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Друзей медлительный уход ... Памяти Олега Шарова

*Под редакцией
М. М. Казанского и А. В. Мастыковой*

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Сборник научных работ посвящён памяти Олега Васильевича Шарова — известного археолога, специалиста по древностям римского времени юга Восточной Европы. В книгу включены воспоминания о О.В. Шарове, его неопубликованные работы, а также статьи коллег.

Тематика публикуемых материалов широка, но соответствует научным интересам О.В. Шарова. Это исследования по бронзовому и раннежелезному веку, античности и эпохе Великого переселения народов.

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THE FOOTSTEPS OF MY FRIENDS LEAVING ... AD MEMORIAM OLEG SHAROV

*Edited by
Michel Kazanski and Anna Mastykova*



KISHINEV
2022

Памяти
Олега Васильевича Шарова
посвящается



In memory of Oleg Sharov

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J. Pinar Gil

Office insignia, diplomatic gifts and fashion items: on some 5th century brooches in the Adriatic-Alpine area

Keywords: Italy, Alps, Adriatic, Migration Period, clothing, fibulae, insignia, society, politics

Ключевые слова: Италия, Альпы, Адриатика, период Великого переселения народов, одежда, фибулы, инсигнии, общество, политика

J. Pinar Gil

Office insignia, diplomatic gifts and fashion items: on some 5th century brooches in the Adriatic-Alpine area

From the second quarter of the 5th century, a number of crossbow and bow brooches produced in north-eastern Italy (probably in or around Ravenna) substituted the classical *Zwiebelknopffibeln* as official insignia for Roman officers. Throughout the 5th century, these objects became fashionable items and were accordingly imitated by a number of secondary producers; at the same time, their modalities of use changed, eventually distancing themselves from their original, official use. However, some types of brooches kept their original meaning, being used as signs of office and also as insignia for client rulers by both the Late Roman administration and its “barbarian” successors.

Ж. Пинар Жиль

Служебные инсигнии, дипломатические подарки и предметы моды: о некоторых фибулах V века в Адриатико-Альпийском регионе

Со второй четверти V века некоторые арбалетные фибулы, произведенные в северо-восточной Италии (вероятно, в Равенне или в ее регионе), заменили классические *Zwiebelknopffibeln* в качестве служебных инсигний римских чиновников и служащих. На протяжении V века эти предметы стали модными и, соответственно, им подражали многие вторичные производители; в то же время модальности их использования изменились, в конечном итоге отдалившись от их первоначального, официального использования. Однако некоторые типы фибул сохранили свое знаковое значение, использовавшись в качестве служебных инсигний, а также в качестве знаков отличия правителей — «клиентов» Империи, как позднеримской администрацией, так и ее «варварскими» преемниками.

1. A 5th century deposit in the agora of Argos

The archaeological fieldwork carried out at the Argos agora in 1990 unveiled, among other structures, a masonry pit. The stratigraphy of the area and the materials recorded on its bottom layer date its construction in the late 4th or in the early 5th century (Ivantchik 2002: 331—334). The abundant material retrieved from the well suggest that it was filled and sealed rather quickly, especially with regard to a compact layer located at a depth between 0,15 and 6,50 m (“deposit 2”). This material included, among other finds, imported and local pottery, glassware and metal artefacts.

Two coins (Valentinian II and Arcadius, the latter providing a likely tpq in 404 CE) and some African red slip ware fragments have been used as the main chronological indexes to attribute the “deposit 2” to the first quarter of the 5th century (Ivantchik 2002: 338). In my view, the proposed time span can be slightly delayed to the second quarter or to the mid 5th century in view of more recent observations on the chronology of Hayes’ 61B and 75—76 forms and A-III decorations, as well as on the start of the production of Atlante X A lamps (Bonifay 2004: 167—171, 192, 199—201, 371—390).

Such a framework fits well with the filling of the upper layer (“deposit 3”), which delivered

African pottery from the late 5th century (Ivantchik 2002: 339—340). Dating “deposit 2” in the two central quarters of the 5th century, moreover, suits better the morphology of the bronze objects retrieved in it (fig. 1): a hammered jug and a bow brooch (Ivantchik 2002: 404). The former finds good counterparts south of the Alps, for instance in a deposit of 5th and 6th century metalware found in Milano-San Raffaele (Castoldi 1989: 84—86) and in the second hoard from Polhov Gradec in Slovenia, attributed to the early 5th century (Božič 2005: 322, 354, 360). As for the brooch, it finds a close counterpart at Iuenna/Globasnitz, grave 16, where it occurred together with a necklace consisting of miniature glass beads and of melon-shaped beads, closed by a bronze composite clasp (Pollak 2021: 77—79). The combination of beads and the archaizing features of the clasp suggest that the burial may have been performed not later than the first decades of the second half of the 5th century.

2. Brooches of the mid and late 5th century in the Adriatic

The brooches from Argos and Globasnitz belong to a rather uncommon group (fig. 2: 7—9), mainly clustered in the eastern Alps, as finds such as Globasnitz itself, Jadersdorf-Kapelle, Schiefeling-Kathreinkogel and Burghöfe show (Pollak 2021: 77—79; Gleirscher 2021: 25—26). Some years ago, I proposed that this group might be regarded as a local, eastern Alpine variant of the Italian brooches of type TÁC (Pinar 2018: 149—150). Since then, the publication of a silver brooch from a private collection in Munich, displaying mixed features of the “Argos-Globasnitz” group (Eger 2017: 302—303), the new examination of the Globasnitz context (Pollak 2021: 77—79) and the evidence from Argos add further shades of meaning to this hypothesis.

The geographical distribution of the group outlines a very similar picture than a number of broadly coeval crossbow and bow brooches (figs. 2—3). About the central third of the 5th century can be dated the first examples of the Desana and the TÁC types (Schulze-Dörrlamm 1986: 657—659; 2000: 605—607; Pinar 2010: 235—239; 2018: 145—146) and shortly afterwards, the “Reggio”-Aquilaia group which, as said, should be regarded as an evolution of the latter (Pinar 2018: 145—146, 149—150). Slightly later, between the second half of the 5th and the first half of the 6th century, should be dated the crossbow brooches of the Gurina, Siscia, Grepault, Passau, Lauriacum and Invillino types (Schulze-Dörrlamm 1986: 635—641, 663—668; Milavec 2009: 226—232).

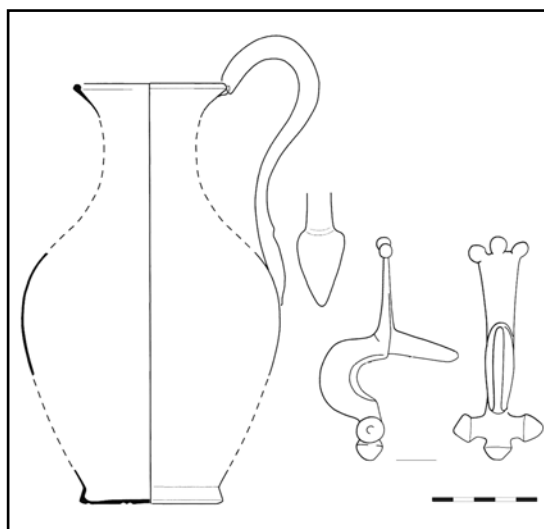


Fig. 1. Argos, agora. Selection of metal objects from the Late Antique well (after Ivantchik 2002).

Рис. 1. Аргос, agora. Выборка металлических предметов из позднеантичного колодца (по Ivantchik 2002).

The pin catch of the specimen from Martigny (Grepault type) opened to the left in its position of use (fig. 2: 22) is an early typological feature present in the TÁC and Desana type brooches that is to be observed in some Gurina specimens as well (fig. 2: 26). The brooch recorded at Mautern-Burggartengasse, gr. 205 (Wewerka 2004: 416), showing a morphology halfway between the Desana and Gurina types, may help to identify the Gurina type as a relatively early derivative from the Desana brooches.

The list may be completed by at least two types of luxury brooches: a group of solidus brooches with no mount, occurring in contexts ranging between the second quarter of the 5th century and the early 6th century (Manzelli, Pinar 2017: 117—119), and the “Pistoia” type bow brooches, decorated with gold-and-garnet cloisonné and attested between the second third of the 5th century and the first decades of the 6th century (Bierbrauer 1975: 344). A rather heterogeneous, and yet inter-related group formed by the crossbow brooches from Blučina-Cezavy, Brescia and “Split” (Tihelka 1963; De Marchi 1999: 321—322; Riegl 1901: 151; Vinski 1967: 7—15), should be included in the list as well (fig. 2: 15—17). According to the Blučina context and to typological criteria (the pin catch opens to the left), it may be attributed to the second half of the 5th century.

The geographical dissemination of all these types reveals a very consistent pattern, showing a major clustering in the eastern Alps and around

the northern Adriatic, completed by more or less occasional occurrences north of the Alps and in the southern Adriatic-Ionic area (fig. 3). Assuming that the finds north of the Alps may be slightly overrepresented due to the wider use of burying the dead clothed with metal accessories in comparison with southernmost territories, the picture clearly points out the eastern Alps and the northern Adriatic area as the most likely territory where these brooches were originally produced and used. The remarkably high amount of finds in Emilia Romagna, Veneto and Friuli regions, in which “clothed inhumations” are relatively rare in this period, could be a hint that this might be the area hosting the main production centre (s) of such objects.

This seems to be particularly accurate when examining the distribution of the earliest types considered, namely the TÁC, Argos-Globasnitz, Desana and Grepault types and, possibly, the “Reggio”-Aquilaia and Blučina-Brescia groups: as far as the territories south of the Alps are concerned, a significant amount of finds have been recorded in north-eastern Italy. That suggests that significant productive and distributive centres in the area may have been involved in the popularization of these brooches. Central places such as Ravenna or Aquileia may thus come into play.

3. Italian “post-Zwiebelknopffibeln”

Which central places and how, that is something that can be better established by examining some details in the typological evolution of some of these brooches. In this context, the specimen from Argos is of particular relevance, as it shows a specific relationship with the Alpine brooches of its same group: it is much bigger, the appendices of the headplate are onion-shaped and the bow’s centre part has a middle flat rib. These features bring it closer to the latest variants of the bronze Zwiebelknopffibeln (Pröttel 1988); in addition, the relative proportions of head and footplate, and the form of the latter, are similar to 5th century Pröttel 6 and 7 specimens.

This observation enables to identify the specimen from Argos, belonging to the earliest range of its own group, as likely deriving from Zwiebelknopf-brooches. The case bears an extent of parallelism to the “Reggio”-Aquilaia group and its typological relationship with the brooches of TÁC type: the former appears as a simplified, mould-cast derivation of the technologically more complex and more lavishly decorated brooches of type TÁC. Much like the Argos specimen, moreover, the “Reggio Emilia” brooch has

some details reminiscent of the Zwiebelknopffibeln, namely the form of the headplate appendices (fig. 2: 4). The already mentioned silver brooch from Munich (Eger 2017, 302—303) displays a form related to both the Argos-Globasnitz and the “Reggio”-Aquilaia group, and can be regarded of a further evidence of the shared origin and mutual permeability among many of the early Alpine-Adriatic brooches. Its nielloed decoration and its long pin catch opened to the left further support this impression, as they are close to some TÁC and Blučina-Brescia specimens.

The TÁC type brooches and the Zwiebelknopffibel shared one major detail: they were conceived to be worn on the right shoulder, a standard position for Roman civil and military officers. Accordingly, the pin catches of all these objects were open to the left in the position of use of the brooch. As said, this is a feature shared by the earliest types of Alpine-Adriatic brooches discussed so far: the specimens from Blučina and Brescia were intended to be worn on the right, at least some examples of the Desana group show the same purpose. Interestingly enough, the bigger specimen in the Desana treasure (fig. 2: 18), reaching up to 10,8 cm long, has its catch opened to the left, whereas its smaller counterpart from the same assemblage (fig. 2: 20) has its catch open to the right (Aimone 2010). The difference could mirror that the first one was actually intended to fasten a man’s cloak on his right shoulder. If the hypothesis is to be accepted, then the brooch from the Argos agora, much bigger than any of its counterparts (11,1 cm long), could be interpreted in the same way. The Desana type brooch from the male inhumation 11 at Globasnitz (fig. 5: 2), as well as the TÁC brooch from Óbuda (fig. 2: 3), have comparable sizes.

The fastening mechanism conveys important information about the origin of the early “post-Zwiebelknopffibeln”. Since Pröttel 6 and 7 brooches had a completely different fastening mechanism, the affinities between the TÁC, Blučina-Brescia, Argos-Globasnitz and Desana brooches, on the one hand, and the Zwiebelknopffibeln, on the other, should be traced back to Pröttel 3/4 and 5 types. Since both types were in use until the beginning of the 5th century, this observation provides a chronological framework that corresponds well with the data of the earliest depositions of Italian “post-Zwiebelknopffibeln”, dating approximately to the second quarter of the 5th century. Interestingly enough, the 5th century Keller/Pröttel 6 Zwiebelknopffibeln display, in the Alpine-Adriatic and Danubian regions, a similar pattern than the broadly co-

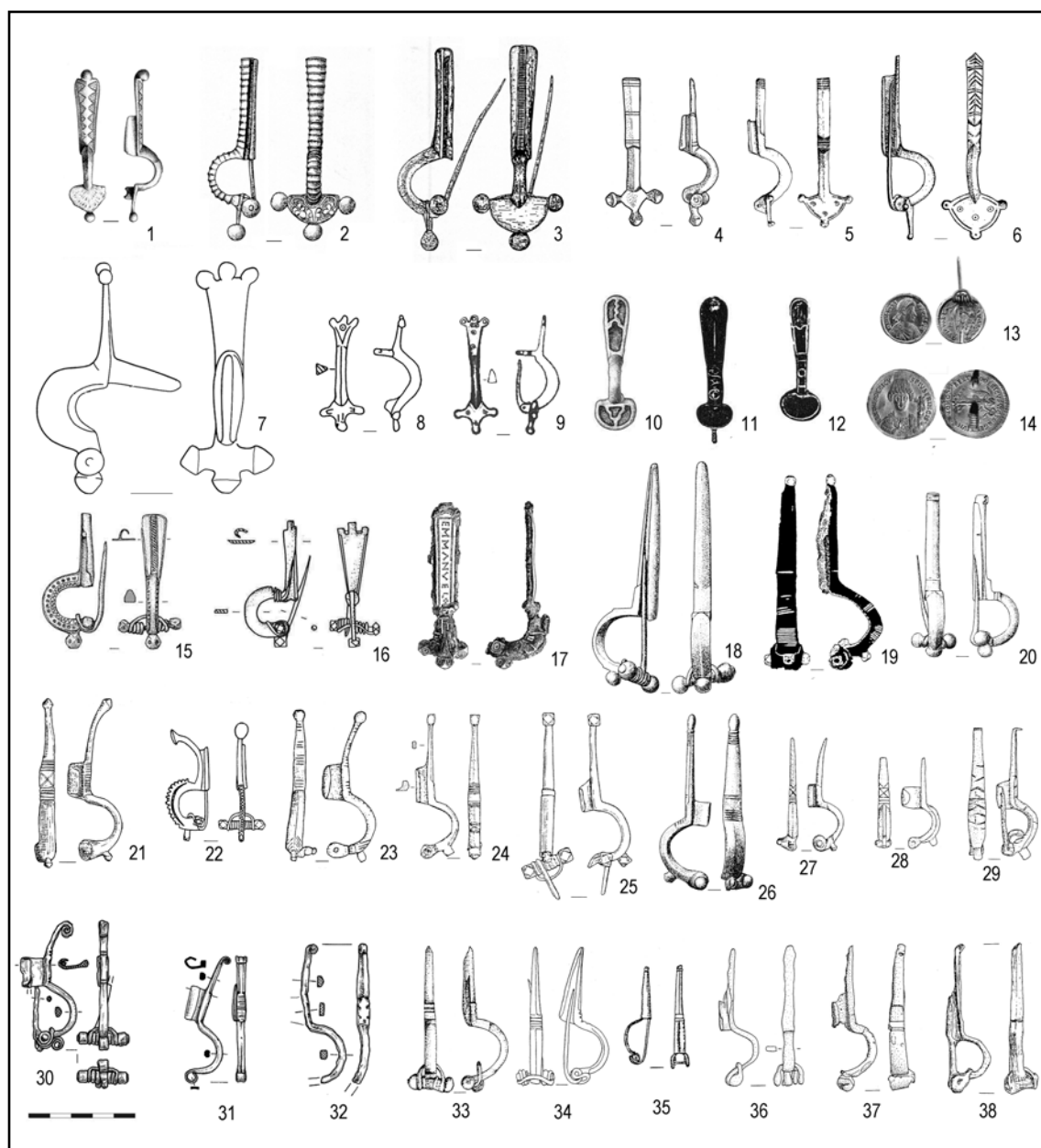


Fig. 2. Alpine-Adriatic brooches of the mid and late 5th centuries (after Riegl 1901; Schulze-Dörlamm 1986, 2000; De Marchi 1999; Ivantchik 2002; Milavec 2009; Pinar 2010, 2018; Manzelli, Pinar 2017; Gleirscher 2021). **Tác Type:** 1 — Basel-Kleinhüningen, 2 — Tác-Margitttelep, 3 — Óbuda-Föld utca; **“Reggio”-Aquileia group:** 4 — “Reggio Emilia”, 5 — Invillino, 6 — Aquileia; **Argos-Globasnitz group:** 7 — Argos, 8 — Jadersdorf-Kappelle, 9 — Schiefing-Kathreinkogel; **“Pistoia”-Carthage group:** 10 — Khanguet si-Mohamed Tahar, 11 — “Pistoia”, 12 — Barbing-Irlmauth; **Solidus brooches:** 13 — Prague-Zličín, 14 — Morro d’Alba; **Brescia-Blučina group:** 15 — Blučina-Cezavy, 16 — Brescia-Santa Giulia, 17 — “Split”; **Desana type:** 18, 20 — Desana, 19 — Erding-Altenerding; **Grepault type:** 21 — Grepault, 22 — Martigny, 23 — Pustertal; **Gurina type:** 24 — Invillino, 25 — Gurina, 26 — Somma Prada; **Altenerding type:** 27 — Neumarkt-Laag, 28 — Algund, 29 — Säben/Sabiona; **Lauriacum type:** 30 — Sv. Lovrenc nad Zabreznico, 31 — Sv. Lambert nad Pristavo pri Stični, 32 — Tonovcov Grad; **Siscia type:** 33 — Bozen/Bolzano, 34 — Siscia, 35 — Teurnia, **Invillino type:** 36 — Lauriacum, 37—38 — Invillino.

Рис. 2. Альпийско-адриатические фибулы середины и конца V в. (по Riegl 1901; Schulze-Dörlamm 1986, 2000; De Marchi 1999; Ivantchik 2002; Milavec 2009; Pinar 2010, 2018; Pinar, Manzelli 2017; Gleirscher 2021). **Тип Тач:** 1 — Базель-Кляйнхюнинген, 2 — Тач-Маргиттелеп, 3 — улица Обуда-Фельд; **Группа «Реджо»-Аквилия:** 4 — «Реджо-Эмилия», 5 — Инвиллино, 6 — Аквилия; **Группа Аргос-Глобасниц:** 7 — Аргос, 8 — Яденсдорф-Каппелле, 9 — Шифлинг-Катрайнкогель; **Группа «Пистойя»-Карфаген:** 10 — Хангет Си-Мохамед Тахар, 11 — «Пистойя», 12 — Барбинг-Ирлмаут; **Фибулы Solidus:** 13 — Прага-Зличин, 14 — Морро д’Альба; **Группа Брешиа-Блучина:** 15 — Блучина-Чезавы, 16 — Брешиа-Санта Джулия, 17 — «Сплит»; **Тип Десана:** 18, 20 — Десана, 19 — Эрдинг-Алтнердинг; **Грепальт тип:** 21 — Грепальт, 22 — Мартigny, 23 — Пустерталь; **Гурина тип:** 24 — Инвиллино, 25 — Гурина, 26 — Сомма Прада; **Алтнердинг тип:** 27 — Неумаркт-Лаг, 28 — Алгунд, 29 — Сабен/Сабьона; **Лориакум тип:** 30 — Св. Ловренц над Забренице, 31 — Св. Ламберт над Приставо при Стични, 32 — Тоновцов Град; **Сисция тип:** 33 — Бозен/Болзано, 34 — Сисция, 35 — Турния, **Инвиллино тип:** 36 — Лориакум, 37—38 — Инвиллино.

Альтенердинг; Тип Грепо: 21 — Грепо, 22 — Мартини, 23 — Пустерталь; Тип Гурина: 24 — Инвиллино, 25 — Гурина, 26 — Сомма Прада; Альтернативный тип: 27 — Ноймаркт-Лааг, 28 — Алгунд, 29 — Себен/Сабiona; Тип Лауриакум: 30 — Св. Ловренц-над-Забрезнико, 31 — Св. Ламберт-над-Приставо-при-Стични, 32 — Тоновцов Град. Тип Сисция: 33 — Бозен/Больцано, 34 — Сисция, 35 — Терния; Тип Инвиллино: 36 — Лауриакум, 37—38 — Инвиллино.

eval early “post-Zwiebelknopffibeln”, yet with different clustering areas (fig. 4): Keller/Pröttel 6 brooches are far more numerous in the Danubian lands and, in northern Italy, they are clustered in Aquileia and almost missing in Emilia-Romagna (Buora 1997: 2013). This phenomenon may suggest that the earliest specimens of the Tác, Desana and Argos groups were produced in or around Ravenna. As a matter of fact, the three types are missing in Aquileia, where Keller/Pröttel 6 brooches are widely attested; in all likelihood, later variants of the Italian brooches (“Reggio”-Aquileia group and its derivatives) reached Aquileian territory somewhat later, in the last decades of the 5th century.

All these data bring together the following picture: about the second quarter of the 5th century, somewhere in north-eastern Italy started a production of silver and bronze derivatives of the traditional *Zwiebelknopffibeln* used by the late Roman administration (Pröttel 3/4 and 5 types). The first examples were bow brooches with either semicircular (Tác type) or vaguely cross-shaped headplates (Argos group), as well as crossbow brooches (Desana type and, probably, Blučina-Brescia group). They had in common their long pin catch opened to the left and the presence of three appendixes on top of the bow or on the headplate, being more of less reminiscent of the bulb-shaped appendixes that give the *Zwiebelknopffibeln* their name.

Considering the time and place where this production started, it seems likely that the new “post-Zwiebelknopffibeln” were started to be produced in north-eastern Italy by administration-commissioned workshops (in Ravenna?), and that they were intended, just as the *Zwiebelknopffibel*, as insignia for imperial officers. The new brooches, bringing together classical “Roman” and “Germanic” technological traditions (Schulze-Dörrlamm 2000), replaced the old Pröttel 3/4 and 5 brooches and were concurrent to broadly coeval Pröttel 6 *Zwiebelknopffibeln*. During the following decades, in the Alpine-Adriatic area, a continuity in the production and use of different local and regional derivatives of the early “post-Zwiebelknopffibeln” can be identified at least up to the end of the 5th century.

4. Fashion trends, office holders and foreign affairs

As a newer version of *Zwiebelknopffibel*, early “post-Zwiebelknopffibeln” may have been a prerogative of civilian and/or military officers. As a consequence, they can be regarded as evidence for the administrative geography and of the geopolitics between the times of the Theodosians and those of Theodoric. Their emergence is connected in time with the rule of the Western Theodosians (Honorius, Galla Placidia and Valentinian III) in Ravenna. Since the Italian types, exception made for the Argos brooch, find no direct counterparts within “Byzantine” territories, the production of these brooches can be seen as an early material evidence of the political split of the Roman state after Theodosius I.

The brooches from Aquincum and Gorsium (Nagy 1993: 370; Fitz 1970: 41—46) might mirror the arrival of new Western Roman functionaries in Valeria. The brooches, as said, may date from the years immediately after the reintegration of the province into the Empire in the times of Aetius and Galla Placidia. It is therefore likely that both brooches, as well as their counterparts from Basel and Schützen am Gebirge (Giesler-Müller 1992, 99—100; Mitscha-Märheim 1971, 194), may be regarded as evidence for the restructuring of the Danube-Rhine defence line in Pannonia Prima, Valeria and Sequania, taking place in the late 420s and early 430s. The tight spatial correlation between these brooches and the central places in all these regions (the cities of Aquincum, Gorsium, Scarbantia and Augusta Raurica) seems to support this hypothesis. Much closer to the alleged metropolis, the hoard found at Rimini (Maioli 1992) should belong to the same kind of social group, corresponding to relatively high-status state officers. The silver crossbow brooches from Desana and Brescia (located in or next to significant cities) must have been connected to similar milieus.

Judging by the recorded contexts of use, the original “official” function of the Italian brooches faded away over time: as soon as the second half of the 5th century, women were starting to wear derivatives of these brooches, apparently on the middle of their chests (Pollak 2021: 59), where-

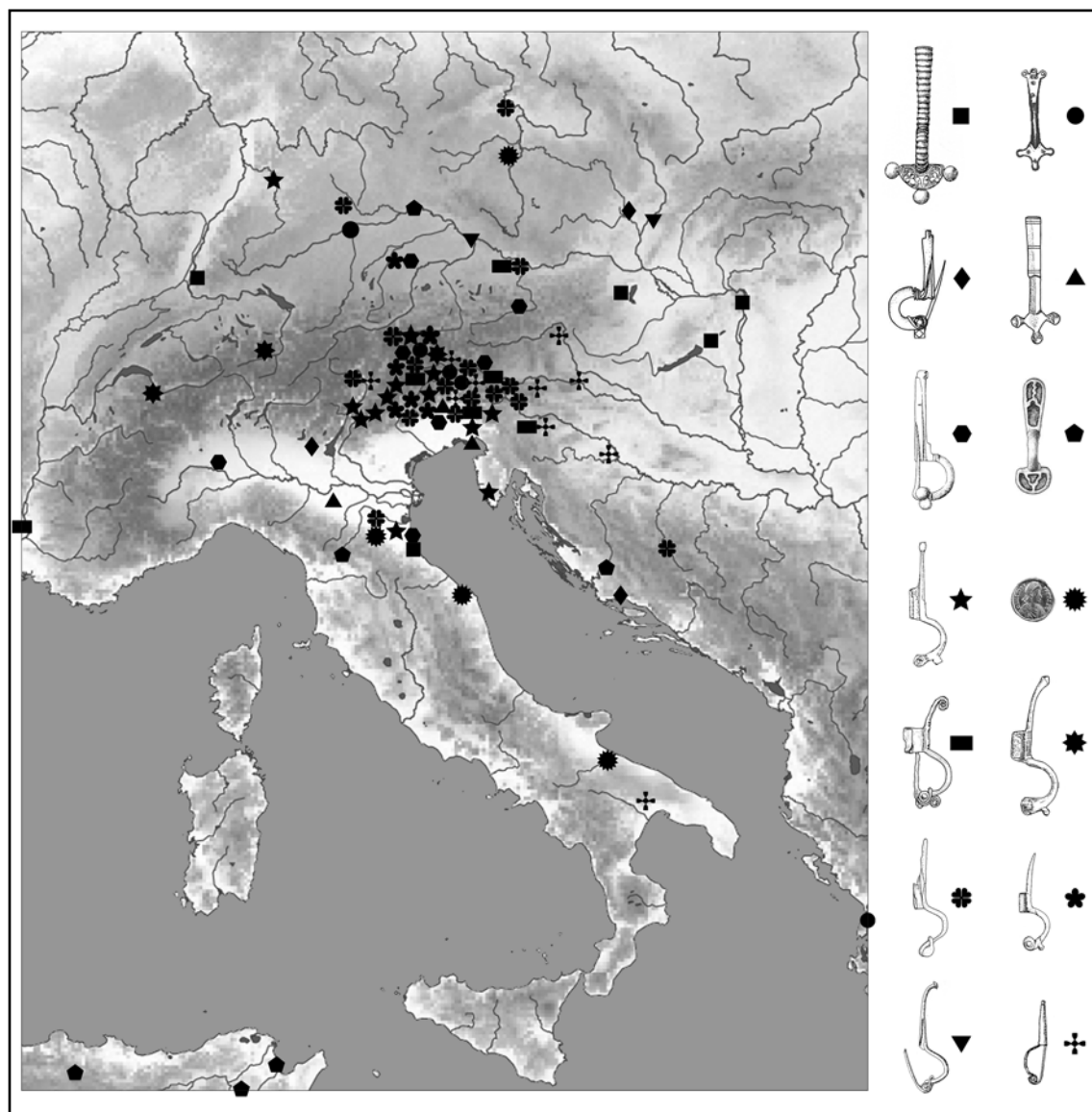


Fig. 3. Geographical distribution of brooches in the Alpine-Adriatic area and in the neighbouring regions (J. Pinar). Sources: Vinski 1967; Bierbrauer 1975; Schulze-Dörlamm 1986, 2000; Wewerka 2004; Milavec 2009; Pinar 2010, 2018; Grabherr-Kainrath 2011; Bierbrauer, Nothdurfter 2015; Manzelli, Pinar 2017; Pollak 2021; Gleirscher 2021.

Рис. 3. Географическое распространение фибул в Альпийско-Адриатическом ареале и в соседних регионах (по J. Pinar). Источники: Vinski 1967; Bierbrauer 1975; Schulze-Dörlamm 1986, 2000; Wewerka 2004; Milavec 2009; Pinar 2010, 2018; Grabherr-Kainrath 2011; Bierbrauer, Nothdurfter 2015; Manzelli, Pinar 2017; Pollack 2021; Gleirscher 2021.

as men were wearing them on their left shoulders: even some brooches produced to be worn to the right were instead worn on the opposite side (Giesler-Müller 1992: 99–100; Tihelka 1963). The brooches retrieved from women’s graves were apparently produced to be worn to the left, even the early ones, such as in Globasnitz 16. About 500 CE, apparently, late variants of crossbow and bow brooches were only used by women, either as a single brooch or in combinations of two or more brooches (Pinar 2018: 151–153).

This is the only context of use recorded so far for many of the late crossbow brooches of the group. The use of the Adriatic solidus brooches of the same time shows a very similar trend (Manzelli, Pinar 2017: 117–119).

The original function of the “post-Zwiebelknopffibeln” however, was never entirely forgotten. In all likelihood, the context at Globasnitz grave 11 is that of a state officer, as some scholars suggested (Glaser 2003; Pollak 2020; Gleirscher 2021: 37–38). I am inclined to consider that he

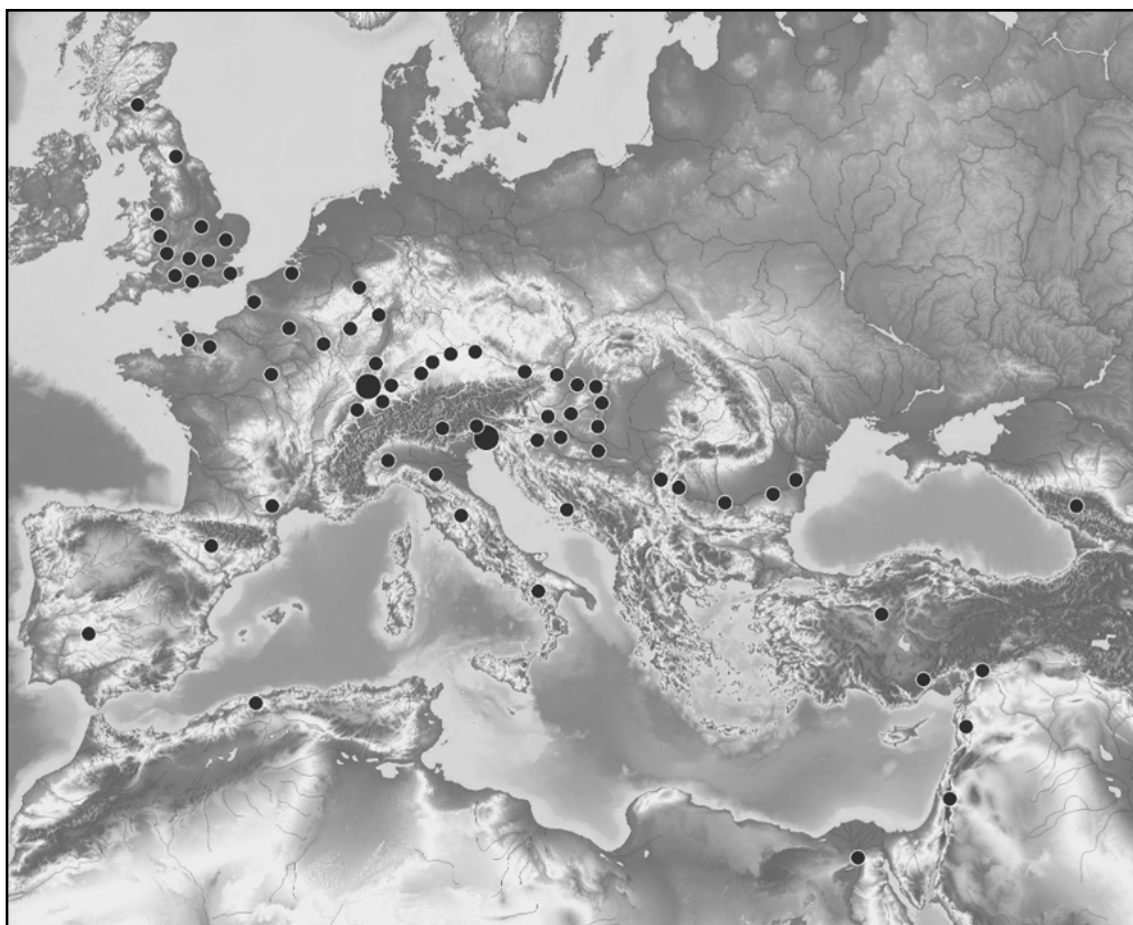


Fig. 4. Geographical distribution of Keller/Pröttel 6 Zwiebelknopffibeln (after Buora 2013).

Рис. 4. Географическое распространение Т-образных фибул типа Келлер/Прёттель 6 (по Буора 2013).

was equipped from an Italian rather than from a Gallic centre, and that his made-in-Italy office insignia were both the composite cloisonné belt set and the damascened Desana brooch (fig. 5: 1—2). The Emmanuel brooch from an imprecise location in the Split area, as well as the iron belt buckle from Sirmione-S. Pietro in Mavinas (Breda et al. 2011: 51) display the same ornamental technique as in Globasnitz and are, quite probably, related to the same social and institutional context as well: they thus support the northern Adriatic origin of this group of late 5th century metalwork. Damascened iron insignia may have come into use by state officers in Odoacer's and/or Theodoric's kingdom not later than 470 CE. Judging by the Globasnitz example, by that time the officers fastened their cloaks with brooches worn on the left shoulder, against the tradition represented by the Zwiebelknopffibeln.

The Italian “post-Zwiebelknopffibeln”, much like their predecessors, may have played a role in geopolitics, as diplomatic gifts or, rather, as in-

signia representing and sealing political alliances. In this context, the famous grave at Blučina-Cezavy in southern Moravia is of the uttermost importance. Generally speaking, the assemblage of objects deposited in the grave can be regarded as a more modest version of the splendid treasures recorded in the kingly graves of the Aphida-Tournai group. In particular, the clothing accessories may have had a quite different provenance (fig. 5: 3—4): in view of the examined evidence, there is little doubt that the silver, nielloed brooch was produced in north-eastern Italy, as probably was the belt-buckle, technologically identical to Tortona-type iron buckles decorated with garnet cloisonné on gold foil (Giostra 2008). The combination of crossbow brooch and composite cloisonné belt buckle (the same elements recorded at Globasnitz!) may be thus regarded as actual insignia sent from Italy to a client or allied ruler. The Blučina burial is the most reliable evidence to frame this diplomatic event: in my view, the combination of brooch and belt buck-

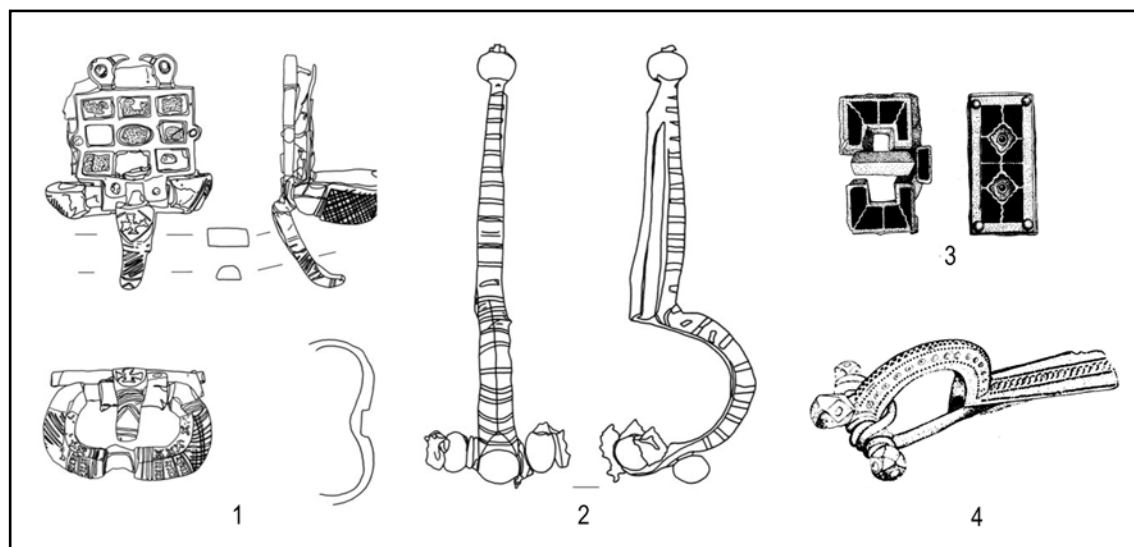


Fig. 5. Combinations of made-in-Italy brooches and buckles from male graves. Different scales (after Pollak 2017; Menghin 1983). 1—2 — Globasnitz, gr. 11; 3—4 — Blučina-Cezavy.

Рис. 5. Комбинации фибул и пряжек итальянского производства из мужских могил (по Pollak 2017; Menghin 1983). 1—2: Глобасниц, гр. 11; 3—4: Блучина-Чезавы (см. выше). Масштаб различен.

le, on the one hand, and the features of the sword gear, on the other, bear witness of a chronology broadly coeval with the Flonheim-Gültlingen horizon (about 470—510 CE), that in Italian political history corresponds to the times of Odoacer and the early reign of Theodoric. That would imply that “Ravenna’s friend” in Blučina may have been a Herul or Rugian ruler.

The long continuity in the typology of the new insignia should not be surprising: Odoacer’s Ravenna relied on late Roman symbols when it came to the distribution of honours, as the Regio Emilia treasure suggests (Pinar forthcoming), and this was probably the case in Theodoric’s times as well. The continuity, under different administrations, in the diplomatic insignia used by Ravenna is suggested by the distribution of luxury brooches, such as the solidus brooches and the “Pistoia” bow brooches: the available contexts suggest a continuity of production and distribution from the mid 5th century to the early 6th century, this is, between the Theodosians and the Amals.

5. Conclusion

The times of Galla Placidia and Valentian III brought a partial renovation in the typology of the insignia of office in the Western Roman Empire. A number of crossbow and bow brooches produced in north-eastern Italy (probably in or around Ravenna) substituted the classical *Zwiebelknopffibeln* as official emblem of civilian and/or military officers. The evolution of the typology of these objects up to the early 6th century shows that they became a fashionable item and, accordingly, were imitated by a number of secondary producers; during that time, their modalities of use changed, eventually distancing themselves from their official use (fastening a mantle on a man’s right shoulder) and becoming a usual accessory of female clothing. Throughout most of their history, however, some types of brooches kept their original meaning, being used as signs of office and also as insignia given to client rulers by both the Late Roman administration and its “barbarian” successors.

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БСЭ ²	— Большая советская энциклопедия, 2-е издание. 51 т. Москва: Государственное научное издательство «Советская энциклопедия», 1950—1960.
БФ	— благотворительный фонд.
ВГУ	— Воронежский государственный университет. Воронеж.
ВДИ	— Вестник древней истории. Москва.
ВолГУ	— Волгоградский государственный университет. Волгоград.
ГАЗ	— Гістарычна-археалагічны зборнік. Мінск.
ГИАМЗ ХТ	— Государственный историко-археологический музей-заповедник «Херсонес Таврический». Севастополь.
ГИМ	— Государственный исторический музей. Москва.
ГМВ	— Государственный Музей Востока. Москва.
ГМЗ	— государственный музей-заповедник.
ГУ	— государственный университет.
ГЭ	— Государственный Эрмитаж. Санкт-Петербург.
ИА АН СССР	— Институт археологии Академии наук СССР. Москва.
ИА НАНУ	— Институт археологии Национальной Академии наук Украины. Киев.
ИА РАН	— Институт археологии Российской Академии наук. Москва.
ИАК	— Известия Императорской археологической комиссии. Санкт-Петербург.
ИАК КФУ	— Институт археологии Крыма Крымского федерального университета. Симферополь.
ИАЭТ СО РАН	— Институт археологии и этнографии Сибирского отделения Академии Наук.
ИИ АН РТ	— Институт истории им. Ш. Марджани Академии наук Республики Татарстан. Казань.
ИИМК РАН	— Институт истории материальной культуры Российской Академии наук. Санкт-Петербург.
ИЭ	— Советская историческая энциклопедия. 16 т. Москва.
ІА НАНУ	— Інститут археології Національної Академії наук України. Київ.
ІКЗ «Більськ»	— Историко-культурный заповідник «Більськ». Котельва.
КГИАМЗ	— Краснодарский государственный историко-археологический музей-заповедник. Краснодар.
КГОМА	— Курский государственный областной музей археологии. Курск.
кол. вкл.	— кольорова вклейка.
КСИА	— Краткие сообщения Института археологии Российской Академии наук. Москва.
КСИАУ	— Краткие сообщения Института археологии Академии наук УССР. Киев.
КСИИМК	— Краткие сообщения Института истории материальной культуры. Москва; Ленинград/Санкт-Петербург.
КСТ	— Культовое святилище Таракташ.
КубГУ	— Кубанский государственный университет. Краснодар.
КФ ІА НАНУ	— Крымский филиал Института археологии Национальной Академии наук Украины.
ЛГУ	— Ленинградский государственный университет. Ленинград.
ЛО ІА АН СССР	— Ленинградское отделение Института археологии Академии наук СССР. Ленинград.
МАИКЦА	— Международная ассоциация по изучению культур Центральной Азии.
МАИЭТ	— Материалы по археологии, истории и этнографии Таврии, Симферополь.
МГУ	— Московский государственный университет им. М. В. Ломоносова. Москва.
МИА	— Материалы и исследования по археологии СССР. Москва; Ленинград.
МФТИ	— Московский физико-технический институт. Москва.
НА ІА НАНУ	— Научный архив Института археологии НАН Украины. Киев.
НАВ	— Нижневолжский археологический вестник. Волгоград.

- НАН — Национальная Академия наук.
 НАО — Научное археологическое общество.
 НАО — научно-архивный отдел.
 НИЦИАК КФУ — Научно-исследовательский центр истории и археологии Крыма Крымского федерального университета. Симферополь.
 ОАК — Отчет Императорской Археологической Комиссии. Санкт-Петербург.
 ОКН — объект культурного наследия.
 ПИФК — Проблемы истории, филологии, культуры. Магнитогорск.
 РА — Российская археология. Москва.
 РАЕ — Российский археологический ежегодник. Санкт-Петербург.
 РАН — Российская Академия наук. Москва.
 РСМ — Раннеславянский мир. Археология славян и их соседей. Москва.
 СА — Советская археология. Москва.
 САИ — Свод археологических источников. Москва; Ленинград.
 СГУ — Саратовский государственный университет. Саратов.
 СПбГУ — Санкт-Петербургский государственный университет. Санкт-Петербург.
 СУАР — Синьцзян-Уйгурский автономный район.
 СЭ — Советская этнография. Москва.
 ТГЭ — Труды Государственного Эрмитажа. Ленинград/Санкт-Петербург.
 ТНИИЯЛИ — Тувинский научно-исследовательский институт языка, литературы и истории. Кызыл.
 ТОВ — Товариство з обмеженою відповідальністю.
 ХАЭЭ — Хорезмская археолого-этнографическая экспедиция.
 ХГУ — Харьковский государственный университет. Харьков.
 ЦАИ БФ — Центр археологических исследований Благотворительного фонда.
 ЦП НАНУ і УТОПІК — Центр пам'яткознавства Національної академії наук України і Українського Товариства охорони пам'яток історії та культури. Київ.
 ЮНЦ — Южный научный центр Российской академии наук. Ростов-на-Дону.
 BAR — British Archaeological Reports. Oxford.
 BAR IS — British Archaeological Reports, International Series. Oxford.
 DictMidAges — Strayer J. (ed.) Dictionary of the Middle Ages. NY: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1982—1989. Vol. 1—13.
 DNP — Cancik H., Schneider H., Egger B., Derlien J. und andere (Hrsg.). Der Neue Pauly. Enzyklopädie der Antike. 16 Bände (in 19 Teilbänden sowie 6 Supplementbänden). Stuttgart/Weimar: Metzler, 1996—2010.
 KIP — Ziegler K., Sontheimer W. (Hrsg.): Der Kleine Pauly, Lexikon der Antike (in 5 Bänden) auf der Grundlage von Pauly's Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft unter Mitwirkung zahlreicher Fachgelehrter. München: dtv, 1979.
 LAW — Lexikon der alten Welt. Zürich, Stuttgart: Artemis, 1965.
 LexMA — Lexikon des Mittelalters. 10 Bände. Artemis, München/Zürich/Lachen am Zürichsee). 1977—1999; Neudruck (in 9 Bänden): Stuttgart/Weimar 1999.
 ODByz — Kazhdan A. (ed.) The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium. New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991. 3 vol.
 RE — Ziegler K. (Hrsg.): Pauly's Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft. Neubearbeitung, begonnen von G. Wissowa, fortgeführt von W. Groll und K. Mittelhaus. Stuttgart 1894—1963 (1. Reihe I—XXIX), 1914—1972 (2. Reihe I—X) und 1912—1978 (Supplementbände), Register von H. Gärtner und A. Wünsch. München 1980.
 RGA — Jankuhn H., Beck H., Kuhn H., Ranke K., Wenskus R. (Hrsg.). Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde. 35 Bände. Berlin; New York: De Gruyter, 1968—2007.
 RGZM — Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum. Mainz.
 SH — The State Hermitage museum. Saint Petersburg.
 SMP TC — The State museum-preserve "Tauric Chersonesus". Sevastopol.
 UMCS — Uniwersytet Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej. Lublin.