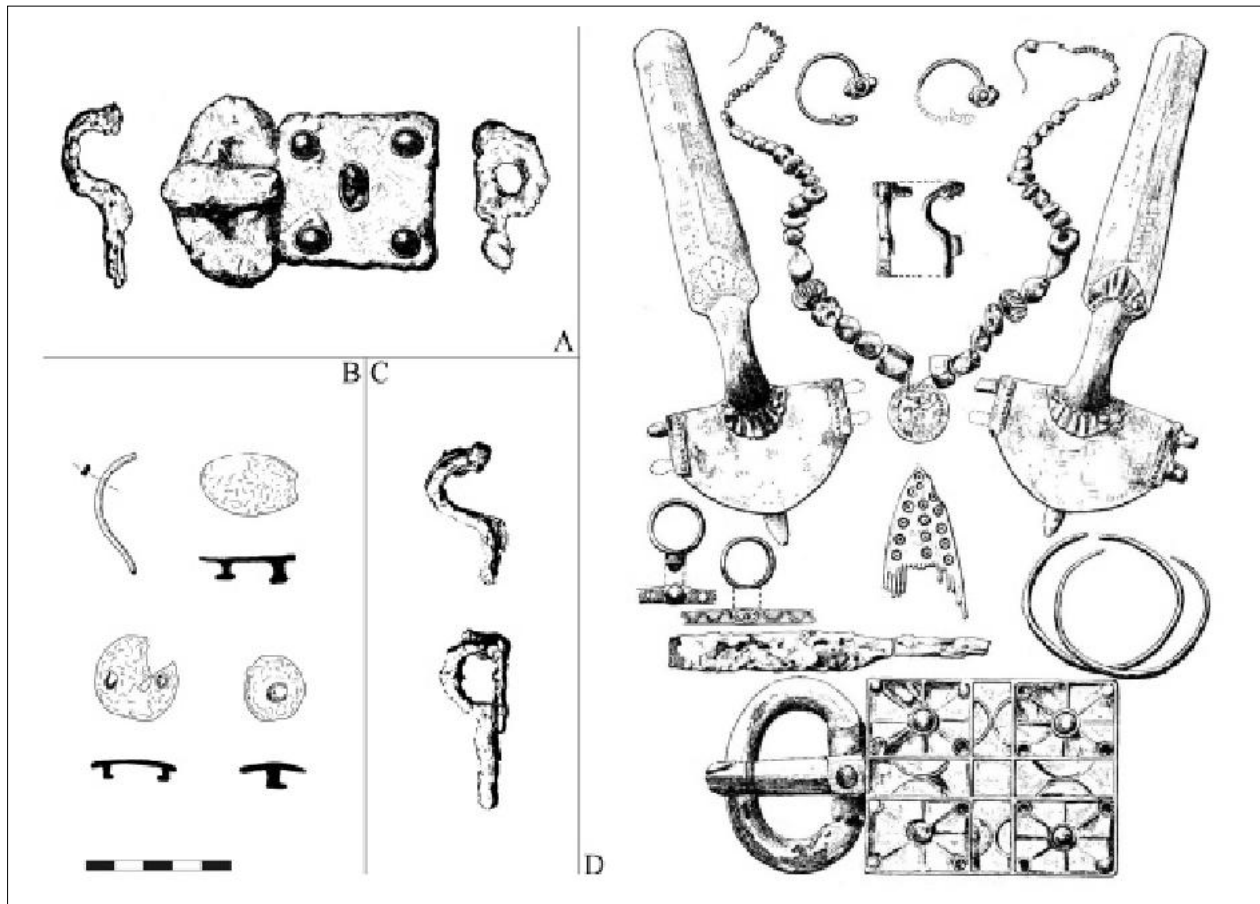


Fig. 11. Closed contexts with crossbow brooches of type Albias/Bragayrac in Hispania. A. Duratón, gr. 344; B. Tarragona – Vila-roma; C. Duratón, gr. 129; D. Duratón, gr. 526 (A, C-D after MOLINERO 1971; B after TED'A 1989)

CROSSBOW BROOCHES OF TYPE DURATÓN/ESTAGEL IN GAUL AND HISPANIA

This small group of early brooches therefore defines a chronological horizon roughly dating to the second half of the 5th century. Its earliest examples appear to be, in the present state of research, mainly southern Gallic.

A slightly different picture is noticeable in concurrent, late 5th-century graves in central Spain. In that region – one of the principal areas of concentration of clothed inhumations in the early Visigothic period – most of the graves securely attributable to the last third of the 5th century correspond to the group of female graves furnished with bow brooches of type *Blechfibeln* and iron belt buckles with rectangular plate, defined as “group I/II” in former papers.⁸¹ This group is mainly concentrated in the cemetery of Duratón and, to a lesser degree, in the present-day territory of Madrid Autonomous Region. Only a few clothed inhumations could be dated to the immediately preceding period: this is suggested by the typology of small bow brooches like Madrona gr. 24 and Carpio de Tajo gr. 119 or of belt buckles like Duratón gr. 477 and 479.⁸² Given the general funerary context in this region, it seems more likely that they belong to the very beginning of the funerary activity from ca. 470 AD rather than a preceding period, which would be virtually invisible archaeologically. In any case, at none of these

⁸¹ PINAR 2010a; PINAR 2010b.

⁸² MOLINERO 1971, pl. XLII.1-2, LXVI.1; RIPOLL 1985, 90, 92, fig. 22-23; SASSE 2000, pl. 12.119.

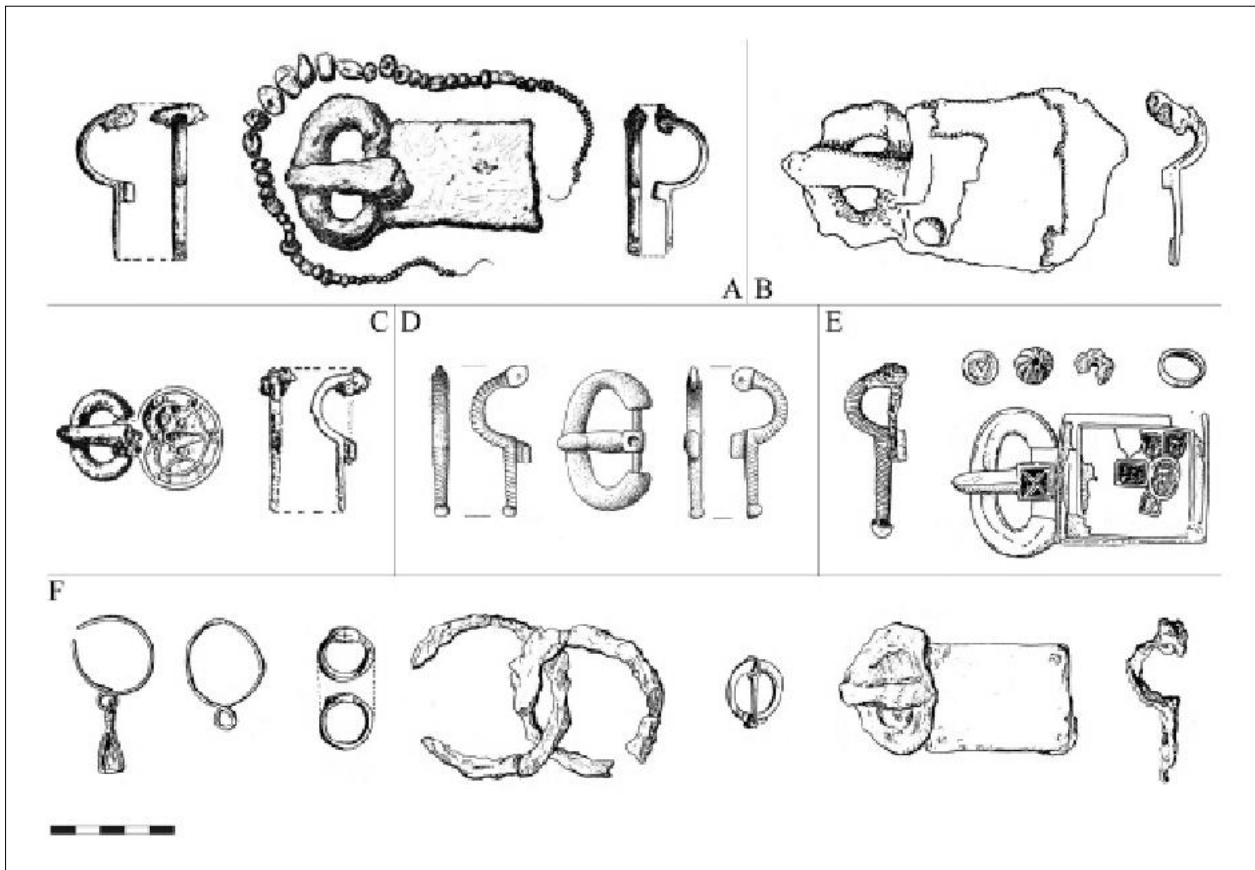


Fig. 12. Late 5th./early 6th-century graves with crossbow brooches of type Estagel/Duratón in *Hispania*. A. Duratón, gr. 331; B. Ventosilla y Tejadilla, gr. 4; C. Duratón, gr. 177; D. Santos de la Humosa; E. Secá, gr. 2; F. Madrona, gr. 337 (A, C, F after MOLINERO 1971; B, E after EBEL-ZEPEZAUER 2000; D after NUÑO 1991)

sites, nor at any other in *Hispania*, can be detected a pre-470 horizon of graves furnished with crossbow brooches similar to that of southern Gaul.

The available data suggest that southern Gaul was indeed the territory where this group of western European crossbow brooches originated and developed, arriving somewhat later in the Iberian Peninsula. This seems to be confirmed by comparative examination of the combinations of clothing accessories featuring typologically later brooches of type Duratón and Estagel in Gaul and in Spain. The proposal of Schulze-Dörrlamm dated both types of brooches mainly to the end of the 5th century and the first third of the 6th century, working on the basis of Spanish finds.⁸³ The latest proposals for the chronological organization of central Spanish grave finds permit a more precise dating of these brooches. The typology of the belt buckles from Duratón 177 and 344 (Fig. 11.A; 12.C) thus suggests a chronology in the last third of the 5th century,⁸⁴ while the related buckles from Los Santos de la Humosa and Secá 2 (Fig. 12.D-E) belong to the first third of the 6th century.⁸⁵ The combinations from Ventosilla y Tejadilla 4, Madrona 337 and Duratón 331 (Fig. 12.A-B, D) cannot be placed precisely within a wide time span covering the last third of the 5th century and the first third of the 6th century;⁸⁶ however, the Duratón grave can be dated before 500 AD on topo-chronological grounds. Finally, a group of not entirely reliable combinations of accessories formed by Zarza de Granadilla 5, Duratón 341 and Madrona

⁸³ SCHULZE-DÖRRLAMM 1986, 643-650

⁸⁴ MOLINERO 1948, 58, pl. XXXII.1, XLVII; MOLINERO 1971, pl. XV.1. *Supra*, note 77.

⁸⁵ MOLINERO 1971, pl. XCIII.1. *Supra*, note 55.

⁸⁶ MOLINERO 1953, 162, pl. CXXVI.1; MOLINERO 1971, pl. XXX.2, XCIII.1, CI.1.

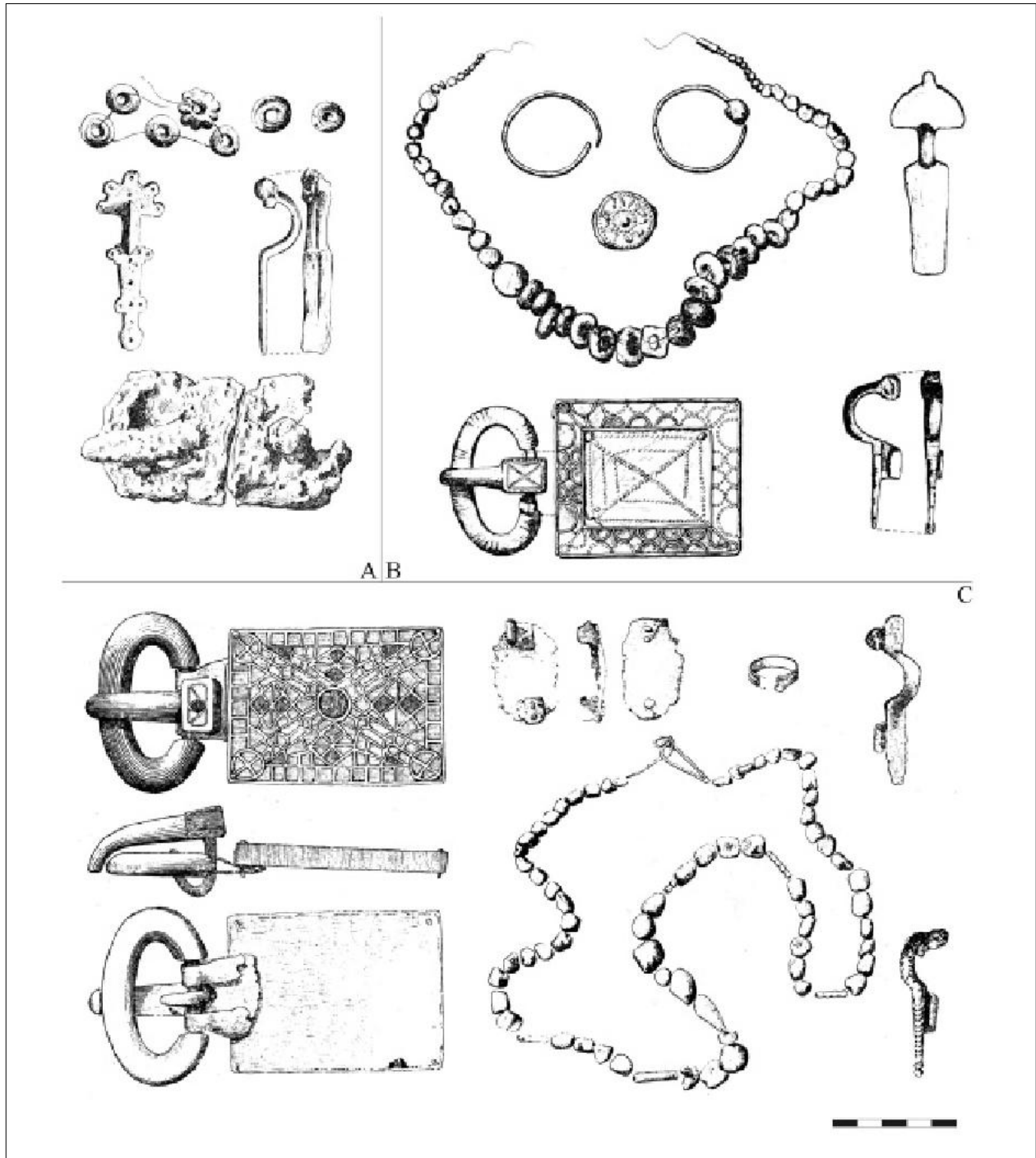


Fig. 13. 6th-century graves with crossbow brooches of type Estagel/Duratón in *Hispania*. A. Madrona, gr. 223; B. Duratón, gr. 341; C. Zarza de Granadilla, gr. 5 (A-B after MOLINERO 1971; C after DONOSO-BURDIEL 1970)

223 (Fig. 13) could suggest – as already stated by Schulze-Dörrlamm – that such brooches were used in *Hispania* until the mid 6th century.⁸⁷ A similar time span is indicated by the occasional finds recorded in northern Gaul (Fig. 14). The large iron belt buckle from Frénouville gr. 529 (Calvados)⁸⁸ may thus be synchronized with the *repoussé*-decorated plates of type Duratón 32 – Duratón 166 – Rödingen, and

⁸⁷ *Supra*, note 83. MOLINERO 1971, pl. XXXI.2, LXXXIII.1.

⁸⁸ PILET 1980, pl. 141.

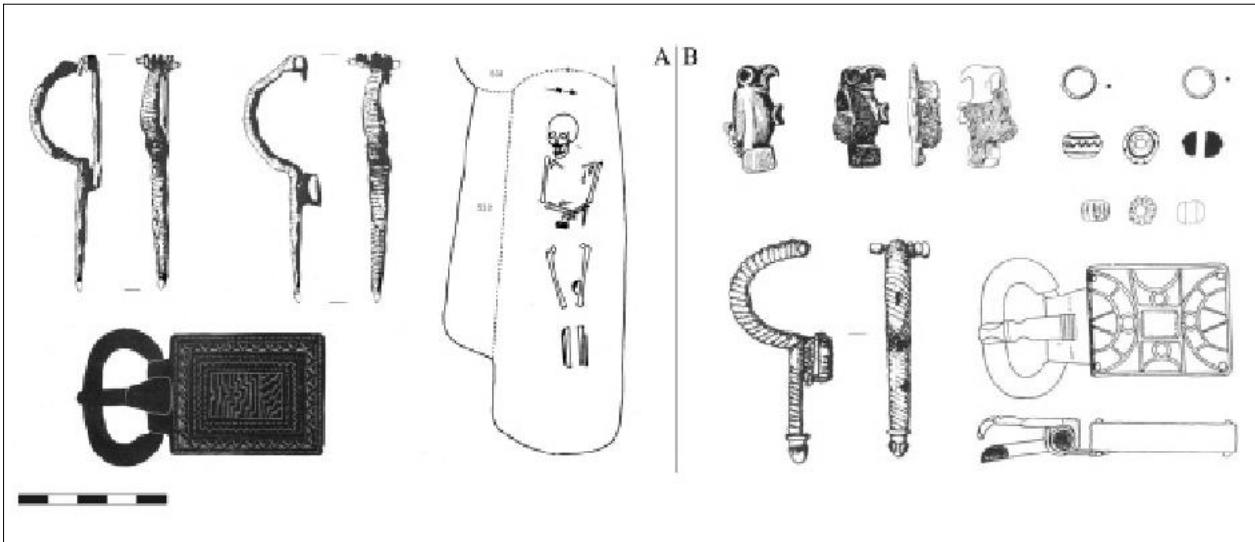


Fig. 14. Late 5th-/early 6th-century graves with crossbow brooches of type Estagel in northern Gaul. A. Frénoyville, gr. 529; B. Grigny, gr. 19. B without scale (A after PILET 1980; B after BERTHELIER 1994)

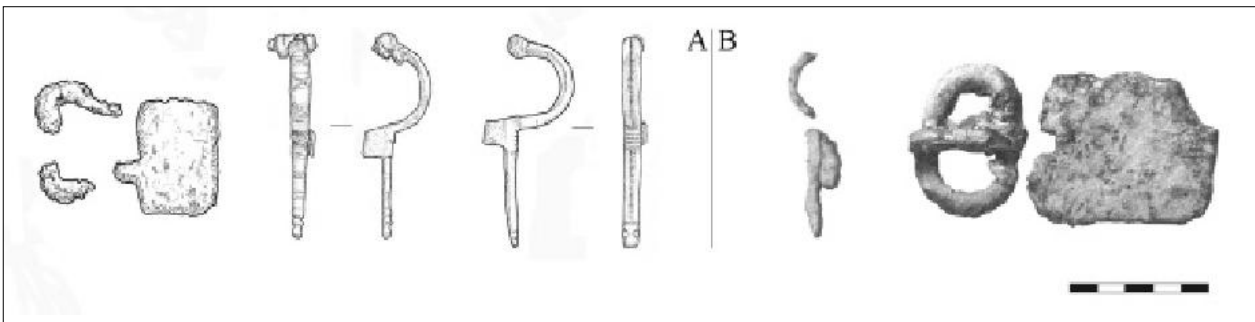


Fig. 15. Southern Gallic graves with crossbow brooches of type Estagel, ca. 450-470 AD. A. Estagel – Les Tombes, gr. 118; B. Le Vernet – Le Mouraut, gr. 79 (A drawings by I. Gras Valero; B drawings by J. Hernandez).

therefore dated to the last third of the 5th century. Somewhat later should be placed Grigny 19 (Essonne) in northern Gaul:⁸⁹ the bird-shaped fibulae accompanying the Estagel-type brooch belong to AM I period, while the cloisonné belt buckle – probably produced in southern Gaul – suggests a late dating within this time span, corresponding to the first quarter/third of the 6th century.

The available dating contexts suggest that this group of brooches may have had a slightly different period of use in southern Gaul. This is suggested, in the first place, by the inventory from Estagel 118 (Fig. 15.A).⁹⁰ The grave contained two crossbow brooches: the first belongs to the type Estagel in its fully developed form, while the second can be attributed to a halfway form between the Estagel and Duratón types. They were both associated with a small iron belt buckle with kidney-shaped buckle and rectangular plate, dating roughly to the third quarter of the 5th century.⁹¹ The clothing combination thus had to be concurrent with the earliest southern Gallic graves with crossbow brooches, such as the aforementioned Le Moraut 83, Bénazet 356 and Maguelone 2187.⁹² The cemetery of Le Mouraut bears witness to yet another example of the use of Estagel/Duratón type brooches at the beginning of the second half of the 5th century: this is what the location of grave 79 in the earliest sector of the cemetery

⁸⁹ BERTHELIER 1994, 80.

⁹⁰ *Supra*, note 4.

⁹¹ *Supra*, notes 8, 74, 75.

⁹² *Supra*, notes 8, 71-72, 74.

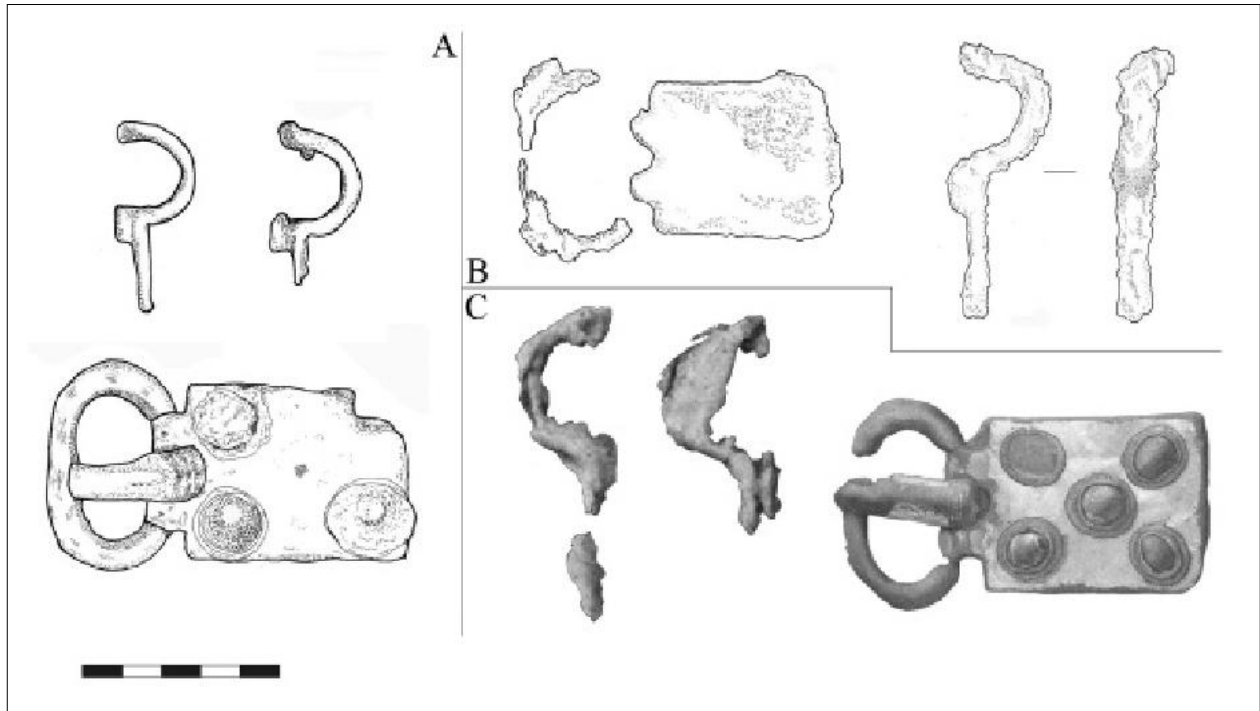


Fig. 16. Southern Gallic graves with crossbow brooches of type Estagel/Duratón, ca. 470-500 AD. A. Saint-Laurent-des-Hommes – Belou nord, gr. 1195; C. Le Vernet – Le Mouraut, gr. 104; B. Estagel – Les Tombes, gr. 10 (A drawings by I. Gras Valero after Boudartchouk 2012; B drawings by I. Gras Valero; C drawings by J. Hernandez)

suggests (Fig. 15.B).⁹³ The coexistence of both “evolved” – Duratón/Estagel – and “conservative” – Albi-as/Bragayrac – types of brooches during the second half of the 5th century is also attested by clothing combinations integrating both types of brooches, as shown in graves such as Bénazet 356, Duratón 129 and, possibly, Duratón 344 (Fig. 10.A; 11.A, C).⁹⁴ Judging from the available evidence, the types Estagel and Duratón were still used in southern Gaul throughout the period 470-530, that is to say, contemporary with the central Spanish finds. This is suggested by examples from graves like Le Mouraut 104, Saint-Laurent-des-Hommes 1195 and Estagel 10 (Fig. 16),⁹⁵ where combinations of iron and bronze brooches of type Duraton/Estagel and iron belt buckles decorated with glass cabochons evoke central Spanish finds of the last third of the 5th century. Finally, the location of Le Mouraut 287 suggests a date in the first third of the 6th century.⁹⁶

CLOTHING WITH EARLY CROSSBOW BROOCHES

The identification of the southern Gallic group of graves with early crossbow brooches permits some observations about the function of such objects as clothing accessories. First, it is clear that different clothes fastened by such brooches coexisted in space and time. This flexibility in the use of the crossbow brooches is indeed one of their main features: they are by no means linked to any single specific dress in a straightforward manner.

⁹³ CATALO et al. 2008, 254-255.

⁹⁴ *Supra*, notes 8, 74, 76.

⁹⁵ CATALO et al. 2008, 304-305; BOUDARTCHOUK 2012, fig. 2; LANTIER 1943, 158.

⁹⁶ CATALO et al. 2008, 686-687.

Le Mouraut 83 (Fig. 10.C) was furnished with a combination of a pair of such fibulae – the first placed on the left upper chest and the second on the right middle chest – and a composite belt buckle; one finds a closely related combination in Frénouville 529 (Fig. 14.A), where the brooch to the right lay on the skeleton's abdominal area.⁹⁷ Similar examples can be seen also at Le Mouraut 79 and 104 (Fig. 15.B; 16.C),⁹⁸ and probably – though the combination is not yet verified – in Duratón 331 (Fig. 12.A).⁹⁹

The combination of a pair of brooches and a composite belt buckle is one of the main features of the 5th-century Danubian fashion, best represented in the Visigothic West by the group of female graves furnished with large *Blechfibeln*. Indeed, some parallel finds for the southern Gallic and Spanish graves with crossbow brooches can be found in the middle Danube region by the late 4th century and the first half of the 5th century.¹⁰⁰ The prototypes of this combination can be identified in eastern territories, corresponding to the area of the Černjahov culture, where they occur remarkably frequently throughout the 4th century and in the early 5th century, as examples such as Zajačevka 2, Baev 2, Maslovo 85, Sîntana de Mureş 63, probably Fîntînele "Rît" 1, Kosanovo 2, 3 and 38, Bârlad 279, Brăviceni 71 and Mihălăşeni 300 show (Fig. 17).¹⁰¹ Similar clothing combinations are attested both archaeologically and iconographically in barbarian Europe and in the neighbouring provinces all through the Roman period.¹⁰² Parallel finds may be cited throughout late 3rd- to early 5th-century *barbaricum*, as the well-known examples from Lauffen am Neckar gr. 2 and Gerlachsheim gr. 3 in Baden-Württemberg and Amunde and Havor gr. 136 in Gotland show,¹⁰³ the latter displaying a large bow brooch besides the pair of crossbow brooches, a common combination in south-eastern Scandinavia. The Baltic region also supplies a 6th-century example, rare outside the Mediterranean area, namely Kosewo gr. 368.¹⁰⁴ But no region outside the Černjahov area shows a comparable concentration of examples of the two-brooches combinations. In most of the graves from this area, the brooches were recorded on the skeleton's shoulders, although combinations including one brooch on one shoulder and another at the waist are not rare. This position, similar to that recorded in early western graves such as Le Mouraut 83 and 287 and Frénouville 529, can indeed be regarded as an indicator of their links with clothing traditions from the Sîntana de Mureş group area, where it occurs with remarkable frequency.¹⁰⁵

Two late 5th-century graves in southern Gaul, Bénazet 356 and Estagel 118 (Fig. 10.A; 15.A), introduce a variant of the same dress.¹⁰⁶ These contained an iron belt buckle together with two crossbow brooches belonging to different types, lying on the skeleton's shoulders. A similar combination – yet with a simple belt buckle instead of a composite one – has been recorded at Vindrac – Le Vieux Village gr. 110 (Tarn) (Fig. 18.B).¹⁰⁷ The brooches were found on the skeleton's left shoulder and on the right side of its waist, the same position as in Frénouville and in the Sîntana de Mureş group area. Two possible, but not entirely reliable examples of such "asymmetrical" combinations of crossbow brooches are known in *Hispania* (Fig. 18.A, C). Apparently, dissimilar crossbow brooches were easily combinable, as a large number of examples scattered throughout Europe shows. Those examples that include a composite belt buckle lead us to central and eastern European *barbaricum*, as witnessed by Biharkeresztes-Kisfarkasdomb grave 16, in the Hungarian plain.¹⁰⁸ Once more though, the earlier finds seem to be concentrated

⁹⁷ *Supra*, note 88.

⁹⁸ *Supra*, notes 93, 95.

⁹⁹ *Supra*, notes 75, 86.

¹⁰⁰ TEJRAL 1988, with further reading.

¹⁰¹ HAVLJUK 1974, 64, fig. 3.3-4, 8; KUHARENKO 1975, 51-52, fig. 3.4-11; PETROV 1964, 148-150, fig. 11.24-31; KOVÁCS 1912, 311-314, fig. 84-86; MARINESCU-GAIU 1989, 125-128, fig. 2.A; KRAVČENKO 1967, 84-86, 95, fig. 6, pl. IX.8, IX.16-18, IX.22, IX.34, X.4-5, X.11, X.13; PALADE 2004, 123, fig. 201; VORNIC 2010, fig. 4; ŠOVAN 2005, 95-96, pl. 166-167.

¹⁰² MAČZYŃSKA 1989; SEDLMAYER 1995.

¹⁰³ SCHACH-DÖRGES 1981, fig. 8-19; PESCHECK 1978, 243, pl. 119; ALMGREN-NERMAN 1923, fig. 189, pl. 15.338, 22.338, 23.345, 26.393, 34.487, 34.494, 36.528.

¹⁰⁴ RUDNICKI 2008, fig. 3.

¹⁰⁵ MAČZYŃSKA 1989, 135.

¹⁰⁶ *Supra*, notes 4, 8, 74.

¹⁰⁷ *Supra*, note 55.

¹⁰⁸ MESTERHÁZY 2007, 289, fig. 7.

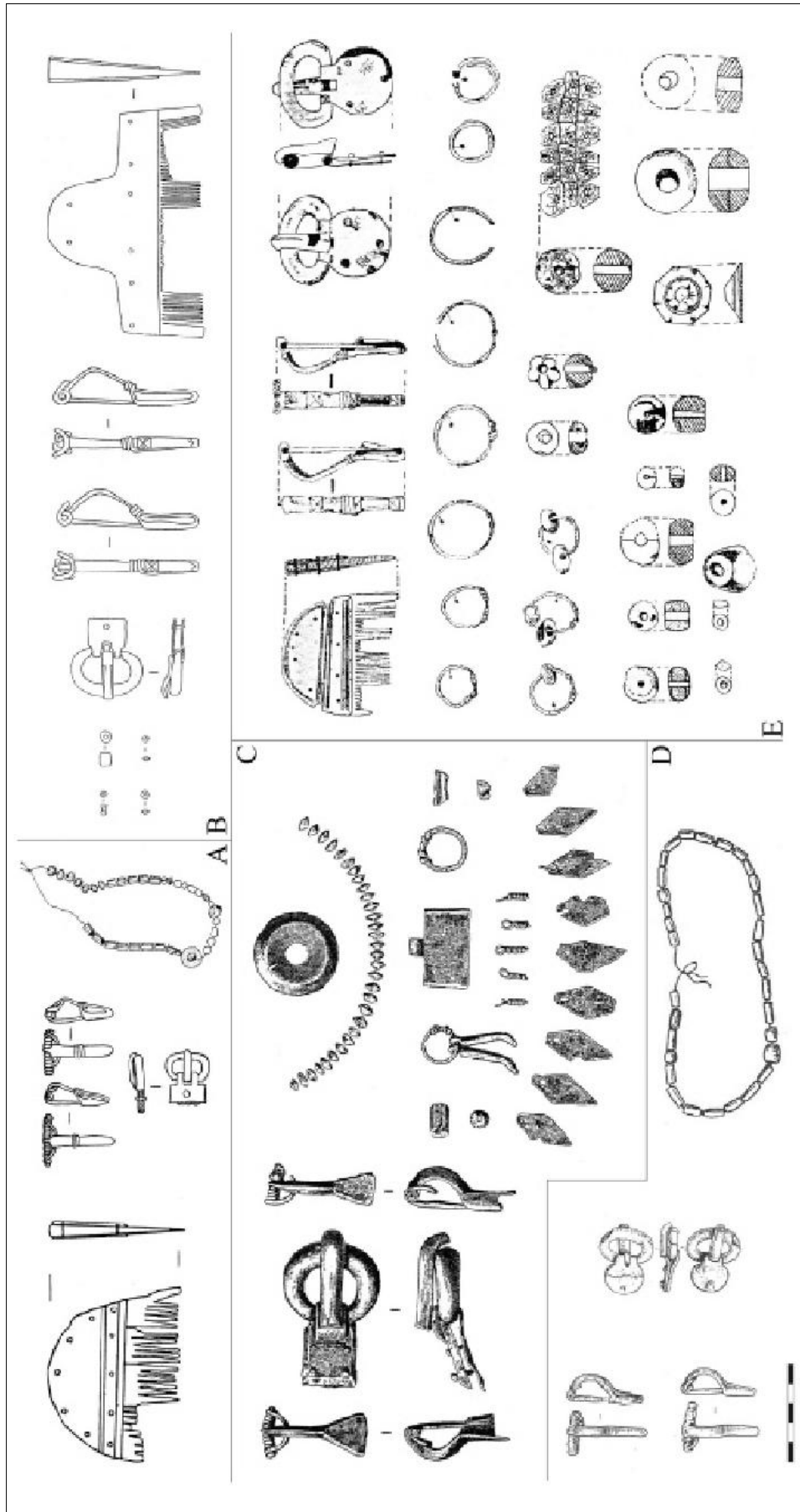


Fig. 17. Female graves with pairs of crossbow brooches and belt buckles with attached plate in the Černjahov – Sîntana de Mureş area. A. Zajačevka, gr. 2; B. Baiiv, gr. 2; C. Sîntana de Mureş, gr. 63; D. Brăviceni, gr. 71; E. Fîntînele "Rîit", gr. 1 (A after HAVLJUK 1974; B after KUHAARENKO 1975; C after KOVÁCS 1912; D after VORNIC 2010; E after MARINESCU-GAIU 1989)

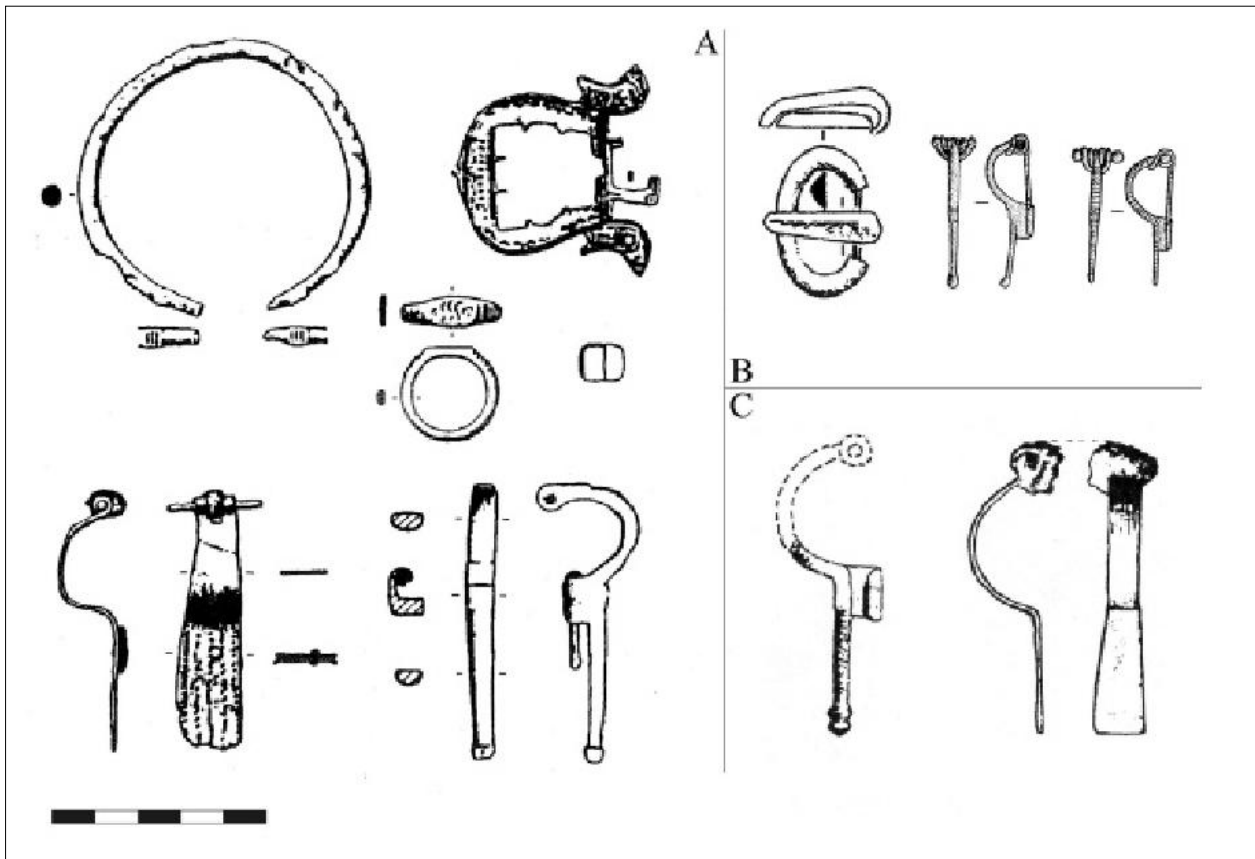


Fig. 18. Female graves with “asymmetric” combinations of crossbow brooches in southern Gaul and *Hispania*. A. Cáceres – Gatillo de Arriba, gr. 4; B. Vindrac-Alayrac – Le Vieux Village, gr. 110; C. Duratón, gr. 294 selected finds (A after CABALLERO et al. 1991; B after FEUGÈRE 1988 and STUTZ 2003; C after MOLINERO 1971)

in the territory of the Černjahov culture: Ružičanka 8 and 57, Maslovo 87, Pietriș 1, Uspenka 1647 and Velika Bugajevka 132 (Fig. 19);¹⁰⁹ in the latter, the crossbow brooches were combined to an early 5th-century belt buckle. In all of these graves, the brooches were found on the skeleton’s shoulders or on its upper chest. When discussing the eastern European counterparts of southern Gallic clothes fastened by crossbow brooches, it is worth underlining that early combinations such as Estagel 118 and Bézazet 356 appear to be especially bound to eastern traditions even from the point of view of the typology of the objects involved: this is especially clear from the features of the belt buckles, which are morphologically far closer to the finds in the Černjahov culture area than the much larger belt buckles appearing in female graves of the Visigothic area after 470 AD.

Maguelone grave 2187 (Fig. 10.B) shows a noticeably different combination of clothing accessories, defined by the association between a crossbow brooch and a radiated bow brooch, placed on the skeleton’s upper chest.¹¹⁰ Similar “asymmetric” combinations apparently survived in *Hispania* during the late 5th century and the first decades of the 6th century, as the inventories of El Carpio de Tajo 110 (Fig. 20), Madrona 223, Duratón 341 and Zarza de Granadilla 5 suggest (Fig. 13).¹¹¹ As previously mentioned, their status as closed complexes has not been demonstrated, and we lack any information on the position of the objects inside the graves. Although this sort of combination of different brooches may be less common, it finds a remarkable number of counterparts in central and eastern Europe. In the

¹⁰⁹ VINOKUR 1979, 113, 124, fig. 6, 21; PETROV 1964, 150, fig. 13.1-16; ZAHARIA et al. 1962, fig. 7.3-4, 7; LEVADA 2010, fig. 24.3-4.

¹¹⁰ *Supra*, note 8.

¹¹¹ *Supra*, notes 11, 45, 87.

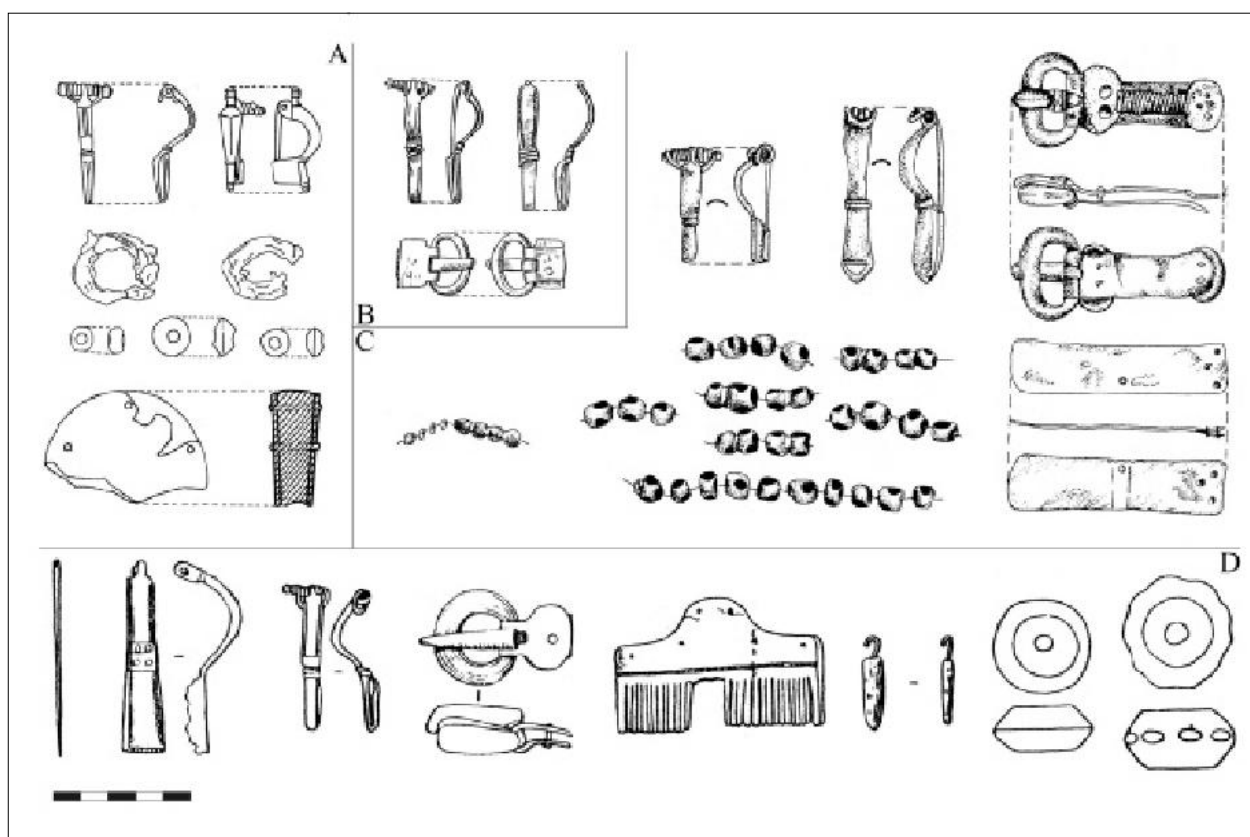


Fig. 19. Female graves with “asymmetric” combinations of crossbow brooches and belt buckles with attached plate in the Černjahov – Sîntana de Mureş area. A. Leţcani, gr. 23; B. Pietris, gr. 1; C. Fintînele “Rît”, gr. 3; D. Maslovo, gr. 87 (A after BLOŞIU 1975; B after ZAHARIA et al. 1962; C after HARHOIU 1998; D after PETROV 1964)

late 5th and early 6th centuries, it occurs in the middle Danube area, as seen in Mačvanska Mitrovica 149 and *Viminacium* 133.¹¹² In both graves, the position of the brooches – one on the shoulder, the other in the opposite abdominal zone – is reminiscent of Černjahov – Sîntana de Mureş clothing traditions.¹¹³ One may indeed identify the prototypes of such a combination of accessories specifically in that area: for example, late 4th-/early 5th-century graves with early *Silberblechfibeln* of the Sîntana de Mureş area, like Bîrlad – Valea Seacă 482,¹¹⁴ Brăviceni 165,¹¹⁵ Boanca 3,¹¹⁶ Mogoşani 8 and 44¹¹⁷ and Sîntana de Mureş 46 (Fig. 21.A-C, E).¹¹⁸ Sacca di Goito gr. 210 in eastern Lombardy (Fig. 21.D) must be added to this group, for its connections to the Černjahov – Sîntana de Mureş area seem to be beyond doubt.¹¹⁹ Closely related combinations are to be seen in neighbouring regions of *barbaricum*. They appear to be deeply rooted in the northern Black Sea region throughout the 5th and 6th centuries, as shown by a number of parallel finds – Bžhid 57, Paškovskij 4/1949, Giljač 5/1965, Lučistoje 58 and 77-1; maybe also Klin-Yar 30 and Vol’nyj Aul and Mokraja Balka 95 (Fig. 21.F-H).¹²⁰ In the Great Hungarian Plain, it is worth mentioning

¹¹² ERCEGOVIĆ-PAVLOVIĆ 1980, 15, pl. XVIII, XXXI; IVANIŠEVIĆ et al. 2006, 180-182, pl. 21.

¹¹³ *Supra*, note 105.

¹¹⁴ PALADE 2004, 624, fig. 257.

¹¹⁵ VORNIC-GROSU 2009, 330-331, fig. 2.7-8.

¹¹⁶ MUNTEANU-RĂDULESCU 1992, 127, fig. 2.

¹¹⁷ DIACONU 1969, fig. 12.

¹¹⁸ KOVÁCS 1912, 296-297, fig. 62.

¹¹⁹ SANNAZARO 2006, 61, 68, fig. 4; KAZANSKI forthcoming.

¹²⁰ MASTYKOVA 2009, 186, 204, 216, 226, 240, 248, pl. 2-3, 46-47, 84, 112-113, 162, 190; AJBABIN-HAJREDINOVA 1999, fig. 8.17-25, 9; AJBABIN-HAJREDINOVA 1996, 86-87, fig. 6-7.

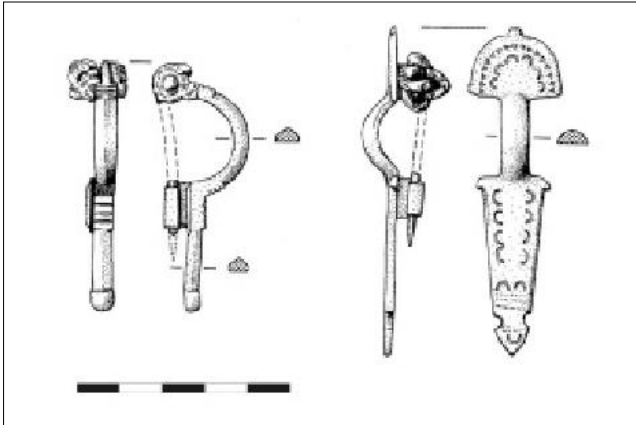


Fig. 20. Carpio de Tajo, gr. 110 (after SASSE 2000)

the earliest crossbow brooches in southern Gaul points to tight connections with the clothing traditions of *barbaricum*, and especially to the northern Pontic area. Such connections are still clearly visible in somewhat later graves. A good example is provided by the combination of a single crossbow brooch and a composite belt buckle: although so far absent in graves securely dated to the third quarter of the 5th century, this is attested in central Spain – Ventosilla y Tejadilla 4, Secá 2 –, southern – Estagel 10 – and northern Gaul – Saint-Martin-de-Fontenay 502 (Fig. 12.B, E; 16.B).¹²⁴ The available data testify to at least two different ways of wearing the brooches: in some graves – Estagel, Saint-Martin-de-Fontenay – the brooch was found on the skeleton's upper thorax, while in others – Ventosilla y Tejadilla, Grigny – it was found in the pelvic or abdominal zone. This combination of clothing accessories once again points to eastern territories, especially to south-eastern Scandinavia and the Wielbark and Černjahov cultures, where a considerable number of examples from female graves dating from the 4th/early 5th century may be cited: Tingstäde 32, Havor 116, Gródek nad Bugiem 64 and 146, Pruszcz Gdański-5, 1 and 24, Maslovo 81, Khutor Odaja 7, Hănești 14, Dančeny 39 and 49, Fintînele "Rît" 3, Mihălășeni 21 and 138 and, possibly, Bîrlad – Valea Seacă 84.¹²⁵ In nearly all of these graves – Pruszcz Gdański-5 24 being the most obvious exception – the brooches appeared on the skeletons' shoulders or on their upper thoraxes. In contrast to other types of clothing combinations, the association between a crossbow brooch and a belt buckle can be related both to male and to female graves, even if they occur more frequently in the latter. Some interesting examples have been recorded at Mihălășeni gr. 175¹²⁶ and Tîrghșor gr. 179,¹²⁷ where two adult men were buried, each having a composite belt buckle at his waist and a crossbow brooch on his left pelvis. The typology and the position of the accessories find a close counterpart in the aforementioned Ventosilla y Tejadilla 4; as no anthropological research has been conducted on this grave, its potentially male attribution remains a mere hypothesis. Following a pattern similar to that found among the aforementioned types of combinations, some graves containing one composite belt buckle and one crossbow brooch occur during the 5th to 6th centuries in the territories neighbou-

the combination of three brooches found in Tápé Lebó 2,¹²¹ displaying clothing traditions that may be detected in 6th-century graves like Duratón 341 and Zarza de Granadilla 5. Asymmetric combinations of two brooches are also well attested in Scandinavia and neighbouring regions between the late 3rd century and the 6th century, as the examples from Oszczywilk, Hoiland, Kvasheim 20A and Liebersee 700 show.¹²² The earliest finds, concentrated in southern Scandinavia – Værløse 1, Slusegård 600, Havor 113, Torstorp Vesterby 3368, Hjadstrup 18¹²³, might be regarded as distant prototypes of the Černjahov – Sîntana de Mureș evidence.

This brief overview of the ways of wearing

¹²¹ PÁRDUZ 1959, 328-329.

¹²² SCHULZE-DÖRRLAMM 1986, 597-598, fig. 4-5; LILLEHAMMER 1996, 147, pl. 3; BEMMANN 2005, 272-273, pl. 2.

¹²³ LEIF VEBÆK 1945; KLINDT JENSEN 1978, fig. 73; ALMGREN-NERMAN 1923, fig. 105; FONNESBECH-SANDBERG 2006, fig. 5-15; NORLING-CHRISTENSEN 1956, fig. 38; ALBRECHTSEN 1968, pl. 27.

¹²⁴ *Supra*, notes 55, 86, 95. PILET 1994, pl. 71.

¹²⁵ NORDIN 1881-83, fig. 8-9; ALMGREN-NERMAN 1923, pl. 34.488, 36.529, 38.562; KOKOWSKI 1993, 50-53, 102-104, fig. 53-57, 125-128; GLOMBOWSKI 1926; PIETRZAK 1998, 122-123, fig. 2; PETROV 1964, 146, fig. 9.20-29; NIKITINA 1996, 12, pl. 10; ZAHARIA et al. 1993, 152, fig. 6.B, 7.A; RAFALOVIĆ 1986, pl. XIX.11-13, XXI.9-11; MARINESCU-GAIU 1989, 128, fig. 3.B; ȘOVAN 2005, 20-21, 53, pl. 14.B, 78.B; PALADE 1986, R.76.A-B.

¹²⁶ ȘOVAN 2005, 61-62, pl. 93-95.

¹²⁷ DIACONU 1965, 64, pl. CIX-CX.

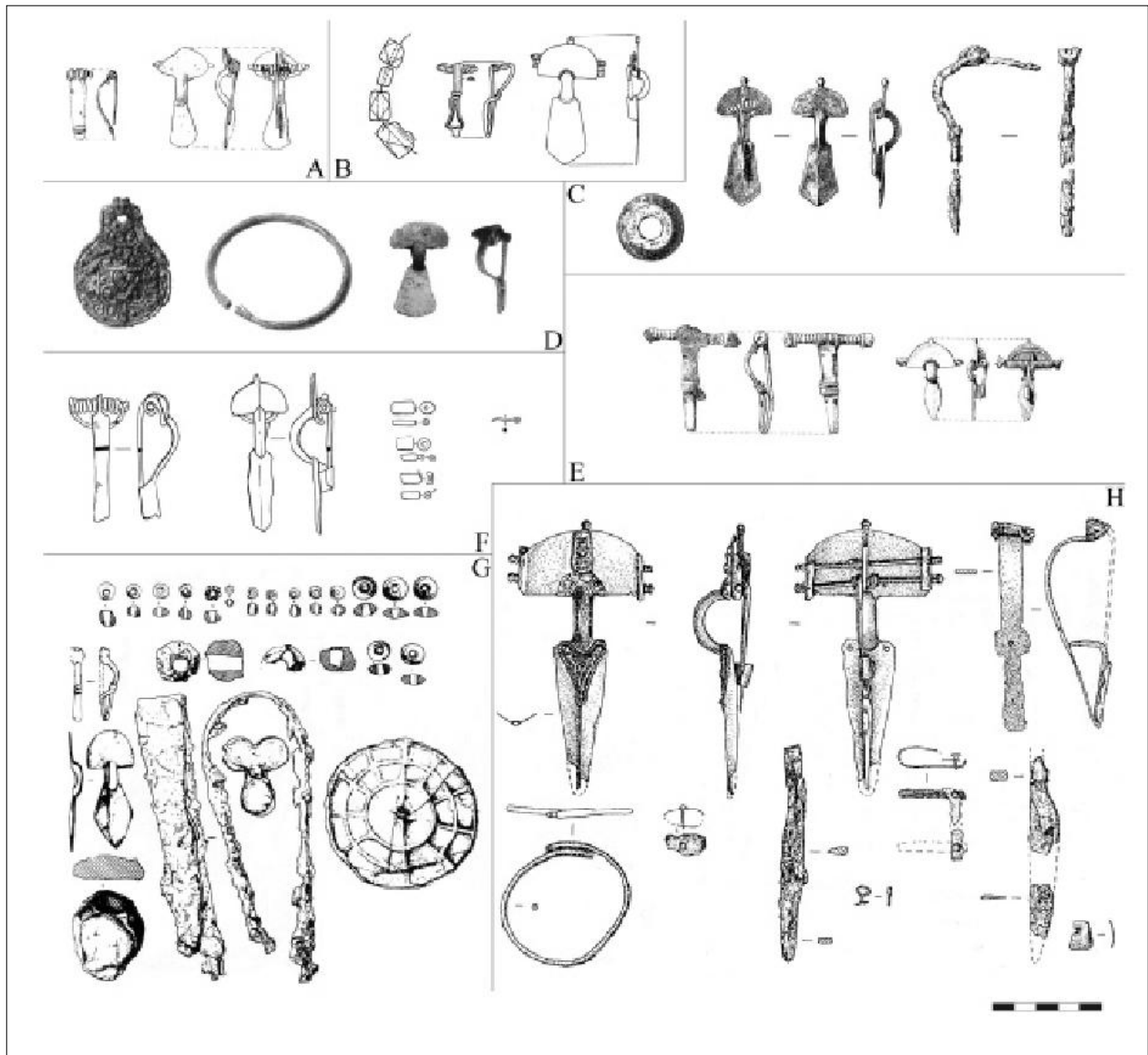


Fig. 21. Female graves with “asymmetric” combinations of crossbow and bow brooches in the northern Pontic area and related finds. A. Mogoșani, gr. 44; B. Bîrlad – Valea Seacă, gr. 482; C. Sîntana de Mureș, gr. 46; D. Sacca di Goito, gr. 210; E. Mogoșani, gr. 8; F. Lučistoje, gr. 58; G. Klin-Jar, gr. 30; H. Bžid, gr. 57 (A, E after DIACONU 1969; B after PALADE 2004; C after KOVÁCS 1912; D after SANNAZARO 2006; F after AJBABIN–HAJREDINOVA 1999; G–H after MASTYKOVA 2009)

ring the former Černjahov – Sîntana de Mureș area, such as the Crimea – Lučistoe vault 52 –¹²⁸, the northern Caucasus – Klin-Yar vault 54 –¹²⁹, and the Carpathian basin. In the latter case, it is worth mentioning the combination of Szolnok-Szanda gr. 118,¹³⁰ dating to the late 5th century, which constitutes a close parallel to the western graves with a brooch in the abdominal-pelvic position.

Two central Spanish graves – Madrona 337 and Duratón 144 – were furnished with combinations of crossbow and disc or ring brooches (Fig. 12.F; 22).¹³¹ Both graves belong to the late 5th or early 6th century; Duratón 144 is most likely attributable to the last third of the 5th century owing to both topochronological and typological arguments, specifically the measurements of the disc brooch-. I am not

¹²⁸ AJBABIN–HAJREDINOVA 1999, 278, fig. 3.III, 5.1-7.

¹²⁹ MASTYKOVA 2009, 227-228, fig. 120-121.

¹³⁰ BÓNA 2002, 217, pl. 44.

¹³¹ MOLINERO 1948, 51, pl. XXIX.2; MOLINERO 1971, pl. IX.2. *Supra*, note 86.

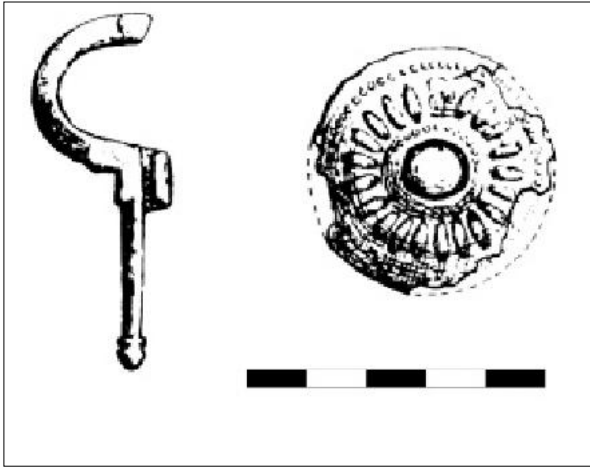


Fig. 22. Duratón, gr. 144 (after MOLINERO 1971)

aware of fully convincing counterparts to the combination with an omega brooch from Madrona 337. In contrast, some parallel finds in *barbaricum* can be cited for the accessories from Duratón: in the 3rd to 4th centuries, similar combinations can be identified in the Hungarian Plain and in the Banat, as the finds from Klárafalva B gr. 40, Lovrin, Bátmonostor and Vršac gr. 16 show (Fig. 23.A-C).¹³² From the 5th century on, they appear in some graves in the northern Caucasus, such as Bajtal-Čapkan 9 and Giljač 3 (Fig. 23.D-E).¹³³ Within the earliest central European graves, the brooches were found on top of the skeleton's thorax. In the northern Caucasus, however, the disc brooches were worn on the upper chest or on the left shoulder, while the crossbow brooches were lying in or close to the right abdominal area. Such data find some points in common with the arrangement of brooches inside Duratón 144: the crossbow brooch was found on the skeleton's upper thorax and the disc brooch was lying next to the right coccyx-femoral joint. These data, however, are not entirely reliable, as the grave was disturbed by the digging of a nearby grave.

To conclude this survey of western clothing with crossbow brooches, some graves showing less specific combinations must be mentioned: Duratón 129, 360 and 639, Los Santos de la Humosa, Le Mouraut 287 and Zamora – San Ildefonso church.¹³⁴ In all these cases we encounter clothing traditions which are widespread across vast European and Mediterranean territories, being virtually unattributable to any specific region. Nevertheless, the general results of this overview of the use of crossbow brooches outline the existence of close connections between late 5th-century southern Gallic and central Spanish grave finds and certain clothing traditions of Late Antique *barbaricum*, especially the northern Black Sea region. In a way, the modalities of wearing the brooches point towards the same direction as their morphology.

THE DISSEMINATION OF EARLY CROSSBOW BROOCHES IN THE WESTERN MEDITERRANEAN

The dissemination pattern of the small group of mid to late 5th-century crossbow brooches in southern Gaul shows a significant concentration around *Aquitania II*: Toulouse and its *territorium* in the *Narbonensis* – Pl. Esquirol, Gué du Bazacle, Bragayrac, Le Mouraut, Bénazet –, eastern *Novempopulania* – Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges, Séviac –, Bordeaux territory in *Aquitania II* – Saint-Laurent-des-Hommes – and south-western *Aquitania I* – Albias. Only the finds from Quarante, Estagel and Maguelone come from somewhat distant territories, in eastern *Narbonensis*.

The quantity of finds is limited, thus complicating the interpretation of the picture. Another group of southern Gallic small finds may help to solve the problem. Previously collected by M. Kazanski in a series of papers, such objects are likely to be interpreted as imports from the northern Pontic region: mention should be made of the crossbow brooches with attached foot found at Le Canet (Dordogne) and Sainte-Bazeille – Sérignac (Lot-et-Garonne) and the bone combs from Beaucaire-sur-Baïse – La Turraque (Gers), Séviac (Montréal-du-Gers, Gers), Bapteste (Moncrabeau, Lot-et-Garonne) and Mire-

¹³² PÁRDU CZ 1950, pl. LIII, LXIX, CXIV; BARAČKI 1961, 121, pl. XIII.

¹³³ MASTYKOVA 2009, 212, 215, pl. 74, 82.

¹³⁴ MOLINERO 1971, pl. XXXI.1, LIX.2. *Supra*, notes 5, 55, 76, 96.

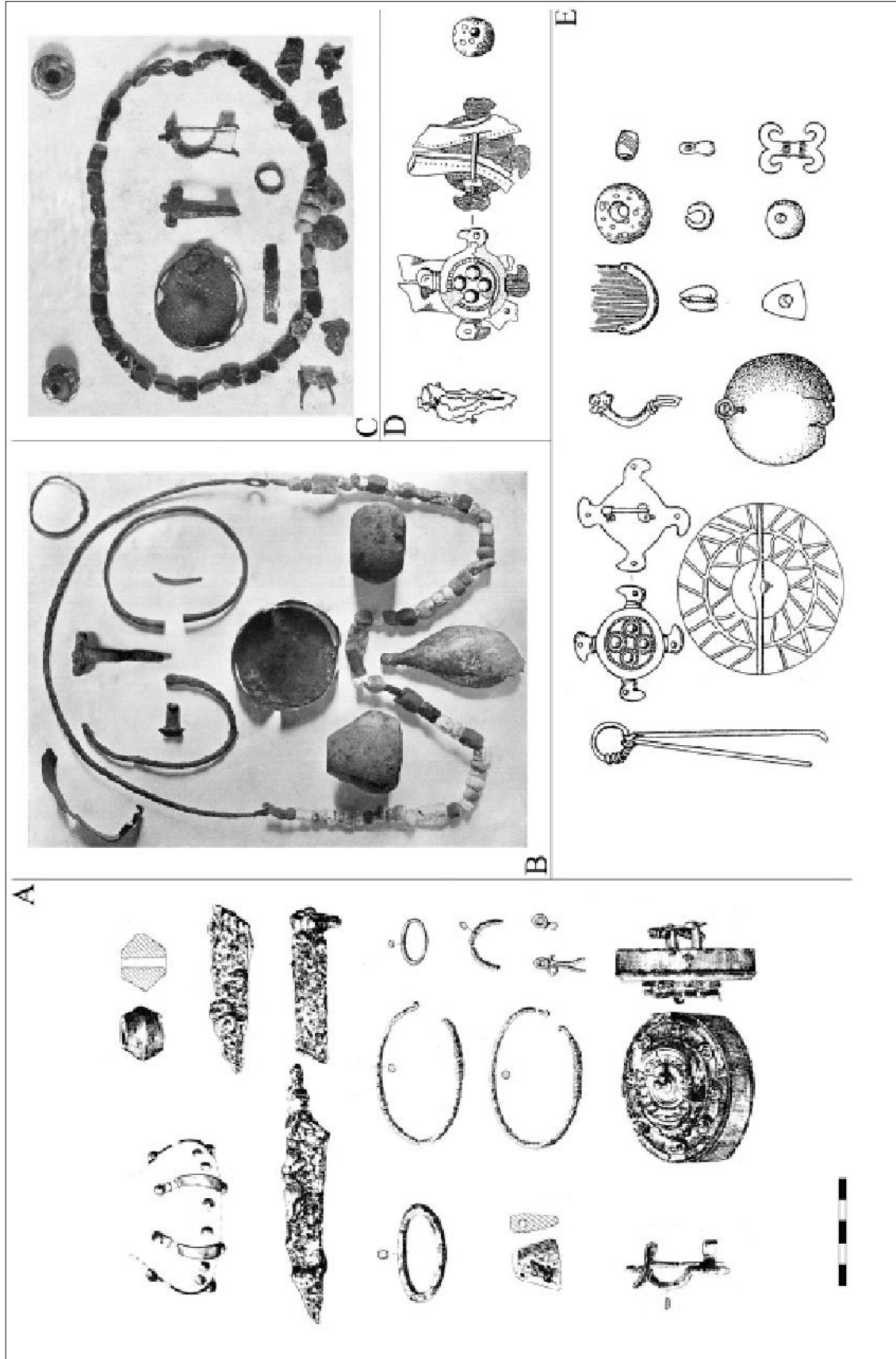


Fig. 23. Female graves with "asymmetric" combinations of crossbow and disc brooches in the northern Pontic area and in the Hungarian plain. A. Vršac, gr. 16; B. Lovrin; C. Szentes-Sárgapart, gr. 22; D. Bajtal-Čapkan, gr. 9; E. Giljač, gr. 3 (A after BARAČKI 1961; B-C after PÁRDUCZ 1950; D-E after MASTYKOVA 2009)

val-Lauragais – L'Estrade (Aude) (Fig. 24.1-6).¹³⁵ The dissemination of those objects fits remarkably well into the pattern outlined by mid and late 5th-century crossbow brooches: the imports from eastern Europe are located in *Aquitania II* – Le Canet, Sainte-Bazeille – or in the immediately neighbouring regions, especially in *Novempopulania* – La Turraque, Séviac, Bapteste.

A similar dissemination pattern is shown by another group of *barbaricum*-reminiscent early brooches that find their closest counterparts in the Baltic region,¹³⁶ such as those from Cazères (Haute-Garonne)¹³⁷ and Toulouse (Place Esquirol and Gué du Bazacle) (Fig. 24.7-9).¹³⁸ Their proportions resemble 4th-century forms in *barbaricum*, although the archaeological contexts in Toulouse suggest that they may occur somewhat later in this area, probably not before the beginning of the 5th century. The picture of early central European small finds is completed by a type *Carnuntum*-Oslip bow brooch from Monségur (Gironde) and by the one-piece iron crossbow brooches found again at Monségur, Montmaurin, Arnesp-Valentine (Haute-Garonne) and Saint-Étienne-de-Gourgas (Hérault) (Fig. 24.10-14).¹³⁹ The latter finds a very close counterpart in Suceagu in Transylvania,¹⁴⁰ so it may be included among the traces of direct contacts with the Sîntana de Mureş group area. The other brooches, in contrast, are very likely to be imports from the middle Danube region. Their dissemination in southern Gaul is closely related to that of northern Pontic and Baltic-related artefacts: *Aquitania II* and the neighbouring parts of *Novempopulania* in the region of the Garonne, with a single object coming from eastern *Narbonensis*.

As already suggested, the dissemination of all these early finds matches that of the brooches of the Bénazet 356/Le Mouraut 83 chronological horizon (about 440/450-460/470 AD) (Fig. 25). Indeed, some cases of micro-regional continuity between 4th-/early 5th-century and mid to late 5th-century *barbaricum*-related small finds can be identified, especially in the *territoria* of Bordeaux – Le Canet, Monségur, Saint-Laurent-des-Hommes – and Toulouse – Mireval-Lauragais, Bénazet, Le Mouraut. On some sites – Toulouse – Pl. Esquirol, Toulouse – Gué du Bazacle, Séviac – occur both imports from *barbaricum* and locally produced, yet *barbaricum*-inspired, later objects.

The starting date of the earliest burials of the Bénazet 356/Le Mouraut 83 chronological horizon, where this kind of import is completely absent, can be used as a *terminus ante quem* for the chronology of the earliest crossbow brooches recorded in southern Gaul. Given that their central and eastern European counterparts are dated to a long period – late 3rd century to early 5th century in most of cases, the major difficulty is to establish whether the barbarian imports immediately preceded the Bénazet 356/Le Mouraut 83 period. There are, nonetheless, some clues to the relative chronology of both periods: in the first place, the coherence of their typological evolution, having its starting point in the “barbarian” imports and witnessing their local evolution into the types that define the Bénazet 356/Le Mouraut 83 group. Second, the only absolute dating available for the “pre-Albias/Bragayrac” brooches in the West is based on a coin of Theodosius I recorded in an occupation layer at the *villa* of El Hinojal – Las Tiendas.¹⁴¹ Providing a *terminus post quem* of ca. 380 AD, the coin was associated with the same layer as a silver crossbow brooch with attached foot. Third, the brooches found at Toulouse – Pl. Esquirol and Gué du Bazacle–, in spite of their “early” morphology, were associated with 5th/6th-century material. As a result, it seems to me very likely that this group of brooches belongs to a stage immediately prior to the earliest burials of women clothed according to barbarian fashions.

The dissemination of the early 5th-century finds and at least part of the mid and late 5th-century finds coincides with the zone of Visigothic settlement in Aquitania. The most detailed written accounts agree in locating this territory in the region between Toulouse and Bordeaux: thus the Spaniard Hyda-

¹³⁵ CONIL 1926, fig. 4; KAZANSKI 1993, 176, fig. 1.16; KAZANSKI 1998, 375-376, fig. 1.18; FEUGÈRE 1988, 5-7, fig. 3.1; KAZANSKI 1999; OURNAC et al. 2009, fig. 330; KAZANSKI 2010; KAZANSKI forthcoming.

¹³⁶ SCHULZE 1977, 21; KAZANSKI 1994, 171-173; KAZANSKI 1998, 376-381; BACH et al. 2002, 534.

¹³⁷ KAZANSKI 1994, fig. 8.2; KAZANSKI 1998, fig. 3.2; BACH et al. 2002, fig. 215.3.

¹³⁸ Archéologie Toulousaine, 108, n° 194; BACH et al. 2002, fig. 215.5-6.

¹³⁹ CAMPS 1972-73, fig. 2bis, 12.A; FOUET 1969, pl. LVIII; FEUGÈRE 1985, pl. 160.2016-2017; FEUGÈRE 1988, 10; KAZANSKI 1994, 168, fig. 7.2-4; KAZANSKI 1997, 285, fig. 1.8-10; KAZANSKI 1998, fig. 6.1-3; KAZANSKI 1999, 17, fig. 18.1-3; KAZANSKI 2000, 190, fig. 1.2.

¹⁴⁰ OPREANU 2013, pl. I.2.

¹⁴¹ ÁLVAREZ MARTÍNEZ 1976, 459, pl. 22; PÉREZ RODRÍGUEZ-ARAGÓN 1997, 629, fig. 1.5; MARINÉ 2001, 147-148, pl. 187.1430.

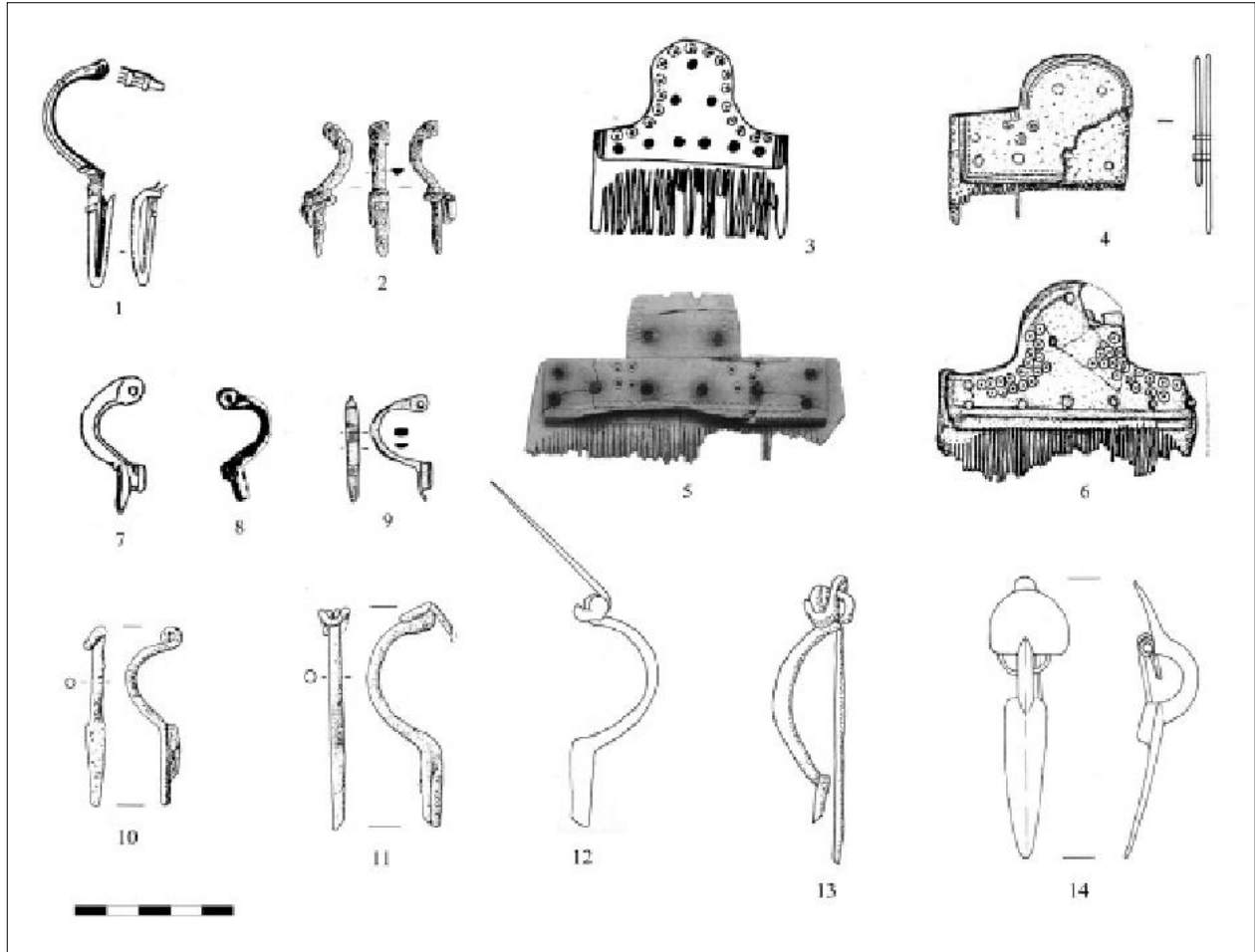


Fig. 24. Early 5th-century imports from Central and Eastern Europe in southern Gaul. 1. Le Canet; 2. Sérignac; 3. Séviac; 4. Bapteste; 5. L'Estrade; 6. La Turraque; 7. Toulouse – Pl. Esquirol; 8. Toulouse – Gué du Bazacle; 9. Cazères; 10. Montmaurin; 11. Valentine; 12, 14. Monségur; 13. Saint-Étienne-de-Gourgas (1-3, 10-11 after KAZANSKI 1999; 4, 6 after KAZANSKI-LAPART 1995; 5 after OURNAC et al. 2009; 7-9 after BACH et al. 2002; 12, 14 after CAMPS 1972-73)

tius states that the Visigoths *sedes in Aquitania a Tolosa usque ad Oceanum acceperunt*,¹⁴² while the Gallic Chronicle of 511 says that they *sedes accipiunt a Tolosa in Burdegalam ad Oceanum versus*.¹⁴³ Both references are obviously compatible with the dissemination of the bulk of early 5th-century northern Pontic and middle Danube imports: their dissemination suggests that the Garonne river, linking Toulouse and Bordeaux, was the main axis for early Visigothic settlement, the finds outlining a belt about 80 km wide stretching all along the Garonne watercourse. This picture fits also remarkably well with the testimony of Prosper of Aquitaine: *data ei [king Walia] ad inhabitandum secunda Aquitania, et quibusdam civitatibus confinium provinciarum*.¹⁴⁴

If we accept the connections between the *barbaricum*-originated artefacts and the Visigothic settlement in Aquitania, the archaeological evidence becomes useful in clarifying some aspects of the initial stage of the Visigoths' settlement. The area of barbarian settlement in 418/19 would accordingly extend slightly south-west from Toulouse, thereby suggesting that the whole course of the Garonne, from the Pyrenees to the sea, was handed over to the Goths to settle. Moreover, the typology of the finds would convey tangible evidence that the army commanded by Alaric – and later Ataulf – included people

¹⁴² Hydatius, *Cont. Chron. Hierosolim.* 69, ed. A. TRANOY, Sources Chrétiennes 218, Paris, 1974.

¹⁴³ *Chron. Gal. a. DXI* 565, ed. T. MOMMSEN, MGH CM I, Berlin, 1892. See also *Chron. Gal. a. CCCCLII* 73, "Aquitania Gothis tradita".

¹⁴⁴ Prosperus Tironis, *Epit. chron.* 1271, ed. T. MOMMSEN, MGH CM I, Berlin, 1892.

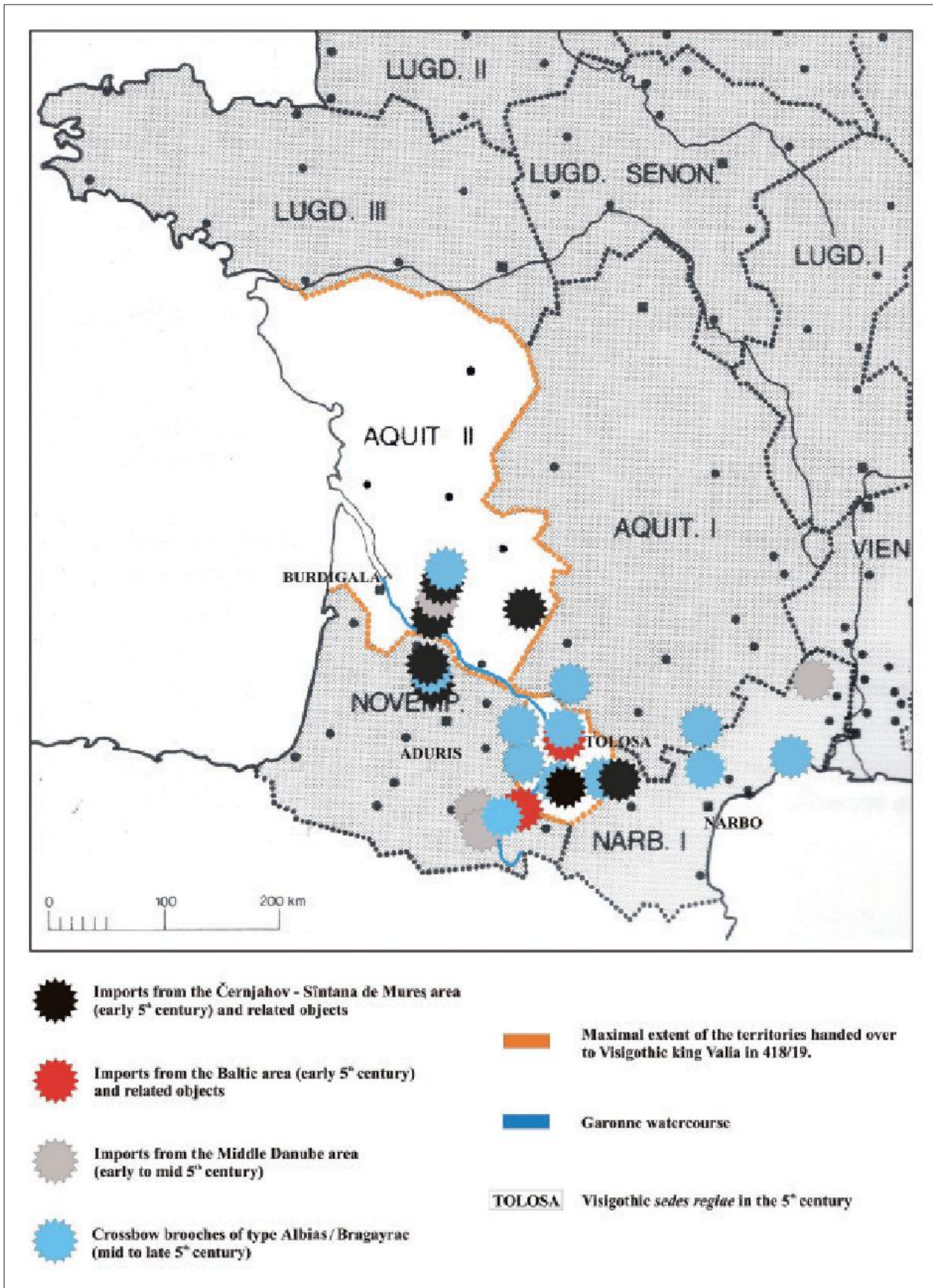


Fig. 25. The Garonne valley and the surrounding territories in the 5th century (after MAURIN 1998, modified by J. Pinar Gil)

with origins in the Černjahov culture area, a fact that written sources do not mention explicitly.¹⁴⁵ On the other hand, the occurrence of middle Danube small finds might be related specifically to the remains of Ataulf's army: it was quartered in upper Pannonia until Alaric called on his brother-in-law to join him in Italy in 408.¹⁴⁶ The imports from the Baltic Sea area, in contrast, should be regarded as evidence of people from that region being involved in some stage of the westward movements of the Visigoths. They could well have joined any of the contingents – Alaric's, Ataulf's, Radagaisus' or Stilicho's – which, in the end, came together into the Visigothic army moving to the West.

As we have seen, the main arguments in favour of this interpretation are the chronology of the finds and their dissemination pattern, as well as their modest intrinsic value, which renders scarcely probable their circulation as objects of long distance trade or fashionable goods.¹⁴⁷

One need hardly point out that the issue here is not about ethnic/cultural identities, self-consciousness or any related topic, but rather the reconstruction of a sequence of production, dissemination, imitation and use of objects, an issue that archaeology is undoubtedly capable of addressing. From that point of view, I cannot see any convincing reason why the arrival of the Visigoths and the "barbarian" small finds should not be connected: the fact that two anomalous phenomena – the occurrence of imports from central and eastern Europe and the historically attested settlement of a population that was at least partly composed of people from central and eastern Europe – could have taken place independently at the same time and in the same region seems to me extremely unlikely.

From a strictly archaeological point of view, the Garonne valley is the only area where the earliest "barbarian" imports and the brooches of the Bézat 356/Le Mouraut 83 horizon occur consistently (Fig. 26). Accordingly, one should identify it as the territory where the initial reception of "barbarian" fashions and their subsequent development took place. As eloquent testimony on behalf of this hypothesis one may mention some examples of micro-regional continuity between the "barbarian" imports and the early female graves clothed after Ponto-Danubian traditions. Thus the settlement finds at Le Canet and Monségur precede and, in a way, "announce" the cemetery of Saint-Laurent-des-Hommes; a similar relationship can be traced between the stray finds in the suburbs of Toulouse and the early clothed inhumations at Toulouse – Saint-Sernin and Le Mouraut. A sort of continuity in the production of crossbow brooches is also recorded at other points of the Garonne valley, inasmuch as some late 5th–early 6th-century pieces occur at sites where earlier *barbaricum*-related objects had been previously documented, such as Séviac and Sérignac.¹⁴⁸ The transition between both periods is difficult to reconstruct. The general tendency, however, outlines a process of homogenization of clothing accessories, replacing the melting pot of the early 5th century with well-defined local productions that were to be worn according to late Černjahov – Sîntana de Mureş parameters.

From the initial Garonne-based reception zone, Ponto-Danubian clothing traditions spread out across southern Gaul, probably in close connection with the progressive increase of southern Gallic territories controlled by the Visigothic *regnum*. Judging from the available data, this process can be traced first in the *Narbonensis*: given over to the Visigoths in the early 460s, the occurrence of the earliest crossbow brooches dates back to the third quarter of the 5th century. In other regions – *Aquitania I*: Vindrac, Rodelle; *Aquitania II*'s northernmost regions: Ardin, Chadenac, Rouillé – it might have been slightly later, as the lack of brooches securely attributable to the Bézat 356/Le Mouraut 83 horizon indicates.

What were the modalities of diffusion of such clothing traditions from the Garonne valley? In the *Narbonensis*, the combinations of accessories in the early graves of Bézat, Maguelone and Estagel bear witness to population displacements, while Vindrac in *Aquitania I*, about 40 km away from the Garonne, should probably be linked to the initial nucleus of the Visigoths' settlement. In northern Gaul, Frénoville 529 and its clothing features can most probably be linked to a woman coming from

¹⁴⁵ A direct continuity between Alaric's Goths and the *tervingi* and *greuthungi* who crossed the Danube in 376 AD is first claimed by much later authors such as Jordanes or Isidore of Seville: WOLFRAM 1988, 117-171; LIEBESCHUETZ 1992; HEATHER 1999.

¹⁴⁶ Zosimus V.37.1, ed. F. PASCHOU, Paris, 1979.

¹⁴⁷ KAZANSKI-LAPART 1995, 200; KAZANSKI 2000, 194.

¹⁴⁸ *Supra*, notes 8, 135.

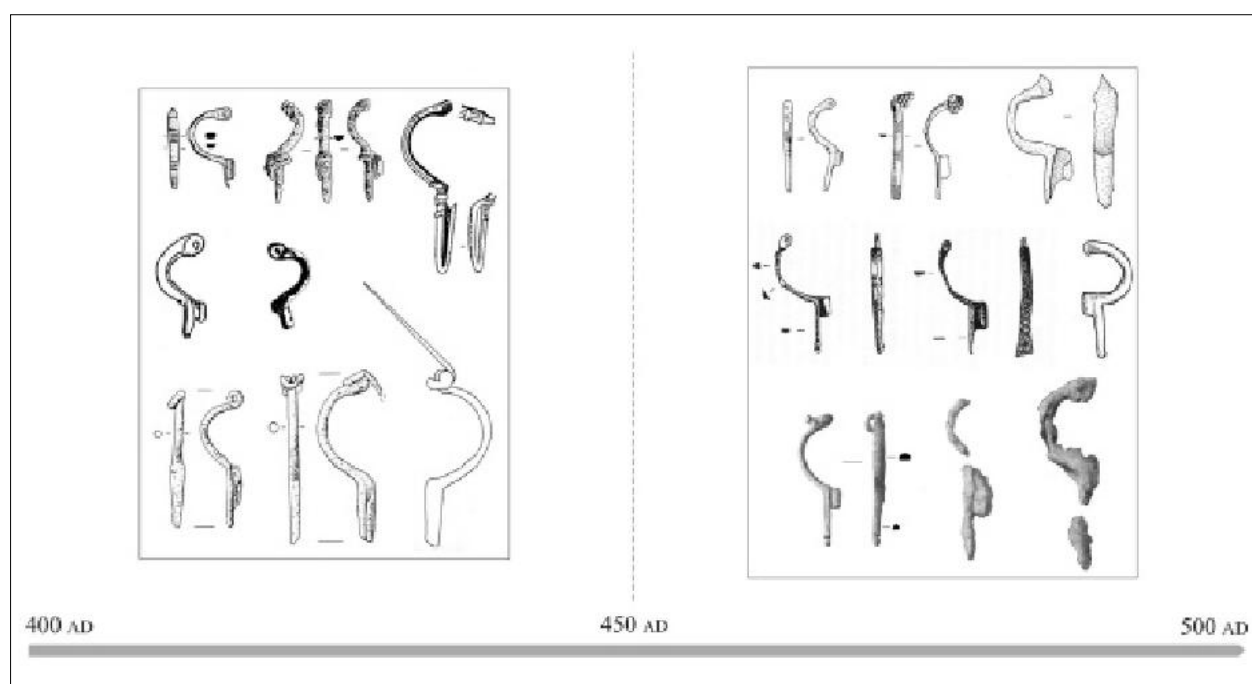


Fig. 26. Typological evolution of crossbow brooches in the Garonne valley between the first and the second half of the 5th century

southern Gaul. The crossbow brooches found in settlement areas or lacking archaeological context, especially numerous in *Narbonensis*, cannot be so easily evaluated, as by 500 AD such objects were widespread not only in the whole Gaul, but also in large territories of Spain and, though episodically, even in *Britannia* and in central Europe.¹⁴⁹

The dissemination of crossbow brooches in *Hispania* follows a pattern resembling the situation in southern Gaul. Here, the slight delay in the occurrence of crossbow brooches suggests that they actually reached northern and central Spain from Gaul. Moreover, the tight continuity in clothing traditions in both areas may be taken as evidence of population displacements, from north to south, from the last third of the 5th-century on. Quite eloquently, the sites where the earliest brooches occur correspond to the Spanish territories controlled by the Goths in the last decades of the 5th century: *Lusitania* and *Tarraconensis* – both mentioned explicitly by written sources¹⁵⁰ and between them inner *Carthaginensis*, all crossed by the tracts *Emerita-Caesaraugusta* and *Emerita-Pompaelo*, to which most sites with the presence of Ponto-Danubian clothing traditions are directly linked.¹⁵¹

Just like in Gaul, one must be especially careful when interpreting the settlement or stray finds recorded in *Hispania*, as the typological chronology of the crossbow brooches relates to a wide time span – at least 450-530 AD – that does not enable us to establish any connection to a particular historical event. Some of the finds may be quite comfortably associated with the presence of newcomers from southern Gaul, such as those found in the cities of *Tarraconensis* or in their *territoria*, as in the cases of *Barcino* and *Ilerda*: both cities were controlled by the Visigoths by the late 5th century. In most of the cases, however, we do not have sufficient chronological nor contextual evidence supporting a connection with personal mobility.

¹⁴⁹ SCHULZE-DÖRRLAMM 1986, 649-650; SCHUSTER-ANDREWS-SEAGER SMITH 2006; KAZANSKI-MASTYKOVA-PÉRIN 2008, 161-163; DROBERJAR 2008, 238, fig. 6.7.

¹⁵⁰ Hydatius 245-246, 250; *Chron. Gal. a. DXI* 651-652, ed. T. MOMMSEN, MGH CM I, Berlin, 1892; Gregorius Turoloensis, *Hist. Franc.* II.25, ed. B. KRUSCH-W. LEVISON, MGH SRM I, Hannover, 1951; Isidorus Hispalensis, *Hist. Goth.* 34, ed. T. MOMMSEN, MGH CM II, Berlin, 1894.

¹⁵¹ GARCÍA MORENO 1987; JEPURE 2009, 194-196; PINAR 2012, 277-278.

CONCLUSION

The examination of the morphological evolution, the changes in the dissemination pattern and the different uses of the 5th-century crossbow brooches points to them being one of the few archaeological witnesses to the arrival of *barbaricum*-originated clothing traditions into *Aquitania* and their further diffusion in most of the territories controlled by the Visigothic *regnum*. To a certain extent, the new data regarding such objects begin to fill up the 5th-century archaeological blank in southern Gaul, and consequently permit a better understanding of the late 5th-/6th-century archaeological panorama in both southern France and Spain.

The lack of any archaeological evidence for both the Visigothic settlement in *Aquitania* and the earliest stages of the so-called kingdom of Toulouse has been repeatedly evoked by archaeologists over the last 25 years.¹⁵² The new picture that archaeological research in southern Gaul is slowly assembling enables us to reject this assumption. Clothing accessories and, apparently – they are not recorded before the mid 5th century – also clothing traditions originating in central and eastern European *barbaricum* reached the Garonne valley at the moment at which the Visigoths settled down in that region and, in the following decades, eventually evolved into the objects defining the earliest phases of the “classical” Visigothic-period cemeteries of southern Gaul and central Spain.

The small quantity of early imports recorded in southern Gaul has been used as an argument to discard their links to the Visigothic settlement.¹⁵³ On the contrary, I think that this fact fits well within the general picture outlined both by archaeology and by written sources. If we assume that they were actually produced in central or eastern Europe and that they travelled to the West together with the Visigoths, it turns out that those objects were at least 10-20 years old by the time of the settlement in *Aquitania*. It is likely that they were quickly replaced by local productions, corresponding to the earliest examples of crossbow brooches of the type Albias/Bragayrac, which one might date to before the beginning of the funerary horizon Bézazet 356/Le Mouraut 83 around 450 AD.

The process is very hard to follow, for we lack clothing accessories securely dated to the second quarter of the 5th century. In other words, we have no data on how a whole generation of the southern Gallic population was clothed. It has to be assumed that the results of new excavations and further improvements in typo-chronology will help to fill the gap: more recent evidence, for example the earliest period of use at the cemetery of Bézazet,¹⁵⁴ illustrates clearly that the burials furnished with “barbarian” accessories follow a period defined by inhumations lacking any grave goods. One might suggest that the earliest brooches of type Albias/Bragayrac were already produced and used during that period, even if they did not accompany the deceased into the grave. Whatever the case may be, the gap in the funerary archaeology of southern France now seems to be far smaller and less intimidating.

¹⁵² JAMES 1991; BIERBRAUER 1992, 28; BIERBRAUER 1994, 155; YOUNG 2012.

¹⁵³ BALMELLE 2001, 34; RIPOLL 2001, 103.

¹⁵⁴ CAZES 2008.

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