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FEMALE DRESS AND
“SLAVIC” BOW FIBULAE
IN GREECE

ABSTRACT

Long considered an “index fossil” for the migration of the Slavs to Greece, “Slavic” bow fibulae have never been understood in relation to female dress. The “exotic” character of their decoration has encouraged speculations concerning the ethnic attribution of these artifacts, but no serious attempt has been made to analyze the archaeological contexts in which they were found. It is argued here that bow fibulae were more than just dress accessories, and that they may have been used for negotiating social power. The political and military situation of the early seventh century A.D. in the Balkans, marked by the collapse of the early Byzantine power in the region, may explain the need for new emblematic styles to represent group identity.

Petr Bogatyrev has written that “in order to grasp the social function of costumes, we must learn to read them as signs in the same way we learn to read and understand different languages.”¹ What Bogatyrev had in mind was the function of the folk costume in Moravian Slovakia, but his remark may well apply to archaeological approaches to the meaning of dress. Archaeologists working in the medieval history of Eastern Europe currently understand dress as costume (*Tracht*), not as apparel (*Kleidung*). In doing so, they follow the German archaeologist Joachim Werner, who advocated as early as 1950 the idea of “national costume” as a key concept for reading ethnicity in material culture.² Werner viewed dress accessories found in female burials as “national attributes” and as cultural traits particularly useful for the identification of early medieval ethnic groups.

The meaning of dress is a form of social knowledge, where messages become “naturalized” in appearance.³ Because clothing serves to convey information, dress may be seen as a symbolic “text” or “message,” a visual means of communicating ideas and values.⁴ One important aspect of the communicative symbolism of dress is its capacity for providing locative information, referring either to the individual’s physical location in space or to his or her position within the social network. Dress has a distinct referent and transmits a clear message to a defined target population about

1. Bogatyrev 1971, p. 83.

2. As Hubert Fehr (2001, pp. 312–402) shows, by 1930, *Tracht* had already replaced *Kleidung* in German archaeological discourse. This shift in emphasis is largely due to the work of Hans Zeiss, the first archaeologist to use the notion of costume for the study of ethnicity through material culture. However, it was Joachim Werner who imposed the idea of a “national costume” in the archaeology of the early Middle Ages. See also Fehr 2002, pp. 180, 189, 196–198.

3. Sørensen 1991, p. 122. See also DeLong 1987; Blanc 1989.

4. Pancake 1991, p. 46. See also Maertens 1978; Bogatyrev 1986; Sørensen 2000, pp. 124–143.

conscious affiliation and identity. It may be treated as a form of “emblemic style,” a form of nonverbal communication through which doing something in a certain way communicates information about relative identity.⁵ Because it marks and maintains boundaries, emblemic style should be distinguishable archaeologically on the evidence of uniformity within those boundaries’ realms of function. Recent anthropological studies have demonstrated that emblemic styles appear at the critical junctures in the regional political economy, when changing social relations would impel displays of group identity.⁶

Werner produced the first classification of bow fibulae in Eastern Europe and attached the label “Slavic” to this class of artifacts.⁷ He divided his corpus into two classes (I and II), further subdivided on the basis of presumably different terminal lobes, shaped in the form of either a human face (“mask”) or an animal head. Werner relied exclusively on visual, mostly intuitive, means for the grouping of his large corpus of brooches. The distribution of bow fibulae in Eastern Europe convinced him that the only factor responsible for the spread of this dress accessory in areas as far apart as Ukraine and Greece was the migration of the Slavs. Important parts of his theory were the ideas that, differently than in the case of Germanic *Tracht*, Slavic bow fibulae were worn singly, rather than in pairs, and that they were more likely to be found in association with cremations, the supposedly standard burial rite of the early Slavs, than with inhumations.⁸ A large number of Werner’s “Slavic” bow fibulae had been found prior to World War II in a limited area in Mazuria (northeastern Poland), in archaeological assemblages that were foreign to anything archaeologists recognized as typically “Slavic.” Aware that his theory of the Slavic migration would not work with Mazurian brooches, Werner proposed that in this, and only this, case, bow fibulae were to be interpreted as a result of long-distance trade between Mazuria and the Lower Danube region, along the so-called Amber Trail.⁹ In accordance with the widely spread belief that mortuary practices were an indication of status hierarchy, he believed that bow fibulae found in Mazurian graves marked the status of the rich “amber lords” of the North. Werner’s ideas have been taken at face value by many archaeologists and have never been seriously questioned. His interpretation of the “Slavic” bow fibulae is the scholarly standard in many Eastern European countries in which a strong undercurrent of German archaeological tradition is still apparent.

I examine, below, the question of whether the presence of “Slavic” bow fibulae in Greece can be explained in terms of migration. The focus will be on the distribution of ornamental patterns and the chronology of the archaeological assemblages in which specimens of Werner’s class I B (Sparta-Linkuhnen) were found. The traditional type-variety manner of material analysis encounters problems when the artifacts discovered do not exhibit the total expected constellation of attributes. There are, in fact, no exact replicas of any existing “Slavic” bow fibula, not even among specimens found together in pairs, a circumstance that has considerable implications for the understanding of the production and distribution of these artifacts. Moreover, some of the recovered specimens are fragments, presenting only a few of the attributes used to define the type. My study

5. For the notion of “emblemic style,” see Wiessner 1983, 1989, 1990.

6. McLaughlin 1987; Macdonald 1990, p. 53; Earle 1990, pp. 74–75; Byers 1991, p. 12.

7. Werner 1950, 1960.

8. Werner 1950, p. 172.

9. Werner 1950, p. 167; 1984b.

therefore relies on whole brooches and employs a simple form of multivariate analysis that offers the great advantage of avoiding assumptions concerning the distribution of variables. By analyzing the presence of these bow fibulae in early medieval cemeteries and their archaeological contexts, I propose a new interpretation, arguing that bow fibulae were more than just dress accessories and that they may have been used for negotiating social power.

ORNAMENTAL PATTERN LINKAGE

Werner's class I B, which I have examined elsewhere in greater stylistic detail,¹⁰ is the class most represented among “Slavic” bow fibulae found in Greece. Out of seven known specimens, four belong to class I B. The “exotic” character of these artifacts, in terms of both ornamental patterns and size, has encouraged speculations as to their ethnic attribution, including “Eastern Slavic,” “barbarian,” and Byzantine.¹¹ There has been little discussion of classification, as Werner's criteria have been taken for granted. I have suggested a narrower definition of the class (re baptized “Veřel-Cořoveni”) to the exclusion of others—such as Dubovac, unknown location (Turkey), and Lezhë—that are now included in the corpus.¹² According to my proposed definition, members of the I B class have in common some or all of the following characteristics: a semicircular headplate covered with symmetrical, chip-carved scrollwork featuring two horizontal S-spirals and a central lozenge; seven headplate knobs; a ribbed bow;¹³ a trapezoidal footplate filled with scrollwork decoration in three panels and flanked by more or less stylized pairs of bird heads; and a terminal lobe in the form of a human mask.¹⁴ I have subsequently proposed a division of the entire class into two variants with distinct ornamental patterns and distributions.¹⁵ Finally, in a thorough study of Werner's classes I A and B, Christina Katsougiannopoulou has recently proposed a division into five variants (one of which has only one specimen) on the basis of general shape and ornamental patterns.¹⁶

There is very little, if any, evidence for the physical copying of any existing brooch: despite more or less strong similarities among the brooches of Werner's class I B, no exact replication of any is known. The suggestion that parts of brooches of other classes may have been reproduced more or less closely in creating new I B fibulae points to the possibility that each brooch may have been produced as required, for a single occasion. This

10. Curta 1994.

11. Slavic: Malingoudis 1986; řtefanoviřov 1997, pp. 353–354. Barbarian: Vida and Vlling 2000, p. 32; Katsougiannopoulou 1999. Byzantine: Pallas 1955; 1981, pp. 309–310.

12. Curta 1994, p. 239. Also excluded from this group is the fragment from Orlea (Berciu 1939, pp. 232–233, fig. 90; Werner 1950, pl. 27:3), which

Werner included in his class I A together with the Nea Anchialos brooch (13). The Orlea brooch is very different, in fact, from the Nea Anchialos fibula, its headplate suggesting that it may be a specimen of the Csongrd-Kettshalom class (Zaseckaia 1997, p. 419).

13. A number of brooches—Cořoveni (2), Dubovac (5), unknown

location in Turkey (29), and the specimens in the Diergardt (22) and Kofler-Truniger collections (26)—also have side bows, for which see Curta 1994, p. 243.

14. Curta 1994, pp. 240–247.

15. Curta 2001, p. 249.

16. Katsougiannopoulou 1999, pp. 14–30.

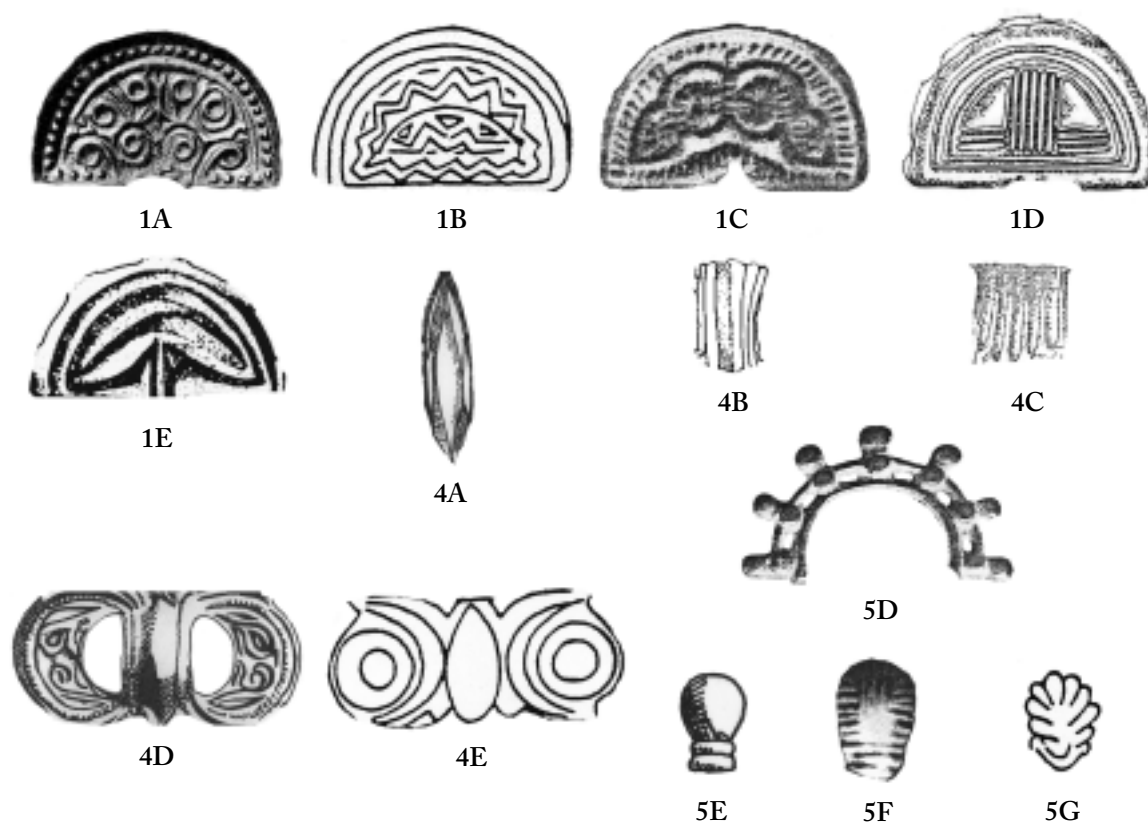


Figure 1. Werner's class I B, brooch design parts: headplates (1A–E), bows (4A–E), headplate knobs (5D–G)

view shifts the emphasis from the “class” itself to the design elements of each particular brooch.¹⁷

Werner's class I B contains five variants of headplate (1A–E) and four of footplate (2A–D), with various patterns of ornamentation ranging from scrollwork to geometric decoration; five ribbed bows with or without side bows (4A–E); four variants of headplate knobs (5D–G) in sets of five (5A), seven (5B), or nine (5C); and three variants of terminal lobes in the form of a human mask, with or without beard (3A–C) (Figs. 1, 2). Stylistic analysis has traced the origin of these variables to ornamental patterns of late-fifth-century fibulae or buckles.¹⁸ Each of these variables is independent of the others, and they seem to have been interchangeable and often freely combined, which may explain the absence of exact replicas. To describe such combinations, the corpus entries of the brooches in the Appendix (see below, pp. 134–137) include an alphanumeric code representing a minimal list of variables.¹⁹ It should be noted that this is by no means a novel approach to the classification of fibulae. The rubbish heap found near and below Building Group 3 at Helgö (Sweden) produced an enormous quantity of fragments of molds used for casting headplate, bow, and footplate elements of relief brooches. The nature of that body of evidence

17. For problems associated with classification in archaeology and the tendency to move away from abstract types created by archaeologists to an

“emic” approach to artifact typology, see Cowgill 1982, 1990; Read 1982, 1989; Adams 1988; Minta-Tworzowska 1993, 1998.

18. See note 14, above.

19. Alphanumeric codes are not included for 11 and 24, of which no reliable illustrations are published.



Figure 2. Werner's class I B, brooch design parts: footplates (2A–D), terminal lobes (3A–C)

prompted a model of classification that emphasizes the conceptual division of a brooch into design elements.²⁰ Two recent brooch classifications, one of squareheaded and the other of bow brooches, are also based on dividing the designs of individual brooches into compositional elements.²¹

Once a matrix was built showing the incidences of all variables used in the description of brooches of Werner's class I B, the classification presented in this study was produced by means of a shared near-neighbor clustering analysis using the Jaccard coefficient of similarity (Fig. 3). With this simple statistical method, category membership is based on common ornamental variables. In order to join a cluster (category), a given brooch must have a specified level of similarity with any member of that cluster. For two clusters to join, any brooch of one cluster must have a specified level of similarity with any brooch of the other. Shared near-neighbor clustering quantitatively represents the influence of outer points in a set of data on the relative similarity of each pair of points, and is most appropriate for data not based on physical measurement, that is, for cases in which nothing can be assumed about underlying probability functions. In theory, the Jaccard coefficient disregards mismatches: if two brooches are the same in that they both lack a certain ornamental variable, that similarity is not counted either as a match or in the total number of ornamental variables. In practice, however, the coefficient is obtained by dividing the number of variables common to two brooches by the sum of that number and the number of mismatches, thereby taking into account the variation in the number of variables among brooches. As a consequence, and since average-link analysis employing the Jaccard coefficient of similarity cannot deal properly with empty occurrences, no fragmentary brooch has been taken into consideration in the present work.²²

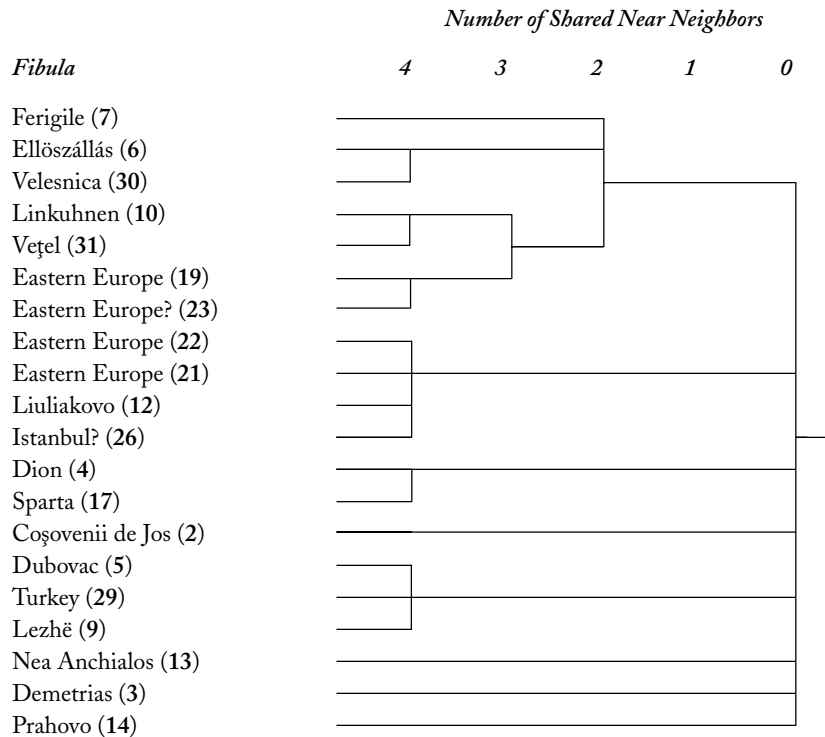
The analysis presented here shows the existence of four major clusters, each defined by different design patterns, and three unique specimens,

20. Lundström 1972.

21. Hines 1997; Zaseckaia 1997.

In order to construct classes, Hines quantified similarity between specimens to obtain coefficients of agreement that he further set out in a Robinson matrix to produce clusters (Hines 1997, p. 9). For a mathematical description of the Brainerd-Robinson coefficient of agreement, see Shennan 1990, pp. 191–192.

22. For the merits of the average-link analysis using the Jaccard coefficient, see Shennan 1990, pp. 203–204, 213–214.



<i>Level</i>	<i>Clusters</i>	<i>Elements (Mean)</i>	<i>Elements in Residue</i>
2	3	4.7	6
3	3	3.7	9
4	2	3.5	13

Similarity coefficient: Jaccard. Number of neighbors considered: 4.

Figure 3. Near-neighbor cluster analysis of 20 bow fibulae of Werner's class I B

Demetrias (3), Nea Anchialos (13), and Prahovo (14). When plotting on a map of Eastern Europe the near-neighbor relationships resulting from this analysis, it becomes clear that two of the four groups consist of design patterns with specific, localized distributions and with little, if any, relation to each other (see Figs. 4, 5).²³ Fibulae found in Transylvania and the neighboring regions—Ellöszállás (6), Velesnica (30), Veşel (31)—have ornamental links with two fibulae from unknown locations in Eastern Europe (19, 23), as well as with another from Eastern Prussia (Linkuhnen; 10). These brooches share many more compositional elements with each other than with another group of fibulae from the Balkans (Coşovenii de Jos [2], Liuliakovo [12], and probably Istanbul [26]). If a specimen from the State Historical Museum in Stockholm (21), with its typical side bows, is indeed of Scandinavian or, at least, northeastern European origin, then it will be possible to postulate northern links for the second group as well. For the moment, however, the only link of this group outside the northern Balkans is a brooch from the Diergardt collection in the Roman-Germanic Museum in Cologne (22).

There are no direct links between fibulae found in Greece and those from the Balkans, Hungary, Transylvania, or Eastern Prussia. A specimen

23. The two groups with localized distribution: Ellöszállás (6), Ferigile (7), Linkuhnen (10), Velesnica (30), and Veşel (31); Coşovenii de Jos (2), Liuliakovo (12), and probably Istanbul (26).

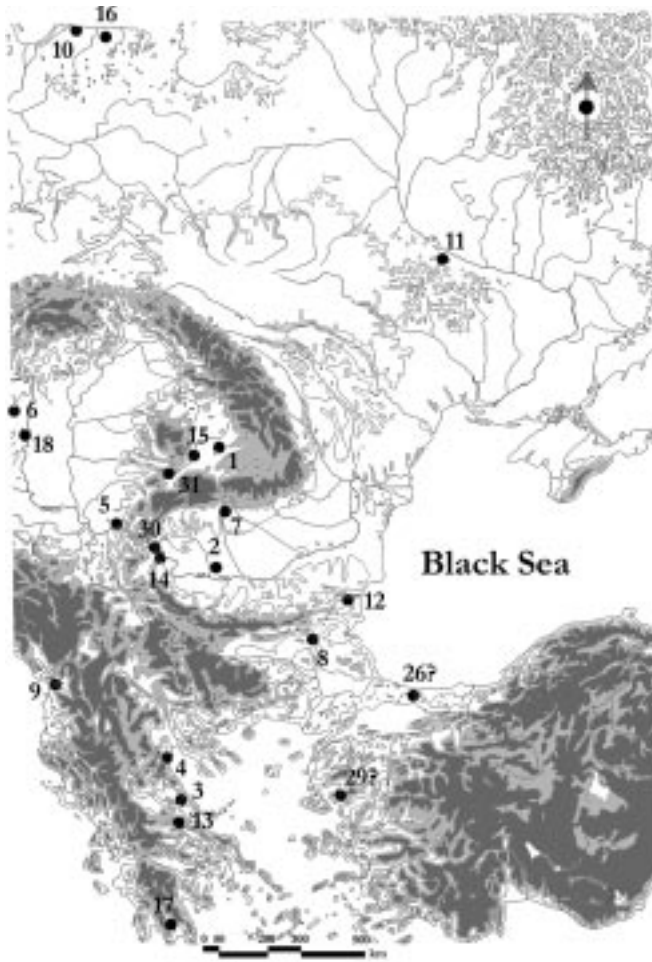


Figure 4. Distribution of fibulae of Werner's class I B, Eastern Europe

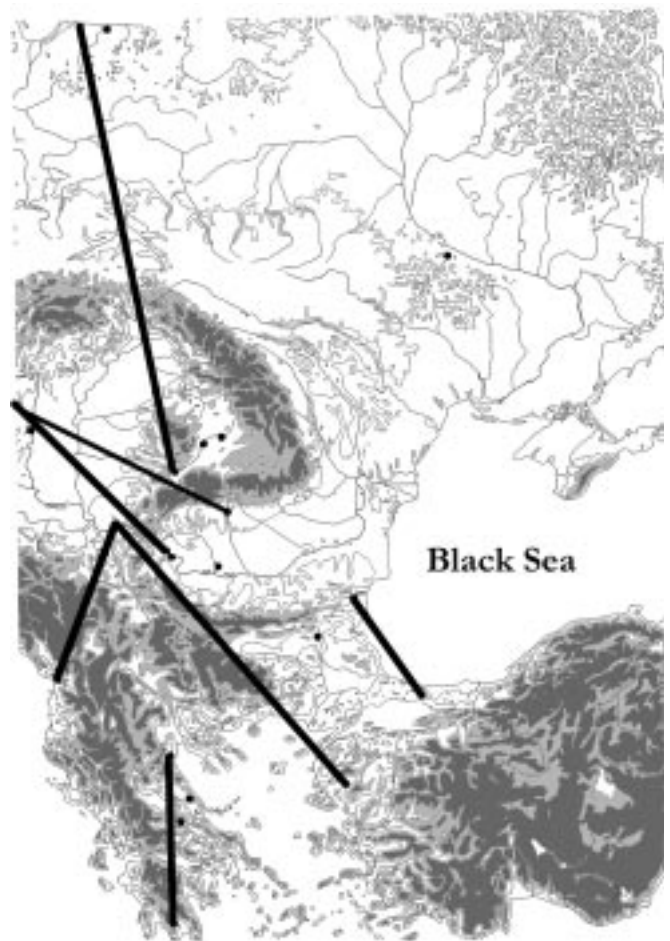


Figure 5. Plotting of the nearest-neighbor similarity of 20 brooches of Werner's class I B. Key: thicker line = four shared neighbors; thinner line = two shared neighbors; dot = fragment or nonlinked specimen.

found in the Middle Dnieper region (11), now lost and known only from a poor sketch by Alexander Spicyn,²⁴ may be linked to the Nea Anchialos specimen (13) because of its interconnected headplate knobs, a feature reminiscent of fibulae of Werner's class II D, which is particularly well represented in the Middle Dnieper region.²⁵ The ornamental links do not seem to confirm the idea that brooches of Werner's class I B were all produced initially in the region of Transylvania and later imitated in Greece, Hungary, and Eastern Prussia.²⁶ While second- or third-rank links exist between brooches found on sites in adjacent areas, most first-rank links are between specimens at opposite ends of Eastern Europe. The fibulae found in Romania (1, 7, 15, 28, and 31) seem to represent some sort of intermediary link, for neither Greek nor Eastern Prussian finds are direct analogies of the gilded specimen with lavish scrollwork decoration (26), said to have been found in Istanbul and now in a private collection in Switzerland.²⁷ Indeed, color effects (garnet inlay and mercury gilding) are typical only for the Balkan variant, while all other fibulae display textural effects consisting of chip-carving, scrollwork, or geometric decoration on both headplate and footplate.

CHRONOLOGY

It is the Coșoveni fibula, 2 (Fig. 6), a specimen of the Balkan variant, that Werner used to date his entire corpus of "Slavic" bow fibulae (for illustrations of other I B fibulae, see also Figs. 7–10). Because of the animal-style decoration, in general the most typical for the Early Avar period (ca. 560–650),²⁸ and the associated artifacts (a silver torque and two silver earrings), Werner proposed a general dating to the seventh century. In arguing for this date, Werner noted that the Coșoveni torque was a duplicate of the one found at Čadavica (Croatia).²⁹ In fact, much closer analogies are the torques from the Ukrainian hoards of silver and bronze found at Kozievka

Figure 6 (opposite). Fibulae of Werner's class I B (1–4). Courtesy of Ioan Stanciu (1). After Nestor and Nicolaescu-Plopșor 1938; Eiwanger 1981; Katsougiannopoulou 1997. Scale: 5:7 (2), 2:3 (1, 4), 1:2 (3)

24. Korzukhina 1996, pl. 94:3.

25. Balakliia: Korzukhina 1996, p. 374, pl. 23:2. Bil's'k: Prikhodniuk 1997, p. 507, fig. 6:7. Koloberda: Korzukhina 1996, p. 409, pl. 82:5. Kozievka: Korzukhina 1996, p. 397, pls. 47:2, 3, 48:1–3. Pastys'ke: Korzukhina 1996, p. 380, pls. 29:2, 3, 30:2, 3. Sloboda Likhachevka: Korzukhina 1996, p. 395, pl. 43:6. Sukhiny: Korzukhina 1996, p. 368, pl. 83:2. Unknown locations: Werner 1950, p. 162, pl. 40:40; Korzukhina 1996, pls. 82:7, 83:4.

26. Werner 1950, p. 170. See also Teodor 1992, p. 124.

27. The fragmentary state of a large number of brooches prevents a full understanding of the network of ornamental links. It is important to note in

this context that none of the three fragments found in Transylvania is a replica of the Vețel brooch. Nor is the specimen from Hungary (unknown location) identical to that of Sparta, despite the similar ornamental pattern on their footplates. The same is true of the brooches from northern Serbia and Ferigile.

28. "Early Avar" is a technical term used to refer to one of the three major chronological divisions of the archaeological evidence from assemblages dated between the late sixth and the early ninth century. The term goes back to Ilona Kovrig's analysis of the Alattyán cemetery (Kovrig 1963). Kovrig established three phases for that cemetery: Early (ca. 570–650/660),

Middle (650/660–700), and Late Avar (700–800/820). The chronological system of Avar archaeology in Hungary and the neighboring countries is still based on Kovrig's phasing of the Alattyán cemetery, although her use of coins for dating the first and second phase was met with harsh criticism (see Bálint 1989, p. 149; 1985, pp. 138–139). For the animal-style decoration (the so-called *Tierstil II*) of the Early and Middle Avar periods, see Haseloff 1988.

29. Werner 1950, p. 157. The parallel between Coșoveni and Čadavica had already been drawn by Ion Nestor (Nestor and Nicolaescu-Plopșor 1938, p. 41). For Čadavica, see Fettich 1941–1942.



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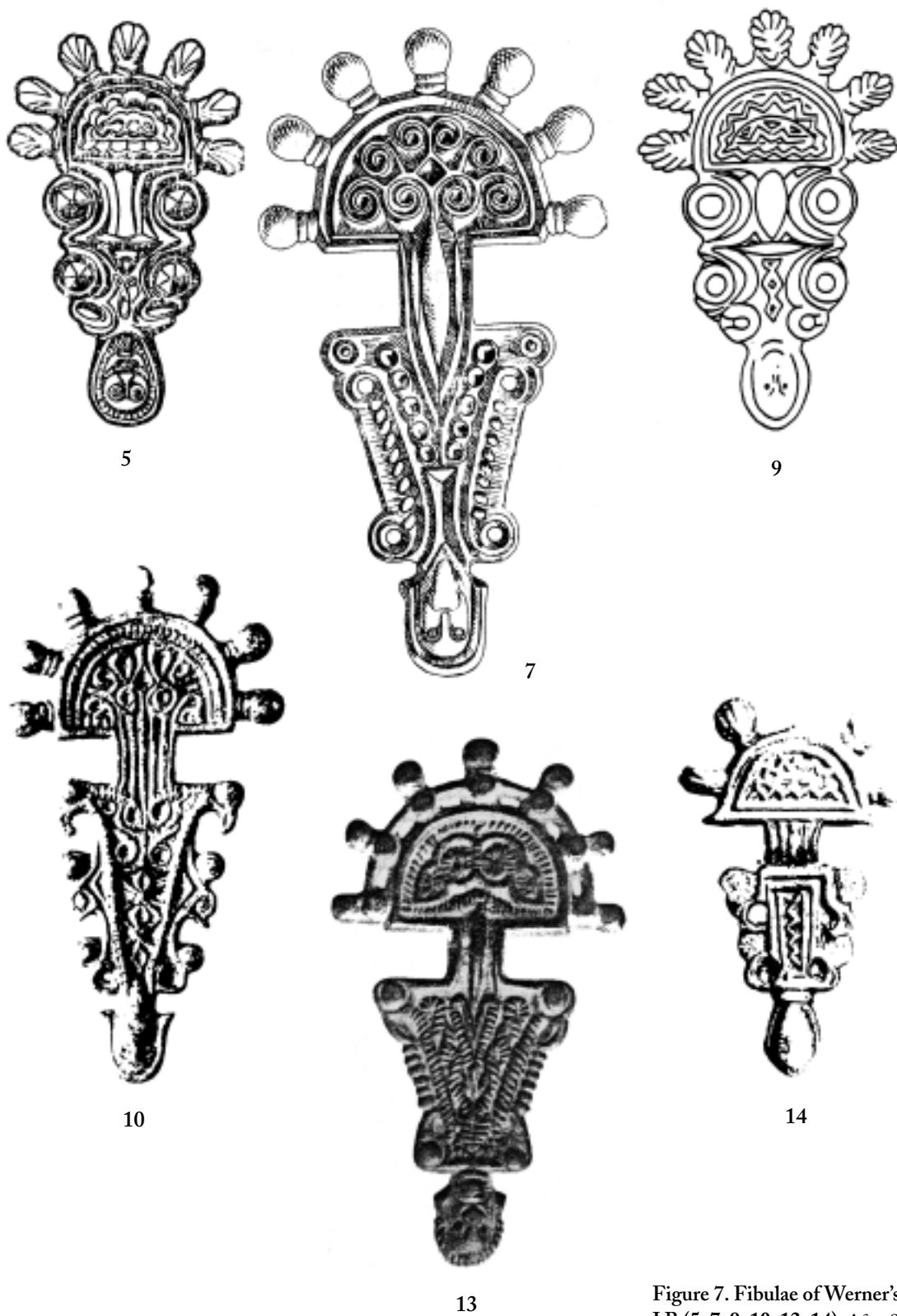


Figure 7. Fibulae of Werner's class
I B (5, 7, 9, 10, 13, 14). After Soteriou
1940; Dimitrijević 1969; Bärzu 1979; Prendi
1979–1980; Kühn 1981; Janković 1981.
Scale: 1:1 (7, 13), 5:6 (10), 4:5 (5, 9, 14)

Figure 8. Fibulae of Werner's class I B (12, 15, 31). After "Şantierul arheologic Moreşti"; Simonova 1970; Mikhailov 1977. Scale: 1:1

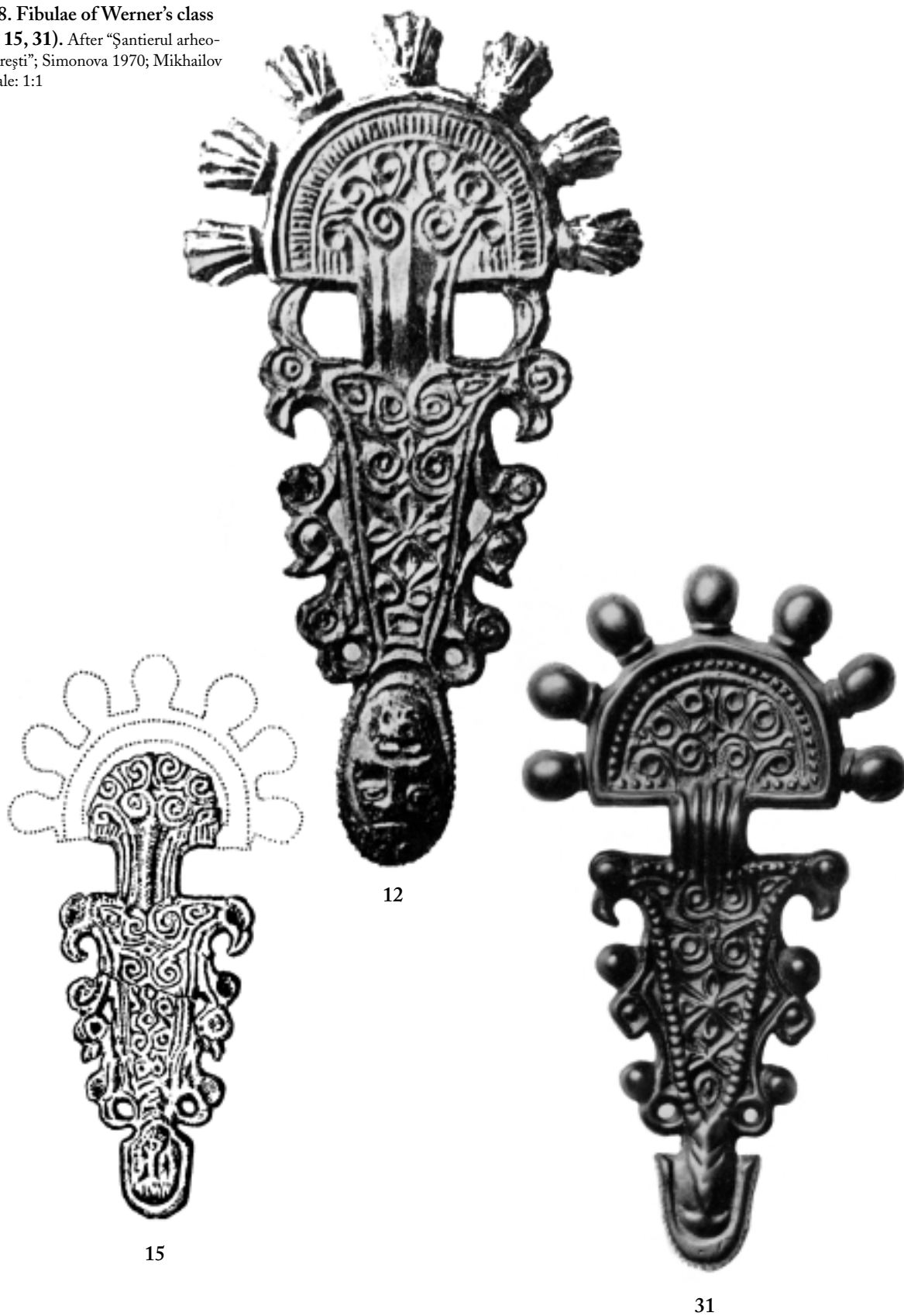


Figure 9. Fibulae of Werner's class
I B (16–19, 21, 25). After Csalog 1944–
1945; Werner 1950; Kühn 1981; Katsou-
giannopoulou 1997. Scale: 1:1 (18), 5:6 (21),
2:3 (17, 19, 25), 5:8 (16)



17



18



25



21



16



19

Figure 10. Fibulae of Werner's class I B (22, 23, 26–30). After Werner 1950, 1960; Teodor 1992; MacGregor 1997. Scale: 1:1 (30), 2:3 (23), 3:5 (22, 27, 29), 5:9 (26), 1:2 (28)



22



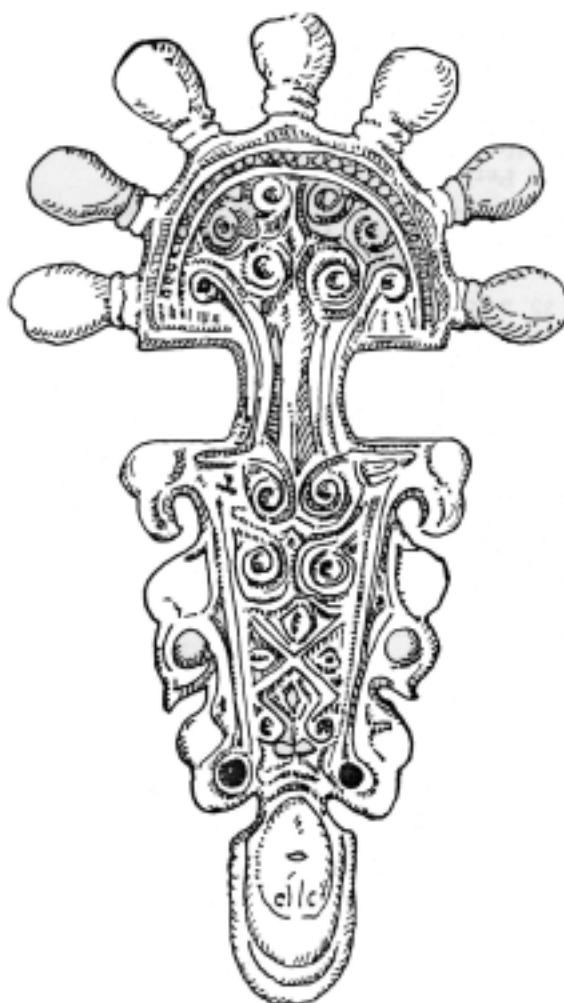
26



23



27



30



28



29

and Zalesie.³⁰ The Zalesie torque—which, in turn, is similar to, but not identical with, the one found at Čadavica—was associated with a silver chalice very similar to four chalices found in an assemblage at Malo Pereshchepino (Left Bank Ukraine), presumably a burial assemblage, together with “light weight” *solidi* minted in Constantinople for Emperor Constans II between 642 and 647.³¹ Within the Carpathian basin and the neighboring regions, torques first appear at the end of the Early Avar period, that is, in the mid-seventh century.³²

Werner also laid emphasis on the two silver earrings, with star-shaped pendant, associated with the Coșoveni fibula.³³ He placed the earrings on an evolutionary scale between specimens from Taormina (Sicily) and Rybešovice (Slovakia) and dated them to the seventh century. One belongs to Čilinská's class II C, the other to her class II A.³⁴ While no good analogies are known for the former,³⁵ the latter is very similar to silver earrings from a burial assemblage at Gâmbaș (Transylvania),³⁶ which also produced a pair of “Slavic” bow fibulae of Werner's class I C. Equally useful for chronological comparison is a fragment of an earring of Čilinská's class II A found with the Prișeaca hoard of Byzantine silver that included 73 hexagrams of Constantine IV's third series, dated between 674 and 681 (closing coins).³⁷ There is, therefore, sufficient evidence to support a date for the Coșoveni assemblage within the second half, possibly even the last third, of the seventh century. The Coșoveni fibula may well be of slightly earlier date, given that the animal-style decoration is more typical of the Early than of the Middle Avar period.

To the Early Avar period may also be dated the fibulae from Lezhë (9)³⁸ and Ellöszállás (6), although little has been published about the context in which the latter was found. Grave 12 at Szákály-Öreghegy, which produced a fragment of a brooch of Werner's class I B (18), might be of a later date: I have initially proposed a date for the grave within the first half of the seventh century, mainly on the basis of the association of 18 with a brooch of Werner's class I C from grave 12 (Fig. 11, left), which has a nineteen-knob headplate very similar to those on brooches of Kühn's Mün-

30. Kozievka: Korzukhina 1996, pp. 397–402, pl. 58:3. Zalesie: Ugrin 1987, pp. 11–41, figs. 14:c, 15:c, 17:a–d. Similar to these are a torque found in the vicinity of Kaniv, in the Middle Dnieper region, and another at an unknown location in Ukraine, presumably in the same region. See Korzukhina 1996, p. 370, pl. 2:3; Vida and Völling 2000, p. 67, fig. 25:2.

31. Werner 1984a, pp. 7–33, pls. 7:10–12, 10:24, 22:2. All 18 of the *solidi* of Constans II from this assemblage were pierced and reused as pendants. For the identification of these coins, see Sokolova 1993. Despite claims to the contrary (Elbern 1998,

p. 506), the Zalesie and Malo Pereshchepino chalices do not seem to have served any liturgical purpose, for they belonged to functional sets including plates, drinking vessels, and washing vessels. See Mango 1995.

32. Vida and Völling 2000, p. 75.

33. Werner 1950, p. 157.

34. Čilinská 1975.

35. However, see Curta 1994, p. 249 with n. 93.

36. Horedt 1958, pp. 79, 98, fig. 15:3.

37. For an illustration of the earring, see Comșa 1986, fig. 17. For the coins, see Mitrea 1975, p. 124. For the chronology of the hexagrams of Constan-

tine IV, see Hahn 1981, pp. 66–67.

38. Arrowheads similar to that from grave 36 at Lezhë are known from the contemporary fort at Shurdhah (Spahiu 1976, pl. 5:4, 5) and from grave 2 at Corinth (Davidson 1937, p. 231, fig. 2:G). The Corinth arrowhead was associated with a belt buckle of the Bologna class, similar to that found in grave 3 at Samos in association with two coins minted for Emperor Heraclius in 611/2 and 613/4, respectively (*Samos* XVII, pp. 124–125). Such arrowheads are relatively common in Early Avar assemblages; see Kiss 1992, p. 52; Varsik 1992, p. 84.



Figure 11. Szákály-Öreghegy, grave 12: (left) bow fibula and (right) belt mounts (found with 18). After Csalog 1944–1945, pls. XCIII, XCIV

39. See Curta 1994, p. 249. For the Müngersdorf class, see Kühn 1974, pp. 1106–1112, figs. 38:1, 3, 6–9, pl. 291.

40. Katsougiannopoulou 1997, p. 318; 1999, pp. 29–30.

41. Csalog 1944–1945, p. 296, pl. XCIV:18; Stadler 1988–1989, p. 196.

42. Igar: Fülöp 1988, pp. 152–153, 158, fig. 5:5. Ivancsa: Bóna 1970, pp. 243–244, 247, 252, figs. 5:6, 8:9. Vrap: Werner 1986, p. 18, pl. 13:29, 30. Like the assemblage from Malo Pereshchepino and other collections of silver plate found outside the Byzantine empire, the Vrap hoard contains a fully functional set of vessels. See Mango 1998, pp. 225, 228. For a detailed description and discussion of the associated belt mounts, see Stadler 1996.

43. For Aquileia-type brooches, see Kühn 1965, pp. 95–101. For the Gáva-Domolospusztá style, see Bierbrauer 1991, p. 575. Several belt buckles decorated in the Gáva-Domolospusztá style (Gáva, Acquasanta, “Aquileia”) also exhibit human masks hidden within the complicated ornamental pattern of the buckle plate. These masks are very similar to those decorating the terminal lobe of brooches of Werner’s class I B.

gersdorf class, dated to that period.³⁹ While agreeing with that dating, C. Katsougiannopoulou has criticized my attempt to interpret the broken fibula of Werner’s class I B from grave 12 as a “recycled” artifact.⁴⁰ According to Katsougiannopoulou, because the Szákály-Öreghegy fibula was found on the shoulder of the skeleton and because the missing part did not affect the functioning of the brooch as a safety pin, we should treat the fibula as fully operational. This argument, while persuasive, does not bear on the chronology of Werner’s class I B. Moreover, at a closer look, the Szákály-Öreghegy grave does not seem to fall within Kovrig’s Early Avar period. Associated with the two brooches was a set of belt mounts and an iron belt buckle. One of these mounts has an attachment ring (Fig. 11, right), most likely used for attaching to the belt either a knife or some other object, and is an early specimen of a series most typical of the late Middle and, especially, Late Avar periods.⁴¹ Similar mounts are known from several key assemblages of the Middle Avar period, such as assemblages from Igar and Ivancsa; best known are those from the hoard of Byzantine gold and silverware found at Vrap (Albania) and dated to ca. 700.⁴² The burial assemblage in which the Szákály-Öreghegy fibula was found may thus be dated to the second half, if not the last third, of the seventh century. As such, it may well have coincided in time with the Coşoveni burial.

May we therefore assume a date of the second half or last third of the seventh century for all other brooches of Werner’s class I B? Particularly thorny in this respect is the chronology of specimens with scrollwork decoration. With no independently dated archaeological contexts to shed light on this question, the dating remains tentative and subject to revision, pending future discoveries. All brooches with scrollwork decoration have a number of features in common with metalwork of the late fifth century, such as fibulae of Kühn’s Aquileia class and dress accessories decorated in the so-called Gáva-Domolospusztá style, with its typical S-shaped spirals.⁴³ No examples of direct copying of the “standard” Gáva-Domolospusztá style exist among fibulae of Werner’s class I B, and the decorative grammar

of the class I B fibulae is somewhat different from that of fifth-century brooches.⁴⁴ Yet, if comparisons of fibulae of Werner's class I B and those of the fifth century are allowed, they would suggest that fibulae with scrollwork ornamentation may have been produced shortly after 500.⁴⁵ This conclusion would be compatible with the "recycling" of one such brooch within the burial assemblage from Szákály-Öreghegy (18), a phenomenon documented for specimens of other classes as well.⁴⁶ It would also explain why the northernmost outliers on the distribution map for Werner's class I B fibulae—Linkuhnen (10) and Sovetsk (16)—exhibit the scrollwork typical of the Balkan and Transylvanian brooches rather than the geometric decoration of specimens from Hungary and Greece. Indeed, the strongest contacts between the Carpathian basin and northern Europe were in the early 500s, when a number of artifacts of Scandinavian origin made their way into Hungarian burial assemblages, while "imports" from "Gepidia" appear in assemblages from Mazuria, Eastern Prussia, and Lithuania.⁴⁷ I therefore maintain my earlier conclusion that scrollwork-decorated specimens of Werner's class I B should be dated to the sixth, and not to the seventh century.

Let us now turn to the only datable brooch of Werner's class I B that was found in Greece. The Nea Anchialos fibula, 13 (Fig. 7), was found in a burial chamber together with four skeletons (Fig. 12, left); it is not known with which one of them the brooch was associated.⁴⁸ Presumably one of the skeletons was that of a female (see below, p. 125 and nn. 98–100), although much of the discussion about this particular fibula has revolved around the presence or absence of Slavic warriors in northern and central Greece. In addition to the brooch, the Nea Anchialos burial chamber produced a hinged belt buckle with circle-and-dot decoration (Fig. 12, right). Such buckles are known from several sites in the eastern Mediterranean region (Salamis on Cyprus, Kastro Tigani on Samos, and Apamea in Syria),⁴⁹ but also from grave 69, a female burial, in the Early and Middle Avar cemetery excavated at Aradac (northern Serbia).⁵⁰ The Aradac buckle was attached to a bronze chain found on the left side of the skeleton's

44. The Gáva-Domolospuszta style was, however, imitated in Crimea, and brooches decorated in that style appear in much later burial assemblages, often with clear marks of repair. See Zaseckaia 1997, pp. 409, 411, 413, 433–434. For an example of imitation of the Gáva-Domolospuszta style outside Crimea, see the bow fibula (perhaps of Werner's class I F) found at Budy, near Kharkiv (Korzukhina 1996, p. 402, fig. 59:1).

45. Curta 1994, pp. 247, 250. Contra: Katsougiannopoulou 1999, pp. 14, 22.

46. Lezhë (Albania), grave 32, fragment of a Werner's class I C fibula: Prendi 1979–1980, p. 129, pl. 21:2. Viničani (Macedonia), inhu-

mation burial, fragment of a Werner's class I C fibula: Babić 1976, p. 63, fig. 5. Skalistoe (Crimea, Ukraine), burial chamber 279, fragment of a Werner's class I D fibula: Veimarn and Aibabin 1993, pp. 51–53, fig. 31:28. Smorodino (Russia), inhumation burial, fragment of a Werner's class II D fibula: Korzukhina 1996, p. 402, pl. 60:3.

47. See Curta 2001, p. 195. Later contacts with Mazuria and Eastern Prussia are also documented for sites in eastern and southern Romania, Moldova, and Ukraine, which produced "Slavic" bow fibulae (Curta 2001, pp. 269–270). But specimens of Werner's class I B are conspicuously absent from these regions.

48. Soteriou (1940, pp. 62–63) mentions the fibula as being found on one of the four skeletons. The drawing that accompanies the report, depicting the plan of the chamber and the position of the skeletons (p. 61, fig. 11; see Fig. 12), does not indicate the findspot of either the fibula or the associated buckle.

49. For a complete list of analogies, see Vida and Völling 2000, p. 28.

50. Nagy 1959, p. 60, pl. XII:9. Grave 69 at Aradac also produced two silver earrings and a bronze finger-ring with iron bezel. For the context of the buckle, see Nagy 1968, p. 169, fig. 2 (where it is wrongly attributed to grave 96).

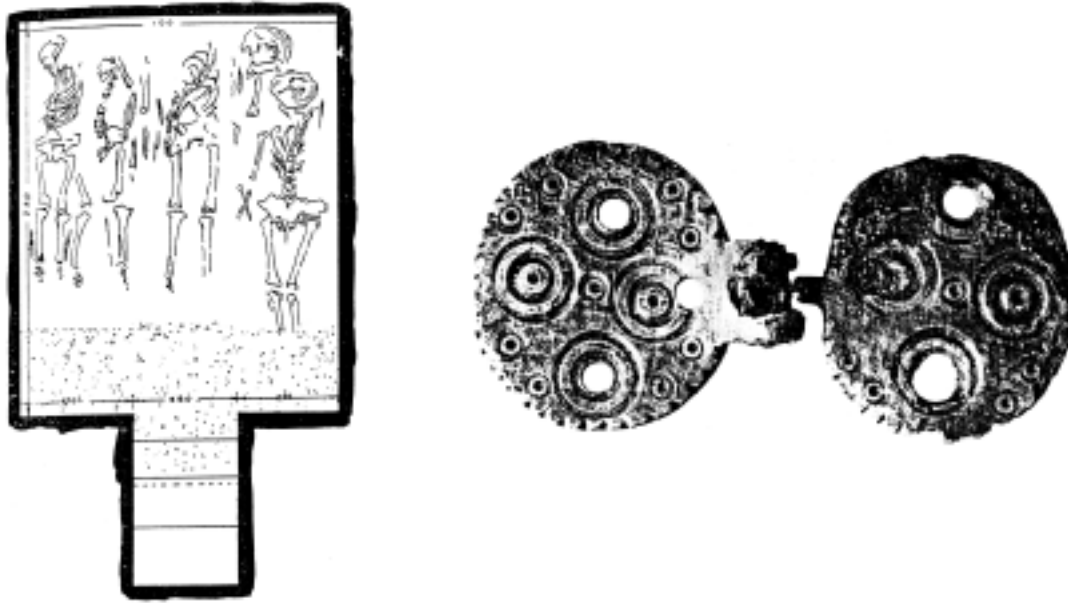


Figure 12. Nea Anchialos, burial chamber: (left) plan and (right) associated hinged buckle (found with 13). After Soteriou 1940, pp. 61, 63, figs. 11, 14

chest. A similar chain, but with a buckle of a different type, was found in the same cemetery in grave 16, which also produced two silver earrings with bead pendant and a strap end with interlaced ornament in dentil pattern (*Zahnschnitt*), both good indications of a date within the Early Avar period (ca. 600–650). The ornamental pattern of the strap end is similar to that covering the footplate of the Coșoveni fibula, and as such is certainly of a date within the Early Avar period, in which the dentil pattern was in use.⁵¹ It is therefore possible that these two graves in the Aradac cemetery may date to the first half of the seventh century. If so, and if the hinged belt buckle and the fibula of Werner’s class I B were indeed associated with one and the same skeleton in the Nea Anchialos burial, then the Nea Anchialos fibula may date to the same period.⁵²

Different dates, then, can be assigned to different members of Werner’s class I B. Despite the lack of securely dated archaeological contexts, the vast majority of fibulae with scrollwork decoration may well be of the sixth century. For a smaller group of Werner’s class I B fibulae, those which have simplified, “geometrical” ornamentation—Demetrias (3), Dion (4), Ellöszállás (6), Ferigile (7), Prahovo (14), Sparta (17), Hungary (25), and northern Serbia (27)—a date in the early 600s has been advanced,⁵³ and is now confirmed by the analysis of the archaeological context of the Nea Anchialos brooch (13; see below, p. 126). The fibulae from Dubovac (5) and Lezhë (9) may also belong to this group. The Coșoveni fibula (2), an exceptional member of Werner’s class I B in terms of both size and exquisite decoration, clearly owes its decoration to the animal style and to the technique of *Zahnschnitt* ornamentation of the Early Avar period. Yet the archaeological context in which the Coșoveni fibula was found points to a date within the second half of the seventh century, slightly later than Early Avar. All Greek fibulae belong to the smaller group of Werner’s class I B, those with simplified, “geometrical” ornamentation, and understanding the meaning attached to these dress accessories depends upon the archaeological and historical context of early-seventh-century Greece.

51. See Fettich 1926.

52. See Vida and Völling 2000, p. 28.

53. This date is proposed in Curta 1994, p. 248.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Systematic excavations carried out at Nea Anchialos by the Greek Archaeological Society since 1924 have uncovered a great number of churches both inside and outside the Late Antique walls of Thessalian Thebes. Inside the walls, both Basilica C (also known as the “basilica of the Archpriest Peter”) and Basilica F (the “basilica of Martyrios”) show evidence of violent destruction by fire at some point during the seventh century.⁵⁴ Basilica Δ, known as the “cemetery basilica” for its location next to the largest Late Antique cemetery of Thebes, in use throughout the sixth century, has been assigned dates ranging from the second half of the fifth to the early seventh century.⁵⁵ The fact that no fewer than five burial chambers (two flanking the apse, two on the north side, and one in the middle of the south aisle) are associated with Basilica Δ suggests that it was first built as a *martyrion*; it became a *basilica coemeterialis* at some point during the sixth century.⁵⁶ The burial chamber that produced the “Slavic” bow fibula (see Fig. 12) was certainly erected while the church was still in use, although the skeleton associated with that fibula may have been interred at a later date, during the first half of the seventh century.⁵⁷

The first half of the seventh century was a period of considerable instability in Greece. Barbarian attacks on the southern part of the Balkan peninsula had resumed during Heraclius’s early regnal years. In distant Spain, Isidore of Seville noted that, at the beginning of Heraclius’s reign, the Persians had conquered Syria and Egypt and the Slavs had taken Greece. It is difficult to determine Isidore’s source for this observation, but his association of the Slavic occupation of Greece with the loss of Syria and Egypt to the Persians indicates his attention to the entire Mediterranean basin.⁵⁸ Peter Charanis has insisted that Isidore’s notion of *Graecia* was vague and that he might have been referring to what had formerly been known as Illyricum, rather than to Greece proper. This usage might indeed be attributable to Isidore, but certainly not to the unknown author of the second book of the *Miracles of St. Demetrius*. Writing in the late 600s, he recorded that, before attacking Thessalonica, the Slavs had devastated Thessaly and its islands, the islands of Greece, the Cyclades, Achaia, Epirus, and the greater part of Illyricum, as well as parts of Asia (*Miracles*

54. Basilica F was built over the remains of a fourth-century structure in 431, the date of construction attested by a mosaic inscription in the basilica, and, judging from the latest coins found inside the church, was destroyed during the early regnal years of Emperor Heraclius. Basilica C may have been built during Justinian’s reign, and was apparently burned in the late 600s. See Karagiorgou 2001, pp. 189, 194.

55. Second half of the fifth century: Spiro 1978, p. 354; mid-sixth century: Asimakopoulou-Atzaka 1982, p. 133;

seventh century: Soteriou 1940, pp. 71–72.

56. For Basilica Δ as a *basilica coemeterialis*, see Koder and Hild 1976, p. 271.

57. Contra: Werner 1950, p. 171; Karayannopoulos 1996, p. 188. Claims that Basilica Δ was no longer in use when this burial chamber was built are based primarily on the supposed lack of coin finds from Nea Anchialos dating later than the reign of Heraclius and on unwarranted comparison with Demetrias.

58. Isid., *Historia de regibus Gothorum, Wandalorum et Suevorum*, MGH: AA 11, p. 479. See Charanis 1971; Szádeczky-Kardoss 1986, pp. 53–54; Marín 1991–1992, pp. 225, 228; Ivanova 1995b, pp. 356–357. In the *Continuatio hispana*, written in 754, the raid is dated to Heraclius’s fourth regnal year, but the source for this entry is not Isidore (Szádeczky-Kardoss 1986, p. 54; Ivanova 1995b, p. 355). Isidore’s use of the term *Sclavi* (instead of *Sclaveni*) betrays an official, arguably Constantinopolitan, source (Curta 2001, pp. 45–46).

2.1.179).⁵⁹ The reference to Illyricum and to Greece attests the absence of confusion.

Of the date of the first Slavic attack on Thessalonica, recorded in *Miracles*, book 2, we are told only that it occurred under the episcopate of John, the author of book 1. The description of the territories which the Slavs ravaged before turning against Thessalonica is viewed by many as fitting into the picture of Heraclius's early regnal years, snapshots of which are given by Isidore of Seville and George of Pisidia. In particular, the fact that the author of book 2 specifically refers to maritime raids by canoe (2.1.179; see also 2.4.253, 254) is reminiscent of George of Pisidia's reference to the "Sclavene wolves" (*Bellum Avaricum* 197–201).⁶⁰ Historians agree, therefore, in dating the attack to the first decade of Heraclius's reign.⁶¹

Differently than in raids of the 580s, this time the Sclavenes had brought with them their families, for "they had promised to establish them in the city [of Thessalonica] after its conquest" (*Miracles* 2.1.180). The remark suggests that the raiders approached from the hinterland of the city, for the author of book 2 used "Sclavenes" as an umbrella term for a multitude of tribes, only some of which he knew by name: Drugubites, Sagudates, Berzetes, Baiunetes, and Belegezites.⁶² The last are further mentioned in book 2 as living in the region of Thebes and Demetrias (2.4.254), and, while it is impossible to date their establishment in the area with precision, it cannot have occurred earlier than the reign of Heraclius.⁶³ It is hard to believe that the Belegezites and the other tribes mentioned by the author of book 2 were responsible for the devastation of the islands of Thessaly and the Cyclades, of most of Illyricum, and of parts of Asia. Book 2 of the *Miracles* contains two "lists of provinces" said to have been devastated by the Slavs (2.2.197, 2.5.284), the latter of which betrays an administrative source. It is therefore likely that, in describing a local event—the attack of the Drugubites, Sagudates, Berzetes, Baiunetes, and Belegezites on Thessalonica—of relatively minor significance, the author of book 2 framed it against a broader historical and administrative background to make it appear to be of greater importance: when all the other provinces and cities were falling, Thessalonica alone, under the protection of St. Demetrius, was capable of resistance. This siege seems to have lasted no more than a week.⁶⁴ The Sclavenes did not, however, give up their idea of establishing themselves in Thessalonica. They now called upon the Avars for assistance, offering rich presents to the qagan of the Avars and promising much more, provided that he would help them capture the city. These Sclavenes were certainly not subjects of the qagan, for they were negotiating an alliance with him as equals. That other Sclavenes, however, were obeying the orders of the Avar ruler is shown by the composition of the army the qagan eventually sent to Thessalonica (*Miracles* 2.2.197–198).

The siege of Thessalonica by Sclavenes and Avars was definitely not an event of major importance. The author of book 2 was himself aware that not even the emperor knew about it (2.2.210). The emperor in question is not named, but he must have been Heraclius, for the siege took place not long after the one described in the first homily of book 2. Indeed, two years after being offered the alliance of the Sclavene tribes who

59. For book 2 of the *Miracles*, see Koder 1986, pp. 530–531. For an unconvincing attempt to show that the Slavs could not possibly have reached the Cyclades in their canoes, see Moniarios 1995–1996.

60. For the "Sclavene wolves," see Ivanov 1995, pp. 66–67.

61. Barišić (1953, pp. 86–95) dated the siege to 616, Lemerle (1981, pp. 91–94) to 615. See also Ivanova 1995a, p. 191.

62. For the multitude of tribes, see 2.1.179. For the location of the various tribes, see Lemerle 1981, pp. 89–90.

63. The Belegezites are not mentioned in the *Miracles* at any date earlier than the reign of Heraclius (2.2.210), and appear in no source that can be dated earlier than *Miracles*, book 2. During the siege of 677, they supplied Thessalonica with food (2.4.254, 268).

64. The Sclavenes attacked on the fourth day (2.1.185) and the decisive confrontation took place that same day.

had failed to capture Thessalonica, the qagan marched against the city. This siege must have taken place in 617 or 618, at the latest,⁶⁵ and appears to have lasted just over a month. In the end, however, the qagan could not take the city. Instead, he opened negotiations with the besieged to obtain monetary compensation for withdrawing his troops (*Miracles* 2.2.215).

Shortly afterward, in ca. 620, Heraclius moved all troops from the Balkans to the eastern front. This action seems to have allowed the Avars a wider range of raiding and of control in the Balkans. In 623, they ambushed the emperor himself near the Long Wall; three years later, the Avars laid siege to the capital itself.⁶⁶ Nothing else is known about developments in Greece until shortly after the middle of the seventh century. Theophanes' account of Emperor Constans II's campaign of 656/7 against *Sklavinia* is confirmed by independent, though much later, Syrian sources.⁶⁷ Despite claims to the contrary,⁶⁸ the Slavic polity was most likely located in the hinterland of Constantinople, not in central Greece. However, six or seven years later, on his way to Italy, the emperor did stop in Athens, perhaps for the winter months, an indication of the presence of troops in at least the eastern regions of Greece.⁶⁹

The general withdrawal of the Roman troops from Greece during the first half of the seventh century, with the exception of key coastal points in the east, is clearly visible in the numismatic evidence. After the early 580s, there is a sharp decline in the number of coins from Greek hoards, and new coins appear briefly only after 610. Stray finds seem to follow a similar pattern, but without systematic publication of the coin finds, it is very difficult to draw any firm conclusions. A significant number of hoards of copper and of gold contain closing coins minted during Phocas's reign,⁷⁰ but greater in number are those from Heraclius's early regnal years.⁷¹ Hoard finds from the first two decades of the seventh century⁷² are therefore in sharp contrast to those from the remainder of the century. Greece has so

65. *Miracles* 2.2.198; see Lemerle 1981, pp. 99–100; Pohl 1988, pp. 242–243.

66. For a detailed discussion of the siege of 626, see Barišić 1954 and Howard-Johnston 1995. For the “Avar surprise” of 623, see Kaegi 2003, pp. 118–120, 225.

67. Theophanes Confessor, *Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor (Leipzig 1883) p. 347; trans. C. Mango (Oxford 1997), p. 484. For the Syrian sources, see Ditten 1993, pp. 210–211. For the common source used by both Theophanes Confessor and Pseudo-Dionysios of Tell Mahre, see Pigulevskaya 1967, pp. 56–57. See also Graebner 1978, p. 44. For *Sklaviniai*, see Litavrin 1984. Such polities seem to have represented a serious threat, judging from the fact that this successful campaign was accompanied by the transfer of large

numbers of Slavene prisoners to Asia Minor.

68. Setton 1950, p. 523.

69. “Huius temporibus venit Constantinus Augustus de regia urbe per litoraria in Athenas et exinde Taranto.” (*Liber Pontificalis*, ed. T. Mommsen, [Berlin 1898], p. 186.) Paul the Deacon's account of Constans II's campaign is based on the biography of Pope Vitalian in the *Liber Pontificalis*. As a consequence, he too claims that the emperor marched overland from Constantinople (*History of the Lombards* 5.6). Since communication by land between Constantinople and Thessalonica was reestablished only under Constantine IV, it is unlikely that Constans crossed through southern Thrace and Macedonia to reach Athens. See also Stratos 1975, p. 171; Yannopoulos 1980, p. 343; Hunger 1990, p. 49.

70. E.g., from Pellana (the last coin minted in 608/9) and Vasaras (with ten *solidi* minted between 602 and 610). See Avramea 1983, pp. 64–65. Another hoard of gold, from Paiania, concludes with a *solidus* of Maurice minted in 602. See Metcalf 1988, p. 108.

71. No fewer than six hoards are known from this period. Findspots (with date and, where known, mint of the last minted coin): Chalkis (615/6, Thessalonica; Metcalf 1962, p. 22), Nea Anchialos (615/6, Constantinople; Metcalf 1962, pp. 21–22), Athens (615/6; Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou 1986, p. 349), Thasos (616/7, Thessalonica; Picard 1979, pp. 451–452), Solomos I (620; Avramea 1983, pp. 58–59); and Solomos II (with six *solidi*, three of them minted between 613 and 629; Avramea 1983, p. 58).

72. Curta 1996, p. 221, fig. 44.

far produced only three hoards, two of gold and one of copper, that could be dated after ca. 630.⁷³ All stray finds from the subsequent period are of copper. In the early 600s, hoards of gold were still buried in the immediate vicinity of Constantinople (Akalan) and in Greece (Vasaras, Paiania).⁷⁴ After ca. 630, gold finds disappear from the southern Balkans and copper coins of the last decades of Heraclius's reign are very rare.

David Metcalf formerly proposed that the Slavic invasions of Greece during Heraclius's first regnal years were responsible for the significant number of hoards closing in the early 600s. More recently, he has raised doubts about a connection between Slavic invasions and hoards, but has proposed no alternative explanation.⁷⁵ In fact, small hoards of gold with five to ten *solidi*, such as those of Vasaras and Solomos II, may represent a form of payment to the army known as a *donativum*. Under Tiberius II, the accessional *donativum* was nine *solidi*; the quinquennial, five *solidi*. *Donativa* were surely paid in 578, and the practice of ceremonial payments to the army may have continued through Heraclius's reign.⁷⁶ Hoards of five to ten *solidi* may therefore be seen as correlative between mint output and hoarding, on the one hand, and military preparations, on the other. Such hoards indicate the presence of the Roman army, not of Slavic attacks, and their owners may have kept their savings in cash in a hiding place *custodiae causa*, not *ob metum barbarorum*.⁷⁷

Though the notable presence of the military in southern Greece is certainly to be associated with the turbulent years at the beginning of Heraclius's reign, as well as with the increasing raiding activity of both Slavs and Avars attested by such events as the two sieges of Thessalonica mentioned above, the hoards themselves are an indication of accumulated wealth, not of destruction. The observation may also hold true for hoards of radiate, despite the relatively small value of each of the six Greek hoards dated to the first two decades of the seventh century. The cluster of closing dates immediately prior to 620 strongly suggests that these small collections of copper were left unretrieved because of the general withdrawal of Roman armies from the Balkans. With two exceptions, there are no coins of Heraclius at any Greek site that postdate the withdrawal of troops.⁷⁸ By contrast, a great number of coins of Emperor Constans II have been found at both Athens and Corinth. At Athens alone, the number of coins of Constans is four times larger than the number struck during the rather longer reign of his father, Heraclius. Of the 817 coins of Constans II from the Athenian Agora, 108 were struck in Constantinople in just one year (657). The unusually large number of coins of Constans at Athens has

73. Athens (gold): Svoronos 1904, pp. 153–160; Attica (gold): Vryonis 1963; Salamina (copper): Morrisson 1998, p. 321.

74. For Akalan, see Iurukova 1992a. For Vasaras and Paiania, see above, n. 70.

75. Cf. Metcalf 1962 and 1991. A sudden increase in the number of coins struck during Heraclius's early regnal

years is recognizable both in hoards and isolated finds from Caričin Grad. See Popović 1984a, pp. 80–81; 1984b, pp. 130–131; Guyon and Cardin 1984, p. 90; Ivanišević 1990.

76. Curta 1996, pp. 86, 103; 2001, pp. 177–178; Hendy 1985, pp. 188, 646–647.

77. For the association between mint output and military operations,

see Metcalf 1976, p. 92. For hoards of gold and the presence of the military, see also Poenaru-Bordea and Ocheșanu 1983–1985, p. 180; Iurukova 1992b, p. 287.

78. The exceptions are a coin of 631/2 and one of 633/4, found at Athens and Corinth, respectively. See *Agora* II, p. 70; *Corinth* VI, p. 131.

been explained in terms of the emperor's visit in 662/3.⁷⁹ Relatively large numbers of coins of Constans have also been found at Corinth, and isolated finds are known from various parts of Greece, including Dokos (in the Argolid bay), Isthmia, Nauplion, Perani, and Ayia Triada (near Nea Anchialos).⁸⁰

The numismatic evidence thus confirms the bleak picture of seventh-century Greece sketched on the basis of the shreds of written evidence. Following the general withdrawal of the Roman troops during the reign of Emperor Heraclius, the area seems to have experienced a sharp demographic decline. The archaeological evidence clearly points to the abandonment of most sites that produced evidence of sixth-century occupation. For example, at the Early Byzantine fort identified on the island of Dokos in the Argolid bay, which has two phases of occupation, one phase ends abruptly in the early 600s. Judging from the numismatic evidence, the site remained unoccupied until the late seventh century.⁸¹ Elsewhere, very few indications exist of continuing occupation throughout the first half of the seventh century, and what little evidence there is unmistakably shows a dramatic contraction of site. At Athens, for example, the old colonnade of the Stoa of Attalos lost its original architectural integrity and was subdivided into rooms at some point during the seventh century. In room 6 of the Late Roman house erected alongside the stoa, hundreds of terracotta roof tiles, recovered from the fallen debris of this building's destruction some time in the 630s, were piled in neat rows for possible re-use.⁸² However, such alterations have been dated on numismatic evidence to the reign of Constans II, and thus postdate the period of crisis delineated by hoard finds.

Recent excavations at Isthmia have revealed a group of rooms at the northwest corner of the Roman Bath, all built with walls of rough masonry. One of them had a cooking hearth, another an apsidal structure at the south end. The associated querns bespeak the rural character of the occupation.⁸³ The ceramic material found in these rooms was quickly dubbed "Slavic pottery," but a detailed analysis of forms and decoration has suggested a date between the mid- and late seventh century.⁸⁴ Similarly decorated single-handled pots have been found at Isthmia on the south side of the Northeast Gate, in association with a coin struck for Emperor Constans II in 655/6.⁸⁵ The "squatter" occupation at the North Bay of the Hexamilion has produced cooking pots, including one with a handle and obliquely and vertically incised ornament, as well as a belt buckle of the Bóly-Želovce class. All known analogies for this buckle are Early Avar specimens from Hungarian burial assemblages dated to the first half of the seventh century.⁸⁶ If, indeed, the buckle is to be associated

79. An explanation first offered by Metcalf (1976). See also Hendy 1985, p. 662.

80. Dokos: Kyrou 1995, p. 112, fig. 5; Isthmia: Gregory 1993, pp. 151–153; Nauplion: Avramea 1997, p. 74; Perani and Ayia Triada: Galani-Krikou 1998, p. 151.

81. Kyrou 1995, p. 111. For similar examples on the island of Euboia, see Sampson 1984–1985, esp. p. 367.

82. Shear 1973, p. 397.

83. Gregory 1993, pp. 156, 158.

84. Gregory 1993, pp. 151, 155. Associated with this pottery were fragments of Late Roman 1 amphoras

"similar to the Type 1 amphoras from the Yassi Ada wreck of the mid 7th c." (p. 155). For a mid- to late-seventh- or even eighth-century date, see Vida and Völling 2000, p. 19, fig. 4.

85. *Isthmia* V, p. 86.

86. *Isthmia* V, pl. 25:b. Such buckles have been found at Pécs-Gyárváros,

with the ceramic assemblage, we may have a unique indication of a level of occupation in Greece to be dated between ca. 600 and ca. 650.⁸⁷

Due to the recently refined dating of "Byzantine" belt buckles,⁸⁸ the evidence of early-seventh-century burials in Greece is somewhat richer. All known cases are stone-lined graves with one or more skeletons. Such burials appear more often at Athens⁸⁹ and Corinth⁹⁰ than elsewhere in Greece, and seem to be related to pockets of population, perhaps garrisons stationed in key coastal points.⁹¹ Whether or not finds in the interior, especially in northern Greece (e.g., Nea Anchialos and Edessa; see below, pp. 126–127), are also indicative of concentrations of population remains unclear. It is clear, however, that such finds can no longer be considered isolated nor the remains of "the last Christian Greeks and the first pagan Slavs."⁹² Instead, they point to an interesting blending of cultural elements, the understanding of which requires further scrutiny of early-seventh-century emblematic styles.

Zamárdi, and Keszthely-Dobogó; in grave 43 at Bóly; as well as in graves 510 and 566 at Zalakomár. See Garam 2001, p. 101. For Bóly-Želovce buckles, see also Ibler 1992, pp. 143–144; Varsik 1992, pp. 86–89.

87. Evidence cited for early-seventh-century occupation elsewhere in Greece has recently been shown to be of much later date. For example, the pottery found in the ruins of Bath A at Argos, wrongly dated to the late sixth or early seventh century, is in fact of late-seventh- or early-eighth-century date; see Anagnostakis and Poulou-Papadimitriou 1997, pp. 269–272; Vida and Völling 2000, p. 23; Curta 2001, pp. 233–234. For a similar misdating—of the pottery found in the ruins of the Basilica of Damokratia at Demetrias—see Marzloff 1984, p. 295; Vida and Völling 2000, p. 15. For the handmade pottery found at Pallantio, see Anagnostakis and Poulou-Papadimitriou 1997, pp. 283–284; Vida and Völling 2000, p. 24. Such pottery has also been found at Ayios Vasilios Korinthias, apparently together with a coin minted for Emperor Phocas, suggesting that the early-seventh-century assemblage found at Isthmia may not be unique after all. See Anagnostakis and Poulou-Papadimitriou 1997, pp. 252–253.

88. The first to call attention to these buckles was Werner (1955). For recent studies, see Hessen 1974; Kovalevskaia 1979; Gounaris 1984; Neeft 1988; Aibabin 1990; Teodor 1991; Ibler 1992; Varsik 1992; Haas

and Schewe 1993; Ebel-Zepezauer 1994; Riemer 1995; Eger 1996; Prokopiou 1997; and Garam 2001.

89. Athens: Graves 10 (with Syracuse-type buckle), 13 (with Pergamon-type buckle), and 26 (with Bologna-type buckle) of the cemetery surrounding the Church of St. Dionysios the Areopagite: Travlos and Frantz 1965, p. 167, pl. 43:a. Pergamon-type buckles were found in Lombard cemeteries (e.g., Castel Trosino) in association with belt or sword sheath mounts dated to the first half of the seventh century; see Boube 1983–1984, pp. 290, 292; Riemer 1995, p. 783. For dating of Bologna-type buckles, see *Samos* XVII, pp. 120–121, 124–125; Varsik 1992, p. 84. Isolated examples of Syracuse-, Pergamon-, and Corinth-type buckles have also been found in the Athenian Agora; see Setton 1950, p. 522.

90. Corinth: Two graves within the ruined tower on the west side of Acrocorinth (with Bologna- and Corinth-type buckles, respectively): Davidson 1937, pp. 230–232, figs. 2, 3. A grave near Temple G in the Roman Forum (with Corinth-type buckle): Williams, MacIntosh, and Fisher 1974, p. 11, pl. 2:8. A grave within the South Stoa (GR.1937.15–19, with a Corinth-type buckle): Ivison 1996, p. 117; *Corinth* XII, pl. 114:2195. A grave in the Hemicycle (with a Corinth-type buckle): Ivison 1996, pp. 112–113, fig. 5:7C. Some of the graves with multiple interments have also produced weapons. For the chronology of the

Corinth-type buckles, see below, n. 105. Since most Corinth-type buckles found at Corinth are iron imitations of bronze specimens, they may date to the middle or even the second half of the seventh century. Corinth also produced an isolated find of a Syracuse-type buckle (*Corinth* XII, pl. 114:2185).

91. See, e.g., the burial recently found at Messene (Anagnostakis and Poulou-Papadimitriou 1997, pp. 242–243, 250, figs. 1, 2, 4–6, 8, 9; for the dating of the associated buckle to the early 600s, see Uenzen 1966, p. 156); grave 13 at Porto Cheli (Rudolph 1979, p. 320, fig. 14:57; for the dating of the associated buckle to the early seventh century, see the similar buckle with shield-shaped end found at Caričin Grad: Mano-Zisi 1958, p. 326, fig. 46; Curta 2001, pp. 132–133); graves 25, 32, 40, 42, and 45 at Tigani (all with Corinth-type buckles: Drandakis and Gkioles 1982, pp. 250, 255, 256, pl. 149; Drandakis, Gkioles, and Konstatinidi 1983, pp. 249, 251, pl. 182). Isolated finds of Syracuse-, Bologna-, and Corinth-type buckles, as well as of buckles with shield-shaped end, are also known from several islands in the Argolid bay (Avramea 1997, p. 90, pls. IVa:1, 2, IVc:1, 2, 8, IVd:1). Other isolated finds: Olympia (Pécs-type buckle: Völling 1992, p. 492, pl. 39:3; for the dating of this type of buckle, see Ibler 1992, p. 137); unknown location in the region of Thessalonica (Bologna-type buckle: Gounaris 1984, p. 56, fig. 2:ε).

92. The expression is found in the title of Völling 2001.

PRODUCTION OF “SLAVIC” BOW FIBULAE AND THE EMBLEMIC STYLE

The plotting of the clustering analysis of the brooches examined in the present study shows that fibulae found in the Lower Danube region have multiple links to brooches from distant areas, including Mazuria and Asia Minor (see Fig. 5). Most of the fibulae are stray finds, and the dissemination of ornamental patterns described by this plotting is most difficult to explain in the absence of contextual information. However, the network of links may indicate the extent of social connections between manufacturers, clients, or wearers. It has long been accepted that linked pieces of ornamental metalwork are likely to emphasize the extent of the movement of people, and therefore, of contact.⁹³ Theoretically, the dissemination of a brooch form or of ornamental details may indicate one of three types of movement: of brooches (through gift-giving or trade), with or without their owners; of models of brooches, including templates for the reproduction of ornamental patterns; and of craftsmen, carrying manufactured brooches or models.⁹⁴ Prevailing views about the organization of production in the early Middle Ages are still based on the idea of itinerant specialists carrying durable bronze or lead models. There are indeed some examples of bow fibulae which accord with a presumed use of models,⁹⁵ but there are many more examples that do not. There is little evidence for the physical copying of any existing brooch, although some minimal units of decoration may have been reproduced very closely, probably by some mechanical means, such as templates.

On the other hand, the existing evidence points to local production, not itinerant craftsmen. This is certainly the case with a soapstone mold for bow fibulae, recently found in association with other smelting implements in a sunken-featured building at Bernashivka, near Mohyliv Podil's'kyi (Ukraine).⁹⁶ There is no matching brooch of Werner's class I B for this mold, but the find and its archaeological context are strong indications that production was based on a technology different from the one implied by the existence of bronze or lead-alloy models. Models presuppose both model- and moldmaking pieces. A stone mold excludes the use of models; it was designed to produce a ceroplastic work, later decorated to yield the end product. Variation at this stage of the manufacturing process may explain the lack of any evidence of “mass production” of identical brooches. The model was embedded into a clay bar, which was first dried and then fired to melt the wax and produce the “negative” brooch. Melted metal was then poured into the hollow clay bar. When the metal became cold, the bar was broken and the decoration of the brooch was further

93. This assumption underlies, for example, the work of John Hines (1984) on squareheaded brooches in Anglo-Saxon England.

94. See Leigh 1991, p. 117; Hines 1997, p. 213.

95. The fibula from an unknown location in Hungary (25; now in the

British Museum) does not have a catchpin on the back. As a consequence, Katsougiannopoulou (1997, p. 321 with n. 22) has proposed that it served as a bronze model. See also Mortimer 1994.

96. Vinokur 1998.

refined or gilded. It is the stone mold used in the initial stage that allowed the production of another, similar—but never identical—brooch, by means of the same process.⁹⁷ Decoration seems to have been specific to each case, although the ornamental patterns in use may have been similar. Since the ornamentation produced on the ceroplast work or, later, on the cast seems to be unique for each brooch, although always drawn from a common, relatively easily identifiable repertoire of motifs, it is undoubtedly brooch decoration, and not morphology, that carried the variation possibly representative of an emblematic style.

The absence of exact replication points to a vocabulary of style as dependent on the technical abilities of the manufacturer as on the stylistic demand of the user or wearer. What exactly did "Slavic" bow fibulae "say" about their users? It has long been accepted, although never demonstrated, that such fibulae were part of female dress. This presumption has been substantiated by several cases in which associated skeletons have been properly sexed, or reportedly so.⁹⁸ Elsewhere in Europe, outside of Greece, bow fibulae are widely seen as gender-specific artifacts that frequently appear in sixth- to seventh-century burial assemblages. In Mazurian graves, bow fibulae are rarely associated with spurs. Eduard Šturms first interpreted this dichotomy as an indication of gender division: bow fibulae were usually found in female graves, while spurs may have been male attributes.⁹⁹ Within the Merovingian world, bow fibulae found with female skeletons, usually late adolescents or adults between 20 and 40 years of age, suggest a "threshold of acquisition" precisely comparable with access to shields and/or swords among weapon-bearing men.¹⁰⁰ This circumstance may indicate representation, in burial, of the age of marriage.¹⁰¹ In other words, bow fibulae, including perhaps the "Slavic" ones, marked married women, at least in death, if not also in life.

97. For a detailed description of the lost-wax technique of producing bow fibulae, see Franke 1987. See also Szmoniewski 2002, pp. 121–122.

98. Inhumation burials: Kruje, grave 28 (Anamali and Spahiu 1963, pp. 16, 34–35, 57–58; 1979–1980, pp. 61–62); Kiskörös, grave 2 (Horváth 1935, p. 35); Adamclisi (Papuc 1987, pp. 207, 209–210); Dănceni (Rafalovich 1986, pp. 25–26). Cremation burials: Tumi- any, grave 46/1970 (Jaskanis and Kachinski 1981, p. 47, no. 47). Even in cases where the associated skeleton happens to be that of a child, it seems safe to assume that female dress was bestowed upon the deceased, perhaps together with the corresponding gender role: e.g., the child (skeleton 17) buried in chamber 10 at Luchistoe (Crimea) together with two brooches of Werner's class I D; see Aibabin 1994, p. 135.

99. Šturms 1950, p. 21. Mazuria

further produced evidence of local production of bow fibulae (Dąbrowski 1980).

100. Strauß 1992, p. 70; Dickinson 1993, p. 39. Studies based on micro-wear analysis suggest that there is a direct correlation between the degree of use and the age of the wearer, which may indicate that the same brooches acquired at betrothal or marriage were worn during the rest of the lifetime. See Martin 1987, pp. 278, 280; Niekke 1993, p. 129. For similar conclusions regarding other categories of artifacts, see Distelberger 1997.

101. For the difficulties of "reading" gender in burial assemblages as a direct reflection of social practice, see Härke 2000, pp. 193–196. For the symbolic significance of the early medieval clothing for the dead, see Effros 2002, pp. 13–39.

Absence of brooches or other dress-fasteners from many other female graves suggests, however, that access to brooches was also dependent upon social status. This conclusion seems to be particularly evident in the case of the Nea Anchialos brooch (13), found in a burial chamber built next to the *martyrion* outside the city walls (see pp. 116–118, above). Several Late Roman burial chambers are known from Greece and the neighboring regions, but the latest are of sixth-, not seventh-century date.¹⁰² Few burial assemblages securely dated to the early seventh century may be compared to the Nea Anchialos chamber.¹⁰³ Grave 25 at Tigani, a female burial, contained two gold earrings with star-shaped pendants, two glass jugs, and a Corinth-type buckle.¹⁰⁴ The grave was found inside the church excavated at that site, which may indicate a burial *ad sanctos* similar in that respect to the Nea Anchialos burial chamber. The associated artifacts, especially the gold earrings and the iron buckle, suggest a date in the seventh century, possibly within its first half.¹⁰⁵ The Tigani grave produced no fibulae, and the associated buckle and earrings point unmistakably to a model of “aristocratic” female burial different from that at Nea Anchialos but common in the Mediterranean area.¹⁰⁶

Two other female burials, from Greece and Albania, respectively, may guide us in understanding the meaning of the Nea Anchialos brooch. One of the graves, from a small cemetery excavated at Edessa, produced a

102. Found in a sixth-century chamber at Nea Anchialos (Soteriou 1961, pp. 113–115, figs. 1, 3, pls. 40, 41), a silver earring with grape-shaped pendant has good analogies in sixth-century burial assemblages, e.g., grave B 133 at Piatra Frecăței (Romania; Petre 1987, p. 71, pls. 128, 129) and grave 59 at Gradina (Bosnia; Miletić 1978, p. 149, pl. 3:59). A more precise dating, within the last third of the sixth century, may be provided by the three earrings with star-shaped pendants also found in the Nea Anchialos chamber (Soteriou 1961, pl. 41), all with good analogies in finds from grave 9 at Bitola (Macedonia; Maneva 1985–1986, pp. 164, 172, fig. 16) and from grave E 143 at Piatra Frecăței (Petre 1987, p. 79, fig. 239:c, pl. 145). Grave E 143 also produced a pair of cast fibulae with bent stem, almost identical to those found with the Bracigovo and Koprivec hoards that conclude with coins struck for Emperor Justin II (565–578): see Uenze 1974; 1992, p. 156; Janković 1980, p. 173; Curta 1992, p. 84. The *ossuarius* found at Athens produced a great number of coins, the latest of which were five *solidi* of Emperor Maurice (582–602) (Threpsiades

1971, pp. 10–11, fig. 1, pls. E, F). At Stamata, a gold pendant found in a “privileged” burial in a chamber built next to a basilica (Gini-Tsophopoulou 1995) has its closest analogy in a specimen from a rich sixth-century hoard of gold found within the Early Byzantine fort at Malāk Preslavac (Bulgaria; see Ovcharov and Vaklinova 1978, pl. 121). For “privileged burials,” see Young 1986; Effros 2002, pp. 151–156. A burial chamber at Slatina (Macedonia; Babić 1980), which produced an associated earring with basket-shaped pendant (for the dating of which see, now, Riemer 1992, p. 126), is to be dated to the late sixth century. Finally, two burial chambers on the west side of the Roman Forum at Corinth, one of which had a *dromos* and a tile-covered floor, produced only ceramic material with no exact chronology (Williams, MacIntosh, and Fisher 1974, pp. 8–10, fig. 1, pls. 1, 2).

103. To my knowledge, there are no contemporary chambers in the Balkans with steps at the entrance, as at Nea Anchialos. For similar cases in Crimea, see Veimarn and Aibabin 1993, pp. 5, 7, fig. 2; Aibabin 1994, pp. 132–134.

104. Drandakis and Gkioles 1982, pp. 250, 255, 256, pl. 148:ε, η.

105. The dating of Corinth-type buckles is based on specimens found in Hungary with Early Avar burial assemblages. The Tigani buckle is made of iron, a cheap imitation of such exquisite specimens in gold as that bought by the Ariadne Galleries in New York in 1988 (see Riemer 1995). Whether or not it could be dated later than the other specimens of the class, the Tigani buckle is nevertheless an artifact of the seventh century, not of the eighth as wrongly assumed by Sanders (1995, p. 456). This dating is confirmed by the analysis of the pair of gold earrings from grave 25, the best analogies for which are the earrings with star-shaped pendants from a small Early Avar hoard (or, possibly, assemblage of grave goods) found at Halič (Slovakia; Garam 1980, p. 172, fig. 7) and from the early-seventh-century Europos cemetery in Greek Macedonia (Savvopoulou 1997, p. 389, pl. 114:β). Little is known about the Tigani basilica, currently dated between the seventh and ninth century (Avramea 1997, p. 102).

106. See Manière-Lévêque 1997.

pair of "Slavic" bow fibulae of Werner's class I D, a belt buckle, and a knife.¹⁰⁷ The buckle is Syracuse-type, most typical for circum-Mediterranean assemblages of the first half of the seventh century.¹⁰⁸ The Edessa burial may thus be seen as contemporary to the burial with "Slavic" brooch of Werner's class I B at Nea Anchialos. A slightly later but similar assemblage is grave 28 of the north Albanian cemetery at Kruje. The female burial produced two "Slavic" bow brooches of Werner's class I C (each with two pairs of bird heads) and a Corinth-type buckle.¹⁰⁹ A good analogy for the two brooches is the pair of fibulae from grave 3 at Gâmbaş (Transylvania) found together with four pewter earrings with star-shaped pendant, very similar to those from the Priseaca hoard that produced hexagrams of Emperor Constantine IV.¹¹⁰

What differentiates the Nea Anchialos, Edessa, and Kruje assemblages, on the one hand, from contemporary female burials such as grave 25 at Tigani, on the other, is the association of brooch and buckle that is otherwise rare in the southern Balkans.¹¹¹ By contrast, this combination was relatively popular, around A.D. 600, in Crimea,¹¹² Hungary¹¹³ and Mazuria.¹¹⁴ The three burials with "Slavic" bow fibulae may thus be viewed as the southernmost known examples of the early-seventh-century female burial fashion. In all three cases, "Slavic" bow fibulae are associated with "Byzantine" belt buckles most typical for assemblages in the circum-Mediterranean area. Particularly interesting is the Nea Anchialos assemblage, because of its unusual association of a "Slavic" bow fibula with a kind of buckle normally attached to a chain, so far attested primarily in the eastern Mediterranean region. Although imitations of such buckles are also known from sites in the northern Balkans (e.g., Aradac), these were not associated with fibulae. Similarly, Corinth- and Syracuse-type buckles never

107. Petsas 1970, p. 307, fig. 320. No anthropological sexing of the skeleton has been carried out, encouraging speculation that this is a male burial. See Pallas 1981, p. 306.

108. Haas and Schewe 1993, p. 256; Eger 1996, p. 345. A date in the early 600s for Greek specimens is secured by the association of one Syracuse-type buckle with two coins minted for Emperor Heraclius, in 611/2 and 613/4, found in grave 3 at Samos; see *Samos* XVII, pp. 124–125. For other Greek specimens, see above, nn. 89–91. For Syracuse-type buckles in Early Avar burial assemblages in Hungary and in early-seventh-century assemblages in Crimea, see Garam 2001, p. 95; Gavritukhin and Oblomskii 1996, p. 68.

109. Anamali and Spahiu 1963, pp. 16, 34–35, 57–58, fig. 13, pl. XII:2.

110. Teodor 1992, pp. 137, 143, no. 3, fig. 2:1. For discussions of the hoard, see n. 37, above.

111. The only other example is grave 14 in the Kruje cemetery, which produced an iron buckle and a disc-shaped fibula (Anamali and Spahiu 1963, p. 14).

112. Chufut Kale, grave 21 (silver-sheet brooch; buckle with rectangular plate): Kropotkin 1958, pp. 210, 214, fig. 3:3. Suuk Su, grave 32 (bow brooch; Syracuse-type buckle): Repnikov 1906, pp. 9–10. Skalistoe, burial chamber 279 (fragment of a bow fibula of Werner's class I D; buckle with cross-decorated, rectangular plate): Veimarn and Aibabin 1993, pp. 51–53.

113. Szatymáz-Fehértó, cemetery A, grave 375 (bow fibula of Werner's class I C; iron buckle): Madaras 1981, p. 50, pl. 6:375. Tiszabura (bow fibula of Werner's class II C; iron buckle): Csal-

lány 1961, p. 215, pl. 197:1–6. In the Middle Danube region of present-day Hungary and Serbia, the combination was also popular in the 500s.

114. Mietkie, grave 84 (bow fibula of Werner's class I C; buckle with rectangular plate): Kulakov 1989, pp. 180, 224, fig. 8:6. Leleszki, burial b (bow fibula of Werner's class I E; buckle with rectangular plate): Kulakov 1989, p. 186. Kielary, graves 74 (bow fibula of Werner's class I C; iron buckle) and 85 (bow fibula of Werner's class I D; iron buckle): Kühn 1981, pp. 182–183. Tumiany, graves 20 (bow fibula of Werner's class I F; buckle with rectangular plate), 56 (bow fibula of Werner's class I J; buckle with rectangular plate), 68 (bow fibula of Werner's class I C; iron buckle), and 93 (bow fibula of Werner's class I G; iron buckle): Kulakov 1989, pp. 188, 191, 192, 194.

appear in association with bow fibulae or any other kind of brooch: in the Balkans, Crimea, and the neighboring regions, such buckles are more often found with male than with female burials.¹¹⁵ The three burials at Nea Anchialos, Edessa, and Kruje seem therefore to combine, in unique ways, elements of different burial traditions pointing to different areas of early medieval Europe.

Could they possibly be interpreted as examples of a “Slavic” *Tracht*? In my opinion, the answer must be in the negative, for a variety of reasons. First, and if the cultural-historical line of reasoning is to be followed with any consistency, it is very clear that analogies for these bow fibulae point to regions of Eastern Europe other than those associated with the presence of the early Slavs on the basis of written sources.¹¹⁶ The ornamental patterns displayed on fibulae from Greece—the Nea Anchialos specimen (13) included—are in fact not linked to members of Werner’s class I B with scrollwork decoration from the northern Balkans, despite the apparent morphological similarities with such Romanian brooches as Ferigile (7).¹¹⁷ The Greek fibulae are most likely local products and, with the exception of the specimens from Dion (4) and Sparta (17), do not seem to share many ornamental features among themselves. Moreover, the archaeological contexts in which some of these “Slavic” brooches were found—inhumations in burial chambers or in stone-lined graves—is radically different from those of the sixth- and seventh-century Lower Danube region.¹¹⁸ Finally, analogies for the buckles associated with the Nea Anchialos, Edessa, and Kruje brooches point to the Mediterranean area and to Early Avar burial assemblages.

115. Corinth-type buckles: Brkač, grave 8 (Marušić 1985, pp. 21–22, pl. II:1); Corinth (Williams, MacIntosh, and Fisher 1974, p. 11, pl. 2:8); Skalistoe, burial chambers 284a and 625 (Veimarn and Aibabin 1993, pp. 54–56, 139–140, figs. 34:23, 103:11). A number of other cases without any anthropological analysis of the associated human bones may be suspected as male burials due to the presence of either weapons or flint steels: Corinth, grave III (Iverson 1996, p. 117; *Corinth* XII, pl. 114:2195); Lezhë, grave 11 (Prendi 1979–1980, p. 127, pl. XXI:6); Veli Mlun, grave 16 (Marušić 1967, p. 337, pl. VI:9); Mejica, grave 48 (Torcellan 1986, p. 67, pl. 17:4); Skalistoe, burial chamber 767 (Veimarn and Aibabin 1993, pp. 158–160, fig. 119:3); Uzen-Bash, two burial chambers (Repnikov 1909, pp. 113–115; Aibabina 1993, pls. II:2, 3, V:1).

Syracuse-type buckles: Aradac, grave 1 (Nagy 1959, p. 55, pl. I:5);

Suuk Su, graves 29 and 191 (Repnikov 1906, p. 9, pl. X:19; 1909, p. 105); Bóly, grave 21 (Papp 1962, pp. 185–186, fig. 17). In a number of cases, Syracuse-type buckles are also associated with flint steels and weapons, a possible indication of male burials: Skalistoe, burial chamber 331 (Veimarn and Aibabin 1993, pp. 73, 75, fig. 50:20); Luchistoe, burial chamber 10, skeleton 11 (Aibabin 1994, pp. 132–136, 150, fig. 6:4); Mangup, burial chamber 3 (Sidorenko 1984, pp. 329–330, fig. 1:3); Kenchreai (Pallas 1981, pp. 298–299, fig. 5:b). Unlike Corinth-type buckles, however, Syracuse-type buckles occasionally appear in female burials in Hungary (Kölked, grave 325: Kiss 1996, p. 207), Crimea (Suuk Su, grave 85: Repnikov 1906, p. 25, pl. I:9), and Germany (burial in St. Emmeram Church at Regensburg: Riemer 1995, p. 779).

116. The ornamental patterns of the Edessa brooches are linked to a fibula from Tylkowo (Eastern Prussia), while

the closest analogy for the Kruje brooches is the pair of fibulae from a Middle Avar burial at Gâmbaş (Transylvania). See Curta 2001, pp. 255, 258, figs. 43, 46.

117. The Nea Anchialos brooch is also different from other members of Werner’s class I B because of its interconnected knobs, a feature perhaps shared only by the Litvinec specimen (11). In fact, the closest parallel to this peculiar headplate ornamentation is on a fibula that does not belong to Werner’s class I B, from an unknown location in Hungary (now in a private collection in Budapest: Csallány 1961, p. 247, pl. 215:6). In its morphology, this fibula is fundamentally different from specimens of the I B group, its basic ornamental scheme directly inspired by late-fifth- and early-sixth-century brooches of the so-called Csongrád-Kettőshalom class (Za-seckaia 1997, p. 419).

118. See Curta 2001, pp. 227–310.

Is it, then, possible to associate such brooches with Avar fashions? To be sure, all “Slavic” bow fibulae found in Hungary and in the neighboring regions have promptly been interpreted as indications of a Slavic presence within the Avar qaganate.¹¹⁹ The assumption that such fibulae were part of female dress has never been disputed. As in the Balkans, these bow fibulae appear in inhumation burials, sometimes in pairs, more often singly. Six out of twelve Hungarian burial assemblages with “Slavic” bow fibulae produced pairs of earrings with bead pendant, either gold specimens of the Tószeg class¹²⁰ or its imitations in silver or in copper alloy. Two of them also had pairs of iron bracelets; two others, iron buckles.¹²¹ Several produced glass beads with eye-shaped inlays, most typical for Early Avar burial assemblages.¹²² The evidence strongly suggests the existence of a pattern, namely, a specific combination of artifacts of which “Slavic” bow fibulae were just one component. The combination may well represent female dress in fashion in the early seventh century. Judging by the existing evidence, the dress seems to have been associated primarily with rich female burials, whose displays were imitated in cheaper versions.¹²³

In the absence of both earrings and beads, no such imitation seems to have taken place with the Nea Anchialos and Edessa burials, despite the fact that ornamental patterns on Greek brooches of Werner’s class I B—Demetrias (3), Dion (4), Nea Anchialos (13), and Sparta (17)—have more parallels in the Middle Danube region of Hungary than anywhere else in Eastern Europe. The X-shaped pattern in three panels appears on the Dion and Sparta brooches, as well as on the fragment from an unknown location in Hungary (25). A good analogy for the much simplified decoration on the footplate of the Nea Anchialos brooch is the fragment from an unknown location in northern Serbia (27), itself reminiscent of the footplate of the Ferigile brooch (7).¹²⁴ To the extent that such ornamental pattern linkage reflects more than just aesthetic preference, the Greek brooches thus appear as “citing” from an ornamental repertoire in use in the southern region of the Avar qaganate.

119. Most egregiously by Fiedler (1996, pp. 202–206), who believes that specimens of Werner’s group II were not worn by Slavs, but by “Germaninnen oder Mitglieder anderer im nordpontischen Raum ansässigen Ethnika” (p. 206).

120. Earrings: Szatymáz-Fehértó, graves 33 and 375 (Csallány 1961, p. 228, pl. 259:3; see also above, n. 113); Kiskörös, grave 2 (Horváth 1935, p. 35, pl. XXIII:3); Szigetszentmiklós-Háros, grave 14 (Nagy 1998, p. 150, pls. 102:9, 171:5); Tiszabura (see above, n. 113); Várpalota, grave 212 (Erdélyi and Németh 1969, p. 191, pl. XXII:6). For Tószeg-type earrings, see Ormándy

1995, p. 159.

121. Bracelets: Szatymáz-Fehértó, grave 375 (Madaras 1981, p. 50, pl. 6:375); Kiskörös, grave 2 (Horváth 1935, p. 35, pl. XXIII:5). Buckles: Szatymáz-Fehértó, grave 375 (Madaras 1981, p. 50, pl. 6:375); Budapest, Pannonhalma Street (Nagy 1998, pp. 93, 95, pls. 82:4, 158:4).

122. Glass beads: Budapest, Pannonhalma Street; Tiszabura; Szigetszentmiklós-Háros, grave 14; Várpalota, grave 212; Óföldéák. Csallány 1961, p. 138, pls. 191:16, 259:1.

123. This dress cannot, however, be interpreted as an ethnic (Avar) *Tracht*, since many other dress options were

available to high-status women within the Avar qaganate (Tomka 1995). Recent studies have shown that both Byzantine and Frankish fashions reached the Middle Danube region and were promptly imitated. For Byzantine fashions, see Garam 1991, 2000, and 2001. For Frankish fashions, see Vida 1996, 1999–2000.

124. The footplate of the Demetrias brooch (3) may be seen as a more advanced simplification of this decoration. By the same token, the best analogy for the Lezhë brooch (9) is the Dubovac fibula (5), which has a headplate very similar to that of the Prahovo brooch (14).

The analogies for most, if not all, of the grave goods found at Corinth with the so-called “wandering soldier” point in this same direction.¹²⁵ The grave was quickly interpreted as that of a Slavic mercenary¹²⁶ or of an Avar in the service of Emperor Constans II,¹²⁷ but the burial assemblage has never been properly studied in the context of the early medieval archaeology of Eastern Europe. As is the case for the burial assemblages at Nea Anchialos, Edessa, and Kruje, that at Corinth combines elements of different cultural origins in a most surprising way. The associated belt buckle has a good analogy in an Early Avar female burial assemblage at Nagyharsány, which included also a late-sixth-century, silver, disc-shaped brooch with an image of St. George.¹²⁸ By contrast, analogies for the bronze trinket with lozenge-shaped pendants from the Corinth assemblage, an equally female piece of jewelry, are known only from seventh-century barrows in Latvia and Lithuania, as well as in the Smolensk region of Russia.¹²⁹ Despite claims to the contrary, the handmade pot found near the right foot of the Corinth skeleton has nothing to do with Slavic pottery of the so-called Prague type. Instead, it is a specimen of a typically Early Avar pot with funnel-shaped neck, which has good analogies in Hungary and also in Siberia and central Asia.¹³⁰ The exotic nature of this burial assemblage is further underlined by the associated two-edged sword with crossbar, very similar to swords found in late Early Avar burial assemblages such as grave 85 at Aradac.¹³¹ Such swords appear only in high-status male burials, as do single amber beads such as that from the “wandering soldier” grave.¹³² The very presence of an amber bead is notable, for no such artifacts are otherwise known from seventh- or eighth-century Balkan assemblages.

How, then, is the “wandering soldier” grave to be interpreted? Most likely not in direct connection with the Early Avar assemblages in Hungary or the neighboring regions, in which stone-lined graves with weapons are unknown.¹³³ The stone lining of the “wandering soldier” grave has

125. Weinberg 1974.

126. See Ivison (1996, p. 118), who attributes the “wandering soldier” grave, as well as burials in the Olympia and Ioannina cemeteries, to “Slavic members” of military garrisons. The “wandering soldier” has nothing to do, however, with the cremation burials at Olympia, nor with the much later Ioannina cemetery. See also Avramea 1997, p. 97.

127. Rashev 2000, p. 73. See also Štefanovićová 1977, p. 126. Judging by the associated artifacts, the “wandering soldier” was buried before the beginning of the reign of Constans II.

128. For the disc-shaped brooch, see Papp 1963, pp. 131–132, pl. XI:8; Garam 1993, pp. 101–102, fig. 1:3. For buckles of the Nagyharsány class, see Ibler 1992, p. 143.

129. E.g., at Khotyn, near Iarcevo (Smolensk region): Sedov 1974, pl. 25:28, 37. See also Szymański 1968, pp. 205–206.

130. Vida and Völling 2000, p. 18. For the Corinth pot as “Slavic,” see Kilian 1980, p. 282.

131. For the Corinth and Aradac swords, see Kiss 1987, pp. 194–195. Similar crossbars also appear on single-edged swords, such as those from grave 529 at Kölked (Kiss 1996, pp. 230, 232) and grave 10 at Tarnaméra (Szabó 1965, pp. 47–48, pl. VIII:1–3), both dated to the second third of the seventh century. Such crossbars are documented for Middle Avar swords of the second half of that century (Fülöp 1988, p. 183; Garam and Kiss 1992, p. 56, no. 58; Müller 1996, p. 411) and for swords from contemporary burial

assemblages in Ukraine (Smilenko 1965, pl. VI:2; Kazanski and Sodini 1987, p. 78). See Ambroz 1986, p. 63; Simon 1991, p. 307; 1995, p. 117; Garam 2001, pp. 158–159.

132. Single amber beads appear, for example, in “princely graves” at Kunbábony and Bócsa. They are relatively common in much poorer female graves, however, of the late Early Avar and Middle Avar period. See Tóth and Horváth 1992, pp. 205–206.

133. To be sure, several Middle and Late Avar horseman burials have stone “lids” similar to those of contemporary burials in central Asia; see Simon 1993. Stone-lined graves are, by contrast, the preferred form of inhumation in sixth-century cemeteries of Balkan cities and forts and in the Mediterranean area during the 600s. In the sixth-century

much more in common with contemporary burial assemblages in Greece than do its associated grave goods. In short, the "wandering soldier" grave stands out—as prominently as the presumably female burials with "Slavic" bow fibulae from Nea Anchialos and Edessa—among burials with or without weapons that can be dated with some degree of accuracy to the early seventh century. In all these cases, the extraordinary status of the deceased is emphasized either by exceptional grave goods or by privileged location. In all three cases, the message encoded in burial dress combines cultural elements of very different origins in what amounts to nothing less than a statement about relative identity. The resulting emblematic style most likely had to do with the more or less imagined position of the deceased within the social network. The Edessa, Nea Anchialos, and "wandering soldier" graves reflect preoccupation with marking the exceptional by means of a few artifacts that may be viewed as "quoting" fashions known from other regions of early medieval Europe. Can these artifacts be interpreted in terms of migration? The small number of cases, as well as the stylistic arguments in favor of a local production of "Slavic" bow fibulae, require a different explanation.

Though still in debate over the specific way in which brooches were worn,¹³⁴ archaeologists tend to agree that bow fibulae belonged to the outermost layer of clothing. Thus they were easily visible, probably the most visible of all dress accessories, a particular sort of badge. "Slavic" bow fibulae may have played an important communicative role particularly in public, "beyond-the-households" contexts of social action.¹³⁵ Whether or not the Nea Anchialos and Edessa brooches were worn in life or were only attached to the dress during burial, the ornamental patterns displayed by such artifacts cannot have escaped notice.

Bow fibulae may indeed indicate movement of people. This movement, however, was not a migration in the true sense of the word. Networks of linked fibulae may testify to a different form of mobility, that of gifts or of women married to distant groups in the process of forging alliances. There are two reasons for favoring this interpretation. First, the movement of ornamental patterns is not that of a unidirectional movement of people, but a two-way transfer: some brooch forms may have traveled in a north–south direction, others from east (or southeast) to west (or northwest), and these movements may often have occurred at about the same time. Second, there is no ornamental pattern to be ascribed to any one region alone, in spite of the cluster of finds in the Lower Danube region and in Transylvania. As soon as a new group emerged, linked specimens spread rapidly over wide distances, a phenomenon which could hardly be explained by means of migration, itinerant specialists, or transmission of models. Moreover, there is no chain of communication between the main areas of dissemination: the close resemblance between the Vețel (31) and the Linkuhnen (10) brooches is not filtered through any intermediary finds. In some instances, no links exist between fibulae found in adjacent territories, such as specimens from Greece and Bulgaria.

Initially, "Slavic" bow fibulae may have been sufficiently exotic to produce prestige. Soon thereafter, a transferred "model" was copied, in less sophisticated forms, apparently in response to an exclusively local demand.

Balkans, graves with stone or tile linings are known both on the Adriatic coast (Uglešić 1995) and in the interior (Jeremić 1994–1995; Paprenica 1986). Seventh-century graves lined with roughly shaped stone slabs and having horizontal stone lids occur in Istrian cemeteries (Torcellan 1986, p. 42; Evans 1989, pp. 301–302, 307) as well as Sardinian (Spanu 1998, pp. 85, 126).

134. See Clauss 1987; Martin 1991; Khairidinova 1997. Brooches found singly on one shoulder or under the chin may have fastened a cloak or adorned a garment with stitched shoulders (Kühn 1965, pp. 50–54). For ethnographic examples, see Benfoughal 1987, pp. 181, 191, fig. 1.

135. The phrase "beyond-the-households" is that of Conkey (1991).

This is particularly true for specimens found in Greece, which do not have any links to fibulae found outside the Balkan peninsula. Brooch forms borrowed from other cultural settings were now authenticated culturally, and there emerged an emblematic style, which existed only in the repetitions and contrasts created by the replication of ornamental patterns and forms. The social meaning attached to these dress accessories may have also been fixed in time. If the chronology proposed here is correct, there seems to have been some demand in early-seventh-century Greece for markers of sharper social differentiation. If, indeed, bow fibulae, including “Slavic” ones, were primarily worn by married women, then the social difference in question was not just of rank, but also of gender. It has recently been noted that the sharp differentiation and conspicuous display of gender, especially in mortuary assemblages, that characterizes most early medieval societies has been too hastily interpreted as a direct reflection of gender roles in society. In fact, it may well be that, with fluctuating identities and ever-changing roles, such societies projected an ideal image of gender roles through mortuary displays, which were certainly linked to, but were by no means a mirror of, the representation of gender roles in life.¹³⁶ This remark is particularly useful for the discussion of early-seventh-century bow fibulae from Greece.

The “wandering soldier” in the Corinth burial may well have been a prominent Avar warrior, one of those who had defected to the Romans in 602 during the campaign of the Avar general Apsich against the Antes.¹³⁷ Or he may have been one of the Turks in the Persian army who were sent in 591 to the Romans, having on their foreheads the symbol of the cross tattooed in black; or, finally, an officer of the Kōk Turk troops that Yabghu Xa’kan left with Heraclius in 627 after the siege of Tiflis.¹³⁸ Those who buried him at Corinth, however, certainly did not want to make too strong a statement about his barbarian otherness. Interred in a stone-lined grave, like many others in Greece and the surrounding Mediterranean regions at the time, wearing a “Byzantine” belt buckle more often associated with female burials, the “wandering soldier” looks very different from his contemporaries buried in the Middle Danube region or in the steppes north of the Black Sea. Similarly, the women—if, indeed, they were women—who were buried in the chamber built next to Basilica Δ at Nea Anchialos, in a stone-lined grave at Kruje, or in a simple grave pit at Edessa may well have been barbarian wives of men in Byzantine service. They may even have been former members of the Slavic tribes that had settled in the region in the 620s or 630s. The privileged status of the Nea Anchialos woman was rendered visible by access to a Christian burial site, whereas, much like the burial of the “wandering soldier,” those of the Edessa and Kruje women display a peculiar combination of “Byzantine” buckles, more often associated with male burials, and “Slavic” bow fibulae.¹³⁹ As such, the emblematic dress of the Nea Anchialos, Edessa, and Kruje high-status females conveys the idea of *femme-reflet*, a mirroring of the social position and privilege of her husband, an idea that Joëlle Beaucamp has brilliantly shown to have underpinned sixth-century legislation and social practice.¹⁴⁰ “Slavic” bow fibulae in Greece are therefore more likely to signal alliances with more or less distant barbarians than their destructive presence.

136. Härke 2000, pp. 194–195. For similar remarks on seventh-century Albanian cemeteries, see Bowden 2003, p. 71.

137. Theophylact Simocatta 8.6. For this campaign, see Litavrin 1999, pp. 568–578.

138. Theophanes Confessor, *Chronographia*, trans. C. Mango (Oxford 1997), pp. 389, 446–448. See Kaegi 2003, pp. 144–145.

139. The findspot of the Kruje female burial was not within the boundaries of the small cemetery excavated on a hill next to the medieval fortification, but in an isolated position near the present-day Skanderbeg memorial monument in the downtown area. This location may well point to a privileged burial. See Anamali and Spahiu 1963, p. 16.

140. For the novel (imperial decree) no. 105, issued in the year 537, which stipulated that wives of consuls enjoyed the same privileges as their husbands, see Beaucamp 1990, p. 271; for examples from Egyptian papyri of aristocratic wives enjoying the rank and privileges of their husbands, see Beaucamp 1992, pp. 133–134. For the phrase *femme-reflet*, see Beaucamp 1990, p. 261.

CONCLUSION

Not all “Slavic” bow fibulae of Werner’s class I B should be dated to the same time within the seventh century, as Werner once thought. Some specimens may have been in fashion in the early 500s. The dissemination of bow fibulae into Greece is likely to indicate long-distance contacts between communities and to signal the rise of individuals having the ability both to entertain such contacts and to employ craftspeople sufficiently experienced to replicate ornamental patterns and brooch forms. Instead of treating “Slavic” bow fibulae as index fossils for the migration of the Slavs, we should therefore regard this emblematic style of brooch as an indication of contacts established by such individuals. Fibulae were primarily female dress accessories, and it is likely that high-status female burials mirrored the construction of the social identity of their husbands. The kind of identity symbolized is a matter dependent on the interpretation of “Slavic” bow fibulae. Wearing a fibula with scrollwork decoration and cabochons may have given the wearer a social locus associated with images of power. Wearing a local reproduction of such a fibula was, no doubt, a very different statement, though still related to status. Beyond emulation, therefore, “Slavic” bow fibulae, especially cruder specimens without complicated scrollwork ornaments, may have conveyed a message pertaining to group identity. Adherence to a brooch style helped to integrate isolated individuals—whether within the same region or widely scattered—into a group whose social boundaries crisscrossed those of local communities. “Slavic” bow fibulae were neither phenotypic expressions of a preformed ethnic identity nor passports for immigrants from the Lower Danube region. During the early 600s, however, at the time of the general collapse of the Byzantine administration in the Balkans, access to and manipulation of such artifacts may have been strategies for creating a new sense of identity for local elites.

APPENDIX

FIBULAE OF WERNER'S CLASS I B: A CORPUS

- | | | |
|---|--|--------|
| 1 | Ațintiș (Mureș district, Romania)
Fragment. L. 8.25 cm.
Stray find.
Copper alloy. 2A3A4A.
I. Stanciu (pers. comm.). | Fig. 6 |
| 2 | Coșovenii de Jos (Dolj district, Romania)
L. 19.6 cm.
Burial find? (found together with two silver earrings with star-shaped pendant and a silver torque).
Gilt silver. 1A2A3C4D5C5F.
Nestor and Nicolaescu-Plopșor 1938, pp. 33–35, pl. 7; Berciu 1939, pp. 231–232, fig. 288; Werner 1950, p. 152, pl. 28:14; Teodor 1992, pp. 137, 142, no. 1, fig. 1:5 (L. 19.5 cm). | Fig. 6 |
| 3 | Demetrias (Thessaly, Greece)
L. 10 cm.
Stray find.
Copper alloy. 1B2B3A4B5A5E.
Aupert 1976, pp. 646, 652, fig. 144; Eiwanger 1981, p. 13, pl. 1. | Fig. 6 |
| 4 | Dion (Thessaly, Greece)
L. 10 cm.
Stray find.
Copper alloy. 1A2C3B4B5B5E.
Gounaris 1984, pp. 53, 56, fig. 1:ε; Katsougiannopoulou 1991; 1997, pp. 315–316, fig. 2. | Fig. 6 |
| 5 | Dubovac (Bela Crkva district, Serbia)
L. 8.1 cm.
Stray find.
Copper alloy. 1B2D3C4E5B5G.
Werner 1950, p. 152, pl. 28:13; Korošec 1954, p. 10, fig. 2; Vinski 1958, p. 28, pl. 17:7; Csallány 1961, p. 195, pl. 172:4; Dimitrijević 1969, p. 88, fig. 1. | Fig. 7 |
| 6 | Ellőszállás (Fejér district, Hungary)
L. not reported.
Burial find. | |

- Copper alloy? 1A2B3A4A5B5E.
Sós 1963, pp. 314–315, fig. 5:b.
- 7 Ferigile (Vâlcea district, Romania) Fig. 7
L. 10 cm.
Stray find.
Copper alloy. 1A2B3B4A5B5E.
Petre-Govora and Stoica 1976, fig. 1:a; Bârzu 1979, p. 66, fig. 13:4; Teodor 1992, pp. 137, 142, no. 2, fig. 1:4 (L. 9.9 cm).
- 8 Iambol (Bulgaria)
Fragment. L. 4.9 cm.
Stray find.
Copper alloy. 2A3A.
Werner 1950, p. 152, pl. 28:10 (L. 6 cm); Mikhailov 1961, pp. 41, 43, fig. 3:2.
- 9 Lezhë (Albania) Fig. 7
L. 7.7 cm.
Grave 36, destroyed stone-lined burial (found together with a silver earring and an arrowhead).
Gilt copper alloy. 1B2D3C4E5B5G.
Prendi 1979–1980, pp. 129, 166, pl. 20:3.
- 10 Linkuhnen (now in Kaliningrad, Russia) Fig. 7
L. 10 cm.
Stray find.
Copper alloy? 1A2A3B4C5B5E.
Werner 1950, pp. 151–152, pl. 27:8 (L. 11.3 cm); Kühn 1981, p. 209, no. 319, pl. 50:319.
- 11 Litvinec (Kaniv district, Ukraine)
L. not reported.
Stray find (now lost).
Copper alloy.
Korzukhina 1996, p. 355, pl. 94:3.
- 12 Liuliakovo (Burgas district, Bulgaria) Fig. 8
L. 14.5 cm.
Stray find.
Gilt copper alloy. 1A2A3A4D5B5G.
Mikhailov 1977, pp. 317–318, pl. 7.
- 13 Nea Anchialos (Thessaly, Greece) Fig. 7
L. 8.5 cm.
Burial chamber near the apse of Basilica Δ (found together with four skeletons and a copper-alloy double-sided buckle).
Copper alloy? 1C2B3C4A5D.
Soteriou 1940, pp. 62–63, fig. 12; Werner 1950, p. 150, pl. 27:1.
- 14 Prahovo (Negotin district, Serbia) Fig. 7
L. 8.1 cm.
Stray find.
Copper alloy. 1B2C3B4C5A5G.
Janković 1981, p. 250, pl. XVI:12.

- 15 Războieni-Feldioara (Alba district, Romania) Fig. 8
 Fragment. L. 8 cm.
 Stray find.
 Pewter. 1A2A3A4C.
 “Șantierul arheologic Morești,” pp. 672, 675, fig. 15:5; Horedt 1986, p. 93, fig. 44:5; Teodor 1992, pp. 137, 142, no. 4, fig. 1:6.
- 16 Sovetsk (former Schreitlauken, Kaliningrad district, Russia) Fig. 9
 L. 7.1 cm.
 Stray find.
 Copper alloy. 2A3A.
 Werner 1950, p. 152, pl. 28:9; Kühn 1981, p. 317, no. 502, pl. 75:502.
- 17 Sparta (Lakonia, Greece) Fig. 9
 L. 9.5 cm.
 Stray find.
 Copper alloy? 1D2C3B4B5B5E.
 Werner 1950, p. 151, no. 4, pl. 27:4.
- 18 Szákály-Öreghegy (Tolna district, Hungary) Fig. 9
 Fragment. L. 8.5 cm.
 Grave 12 (found together with a bow fibula of Werner’s class I C, a bronze bead, and a belt mount with hanging ring; see Fig. 11).
 Copper alloy. 1A2A4C5B5E.
 Csalog 1944–1945, p. 296, pl. XCIII:23; Werner 1950, p. 151, pl. 28:6a.
- 19 Unknown location (Eastern Europe) Fig. 9
 L. 13.3 cm.
 Gilt copper alloy. 1A2A3A4C5B5E.
 Werner 1950, p. 151, pl. 27:6 (L. 12.8 cm); Werner 1961, p. 33, pl. 35:133a.
- 20 Unknown location (Eastern Europe)
 L. 13.3 cm.
 Gilt copper alloy. 1A2A3A4C5B5E.
 Werner 1950, p. 151; 1961, p. 33, pl. 35:133b.
- 21 Unknown location (Eastern Europe) Fig. 9
 L. 12.2 cm.
 Gilt copper alloy. 1A2A3A4D5B5G.
 Werner 1950, p. 151, fig. 1.
- 22 Unknown location (Eastern Europe) Fig. 10
 L. 10.4 cm.
 Copper alloy. 1A2A3C4E5B5G.
 Werner 1950, p. 152, pl. 28:11.
- 23 Unknown location (Eastern Europe?) Fig. 10
 L. 10.2 cm.
 Copper alloy. 1A2A3A4C5B5E.
 MacGregor 1997, pp. 249–250, fig. 132:1.
- 24 Unknown location (Eastern Europe)
 Copper alloy.
 Katsougiannopoulou 1999, p. 85.

- 25 Unknown location (Hungary) Fig. 9
 Fragment. L. 8 cm.
 Copper alloy. 2C3A4C.
 Werner 1950, p. 151, pl. 27:5.
- 26 Unknown location (probably Istanbul, Turkey) Fig. 10
 L. 12.8 cm.
 Gilt copper alloy. 1A2A3A4D5B5G.
 Werner 1960, p. 119, pl. 2.
- 27 Unknown location (northern Serbia) Fig. 10
 Fragment. L. 6.7 cm.
 Copper alloy. 2B3C4C.
 Werner 1950, p. 151, no. 2, pl. 27:2; Vinski 1958, p. 28, pl. 18:2; Csallány 1961, pl. 272:3.
- 28 Unknown location (Transylvania, Romania) Fig. 10
 Fragment. L. 6.8 cm.
 Copper alloy. 2A3B.
 Horedt 1958, pp. 91, 93, fig. 28:5; Csallány 1961, p. 209; Horedt 1986, p. 93, fig. 44:6; Teodor 1992, pp. 137, 142, no. 5, fig. 1:3.
- 29 Unknown location (Turkey) Fig. 10
 L. 8.1 cm.
 Gilt copper alloy. 1B2D3A4E5B5G.
 Werner 1950, p. 152, pl. 28:12.
- 30 Velesnica, in Kladovo (Negotin district, Serbia) Fig. 10
 L. 13 cm.
 Stray find.
 Copper alloy. 1A2A3A4A5B5E.
 Werner 1950, pp. 151, 152, fig. 2; Korošec 1954, p. 10, fig. 1; Vinski 1958, p. 28, pl. 18:1; Čorović-Ljubinković 1972, p. 47, fig. 1:1; Marjanović-Vujović 1988, p. 155, fig. 2.
- 31 Vețel, in Deva (Hunedoara district, Romania) Fig. 8
 L. 12.1 cm.
 Stray find.
 Pewter. 1A2A3B4C5B5E.
 Salin 1935, p. 130, fig. 349; Nestor and Nicolaescu-Plopșor 1938, pp. 33–34, pl. 9:3; Werner 1950, p. 151, pl. 27:7 (L. 12 cm); Horedt 1956, pp. 107–108, fig. 3; 1958, pp. 107–108, fig. 3; Simonova 1970, pp. 75, 76, fig. 1 (L. 11.5 cm); Horedt 1986, p. 93, fig. 44:7; Teodor 1992, pp. 137, 142, fig. 1:1.

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