

Kloazonirani okov usta korica mača iz Malog Mošunja u Bosni i Hercegovini (Srednjobosanski kanton, Općina Vitez), s posebnim obzirom na slične okove s europskih nalazišta

U Malom Mošunju u Bosni i Hercegovini nađen je prije tridesetak i više godina zlatni okov ukrašen kloazoniranjem za koji se kasnije utvrdilo da pripada koricama mača. Materijali upotrijebljeni u njegovoj izradbi skupocjeni su i dostupni malobrojnim, a tehnika izradbe upućuje na rad specijalizirane zlatarske radionice opremljene i obučene za rad sa zlatom, almandinima i bjelokosti(?). Rijetka komparativna arheološka građa svrstava ga među skupocjene okove usta korica mača kakav je o pojasu mogao nositi jedino neki visoko pozicionirani pripadnik kasnorimskodobne vojne elite službujuće u Dalmaciji u vrijeme “dalmatinske dinastije” Marcelina i Julija Nepota ili kasnije, za vladavine Odoakara, tj. u posljednjoj trećini ili posljednjoj četvrtini 5. stoljeća. U dodatku ovog rada analizirani su i podaci koji se odnose na kloazoniranje na okovima usta korica s devetnaest ranomerovinških nalazišta obuhvaćenih tipom Beauvais-Planig (tip 2), za koje je ovdje predložena klasifikacija na podtipove 2a do 2d.

Ključne riječi: Bosna i Hercegovina, Mali Mošunj, brdo Kalvarija (Crkvina); kasna antika, provincija Dalmacija, Marcellin, Julije Nepot, Odoakar; bojna oprema, okov usta korica mača, kloazoniranje (zlat, almandini, bjelokost?), ukrasni motiv glava ptica grabljivica.

A cloisonné scabbard mouthpiece fitting from Mali Mošunj in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Central Bosnian Canton, Vitez Municipality), with particular attention to similar fittings from European sites

Some thirty or more years ago, a gold fitting decorated with cloisonné-work was found in Mali Mošunj in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Subsequently, it was identified as part of the scabbard of a sword. The materials used in its making are expensive and available to few, and its construction suggests it was manufactured in a specialised goldsmith's workshop equipped and trained to work with gold, garnets and ivory(?). Rare comparative archaeological evidence classifies it among precious scabbard mouthpiece fittings, which could only have been worn by a high-ranking member of the late Roman military elite serving in Dalmatia during the “Dalmatian dynasty” of Marcellinus and Julius Nepos, or later, during the reign of Odoacer. i.e. in the last third or quarter of the fifth century. The appendix to this paper analyses data related to cloisonné on scabbard mouthpiece fittings from nineteen early Merovingian sites covered by the Beauvais-Planig type (type 2), for which a classification into subtypes 2a to 2d is proposed here.

Keywords: Bosnia and Herzegovina, Mali Mošunj, Kalvarija hill (Crkvina); Late Antiquity, province of Dalmatia, Marcellinus, Julius Nepos, Odoacer; military equipments, scabbard mouthpiece fitting, cloisonné (gold, garnets, ivory?), decorative motif of birds-of-prey heads.

I. O nalazu i nalazištu

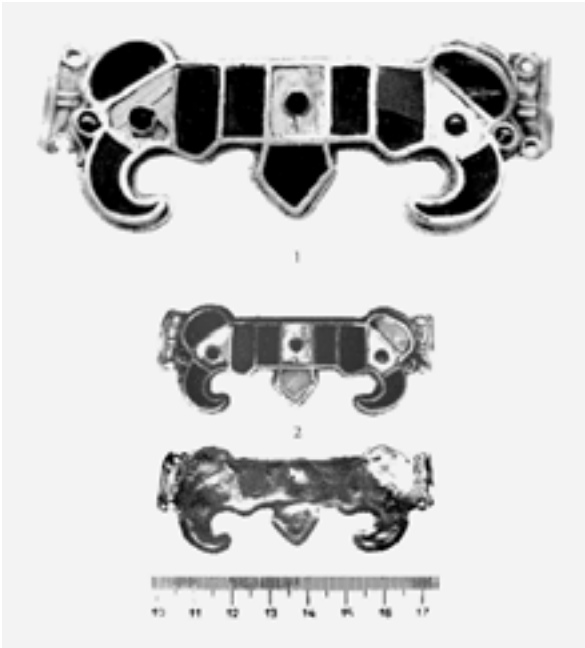
Potkraj osamdesetih godina prošlog stoljeća proširio se među zagrebačkim sakupljačima starina glas o nekom neobičnom, ali zanimljivom arheološkom nalazu, štoviše, predmetu od “suhog zlata” nađenom “nigdje, al’ vrijednom para”. Nedugo zatim govorkanja su se potvrdila i postala stvarnima kad su se Arheološkome muzeju u Zagrebu obratila dva mladića, oba iz tadašnje Socijalističke Republike Bosne i Hercegovine, s ponudom za otkup nevelikoga zlatnog predmeta ukrašenog kloazoniranjem. Danas je samo dijelom poznat identitet tih mladića (poznat je jedan od njih), a s kim su predstavnici iz uprave i struke u Muzeju tada stupili u doticaj i razgovarali moguće je samo pretpostavljati. Neizvjesno je i može se također samo pretpostavljati je li se o otkupu uistinu pregovaralo i, ako jest, kako su ti pregovori tekli, kakve su bile stručne procjene, a kakva valorizacija predmeta te o čemu se sve zapravo tada razgovaralo. Izvjesno je da dogovor o eventualnoj kupoprodaji ili otkupu tom prigodom nije postignut, da razgovori ili pregovori o tome vjerojatno nisu nastavljeni te da predmet u konačnici za Muzej nije bio nabavljen: zbog nedogovorene naknade, zbog nezainteresiranosti muzejskih stručnjaka ili pak zbog nekog tada jasnog i razumljivog razloga - danas zapravo više i nije važno. Što se nakon toga s predmetom dogodilo, gdje je i postoji li još uvijek ili je možda uništen i zauvijek izgubljen za kulturnu povijest i arheologiju, danas se također može samo nagađati. Nakon svega o njegovu postojanju zasad svjedoči tek crno-bijela snimka predmeta popraćena šturim, ali dragocjenim bilješkama. Iz jednog drugog izvora, zacijelo bliskijeg spomenu tim događanjima u Muzeju, dostavljena mi je mnogo godina kasnije digitalizirana verzija snimaka nastalih vjerojatno tom prigodom¹ (sl. 1:1-2).

I. About the find and site

In the late 1980s, word spread among Zagreb antiquities collectors about an unusual but interesting archaeological find, moreover, an object made of “pure gold”, found “nowhere particular but worth the money”. Shortly afterwards, the rumours were confirmed and became real when two young men, both from the then Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, approached the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb with an offer to sell a small gold object decorated with cloisonné-work. The identity of these young men is only partially known today (i.e., one of them), and it is only possible to guess with whom the Museum administration and staff came into contact and talked. It is uncertain, and one can also only assume whether the purchase was actually negotiated and, if so, how the arrangement came about, what were the expert assessments, how was the object valued, and what was in fact discussed at the time. It is certain that no agreement on a sale was reached on that occasion, that talks or negotiations were probably not continued and that the item was not eventually procured for the Museum: due to disagreements concerning the fee, a lack of interest on the part of the museum experts, or for a reason clear and understandable at the time – it does not really matter any more. The subsequent fate of the object, its whereabouts and whether it exists at all or maybe has been destroyed and lost forever for cultural history and archaeology – all is anyone’s guess today. After the fact, only a black-and-white photograph of the object testifies to its existence, accompanied by brief but valuable notes. Many years later, another source, certainly much closer to the mentioned events in the Museum, provided me with a digitised version of photographs made probably on that occasion¹ (Fig. 1:1–2).

¹ Snimku predmeta i popratnu bilješku koju je sastavio, ustupio mi je arheolog dr. sc. Darko Periša (Sisak, 9. 6. 1970.), znanstveni suradnik i naslovni docent na Odjelu za povijest Hrvatskoga katoličkog sveučilišta u Zagrebu, u vrijeme događanja o kojima je ovdje riječ student arheologije na Odsjeku za arheologiju Filozofskog fakulteta u Zagrebu. Zbog njegove susretljivosti i želje da se o ovom dragocjenom nalazu iz Malog Mošunja jednog dana znanstveno progovori, dugujem mu najiskreniju zahvalnost. Jednako tako zahvalan sam mu i na spremnosti da mi je jednoga sunčanog siječanjskog poslijepodneva u vrijeme nastajanja ovog članka 2020. god. prenese svoja sjećanja i upozna me sa zanimljivostima vezanima uz “život” predmeta nakon njegova pronalaska na Kalvariji i “dolaska” u Zagreb

¹ The photograph of the object and the accompanying note, which he wrote, were given to me by the archaeologist Dr Darko Periša (Sisak, 9/6/1970), scientific associate and lecturer fellow at the Department of History of the Croatian Catholic University in Zagreb. At the time of the events discussed here, he was a student of archaeology at the Department of Archaeology of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Zagreb. I owe him my most sincere gratitude for his kindness and desire to make possible a scientific discussion on this precious find from Mali Mošunj. I am equally grateful to him for his willingness to share his memories with me on a sunny January afternoon at the time of writing this article in 2020 and to introduce me to the interesting facts about the “life” of the object



Sl. 1. Okov usta korica iz Malog Mošunja. **1** - Fotografija prednje strane okova; M 1:1 (ustupio: Darko Periša). **2** - Digitalizirana snimka prednje i stražnje strane okova s mjerkom; M 1:2 (ustupio: Ivan Mirnik)

Fig. 1 The scabbard mouthpiece fitting from Mali Mošunj. **1** – Photograph of the front side of the fitting; M 1:1 (provided by: Darko Periša). **2** – Digitalized photograph of the front and back sides of the fitting, M 1:2 (provided by: Ivan Mirnik).

krajem ljeta ili u ranu jesen 1990. godine. Iz njegovih je sjećanja, među ostalim, razvidno da je prije nego će doći u Zagreb predmet “posjetio” Arheološki muzej u Splitu, gdje ga je imao prigode pregledati arheolog Frane Buškariol (1957. - 1989.). Nakon toga predmet je “posjetio” i Zemaljski muzej u Sarajevu, gdje ga je imala prilike vidjeti arheologinja dr. Nada Miletić (1925. - 2002.), a kad se napokon “pojavi” u Zagrebu predmet je, osim uprave Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu i meni nepoznatog dijela tamošnjeg stručnog osoblja, pregledao i analizirao arheolog dr. Zdenko Vinski (1913. - 1996.), koji je o njemu izvijestio njemačkog arheologa dr. Joachima Wenera (1909. - 1994.). Je li s tim u svezi, kako se nagađa, uistinu postojala namjera i želja ovog vrhunskog njemačkog stručnjaka i sjajnog poznavatelja arheologije vremena seobe naroda da se predmet na bilo koji način eventualno otkupi za neku muzejsku kolekciju, i to će zainteresirana stručna javnost jednog dana vjerojatno saznati. Drugi izvor podataka znatno je kasniji i zanimljiv na drukčiji način, jer ga čine digitalne snimke prednje i stražnje strane zlatnog okova koje mi je elektroničkom poštom s. v. *Bosna Aurum* 6. rujna 2013. godine dostavio dr. sc. Ivan Mirnik (Zagreb, 1942.), negdašnji djelatnik Numizmatičkog odjela Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu. Kolegi dr. sc. Ivanu Mirniku dugi je niz godina stajao

The mentioned black-and-white images depict an object placed horizontally, oblong and composed of symmetrically arranged cells connected in a decorative series in which, due to the differences in shades of grey, sizes and shapes of cells, it is easy to recognise two confronted crested birds of prey with pronounced beaks. The birds’ heads are located at the ends of the fitting, facing downwards, and on each of the birds’ heads there extends a short, smooth and at some points incised platelet with two round holes for fastening on the base, bordered with gold beaded wire. In the ornamental series composed of fourteen cells bounded by beaded wire, cells mostly filled with smooth-polished garnets (9) are prevalent, while the less numerous ones are filled with a whitish matter (3), whose banded patterns suggest bone, most likely ivory. The small round cells (5) with dome-shaped inserts (garnets?), symmetrical-ly arranged in a sort of horizontal series, have not only a decorative, but also a clear functional role, because the first two served to indicate birds’ eyes

after its discovery at Kalvarija and its “arrival” in Zagreb in the late summer or early autumn of 1990. From his memory, among other things, before its arrival in Zagreb, the object apparently “visited” the Archaeological Museum in Split, where it was examined by archaeologist Frane Buškariol (1957–1989). After that, the object “visited” the National Museum in Sarajevo, where archaeologist Dr Nada Miletić (1925–2002) had the opportunity to see it. When it finally “appeared” in Zagreb, the object was reviewed and analysed by the administration of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb and a part of its staff unknown to me, as well as the archaeologist Dr Zdenko Vinski (1913–1996), who informed the German archaeologist Dr Joachim Werner (1909–1994) about it. Whether this eminent the German expert and a great connoisseur of the archaeology of the Great Migrations truly intended and wanted the object to be purchased in any way for a museum collection, will probably be found out by the interested professional community one day. The second source of information is much later and interesting in a different way, because it consists of digital images of the front and back of the gold fitting, sent to me by e-mail s.v. *Bosna Aurum* on 6 September 2013 by Dr Ivan Mirnik (Zagreb, 1942), retired employee of the Numismatic Department of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb. My colleague Dr Ivan Mirnik had access to the Museum’s photographic laboratory for many years (the Archaeological Museum did not have its own photographer from 1966 to 1994), which he used for the purposes of the Numismatic Department, as well as for taking and developing photographs, sometimes for his colleagues from other museum departments. I would also like to thank him most sincerely for the photographs he provided me with.

Na spomenutim crno-bijelim snimkama nalazi se predmet vodoravno postavljen, duguljast i sastavljen od simetrično raspoređenih ćelija spojenih u ukrasni niz u kojem se, zahvaljujući razlici u nijansama sive boje, veličini i oblicima ćelija, lako raspoznaje prikaz dviju antitetički postavljenih ptica grabljivica naglašenih kljunova i s čubom na glavi (kukma, kresta). Ptičje glave nalaze se na krajevima okova, okrenute su prema dolje, a na svaku od ptičjih glava nastavlja se kratka, glatka i mjestimično prorezana podložna pločica s dvjema okruglim rupama za pričvršćivanje na podlogu obrubljenima zlatnom zrnatom žicom. U ukrasnom nizu sačinjenom od četrnaest ćelija omeđenih zrnatom žicom prevladavaju ćelije većinom ispunjene glatko brušenim almandinima (9), a one manje brojne ispunjene su bjelkastom tvari (3) čiji trakasti uzorci upućuju na kost, najvjerojatnije bjelokost. Male okrugle ćelije (5) s kupolasto oblikovanim umetcima (almandini?), simetrično raspoređene u svojevrsnom vodoravnom nizu, osim ukrasne imaju i jasnu funkcionalnu ulogu jer su prve dvije služile kao naznaka za ptičje oči (2), a druge dvije, na spoju čube i kljuna, kao naznaka čeonog ukrasa ptice grabljivice čestog u sokolarstvu (2). Mala okrugla ćelija postavljena u središnju četvrtastu ćeliju ukrasnog niza mogla bi, za razliku od prethodne četiri, imati isključivo ukrasnu ulogu. Kako prigodom pregovora o otkupu nisu pribilježeni mjerni podaci, sretna je okolnost što je pri fotografiranju uz predmet stavljena plastična mjerka, te je pojedine mjere bilo moguće približno točno ustanoviti: dužina predmeta s pločicama i rupama za pričvršćivanje iznosi 7,3 cm, dužina kloazoniranog dijela 6,5 cm, širina ptičje glave 2,88 cm, širina sredine 1,75 cm, dok najmanja širina iznosi oko 1 cm. Navedeni podaci više su nego dovoljni da se opisanom predmetu ustanovi namjena i pretpostavi eventualni vremenski okvir u kojem je nastao i bio korišten. Materijali upotrijebljeni u njegovoj izradbi skupocjeni su i dostupni malobrojnim, a tehnika izradbe upućuje na rad specijalizirane zlatarske radionice opremljene i obučene za rad sa zlatom, almandinima i bjelokošću (?). Rijetka komparativna arheološka građa svr-

(2), and the other two, at the junction of the crest and beak, to mark the hood decoration of a bird of prey, common in falconry (2). A small round cell placed in the central square cell of the decorative series could, unlike the previous four, have an exclusively ornamental role. As no data on measures were recorded during the purchase negotiations, it is fortunate that a plastic calliper was placed next to the item during its photographing, and thus some measures can be determined quite accurately: the length of the object with plates and mounting holes is 7.3 cm, the length of the cloisonné-work part is 6.5 cm, the bird's head is 2.88 cm wide, and the middle part 1.75 cm, while the narrowest section measures about 1 cm. The above particulars are more than sufficient to identify the purpose of the described object and to assume the possible time frame in which it was made and used. The materials used in its making are expensive and available to few, and its construction suggests it was manufactured in a specialised goldsmith's workshop equipped and trained to work with gold, garnets and ivory(?). Rare comparative archaeological evidence classifies it among precious scabbard mouthpiece fittings which could only have been worn by a high-ranking member of the late Roman military elite in the post-Hunnic period of the second half of the fifth century.

The accompanying note mentions the site, "Mali Mošunj near Vitez" in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the hill of Kalvarija as the probable find-spot, where the item was discovered "on its east[ern] slope in mid-1985". The note also indicates that a "vaulted tomb, later destroyed by an excavator" existed "at that location", and adds a piece of information as a "narrative" that "a ring was found together with the fitting" (Fig. 2). The information on the existence of the tomb with a vault (vaulted tomb) and the possible discovery of the ring is not surprising. On the contrary, it only confirms the existence of a cemetery and burials, whose archaeological traces on Crkvina Hill, better known today as Kalvarija, were identified more than 100 years ago. There, in 1912–1914, during the construction of the Church of the Sorrowful Mother of God, prehistoric pottery and graves were discovered and described, as well as vaulted tombs. The structural remains observed at the time were attributed to an Early Christian basilica with a baptistery.² Scarce earlier, and somewhat

na raspolaganju muzejski foto-laboratorij (od 1966. do 1994. godine Arheološki muzej nije imao zaposlenog fotografa), pa je ondje osim za potrebe Numizmatičkog odjela on obavljao snimanja i razvijanja foto-materijala kadšto i za potrebe kolega s drugih muzejskih odjela. Za ustupljene mi snimke i njemu najiskrenije zahvaljujem.

² Kujundžić 1917, 478–480, 489–490. For later inter-

DARKO PERIŠA - Stud. Arch.
 BANJA LUKA - LIVNO
 GRADINA "KALVARIJA" MALI MOŠUNJ
 KOD VITEZA - na ist.
 padini pol. 1985. god.
 23% karat. zlat
 Na tom položaju grobnica
 na svod, kasnije uništena
 bagerom - PRIČA - zajedno
 s okovom nađen i prsten

Sl. 2. Bilješka Darka Periša o nalazu iz Malog Mošunja: DARKO PERIŠA - Stud. Arch. / BANJA LUKA - LIVNO / GRADINA "KALVARIJA" MALI MOŠUNJ KOD VITEZA - na ist. padini pol. 1985. god. / 23% karat. zlat / Na tom položaju grobnica na svod, kasnije uništena bagerom - PRIČA - zajedno s okovom nađen i prsten.

Fig. 2 Note of Darko Periša about find from Mali Mošunj: DARKO PERIŠA - Stud. Arch. / BANJA LUKA - LIVNO / THE "KALVARIJA" HILLFORT OF MALI MOŠUNJ NEAR VITEZ - on the eastern slope in the middle of 1985/ 23 carat gold / At this location a grave vault was discovered, later destroyed by digging machinery - it is said - together with the mount, a ring was found

stava ga među skupocjene okove usta korica mača kakav je o pojasu mogao nositi jedino neki visoko pozicionirani pripadnik kasnorimskodobne vojne elite u posthunszkodobnom razdoblju druge polovine 5. stoljeća.

Kao nalazište popratna bilješka spominje "Mali Mošunj kod Viteza" u Bosni i Hercegovini, a kao vjerojatni položaj nalaza brdo po imenu Kalvarija, gdje je "na njenoj ist.[očnoj] padini pol.[ovinom] 1985. god.[ine]" predmet bio pronađen. Popratno je također zapisano da je "na tom položaju" postojala "grobница na svod, kasnije uništena bagerom", a kao "priča" pridodan je podatak da je "zajedno s okovom nađen i prsten" (sl. 2). Podaci o postojanju grobnice na svod (presvođena grobnica) i eventualnom nalazu prstena ne iznenađuju, nego, naprotiv, samo potvrđuju postojanje grobišta i ukopa čiji su arheološki tragovi na brdu Crkvini, danas poznatijoj kao Kalvarija, utvrđeni još prije više od

more numerous later archaeologists' observations and assessments recognised the remains of a fortified prehistoric settlement and later Roman fortification³ on Crkvina (Kalvarija), with a civil settlement (Divjak) located slightly east at its foot, both marked and named in the *Tabula Peutingeriana* as *mansio Stanecli*.⁴ The settlement also spread to the west (Grovnice), where on the slopes of the nearby hill Gradina, now almost completely gone due to quarrying, probably the last remains of the hitherto almost entirely destroyed Late Roman period cemetery with Early Christian features were explored in 2009.⁵ The expansion and economic development of *Stanecli* were also aided by its location on the Roman-period roadway more than 180 km long, stretching from Salona, the administrative centre of the province of Dalmatia, to its interior all the way to Argentaria, an important mining centre of the province. Furthermore, the surroundings of *Stanecli* and the entire Travnik area along the Lašva River and its numerous tributaries were rich in mineral treasures, primarily gold and iron, but also other metals. Their traces, such as mines, panning facilities, slag heaps and sand in the area are still quite conspicuous, frequent, and indeed significant⁶ (Fig. 3). It is unquestionable that such an area, both in the early Roman and late Roman periods, required not only administrative control (*comes metallorum per Illyricum*)⁷, but also adequate security and protection by armed units. Therefore, it should be assumed that some local (Dalmatian) Late Roman *comitatus* unit or a part of it, and perhaps even a selected group

pretations of the then research and early Christian finds attributed to the basilica-shaped building whose ground-plan has never been published, see Basler 1972, pp. 94–97; Basler 1986, p. 80 = Basler 1990, pp. 90–91; Paškvalin 2003, pp. 51–52, 117–118, 138–139, 365; Škegro 2003, p. 35.

³ Radimsky 1892, pp. 227–230; Korošec 1950, 257 No. 25; Basler 1972, pp. 57, 94–95; Marjanović–Basler–Miletić 1988, 196, No. 13.29, where no mention is made of the existence of a Roman fortification; Čremošnik 1990, p. 359, No. 64; Chevalier 1995, p. 33.

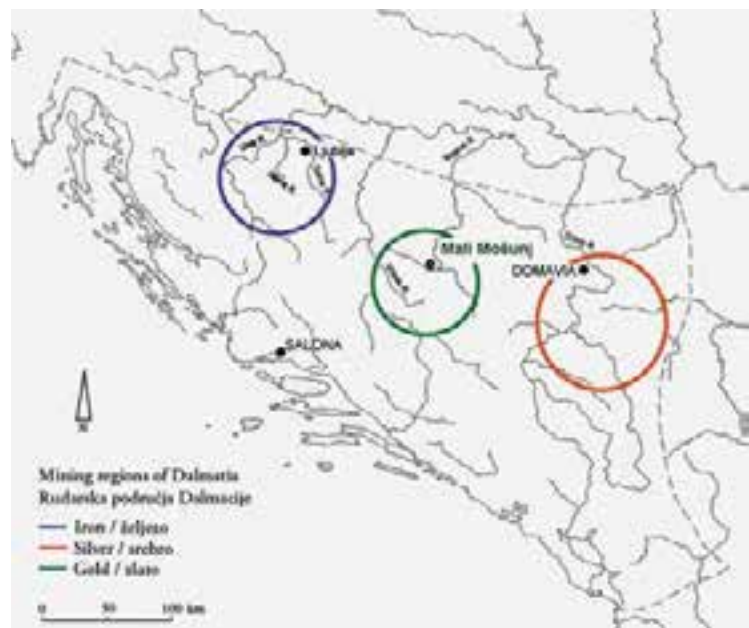
⁴ Bojanovski 1974, pp. 174–179, 186–189, 254, with, among other things, an extensive review of previous interpretations regarding the location of the *Stanecli* station.

⁵ Vasilj 2010, pp. 135–147.

⁶ Škegro 1999, pp. 48, 125; Škegro 2003, pp. 21–23 (with earlier literature); Glicksman 2018, pp. 268–273, whose observations generally do not cover the period after the end of the third and the beginning of the fourth century.

⁷ *Not. Dig. Or.* XIII 11.

100 godina. Ondje su osim pretpovijesne keramike i grobova 1912. - 1914. godine prigodom gradnje crkve Žalosne Majke Božje i poslije bile otkrivene i opisane presvođene grobnice, a tada uočeni građevinski ostaci pripisani su ranokršćanskoj bazilici s krstionicom.² Rijetka prethodna, ali i nešto brojnija kasnija opažanja i prosudbe arheologa prepoznale su na Crkvini (Kalvariji) ostatke utvrđene pretpovijesne naseobine i kasnije rimskodobne utvrde³ s civilnim naseljem (Divjak) smještenim nešto istočnije u podnožju, koji su na *Tabuli Peutingeriani* ucrtani i imenovani kao *mansio Stanecli*.⁴ Naselje se širilo i u pravcu zapada (Grovnice), gdje su na padinama obližnjeg brda Gradine, eksploatacijom kamena gotovo već posve nestalog, godine 2009. istraživani vjerojatno posljednji ostaci dotad već gotovo posve uništenog kasnorimskoga groblja ranokršćanskih obilježja.⁵ Širenju i gospodarskom razvoju *Stanecla* pridonio je i njegov smještaj na rimskodobnom cestovnom pravcu dugom više od 180 km koji je iz Salone, upravnog središta provincije Dalmacije, vodio u njezinu unutrašnjost i završavao u Argentariji, važnom rudarskom središtu provincije. Uz to su okolica *Stanecla* kao i čitav travnički kraj uz rijeku Lašvu i i njezine brojne pritoke obilovali rudnim blagom, ponajprije zlatom i željezom, ali i drugim metalima, a njihovi tragovi poput rudokopa, ispirališta, gomila zgure i pijeska u tom području i danas su dobro uočljivi, česti i uistinu znatni⁶ (sl. 3). Neupitno je da je takvo područje, kako u ranorimskom tako i u kasnorimskom razdoblju, osim administrativne kontrole (*comes metallorum per Illyricum*)⁷ zahtijevalo odgovarajuće osiguranje



Sl. 3. Rudarska područja u rimskodobnoj Dalmaciji (Glicksman 2018, 263 Fig. 1) s položajem Malog Mošunja (*mansio Stanecli*)

Fig. 3 The mining regions in Roman period Dalmatia (Glicksman 2018, 263 Fig. 1), with the position of Mali Mošunj (*mansio Stanecli*).

of barbarian mercenaries, could have occasionally resided or been stationed in the area on a more permanent basis, possibly in *Stanecli* itself. Hence the chance or even grave find of military equipment as the source of the front part of the gold scabbard fitting decorated with cloisonné-work.

II. Similarities and comparisons

Cloisonné-work complemented by birds' heads on the edges of decorative compositions has been known on only two swords: as an ornament of the scabbard mouthpiece fitting from Taman in southern Russia, known for more than a century (Fig. 4:1) – once in the collection of Baron Johannes von Diergardt, today in Berlin in the *Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte*⁸ – which only many years later was found to have belonged to the burial of a horseman and his horse discovered in 1912⁹ and as an ornament of the lower zone of the two-zoned cross-guard of the sword from a grave discovered in 1929 on the Voskhod collective farm near Engels

² Kujundžić 1917, str. 478-480, 489-490. Za kasnija tumačenja tadašnjih istraživanja i ranokršćanskih nalaza pripisanih bazilikalnom objektu čiji tlocrt nikad nije bio objavljen, v. Basler 1972, str. 94-97; Basler 1986, str. 80 = Basler 1990, str. 90-91; Paškvalin 2003, str. 51-52, 117-118, 138-139, 365; Škegro 2003, str. 35.

³ Radimsky 1892, str. 227-230; Korošec 1950, str. 257 no. 25; Basler 1972, str. 57, 94-5; Marjanović-Basler-Miletić 1988, str. 196, no. 13.29, gdje se ne spominje postojanje rimskodobne utvrde; Čremošnik 1990, str. 359, no. 64; Chevalier 1995, str. 33.

⁴ Bojanovski 1974, str. 174-179, 186-189, 254, gdje je između ostalog donesen i opširan osvrt na dotadašnje interpretacije glede ubikacije postaje *Stanecli*.

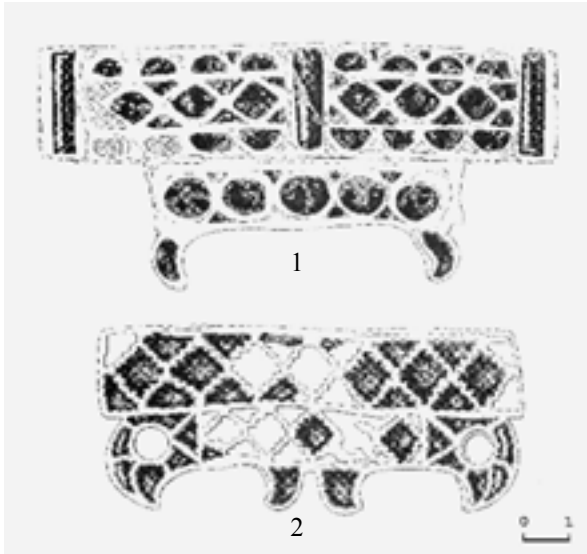
⁵ Vasilj 2010, str. 135-147.

⁶ Škegro 1999, str. 48, 125; Škegro 2003, str. 21-23 (sa starijom literaturom); Glicksman 2018, str. 268-273, koja svojim zapažanjima uglavnom ne obuhvaća vrijeme kasnije od kraja 3. i početka 4. stoljeća.

⁷ *Not. Dig. Or.* XIII 11.

⁸ Garscha 1936, Taf. 41:3; Behmer 1939, p. 81, Taf. XII:4a-b; Böhner 1948, p. 225 Abb. 2:4; Adams 2000, Pl. VIII:2.

⁹ Menghin 1995, pp. 179-183 Abb. pp. 37-40 (length: 7 cm; width at birds' heads: 2.8 cm); Kazanski 2017, p. 68, Fig. 3:2.



Sl. 4. Glave ptica grabljivica na okovu usta korica i krsnici mača s nalazišta na jugozapadu Rusije; **1** - Taman (Ru), krsnica mača i okov usta korica s ptičjim glavama. **2** - Engels-Pokrovska/kolhoz Vostok (Ru), dvopojasna krsnica mača s ptičjim glavama u donjem pojasu (1-2: Adams 2000, 63 Pl. VIII:2-3)

Fig. 4 The heads of birds of prey on scabbard mouthpieces and crossguards of swords from sites in southwestern Russia. **1** - Taman (Ru), sword crossguard and scabbard mouthpiece with bird heads. **2** - Engels-Pokrovska/Kolhoz Vostok (Ru), two-zoned sword crossguard with bird heads in the lower zone (1-2: Adams 2000, 63 Pl. VIII: 2-3).

i zaštitu oružanih postrojba. Stoga valja pretpostaviti da je neka lokalna (dalmatinska) kasnorimska postrojba komitatenskog ustroja ili pak neki njezin dio, a možda čak i kakva odabrana skupina barbar-skih plaćenika, mogla povremeno boraviti ili pak biti trajnije stacionirana u tom području, možda upravo u *Stanecli*, pa otuda ondje slučajni ili čak grobni nalaz bojne opreme kojoj je pripadao ovdje opisani prednji dio kloazoniranjem ukrašenog zlatnog okova korica mača.

II. Sličnosti i usporedbe

Kloazoniranje upotpunjeno ptičjim glavama na rubovima ukrasne kompozicije dosad je bilo poznato na samo dva mača: kao ukras okova usta korica mača iz Tamana na jugu Rusije, poznatog već više od jednog stoljeća (**sl. 4:1**) - nekoć u zbirci baruna Johanna von Diergardta, danas u Berlinu u *Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte*⁸ - za koji se tek

⁸ Garscha 1936, Taf. 41:3; Behmer 1939, str. 81, Taf. XII:4a-b; Böhner 1948, str. 225, Abb.2:4; Adams 2000, T. VIII:2.

(Pokrovsk/Kosakenstadt) in Saratov Povolozhye (**Fig. 4:2**), in the southeastern European part of Russia, more than 1000 km northeast of Taman.¹⁰ In both cases, garnets are mentioned or used almost exclusively as inserts in gilded bronze cells on the scabbard mouthpiece fitting from Taman or in gold cells on the two-zoned sword cross-guard from Engels.¹¹ The single-zoned sword cross-guard from Taman is decorated with 61 cells (two three-row fields, each with 29 cells, bordered by three cells with rod-shaped inserts), while the two-zoned cross-guard from Engels was decorated with 56 cells, 23 of which were in the upper part (stepped rhomb, 7; stepped semi-rhomb, 16), and 33 cells in the lower part decorated with birds' heads (stepped rhomb, 5; stepped semi-rhomb, 12; various shapes, 16). The different cell shapes as used to form the birds' heads are more numerous on the Engels cross-guard, where, along with two cells used in the middle of the fitting to shape the birds-of-prey tails, the remaining 16 cells (2 x 7) were used to form the birds-of-prey heads on the edges – most likely to further emphasise the figurative segments of the fitting edges with a variety of shapes and mixed colours (red, gold). In addition to the material from which the cells are made (gold) and the number of inserts with which they are filled (56), the dominant shape of the cells on the sword cross-guard from Engels is the stepped rhomb (12/7+5) and its usual counterpart, the stepped semi-rhomb (28/16 + 12), an earlier example of which can be found on the sword cross-guard from Pannonhalma in Hungary,¹² and the later, probably most representative examples, on the gold paten from Gourdon in the south of France¹³ (**Fig. 5:1–2**) and somewhat varied

¹⁰ Werner 1956, pp. 41, 103 (C 59), 129, Taf. 40:2 (Engels-Pokrovsk); Ambroz 1989, pp. 43–44, 101 ris. 15:2; Bóna 1991, pp. 66 Abb. 22/1, 243–244 No. 22:1; Menghin 1995, pp. 178–179, Abb. 35. The similarities with the scabbard fitting from Childeric's tomb were noted by Adams 2010, 85 Pl. 4:1–2.

¹¹ "...Vogelköpfen mit weißen Augeneinlagen" on the Engels fitting was mentioned by Menghin 1995, p. 178.

¹² Tomka 1986, 438–439 Abb. 16:2, p. 453 Abb. 23:8; Tomka, Anke 2007, pp. 226–227.

¹³ The Gourdon hoard, discovered in 1845, comprised a golden paten and chalice, as well as 103 or 104 gold coins (solidi and tremisses) struck under several mostly Burgundian rulers from the first decades of the sixth century, of which only a few are preserved today, Lenormant 1848, p. 126; Lafaurie 1959, p. 64, Pl. VI. Today it is more or less clear that the paten and chalice are earlier (late fifth century) than the time



Sl. 5. Predmeti ukrašeni stepeničastim rombom.

1 - Pannonhalma (H), grobni nalaz, krsnica mača; (Koch, Anke 2007, 227). **2** - Gourdon (F), skupni nalaz, zlatna patena; (Périn 1997, 100)

Fig. 5 Objects decorated with stepped rhombs.

1 - Pannonhalma (H), grave find, sword crossguard; (Koch, Anke 2007, 227). *2* - Gourdon (F), hoard, gold paten; (Périn 1997, 100)

mnogo godina kasnije utvrdilo da je pripadao ukopu konjanika i njegova konja otkrivenom 1912. godine⁹ te kao ukras donjeg pojasa dvopojasne krsnice mača iz groba otkrivenog 1929. godine na kolhozu Voshod kod Engelsa (Pokrovsk/Kosakenstadt) u Saratovskom Povolžju (sl. 4:2), na jugoistoku europskog dijela Rusije, udaljenom od Tamana više od 1000 km u pravcu sjeveroistoka.¹⁰ U oba slučaja spominju se ili su korišteni gotovo isključivo almandini kao umetci u ćelije od pozlaćene bronce na okovu usta korica mača iz Tamana ili pak u zlatne ćelije na dvopojasnoj krsnici mača iz Engelsa.¹¹ Jednopojasnu krsnicu mača iz Tamana ukrašava 61 ćelija (dva troredna polja, svako sa 29 ćelija, omeđena trima ćelijama sa štapićastim umetcima), a dvopojasnu krsnicu iz Engelsa ukrašavalo je 56 ćelija, od kojih su se 23 ćelije nalazile u gornjem prvom pojasu (stepeničasti romb, 7; stepeničasti

⁹ Menghin 1995, str. 179-183, Abb. 37-40 (duž. 7 cm, šir. kod ptičjih glava 2,8 cm); Kazanski 2017, str. 68, Fig. 3:2.

¹⁰ Werner 1956, str. 41, 103 (C 59), 129, Taf. 40:2 (Engels-Pokrovsk); Ambroz 1989, str. 43-44, 101 ris. 15:2; Bóna 1991, str. 66, Abb. 22/1, str. 243-244, no. 22:1; Menghin 1995, str. 178-179, Abb. 35. Na sličnosti s okovom korica iz Hilderikova groba upozorila je Adams 2010, 85 Pl. 4:1-2.

¹¹ "... *Vogelköpfen mit weißen Augeneinlagen*" na okovu iz Engelsa spominje Menghin 1995, str. 178.



Sl. 6. Par ptičjih fibula s krestom i trapezoidnim repom: Saint-Denis (F), iskopavanje 1973. g. (Vallet-Périn 2004, 24)

Fig. 6 A pair of bird fibulae with a beak and a trapezoidal tail: Saint-Denis (F), excavations in 1973 (Vallet-Périn 2004, 24).

on the scabbard mouthpiece fitting from Childeric's tomb in Tournai, Belgium¹⁴ (Fig. 11:1). As it is generally believed that Childeric died in 481/482, it can be assumed that the exclusivity of a decorative series of stepped rhombs had begun at a somewhat earlier time, i.e. in the late 460s or early 470s.¹⁵

Compared to the sword cross-guard from Engels, the scabbard mouthpieces with birds' heads from Taman and Mali Mošunj are less representative, both in the total number of their cells (15/17) and in the shape and number of cells forming the birds' heads: on the bronze gilded fitting from Taman, the birds' heads are decorated with only two cells with

of the Frankish invasions of Burgundy in 523/524 or 534, when they were probably hidden together with the coins, Schulze 1979, pp. 281-282 No. 235; Adams 2008, pp. 424-425.

¹⁴ For more information on these rare early examples of the use of cells in the form of rhombs with stepped walls, as well as on somewhat different and also rare later examples from the sixth century, see Adams 2010, pp. 84-87.

¹⁵ Cells in the shape of stepped rhombs as individual decorative elements can be found on the fitting of the gold belt buckle from the princely grave in Wolfsheim (Bernhard 1982, pp. 82-83 Abb. 15:5; Koch 2001a, pp. 118-119 No. 2.10.3.3), dated to the second and third decade of the fifth century (Böhme 1974, p. 167) or the period between 430 and 451 (Werner 1956, pp. 88-89). The period D2/D3 (440-460/470) would be a more appropriate time-frame for this buckle, which is also claimed to reflect contacts with the middle Danube region (Quast 1999, p. 705). The same is also valid for the later find with similar features from Teleki near Budapest, Szenthe *et alii* 2018, 12 Fig. 10.

Tablica/Plate 1

Broj ćelija na dvopojasnoj krsnici mača iz Engels-Pokrovska, krsnici i okovu usta korica iz Tamana i okovu usta korica iz Malog Mošunja.

The number of cells on the two-zoned sword crossguard from Engels-Pokrovsk, the crossguard and scabbard mouthpiece fitting from Taman, and the scabbard mouthpiece fitting from Mali Mošunj.

Broj ćelija / number of cells	Engels (Ru)		Taman (Ru)		Mali Mošunj (BiH)	
krsnica mača, 1. pojas / guard, 1 st zone	23	41,07	61	80,26	-	-
krsnica mača, 2. pojas / guard, 2 nd zone	33	58,93	-	-	-	-
glava ptice / bird head	14 / 33	42,42	-	-	-	-
okov usta korica / scabbard mount	-	-	15	19,74	17	-
glava ptice / bird head	-	-	4 / 15	26,67	10 / 17	58,82
Ukupno (krsnica + okov usta korica)	56		76		17	

poluromb, 16), a 33 ćelije u donjem drugom pojasu ukrašenom ptičjim glavama (stepeničasti romb, 5; stepeničasti poluromb, 12; različiti oblici, 16). Različiti oblici ćelija korišteni pri oblikovanju ptičjih glava brojniji su na krsnici iz Engelsa, na kojoj je uz dvije ćelije upotrijebljene u sredini okova pri oblikovanju repa ptice grabljivice preostalih 16 ćelija (2 x 7) upotrijebljeno pri oblikovanju glava ptice grabljivice na rubovima - najvjerojatnije u želji da se figurativni segmenti rubova okova dodatno naglase raznolikošću oblika i mješavinom boja (crvena, zlatna). Osim materijala od kojih su ćelije izrađene (zlato) i broja umetaka kojima su ispunjene (56), dominirajući oblik ćelija na krsnici mača iz Engelsa je stepeničasti romb (12/7+5) i njegov uobičajeni pratilac stepeničasti poluromb (28/16+12), čiji se raniji primjer nalazi na krsnici mača iz Pannonhalme u Mađarskoj,¹² a kasniji, vjerojatno najrepresentativniji primjeri, na zlatnoj pateni iz Gourдона na jugu Francuske¹³ (sl. 5:1-2) te ponešto varirani

garnet inserts (2+2), and on the gold fitting from Mošunj, five cells (5+5) were used to decorate the birds' heads, but garnet (4) and ivory (1) inserts result in polychromy, conspicuousness and exclusivity of the object (gold, red, white colours). In addition, the use of ivory on the fitting from Mošunj is not limited to the birds' heads, but it is also used to fill the central cell of the fitting, which, together with the trapezoidal cell with an garnet insert extending from it, forms a bird's tail. A similar and easily recognisable bird's tail can be found on a pair of distinctive golden cloisonné bird fibulae discovered in the cemetery near the church of Saint-Denis in Paris¹⁶ (Fig. 6), as well as on somewhat less representative specimens of small bird fibulae from the rich Merovingian female grave discovered at Artres in the north of France;¹⁷ in both examples, the birds' heads have crests.

At the ends of the fitting from Mali Mošunj, apart from its decoration by adding birds' heads and using ivory as inserts for cells, a pair of vertically arranged round holes bordered by beaded wire are visible for fastening to the base is also noticeable (the rivets are missing). Similarly arranged holes, probably for the same purpose, equally well visible, though without borders and at only one end, can also be found only on the silver, gilded, and geometrically incised scabbard mouthpiece of the

¹² Tomka 1986, str. 438-439, Abb. 16:2, str. 453 Abb. 23:8; Tomka, Anke 2007, str. 226-227.

¹³ Ostava iz Gourдона, otkrivena 1845. godine, sadržavala je osim zlatne patene i kaleža još 103 ili 104 zlatnika (solidi i tremise) nekolicine pretežito burgundskih vladara iz prvih desetljeća 6. stoljeća, od kojih je danas sačuvano tek nekoliko primjeraka, Lenormant 1848, str. 126; Lafaurie 1959, str. 64, Pl. VI. Da su patena i kalež ipak stariji (kasno 5. st.) od vremena franačkih provala u Burgundiju 523./524. ili 534. godine, kada su zajedno s novcem vjerojatno bili sakriveni, danas je uglavnom više ili manje jasno, Schulze 1979, str. 281-282, no. 235; Adams 2008, str. 424-425.

¹⁶ Vallet-Périn 2004, p. 24.

¹⁷ For more information on the finds kept in two English museums and the tomb in which they were discovered in 1855, see Ager 1997, pp. 127-129 (dated to the first half of the sixth century).

na okovu usta korica mača iz Hilderikova groba u Tournaiju u Belgiji¹⁴ (sl. 11:1). Kako se općenito smatra da je Hilderik preminuo 481./482. godine, pretpostaviti je da je ukrasni niz stepeničastih rombova svoju ekskluzivnost započeo u nešto ranije vrijeme, tj. kasnih šezdesetih ili ranih sedamdesetih godina 5. stoljeća.¹⁵

U odnosu na krsnicu mača iz Englesa okovi usta korica s ptičjim glavama iz Tamana i Malog Mošunja pokazuju manje reprezentativnosti, kako ukupnim brojem svojih ćelija (15/17), tako oblicima i brojem ćelija kojima su oblikovane ptičje glave: na brončanom pozlaćenom okovu iz Tamana ptičje glave ukrašene su samo dvjema ćelijama s umetcima od almandina (2+2), a na zlatnom okovu iz Mošunja za ukrašavanje ptičjih glava upotrijebljeno je pet ćelija (5+5), ali je umetcima od almandina (4) i bjelokosti (1) ostvarena višebojnost, upadljivost te ekskluzivnost predmeta (zlatna, crvena, bijela boja). Uz to, upotreba bjelokosti na okovu iz Mošunja nije ograničena samo na ptičje glave već je njome ispunjena i središnja ćelija okova koja zajedno s trapezoidnom ćelijom s umetkom od almandina koja se na nju nastavlja oblikuje ptičji rep. Sličan i lako prepoznatljiv ptičji rep nalazi se na paru osebujnih zlatnih kloazoniranih ptičjih fibula otkrivenih na groblju kod crkve Saint-Denis u Parizu¹⁶ (sl. 6) kao i na nešto manje reprezentativnim primjercima malih ptičjih fibula iz bogatoga merovinškoga ženskog groba otkrivenog u Artresu na sjeveru Francuske;¹⁷ u oba primjera ptičjim glavama pridodane su čube (kukma, kresta).

damascened sword with a gold grip from the rich princely tomb in Pleidelsheim (gr. 71) in southwestern Germany¹⁸ (Fig. 7:1). The Pleidelsheim fitting is also interesting because of the birds' eyes on the edges facing downwards, decorated with round garnets, but also for the central inclusion in the same direction, decorated with a rectangular garnets. Its most similar analogy, although without the fastening holes, and with even more garnets, is the fitting from the destroyed princely tomb discovered in 1926 in Valea lui Mihai/Érmihályfalva-Grădina lui A. Stantz in northwestern Romania – gilded silver, incised geometric decoration, round garnet inserts on the edges of the fitting (4) and the birds' heads (4)¹⁹ – at the time of its discovery, but also years after, the only specimen with the mentioned features (Fig. 7:2). Because of that, but also due to other comparatively interesting finds with which it was found in the tomb, the fitting immediately attracted attention, certainly contributed to by a solid (imitation?) of the Byzantine Emperor Theodosius II (408 – 450), minted not earlier than 442 or 443, and found in the grave in the mouth of a deceased person.²⁰ The gold coin of Theodosius II was almost completely ignored as early as the 1920s when the tomb was being dated. It was interpreted as a mere *terminus post quem*, and the grave finds were associated with the period from 480 to 520 (the Érmihályfalva-Komárno-Gültlingen-Flonheim horizon).²¹ Fifty years later, an attempt was made to shift the dating of these finds to the period before 480 (Zeitgruppe A = Childerichzeit),²² but this could

¹⁴ O ovim rijetkim ranim primjerima upotrebe ćelija u obliku romba stepeničastih stijenki, ali i o ponešto drukčijim isto tako rijetkim kasnijim primjerima iz 6. stoljeća, Adams 2010, str. 84-87.

¹⁵ Ćelija u obliku stepeničastog romba kao pojedinačni ukrasni element nalazi se na okovu zlatne pojasne kopče iz kneževskoga groba u Wolfsheimu (Bernhard 1982, str. 82-83 Abb. 15:5; Koch 2001a, str. 118-119 no. 2.10.3.3), datiranog u drugo i treće desetljeće 5. stoljeća (Böhme 1974, 167) ili pak u razdoblje između 430. i 451. godine (Werner 1956, str. 88-89). Za tu kopču, za koju se također tvrdi da odražava kontakte sa srednjim Podunavljem (Quast 1999, str. 705) razdoblje D2/D3 (440. - 460./470.) bio bi primjereniji okvir, a istome bi vjerojatno pripadao i jedan noviji nalaz sličnih obilježja iz Telekija kod Budimpešte, Szenthe *et alii* 2018, str. 12. Fig. 10.

¹⁶ Vallet-Périn 2004, 24.

¹⁷ O nalazima pohranjenima u dvama engleskim muzejima i grobu u kojem su otkriveni 1855. godine v. Ager 1997, str. 127-129 (s datacijom u prvu pol. 6. st.).

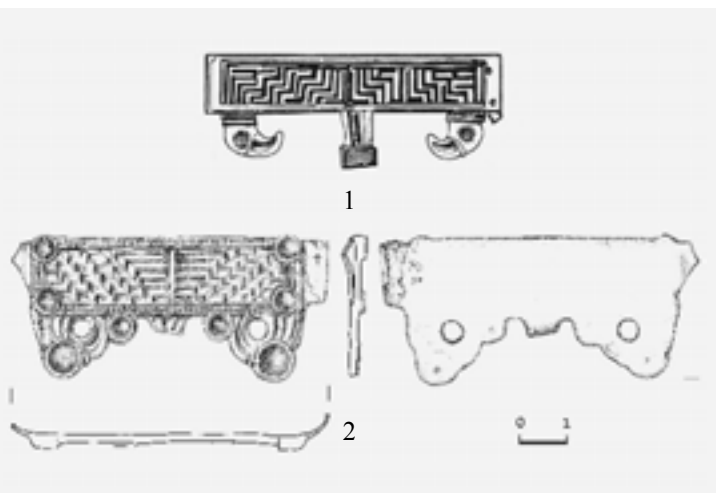
¹⁸ Menghin 1983, 188 No. 8:1b, 334 No. 16; Koch 2001, 82–83 Abb. 21, 289 Abb. 118, 434 No. 3, Taf. 28:3; Miche 2014, 96–97, 103, Taf. I:7.

¹⁹ Roska 1930, 230–231 kép. 148:6 = Roska 1932, 70–71 No. 6; Csallány 1961, 221, 259, Taf. CCXXXVI-II:6; Menghin 1983, 186 No. 6:1a, 333 No. 12; Harhoiu 1998, 193 No. 93/5, Taf. CII:7; Stanciu 2011, 365–366, 623 Pl. 14:2, 793 Pl. 182:4.

²⁰ Huszar 1954, 75 No. XLIX/141, Taf. XXV:141. In professional literature, this coin has usually been presented as its original drawing or a slightly revised version, taken from one of the first publications by M. Roska (1930, kép 148:5 = 1932, 70 No. 5), who assumed at the time that it was a barbarous copy of the solidus of Theodosius II. Efforts to establish where the coin was in fact located and to determine the facts of the case were exhaustively reported by Stanciu 2011, 367, Pl. 13:3. However, it was a regular mint or an imitation; the coin can be classified as *MIRB* 33aa (or F.5).

²¹ Werner 1935, 30–34, 63.

²² Menghin 1983, 59, 173 No. 6. For another view and dating to the period after 443, see Menghin 1995, 165.



Sl. 7. Okovi usta korica tipa Altenerding-Brighthampton s glavama ptice grabljivice.

1 - Pleidelsheim (D), gr. 71 (Koch 2001, Taf. 25:3). 2 - Valea lui Mihai /Érmihályfalva-Grădina lui Al. Stantz (Ro), grobni nalaz (Stanciu 2011, 623 Pl. 14:2)

Fig. 7 Scabbard mouthpiece fittings of the Altenerding-Brighthampton type with bird-of-prey heads. 1 - Pleidelsheim (D), gr. 71 (Koch 2001, Pl. 25:3). 2 - Valea lui Mihai/Érmihályfalva-Grădina lui Al. Stantz (Ro), grave find (Stanciu 2011, 623 Pl. 14:2)

Na krajevima okova iz Malog Mošunja je, osim ukrašavanja dodavanjem ptičjih glava i korištenja bjelokosti kao umetaka za ćelije, uočljiv i par vertikalno raspoređenih okruglih i zratom žicom obrubljenih rupa za pričvršćivanje na podlogu (zakovice nedostaju). Slično raspoređene rupe najvjerojatnije iste namjene, jednako dobro vidljive iako bez obruba i na samo jednom od krajeva, nalaze se još jedino na srebrnom, pozlaćenom i geometrijskim rovašenjem ukrašenom okovu usta korica damasciranog mača sa zlatnom drškom iz bogatoga kneževskoga groba u Pleidelsheimu (gr. 71) na jugozapadu Njemačke¹⁸ (sl. 7:1). Okov iz Pleidelsheima zanimljiv je i zbog očiju ptičjih glava na rubovima okrenutih prema dolje, koje su ukrašene okruglim almandinima, ali i zbog središnjeg dodatka istog usmjerenja ukrašenog pravokutnim almandinom. Ovome je, iako je sam bez rupa za pričvršćivanje, najbliži, almandinima još brojniji, okov iz uništenoga kneževskoga groba otkrivenog 1926. godine u Valea lui Mihai/Érmihályfalva-Grădina lui A. Stantz na sjeverozapadu Rumunjske - pozlaćeno srebro, rovašeni geometrijski ukras, okrugli umetci od almandina

¹⁸ Menghin 1983, str. 188 no. 8:1b, str. 334 no. 16; Koch 2001, str. 82-83, Abb. 21, str. 289, Abb. 118, str. 434 no. 3, Taf. 28:3; Miche 2014, str. 96-97, 103, Taf. 1:7.

not be accepted.²³ On the contrary, modern dating of the finds from Valea lui Mihai/Érmihályfalva mostly refer to the advanced fifth century,²⁴ or the end of the fifth and the beginning of the sixth century,²⁵ which is certainly mostly due to the Pleidelsheim fitting, since it is attributed to a warrior grave dated to the period between 480 and 510 (SD-Phase 3, 480–510 = Chlodwigzeit).²⁶

It is not questionable that the Pleidelsheim and Valea lui Mihai/Érmihályfalva-Grădine fittings belong to the early Merovingian group of Altenerding-Brighthampton scabbard mouthpiece fittings (type 1b),²⁷ but the Mali Mošunj scabbard fitting cannot be classified in the same typological group, despite similar decorative motifs. Unlike the previous two, it is completely in cloisonné-work, which could suggest its possible association with the fittings of the Beauvais-Planig group (type 2),²⁸ albeit only with a fraction of it, in which the usual more or less dominant central ornamental field is not used in this early Merovingian group (Arcy-Saint-Res-titue, Consevieux, gr. A, Flonheim, gr. 5/1885; Cologne-Severintor, gr. 205; Lavoye, gr. 319; Pouan).²⁹ The square, usually rectangular, shape of the Beauvais-Planig group is another of their basic features, while the variation, which implies the roundness of edge walls and even two zones like the one on the Pouan scabbard fitting, is the reason why this fitting, as well as some other objects from this find, are attributed an “Eastern” origin.

An eastern origin could also be attributed to the fitting from Mali Mošunj in Bosnia and Herzegovina, primarily due to the presence of birds’ heads at the ends of the fittings and their similarity to

²³ Martin 1989, p. 122 Abb. 1, 126, who classified the finds from Valea lui Mihai/Érmihályfalva as his small but heterogeneous group B1 of graves with swords (Pouan, Blučina). He marked it with the adjective *östliche*, although this attribute would better suit the scabbard fitting from Bešenov (Pieta 1987, pp. 394, 404, Taf. 67, 415 No. 29a), given the two zones that affiliate it with the Pouan fitting.

²⁴ Harhoiu 1998, pp. 48, 155.

²⁵ Stanciu 2011, p. 59; Stanciu 2019, pp. 157, 163.

²⁶ Koch 2001, S. pp. 82–83, Abb. 21, p. 289, Abb. 118, pp. 290–292, 356, Taf. 28:3.

²⁷ Menghin 1983, pp. 28, 96, 333 Nos. 12 and 16.

²⁸ Menghin 1983, pp. 97–98, 335–336.

²⁹ Menghin 1983, pp. 214–215 No. 43 (Flonheim), p. 218 No. 46 (Lavoye, gr. 319b), p. 219 No. 47 (Arcy-Sainte-Res-titue), p. 242 No. 85 (Köln); p. 180–181 No. 2 (Pouan), p. 241 No. 85 (Köln-St. Severin, gr. 205); pp. 335–336, Nos. 1, 3, 6, 10–11, 15.

na rubovima okova (4) i glavama ptica (4)¹⁹ - koji je u vrijeme kad je otkriven, ali i godinama nakon toga bio jedini primjerak spomenutih obilježja (sl. 7:2). Zbog toga, ali i zbog drugih komparativno zanimljivih nalaza s kojima je u grobu zatečen, okov je odmah izazvao pozornost, čemu je svakako pridonio i solid (imitacija?) bizantskog cara Teodozija II. (408. - 450.), kovan ne prije 442. ili 443. godine, a u grobu zatečen u ustima pokojnika.²⁰ Datacija tog groba već je tridesetih godina 20. stoljeća zlatnik Teodozija II. gotovo posve zanemarila, tumačeći ga kao puki *terminus post quem*, a grobne nalaze povezala je s razdobljem od 480. do 520. godine (horizont Érmihályfalva-Komárno-Gültlingen-Flonheim).²¹ Pedesetak godina kasnije pokušalo se dataciju tih nalaza pomaknuti u razdoblje prije 480. godine (Zeitgruppe A = Childerichzeit),²² ali taj pokušaj nije bilo moguće prihvatiti.²³ Naprotiv, suvremene datacije nalaza iz Valea lui Mihai/Érmihályfalva uglavnom govore o poodmaklom 5. stoljeću²⁴ ili pak o kraju 5. i početku 6. stoljeća,²⁵ za što je zasigurno ponajviše zaslužan okov iz Pleidelsheima, budući da je pripisan ratničkom grobu datiranom u razdoblje između 480. i 510. godine (SD-Phase 3, 480-510. god. = Chlodwigzeit).²⁶

specimens from Taman and Engles in southeastern Russia. After all, the symbolism of the bird and its representation in the form of the bird-of-prey head was present in the Late Roman period in various parts of the Empire, including the eastern Mediterranean, especially the Pontic area and its hinterland. In these areas, it was associated with the Sarmatians (and Alans), Huns and Goths, and through the Goths with other East Germanic groups, who took the bird-of-prey symbolism with them to the West when they began arriving in large groups in the Danube region and its neighbouring areas, especially those in the Carpathian Basin, in the late fourth century and in the fifth century. Therefore, it would probably not be necessary to seek iconographic models for finds from Late Roman Dalmatia, such as the one from Mali Mošunj in Bosnia and Herzegovina, solely somewhere in the far southeast of Europe, because they can be found in decent numbers in similar, albeit not identical varieties, in Dalmatia, closer to Pannonia, its neighbouring Late Roman provinces in the middle and lower Danube region, but also in the areas around them. On Late Roman soil, the symbolism of the bird of prey, be it Sarmatian, Hunnic, Gothic or East Germanic, met a similar deep-rooted, traditional and ideologically still strong enough Roman counterpart symbolism, in some elements even distinctly Early Christian. In the well-known circumstances following the victory of the Western Roman coalition in the Battle of the Catalaunian Plains (*Campi Catalaunici*) in 451, the collapse of Hunnic dominance in the Carpathian Basin a few years later and the end of constant Hunnic threats to the security of both Empires, there appeared a wide open space for the affirmation of myriad, mostly Germanic, groups living on both sides of the Danube borderline. Coexistence with the indigenous late roman population, on which today we have new and ever more frequent and reliable material confirmations,³⁰ has resulted in more or less recognisable transformations and spiritual syncretism in various aspects of social life. In the archaeological sense, a great number of iconographic novelties of mythological tenor have been recognized and recorded with regard to the period from during the second half of the fifth century, among which the modelling of a bird's head or birds' heads

¹⁹ Roska 1930, str. 230-231 kép. 148:6 = Roska 1932, 70-71 no. 6; Csallány 1961, str. 221, 259, Taf. CCXXXVIII:6; Menghin 1983, str. 186 no. 6:1a, str. 333 no. 12; Harhoiu 1998, str. 193 no. 93/5, Taf. CII:7; Stanciu 2011, str. 365-366, 623 Pl. 14:2, 793 Pl. 182:4.

²⁰ Huszar 1954, str. 75 no. XLIX/141, Taf. XXV:141. U stručnoj literaturi ovaj je novac obično predstavljen u svom izvornom ili tek ponešto prerađenom crtežu preuzetom iz neke od prvih objava M. Roske (1930, kép 148:5 = 1932, 70 no. 5), koji je tada pretpostavio da se radi o barbarskoj kopiji solida Teodozija II. O naporima da se ustanovi gdje se novac stvarno nalazi i utvrdi činjenično stanje, iscrpno je izvijestio Stanciu 2011, 367, Pl. 13:3. Međutim, radilo se o regularnom kovanju ili imitaciji, novac je moguće opredijeliti kao tip *MIRB*, no. 33a (ili no. F.5).

²¹ Werner 1935, str. 30-34, 63.

²² Menghin 1983, str. 59, 173 no. 6. Za opetovano gledište i dataciju u vrijeme nakon 443. godine Menghin 1995, str. 165.

²³ Martin 1989, str. 122 Abb. 1, str. 126, koji je nalaze iz Valea lui Mihai/Érmihályfalva svrstao u svoju malobrojnu, ali heterogenu B1 skupinu grobova s mačem (Pouan, Blučina), koju je obilježio pridjevom *östliche*, iako bi taj pridjev bolje pristajao okovu mača iz Bešenova (Pieta 1987, str. 394, 404, Taf. 67, str. 415 no. 29a), s obzirom na dvopojasnost koja ga povezuje s okovom iz Pouana.

²⁴ Harhoiu 1998, str. 48, 155.

²⁵ Stanciu 2011, 59; Stanciu 2019, str. 157, 163.

²⁶ Koch 2001, str. 82-83 Abb. 21, str. 289 Abb. 118, str. 290-292, 356, Taf. 28:3.

³⁰ It is first of all necessary to draw attention here to a completely new interdisciplinary analysis and recent findings related to research and finds from the Mőzscsei dűlő cemetery in Hungary, Knipper, Koncz, Ódor, Mende, Racz, Kraus *et alii* 2020, pp. 1-29.

Pripadnost okova iz Pleidelsheima i okova iz Valea lui Mihai/Érmihályfalva-Grădine ranomerovinskoj skupini okova usta korica Altenerding-Brighthampton (tip 1b) nije upitna,²⁷ ali se istoj tipološkoj skupini, unatoč sličnim ukrasnim motivima, nikako ne može pripisati i okov korica iz Malog Mošunja. Taj je za razliku od prethodna dva u cijelosti kloazoniran, što bi moglo sugerirati njegovo eventualno povezivanje s okovima skupine Beauvais-Planig (tip 2),²⁸ ali u tom slučaju samo s njezinim manje brojnim dijelom, koji za tu ranomerovinsku skupinu ne koristi uobičajeno više ili manje dominantno središnje ukrasno polje (Arcy-Saint-Restitue, Consevieux, gr. A, Flonheim, gr. 5/1885; Köln-Severintor, gr. 205; Lavoye, gr. 319; Pouan).²⁹ Četvrtasti, u pravilu pravokutni oblik okova skupine Beauvais-Planig još jedna je od njihovih temeljnih značajki, a odstupanje koje podrazumijeva zaobljenost stijenki rubova pa i dvopojasnost poput one na okovu korica iz Pouana, razlogom je zbog kojeg se tom okovu, kao i nekim drugim predmetima iz tog nalaza, pripisuje “istočno” porijeklo.

Istočno porijeklo moglo bi se, ponajprije zbog prisutnosti ptičjih glava na krajevima okova i njihove sličnosti s primjercima iz Tamana i Englesa na jugoistoku Rusije, pripisati i okovu iz Malog Mošunja u Bosni i Hercegovini. Uostalom, simbolika ptice i njezina prikaza u obliku glave ptice grabljivice prisutna je u kasnorimskom razdoblju u raznim dijelovima Carstva, pa tako i na istočnomediterranskom, posebice pontskom području te u njegovu zaleđu. U tim krajevima dovodilo ju se u vezu sa Sarmatima (i Alanima), Hunima i Gotima, a preko Gota i s drugim istočnogermanskim skupinama koje su simboliku ptice grabljivice ponijeli sa sobom na Zapad kada su krajem 4. stoljeća te u 5. stoljeću u velikim skupinama počeli pristizali u Podunavlje i njemu susjedne krajeve, posebice one u Karpatskoj kotlini. Stoga vjerojatno i ne bi bilo potrebno nalazu iz kasnorimske Dalmacije, kakav je onaj iz Malog Mošunja u Bosni i Hercegovini, ikonografske uzore tražiti isključivo negdje na dalekom jugoistoku Europe, jer se ovi, ne istovjetni, ali slični, u sasvim zadovoljavajućem broju mogu pronaći na tlu Dal-

on various decorative objects stands out with almost ceremonial conspicuousness: a bird's head on cicada-shaped fibulae,³¹ on the square fitting of two-part belt buckles,³² on the rhombic foot of small scored bow fibulae with three button-shaped appendages on the head³³ (Fig. 8:1–4), i.e. two birds' heads or pairs of birds' heads facing each other on silver, often gilded objects such as applications on fibulae made of hammered sheet metal³⁴ or decorative additions on belt buckles with rhombic fittings, richly ornamented with two-part incisions³⁵ (Fig. 8:5–6).

In Italy, pairs of birds' heads are also represented on some of the most luxurious specimens decorated with cloisonné-work: on the heads of silver gilded bow fibulae from Desana,³⁶ on the head of silver cloisonné bow fibulae from “Fano”³⁷ and on the fitting of the cloisonné gold two-part belt buckle from Landriano,³⁸ according to the shape and comparative structure, only the fibulae from Desana and “Fano” have been identified as reliably older than the time of the arrival of Theodoric's Goths in Italy (489) and attributed to the period around 470 or only somewhat later³⁹ (Fig. 9:1–2). The fitting with

²⁷ Menghin 1983, str. 28, 96, 333 no. 12 i 16.

²⁸ Menghin 1983, str. 97–98, 335–336.

²⁹ Menghin 1983, str. 214–215 no. 43 (Flonheim), str. 218 no. 46 (Lavoye, gr. 319b), str. 219 no. 47 (Arcy-Sainte-Restitue), str. 242 no. 85 (Köln); str. 180–181 No. 2 (Pouan), str. 241 no. 85 (Köln-St. Severin, gr. 205); str. 335–336, No. 1, 3, 6, str. 10–11, 15.

³¹ Tejral 2015, pp. 314–318 Abb. 15:1–4.

³² Ódor 2000, p. 189, kép 4:1–11, p. 190, kép. 4:2; Nagy 2002, pp. 364–365, 377, Abb. 1:3–14, 16; Tejral 2015, p. 318, Abb. 15:7–9, p. 319.

³³ Nagy 2002, p. 377, Abb. 1:18; Tejral 2015, p. 318, Abb. 15:5–6.

³⁴ Werner 1959, pp. 423–424, 435 Taf. III:A1; Tejral 2015, pp. 324–325, Abb. 19:2.

³⁵ Tejral 2015, p. 327, Abb. 20:1–2 (Gáva; Hungary, unknown site), p. 329, Abb. 22:1 (Karavukovo). For specimens of the same group from Italy: Bierbrauer 1975, pp. 135–136, 357–358, No. x, Tav. LXXIX:3; Menghin 2000, p. 133 Fig. 12.1 (unknown site); Annabaldi, Werner 1963, pp. 357–359, Taf. 37–39; Bierbrauer 1975, pp. 134–142, 258–260, Tav. IV:1–2; Tejral 2015, p. 325, Abb. 22:2 (Acquasanta).

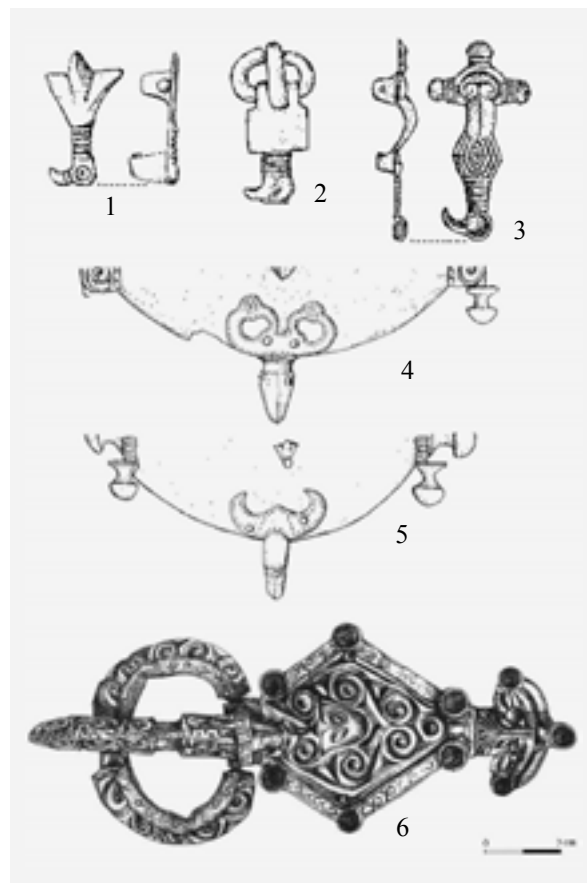
³⁶ Bierbrauer 1975, pp. 264–265, Abb. 24, Tav. VI:1–2.

³⁷ Bierbrauer 1975, pp. 340–341, Tav. LIX:1–2. For an adjusted dating of the fibulae from Desana and “Fano” and their connection with Odoacer and migratory movements in 469/470 and later, see Bierbrauer 1992, pp. 272–275.

³⁸ Bierbrauer 1975, pp. 285–286, Tav. XXV:1.

³⁹ Kazanski-Mastykova-Périn 2002, p. 160; Possenti 2005, pp. 210–222; Bierbrauer 2007, pp. 103–106; Aimone 2011, pp. 469, 472–472. Mounts of less luxurious cast bronze belt buckles with a pair of birds' heads of the Spoleto type from “Norcia” and “Spoleto” (Bierbrauer 1975, pp. 343–344, 348, Tav. LIV:1–2, both with a central rod-shaped inclusion), “Barete” (op. cit., 336, Tav. L:3), and from an unknown site in Italy (Bierbrauer 1975, p. 351, Tav. LXIII:3, with a rod-shaped inclusion), as well as specimens of cast

maciji bliže Panonije, njoj susjednih kasnorimskih provincija u srednjem i donjem Podunavlju, ali i u krajevima u njihovu okruženju. Na kasnorimskom tlu simbolika ptice grabljivice, bila ona sarmatska, hunska, gotska ili istočnogermanska, susrela je sebi sličnu duboko ukorijenjenu, tradicionalnu i ideološki još uvijek dovoljno snažnu rimsku simboliku, u ponečem već i prepoznatljivo ranokršćansku. U poznatim okolnostima nastalim pobjedom zapadnorimske koalicije na Katalaunskim poljima (*Campi Catalaunici*) godine 451., slomom hunske prevlasti u Karpatskoj kotlini nekoliko godina kasnije i okončanjem neprestanih hunskih prijetnji sigurnosti obaju Carstava, širom je otvoren prostor afirmaciji brojnih, najčešće germanskih skupina nastanjenih s obiju strana podunavske granične linije. Suživot sa zatečenim kasnoantičkim stanovništvom o kojem danas sve učestalije svjedoče nove i sve pouzdanije materijalne potvrde,³⁰ rezultirao je više-manje prepoznatljivim transformacijama i duhovnim sinkretizmom u različitim područjima društvenog života. U arheološkom smislu, u razdoblju od oko sredine i tijekom druge polovine 5. stoljeća raspoznaje se i bilježi mnoštvo ikonografskih novina mitološkog značenja, među kojima se gotovo ceremonijalnom upadljivošću ističe modeliranje ptičje glave ili ptičjih glava na različitim ukrasnim predmetima, ponajprije na njihovim istaknutim dijelovima: ptičja glava na fibulama u obliku cikade,³¹ na četvrtastom okovu dvodijelnih pojasnih kopči,³² na rombičnoj nozi malih rovašenih lučnih fibula s tri dugmetasta dodatka na glavi³³ (sl. 8:1-4), odnosno dvije ptičje glave ili ptičje glave u paru okrenute jedna prema drugoj na srebrnim, često pozlaćenim predmetima kao što su npr. aplikacije na fibuli od iskucanog lima³⁴ ili ukrasni dodaci na pojasnim kopčama s rombičnim okovom, bogato ukrašenim dvodijelnim rovašenjem³⁵ (sl. 8:5-6).



Sl. 8. Glave ptica grabljivica na ukrasnim predmetima iz srednjeg Podunavlja i Karpatske kotline.

1 - Ringelsdorf-Kuse (A), fibula oblika cikade s ptičjom glavom. 2 - Mőcz-Icsei dőlő (Hu), gr. 11, kopča s glavom ptice. 3 - Slimnic (Ro), grobni nalaz (1-3: Tejral 2015, 318 fig. 15:3, 8, 6). 4 - Gyula (H), glava lučne fibule s ukrasom para ptičjih glava. 5 - Mezőkövesd-Mocsolyás (H), glava lučne fibule s ukrasom para ptičjih glava (4-5: Tejral 2015, 325 Abb. 2-3). 6 - Gáva (H), pojasna kopča s rombičnim okovom ukrašena rovašenjem (Tejral 2015, 327 Abb. 1).

Fig. 8 Birds-of-prey heads on decorative objects from the central Danubian region and the Carpathian basin. 1 - Ringelsdorf-Kuse (A), a cicada-shaped fibula with a bird head. 2 - Mőcz-Icsei dőlő (Hu), gr. 11, a buckle with a bird head. 3 - Slimnic (Ro), grave find (1-3: Tejral 2015, 318 Fig. 15:3, 8, 6). 4 - Gyula (H), the head of a bow fibula decorated with a pair of bird heads. 5 - Mezőkövesd-Mocsolyás (H), the head of a bow fibula decorated with a pair of bird heads (4-5: Tejral 2015, 325 Fig. 2-3). 6 - Gáva (H), a belt buckle with a rhomboid fitting decorated with engravings (Tejral 2015, 327 Fig. 1).

³⁰ Ovdje je u prvom redu potrebno upozoriti na jednu posve novu interdisciplinarnu analizu i svježa saznanja vezana uz istraživanje i nalaze s groblja Mőzs-Icsei dőlő u Mađarskoj, Knipper, Koncz, Ódor, Mende, Racz, Kraus *et alii* 2020, str. 1-29.

³¹ Tejral 2015, str. 314-318, Abb. 15:1-4.

³² Ódor 2000, str. 189, kép 4:1-11, 190 kép. 4:2; Nagy 2002, str. 364-365, 377 Abb. 1:3-14,16; Tejral, 2015, str. 318, Abb. 15:7-9, str. 319.

³³ Nagy 2002, str. 377, Abb. 1:18; Tejral 2015, str. 318, Abb. 15:5-6.

³⁴ Werner 1959, str. 423-424, 435, Taf. III:A1; Tejral 2015, str. 324-325, Abb. 19:2.

³⁵ Tejral 2015, str. 327, Abb. 20:1-2 (Gáva; Mađarska,



Sl. 9. Glave ptica grabljivica na glavi kloazoniranih lučnih fibula. **1** - Desana (I), dio skupnog nalaz blaga ili (dio?) grobnog nalaza. **2** - "Fano" (I), zbirka Diergardt (Bierbrauer 1975, Tav. VI:1, LIX:1)

Fig. 9 *Birds-of-prey heads on the heads of cloisonné bow fibulae. 1 - Desana (I), part of a hoard or (part?) of a grave find. 2 - "Fano" (I), Diergardt Collection (Bierbrauer 1975, Pl. VI:1, LIX:1).*

U Italiji je par ptičjih glava zastupljen i na nekim od tamošnjih najluksuznijih primjeraka predmeta ukrašenih kloazoniranjem: na glavi srebrnih pozlaćenih lučnih fibula iz Desane,³⁶ na glavi srebrnih kloazoniranih lučnih fibula iz "Fana"³⁷ i na okovu kloazonirane zlatne dvodijelne pojasne kopče iz Landriana;³⁸ jedino su fibule iz Desane i "Fana" prema obliku i komparativnoj građi označene kao pouzdano starije od vremena dolaska Teodorikovih Gota u Italiju (489. godine) te su pripisane razdoblju oko godine 470. ili tek nešto kasnijem vremenu³⁹

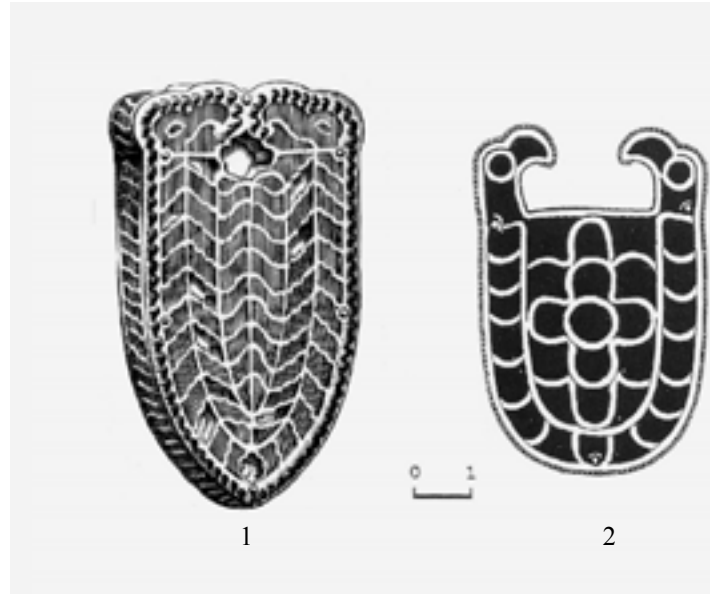
nepoznato nalazište), str. 329, Abb. 22:1 (Karavukovo). Za primjerke iste skupine iz Italije: Bierbrauer 1975, str. 135-136, 357-358 no. x, Tav. LXXIX:3; Menghin 2000, str. 133, Fig. 12.1 (nepoznato nalazište); Annibaldi, Werner 1963, str. 357-359, Taf. 37-39; Bierbrauer 1975, str. 134-142, 258-260, Tav. IV:1-2; Tejral 2015, str. 325 Abb. 22:2 (Acquasanta).

³⁶ Bierbrauer 1975, str. 264-265, Abb. 24, Tav. VI:1-2

³⁷ Bierbrauer 1975, str. 340-341, Tav. LIX:1-2. Za korigiranu dataciju fibula iz Desane i "Fana" i njihovo vezivanje uz Odoakara i migracijska kretanja 469./470. godine i kasnije v. Bierbrauer 1992, str. 272-275.

³⁸ Bierbrauer 1975, str. 285-286, Tav. XXV:1.

³⁹ Kazanski-Mastykova-Périn 2002, str. 160; Possenti 2005, str. 210-222; Bierbrauer 2007, str. 103-106; Aimone 2011, str. 469, 472-472. Okovi manje raskošnih lijevanih brončanih pojasnih kopči s parom ptičjih



Sl. 10. Okovi s parom glava ptica grabljivica. **1** - Tournai (B), Hilderikov grob, pojasni okov, okov jabučice mača ili okov vrha korica kratkog mača (Chifflet 1655, 204). **2** - Zaragiž (Ru), grobni nalaz, okov vrha korica kratkog mača (Atabiev 2001, 143 no. 4.5.1.2)

Fig. 10 *Fittings with a pair of birds-of-prey heads.*

1 - Tournai (B), tomb of Childeric, belt fitting, a fitting of a sword pommel or a fitting of a scabbard mouthpiece of a short sword (Chifflet 1655, 204).

2 - Zaragiž (Ru), grave find, fitting of a scabbard mouthpiece of a short sword (Atabiev 2001, 143 no. 4.5.1.2).

a pair of birds' heads from the tomb of the Frankish king Childeric († 481/482) in Tournai, Belgium (disappeared in 1831) is from about the same period. Some have not even registered it as such,⁴⁰ others have hesitated about its possible purpose⁴¹ (Fig. 11:1), while the rest have considered it to be the fitting from the top of a sword scabbard⁴² and sug-

bronze belt buckles of Krainburg/Kranj type, complete specimens or fragments from Kranj-Lajh in Slovenia (Bierbrauer 1975, pp. 143-154, Tav. LXIX:1-3), and unknown sites in Italy (Bierbrauer 1975, pp. 361-362, Tav. LXIV:4; 350, LXXVII:3) are also Ostrogothic, from the period of Theodoric's rule in Italy.

⁴⁰ Böhner 1948, Taf. 40:1; Menghin 1983, pp. 180-181 (the fitting is not mentioned in the text).

⁴¹ Chifflet 1655, pp. 204-205 (*Extremus Balthei ornatus*); Cochet 1859, pp. 291-292 (*la terminaison du ceinturon*); Böhner 1989, pp. 424-425 Abb. 7:1 (*vermutlich von der Saxscheide*); Quast 2015, p. 182 No. 36, p. 200. Taf. 15:19 (shield-shaped fitting); Ambroz 1986, p. 32, Ris. 3:7, 34 (sword pommel).

⁴² Böhner 1950, pp. 104-106 Abb. 1:1-2; Vinski 1964, pp. 160, 176, Sl. 5-5a (after: Böhner, 1950); Kazanski-Périn 1988, p. 18, Fig. 4:6.

(sl. 9:1-2). Iz približno istog razdoblja potječe okov s parom ptičjih glava iz groba franačkog kralja Hilderika († 481./482. g.) u Tournaiju u Belgiji (nestao 1831. godine), koji neki kao takav i ne registriraju,⁴⁰ drugi se kolebaju oko njegove eventualne namjene⁴¹ (sl. 11:1), a treći ga smatraju upravo okovom vrha korica mača⁴² te kao njegovu najprikladniju i zasad jedinu poznatu usporedbu predlažu sličan kloazonirani okov korica kratkog mača (*sax*) s parom ptičjih glava, otkriven u alanskom ženskom grobu (gr. 118) iz Zaragiža u Sjevernom Kavkazu⁴³ (sl. 10:1-2). Kako na svom putu iz Panonije u Italiju ikonografija para ptičjih glava zasigurno nije zaobišla Dalmaciju, to se vremenski okvir na koji upućuju nalazi iz Italije i Belgije čini prikladnim i pri određenju

gested a similar cloisonné fitting of a short-sword (*sax*) scabbard with a pair of birds' heads as its most appropriate and so far the only known equivalent, discovered in an Alanic female grave (gr. 118) from Zaragizh in the North Caucasus⁴³ (Fig. 10:1-2). As the iconography of a pair of birds' heads certainly did not bypass Dalmatia en route from Pannonia to Italy, the time-frame indicated by the finds from Italy and Belgium seems appropriate in determining the time of origin and use of the scabbard mouthpiece fitting discovered in the central part of the Dalmatian province, i.e. the area of the Roman settlement of *Stanecli*, located near Mali Mošunj.

III. The period and historical framework

It is important to recall that everyday life in the late 460s, 470s and early 480s Dalmatia was devoid of turbulences and major barbarian incursions, so that history records only one, it seems neither substantial nor particularly dangerous raid, around 465 as late as 467, by Hunimund, *dux Suavorum*.⁴⁴ The

glava tipa Spoleto iz "Norcie" i "Spoleta" (Bierbrauer 1975, str. 343-344, 348, Tav. LIV:1-2, obje sa središnjim štapičastim dodatkom), "Barete" (Bierbrauer 1975, str. 336, Tav. L:3) i s nepoznatog nalazišta u Italiji (Bierbrauer 1975, str. 351, Tav. LXIII:3, sa štapičastim dodatkom), kao i primjerci lijevanih brončanih pojasnih kopči tipa Krainburg/Kranj, cjeloviti primjerci ili ulomci iz Kranj-Lajha u Sloveniji (Bierbrauer 1975, str. 143-154, Tav. LXIX:1-3) i nepoznatih nalazišta Italije (Bierbrauer 1975, str. 361-362, Tav. LXIV:4; 350, LXXVII:3) istočnogotski su i iz vremena Teodorikove vladavine u Italiji.

⁴⁰ Böhner 1948, Taf. 40:1; Menghin 1983, str. 180-181 (okov se ne spominje u tekstu).

⁴¹ Chifflet 1655, str. 204-205 (*Extremus Balthei ornatus*); Cochet 1859, str. 291-292 (*la terminaison du ceinturon*); Böhner 1989, str. 424-425, Abb. 7:1 (*vermutlich von der Saxscheide*); Quast 2015, str. 182 no. 36, 200 Taf. 15:19 (štitoliki okov); Ambroz 1986, str. 32 Ris. 3:7, 34 (jabučica drške mača).

⁴² Böhner 1950, 104-106 Abb. 1:1-2; Vinski 1964, 160, 176, Sl. 5-5a (prema: Böhner, 1950); Kazanski-Périn 1988, 18 Fig. 4:6.

⁴³ Atabiev 2001, 142-143 no. 4.5.1.2; Kazanski, Mastykova, Périn 2002, 166-167 Fig. 6:1-2; Kazanski 2012, 333-334 Ris. 1:3; Quast 2015, 174, 177 Abb. 4:2; Ahmedov, Vasiljeva, Havrin 2016, 247-248 Ris. 5:4. Ovdje treba podsjetiti na mali kloazonirani okov neobičnog oblika (duž. 3,8 cm) iz mezijske utvrde na o. Sapaja (*Lederata*) kod Stare Palanke, na dunavskom limesu, svojedobno opisan kao okov vrha korica, datiran u vrijeme između 472. i 488. godine i pripisan Teodorikovim Istočnim Gotima (Vinski 1964, 157-173, 177-178, sl. 1-1a). O istom predmetu prije spomenutog članka v. Kovačević 1960, 37, Tab. XVII:76 (privjesak); Kovačević 1962, 28-29 br. 19, Tab. IV:2 (okov?; završetak 5. st. do prve pol. 6. st.). Među okove vrha korica skupine C 1 (zmijska glava između glava ptice grabljivice) svrstavao ga je, Böhner 1989, 435-436, Abb. 10:4. Okov je čak i danas, više od pedeset godina nakon prvih objava, još uvijek bez odgovarajućih usporedba, a u jednom novijem osvrtu je, vjerojatno zbog svojih malih dimenzija, nazvan okovom torbice, Tănase 2015, 139, 151 Fig. 10:14.

⁴³ Atabiev 2001, pp. 142-143 No. 4.5.1.2; Kazanski, Mastykova, Périn 2002, pp. 166-167, Fig. 6:1-2; Kazanski 2012, pp. 333-334, Ris. 1:3; Quast 2015, pp. 174, 177 Abb. 4:2; Ahmedov, Vasiljeva, Havrin 2016, pp. 247-248, Ris. 5:4. Reference should be made here to the small cloisonné fitting of unusual shape (3.8 cm long) from the Moesian fortification on the island of Sapaja (*Lederata*) near Stara Palanka, on the Danube Limes, once described as the fitting at the top of a scabbard, dated between 472 and 488 and attributed to Theodoric's Ostrogoths, Vinski 1964, pp. 157-173, 177-178, Fig. 1-1a. For more information on the same object before the article above, see Kovačević 1960, p. 37, Pl. XVII:76 (pendant); Kovačević 1962, pp. 28-29 No. 19, Pl. IV:2 (fitting?); the period from the end of the fifth century to the first half of the sixth century). Böhner 1989, 435-436, Abb. 10:4, placed it among the scabbard mouthpiece fittings of group C1 (a snake head between the heads of bird of prey). Even today, more than fifty years after the first publications, the fitting still has no suitable comparisons. In a more recent review it was called a purse-mount, probably because of its small size, Tănase 2015, pp. 139, 151 Fig. 10:14.

⁴⁴ Martindale 1980, 574 (s.v. Hunimundus 2); Gračanin 2006, pp. 99-100 (AD 267); Bratož 2014, pp. 357-358 (AD 466/467). The results of Hunimundus's incursion are interestingly illustrated by the fact that he and his Suevi, on their return from Dalmatia, decided to seize cattle owned by the Goths in Pannonia and therefore clashed with them and lost the battle. Hunimundus was captured on that occasion, but the Goths soon pardoned and released him (*Jord. Get. cap. LIII = 273-274*). The only one scholar dared to assume a possible location of this event and mark it on a map was Šašel 1979, p. 129 Abb. 1 = Bratož, Šašel-Kos (Eds.) 1992, p. 720 Abb. 1.

vremena nastanka i upotrebe okova usta korica otkrivenog u središnjem dijelu provincije Dalmacije, u arealu rimskodobne naseobine *Stanecli* smještene kod Malog Mošunja.

III. Vrijeme i povijesni okvir

Važno je podsjetiti da je kasnih 60-ih, tijekom 70-ih i početkom 80-ih godina 5. stoljeća Dalmacija živjela svakodnevicu lišenu turbulencija i velikih barbarskih provala, tako da povjesnica bilježi tek jednu, čini se ni veću ni osobito opasnu provalu koju je oko 465. ili tek 467. godine izveo Hunimund, *dux Suavorum*.⁴⁴ “Nezainteresiranosti” barbara za ovaj dio Rimskog Carstva zasigurno je pridonio brdovit i šumovit krajolik unutrašnjosti Dalmacije, ali i njezin ponešto periferan položaj u odnosu na glavne kopnene cestovne pravce smještene na jugu Panonije i usmjerene prema Zapadu (Italija-Germanija/Galija) i Istoku (Balkan-Bliski istok). Pretpostaviti je da je Dalmaciju na njezinim sjevernim granicama i na pravcima koji odatle vode prema jugu dodatno štitio zasad još uvijek slabo poznat i uglavnom neistražen sustav utvrda i utvrđenih naselja koje su po potrebi ometale i sprječavale nesmetan pristup nepoželjnih dalmatinskoj unutrašnjosti, jadranskoj obali i tamošnjim pomorskim putovima. Jadransko more je pak, osim što ju je štitilo, Dalmaciji omogućavalo povezanost s Italijom i Mediteranom u cjelini, a prednosti njezine duge i razvedene obale s velikim brojem otoka, zaljeva i uvala omogućavale su pomorcima i njihovu brodovlju mirniju i sigurniju plovidbu, uplovljavanje, sidrenje, zaštitu i isplavljanje čak i u manje povoljnim uvjetima. Sve to je, združeno s iskustvom i dugom pomorskom tradicijom, činilo solidnu osnovu za okupljanje i uspješno djelovanje izvježbanih posada potrebnih za lokalnu plovidbu, ali i onu dugolinijsku na trgovačkim ili vojnim plovilima. Sigurnost uspješno čuvana i branjena na kopnu i na moru omogućavala je čak i u nemirnim vremenima neometano odvijanje gospodarskih djelatnosti, posebno graditeljstva, o čemu

barbarians’ “lack of interest” in this part of the Roman Empire was certainly aided by the hilly and wooded landscape of the Dalmatian interior, but also its somewhat peripheral position in relation to the main land routes located in southern Pannonia and running westward (Italy-Germania/Gaul) and eastward (the Balkans-Middle East). It can be assumed that Dalmatia on its northern borders and on the roads thence to the south was additionally protected by a still poorly known and mostly unexplored system of fortifications and fortified settlements, which hindered and prevented undisturbed access of unwanted elements to Dalmatian hinterland, the Adriatic coast and local maritime routes. The Adriatic Sea not only protected Dalmatia, but also enabled its links with Italy and the Mediterranean as a whole. The advantages of its long and indented coast with a large number of islands, bays, and coves allowed sailors and their vessels more serene and safer navigation, access to ports, anchoring, protection and departure, even in less favourable conditions. All this, combined with experience and a long maritime tradition, formed a solid basis for the recruitment and successful operations of trained crews required for local and long-distance voyages on merchant or military vessels. Security, successfully guarded and defended on land and at sea, enabled unhindered economic activities, especially in construction, even in turbulent times, as proven by the most archaeologically visible, but also the most thoroughly researched remains of church buildings, known throughout Dalmatia in great numbers. The construction, existence and functioning of such buildings would not have been possible without firm, reliable and generous material support from local elites and the common people, sustained by an effective social structure and continuity of administrative power. The latter is indirectly confirmed by historical sources, which mention Marcellinus, the military governor of Dalmatia and a successful Western Roman general, as a prominent and highly-positioned official in the Western Roman area around the mid-fifth century. During the reign of Emperor Majorian (457–461), his troops were appreciated for their training and equipment in the war against the Vandals (in 465 and 467), and at the time of Emperor Anthemius (468–472) as a Western Roman patrician, succeeded by his nephew Julius Nepos after his tragic death in Sicily in 468.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Martindale 1980, 574 (s. v. Hunimundus 2); Gračanin 2006, 99-100 (267. god.); Bratož 2014, 357-358 (466./467. g.). O rezultatima Hunimundove provale na zanimljiv način govori podatak da su on i njegovi Svevi na povratku iz Dalmacije odlučili u Panoniji prisvojiti stoku u vlasništvu Gota te su se zbog toga s ovima sukobili i bitku izgubili. Hunimund je tom prigodom bio zarobljen, ali su ga Goti ipak ubrzo pomilovali i oslobodili (*Jord. Get. cap. LIII = 273-274*). Eventualno mjesto tog događaja jedini se usudio pretpostaviti, i to na karti označiti, Šašel 1979, str. 129 Abb. 1 = Bratož, Šašel-Kos (eds.) 1992, str. 720 Abb. 1.

⁴⁵ Martindale 1980, pp. 798–710 (s.v. Marcellinus 6).

svjedoče arheološki najvidljiviji, ali i najtemeljitiše istraživani ostaci crkvenih građevina kojih je diljem Dalmacije poznat uistinu velik broj. Izgradnja, postojanje i funkcioniranje tih građevina ne bi bili mogući bez čvrstog i pouzdanog oslonca na izdašnu materijalnu potporu lokalnih elita i puka, poduprtih učinkovitim društvenim ustrojem i kontinuitetom upravne vlasti. Ovo potonje neizravno potvrđuju i povijesni izvori, koji kao istaknutoga i visokopozicioniranog dužnosnika na zapadnorimskom području oko sredine 5. stoljeća spominju Marcelina, vojnog upravitelja Dalmacije, uspješnog zapadnorimskoga vojnog zapovjednika, čije su postrojbe u vrijeme cara Majorijana (457. - 461.) bile na cijeni zbog obučenosti i opreme sudionika u ratu protiv Vandala (465. i 467. g.), a za cara Antemije (468. - 472.), zapadnorimskog patricija kojeg je nakon njegove tragične smrti na Siciliji godine 468. u Dalmaciji naslijedio nećak mu Julije Nepot.⁴⁵ Dolaskom Nepota na vlast nastavljeno je razdoblje pristajanja Dalmacije uz istočnorimskog cara Lava I. (457. - 474.) započeto Marcelinovima odbijanjem da prizna zapadnorimskog cara Libija Severa (461. - 465.), a ženidba s nećakinjom Lavove supruge Verine tu je vezu dodatno ojačala. Tako je Nepot u samo tri godine od vojnog upravitelja Dalmacije (473.) i istočnorimskog patricija (474.) uspio s vojskom doći u Italiju, ondje svrgnuti cara Glicerija (473. - 474.) te postati carem, da bi nedugo zatim i sam bio svrgnut (474. - 475.). Vrativši se u (rodnu) Dalmaciju, ondje je gotovo pet godina stolovao kao legitimno izabrani car “u progonstvu” te kovao zlatni novac sa svojim imenom i likom, ali je 480. godine doživio sudbinu sličnu onoj njegova ujaka Marcelina dvanaest godina ranije.⁴⁶ Urotnici i izvršitelji Nepotova smaknuća, *comites* Ovida i Viator, dužnosnici iz njegove neposredne blizine,⁴⁷ sa samo njima znanim motivima ili bez njih omogućili su tek to da se Nepotovom smrću ponajviše okoristio Odoakar, *rex Italiae*. Ovaj se već 481. ili 482. godine

With the arrival of Nepos to power, the period of Dalmatia’s siding with the Eastern Roman Emperor Leo I (457–474) began, starting with Marcellinus’s refusal to recognise the Western Roman Emperor Libius Severus (461–465), and further strengthening it by marrying the niece of Leo’s wife Verina. Thus, in just three years, Nepos managed to become the military governor of Dalmatia (473), an Eastern Roman patrician (474), and then landed his army in Italy, overthrew Emperor Glycerius (473–474) and proclaimed himself emperor, only to be dethroned not long after (474–475). He returned to his (native) Dalmatia and ruled there for almost five years as a legitimately elected emperor “in exile” and minted gold coins with his name and image, but in 480 he experienced a fate similar to that of his uncle Marcellinus twelve years earlier.⁴⁶ The conspirators and Nepos’s assassins, *comites* Ovida and Viator, officials from his immediate vicinity,⁴⁷ with motives known only to them, or indeed without them, made it possible for Odoacer, *rex Italiae*, to benefit most from Nepos’s death. He used military means to get rid of Ovida already in 481 or 482, easily and forever, and with “clean hands” and, as Nepos’s “avenger” took over the resources, wealth, and values of Dalmatia, entrusting them to the care and administration of someone surely particularly loyal – someone like Pierius or his future *comes domesticorum* (488–490), to whom Odoacer, at the dawn of the arrival of Theodoric’s Ostrogoths, would donate Mljet, an island in the south of Dalmatia (489),⁴⁸

For more information on Marcellinus: O’Flynn 1983, pp. 111, 116–118; Wozniak 1981, pp. 356–361; Nikolanci 1985, pp. 5–14; Kulikowski 2002, pp. 177–191; MacGeorge 2002, pp. 15–67. Exhaustive information on Dalmatia and the “Dalmatian dynasty” during the time of Marcellinus and Julius Nepos is provided in an excellent monographic publication, regrettably poorly known outside Croatia, by Posavec 2007, pp. 35–67.

⁴⁵ Martindale 1980, str. 798–710 (s. v. Marcellinus 6). O Marcelinu također, O’Flynn 1983, str. 111, 116–118; Wozniak 1981, str. 356–361; Nikolanci 1985, str. 5–14; Kulikowski 2002, str. 177–191; MacGeorge 2002, str. 15–67. O Dalmaciji i “dalmatinskoj dinastiji” u vrijeme Marcelina i Julija Nepota u odličnoj monografskoj publikaciji, izvan Hrvatske nažalost slabo poznatoj, iscrpno je pisao Posavec 2007, str. 35–67.

⁴⁶ Martindale 1980, str. 777–778 (s. v. Iulius Nepos 3); Wozniak 1981, str. 361–36; O’Flynn 1983, str. 130–134, 130–141, 144; Nikolanci 1985, str. 14–22; Demo 1988, str. 247–270; MacGeorge 2002, str. 269–293.

⁴⁷ Martindale 1980, str. 815 (s. v. Ovida), str. 1158 (s. v. Viator 1).

⁴⁶ Martindale 1980, pp. 777–778 (s.v. Iulius Nepos 3); Wozniak 1981, pp. 361–36; O’Flynn 1983, pp. 130–134, 130–141, 144; Nikolanci 1985, pp. 14–22; Demo 1988, pp. 247–270; MacGeorge 2002, pp. 269–293.

⁴⁷ Martindale 1980, p. 815 (s.v. Ovida), 1158 (s.v. Viator 1).

⁴⁸ Martindale 1980, 1980, 885 (s.v. Pierius 5). That same year (490), less than five months later, *Pierius* led Odoacer’s forces in the battle against Theodoric’s Ostrogoths on the river Adda and was killed on that occasion. The epitaph bearing his name, found in 1896 in the parish church of St. Stephen in Garlate (Sannazaro 1993, pp. 189–201), about fifty kilometres northeast of Milan, suggested that the site of the battle should be sought near Garlate, rather than a hundred

vojnomo intervencijom lako i zauvijek riješio Ovide te “čistih ruku” i kao Nepotov “osvetnik” preuzeo resurse, bogatstva i vrijednosti Dalmacije povjerivši ih na čuvanje i upravu nekom sebi zacijelo osobito odanom - nekome poput Pierija ili upravo tom svom budućem zapovjedniku dvorske garde (488. - 490.), kojemu će Odoakar u praskozorje dolaska Teodorikovih Istočnih Gota podariti Mljet, otok na jugu Dalmacije (489. g.),⁴⁸ s raskošnom palačom u Polačama na sjeverozapadnom dijelu otoka.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ Martindale 1980, 1980, str. 885 (s. v. Pierius 5). *Pierius* je te iste 490. godine, nepunih pet mjeseci nakon toga, predvodio Odoakarove snage u bitci protiv Teodorikovih Istočnih Gota na rijeci Addi i tom je prigodom poginuo. Epitaf s njegovim imenom pronađen 1896. godine u župnoj crkvi sv. Stjepana u Garlati (Sannazaro 1993, str. 189-201), mjestu smještenom pedesetak kilometara sjeveroistočno od Milana, dao je povoda mišljenju da se mjesto bitke traži u blizini Garlate, a ne stotinjak kilometara južno, u Pizzighettoneu, zapadno od Cremona, kako se svojedobno pretpostavljalo (Sannazaro 1993, str. 209-213, s literaturom u bilj. 95).

⁴⁹ O palači u Polačama na otoku Mljetu postoji nevelika, ali respektabilna literatura, koja se uglavom bavila vremenom nastanka, razlozima za gradnju te donacijom i vlasnicima tog nesumnjivo reprezentativnog zdanja. Tek se u novije vrijeme uspjelo analitički determinirati vrijeme nastanka i gradnje, te u drugi plan potisnuti njezino isključivo vezivanje uz jedne te iste povijesne okolnosti i njihove protagoniste. Za pregledan prikaz različitih starijih gledišta s projekcijom novih zapažanja i saznanja koja građevinu stavljaju u kasno 3. i rano 4. stoljeće v. Turković 2011, str. 211-233 = Turković 2012, str. 73-92. Ono što je obično ostavljano po strani kao manje zanimljivo, najvjerojatnije zbog vrlo malog broja korisnih podataka, jest prostorno-vremenski kontekst Odoakarove darovnice Pieriju (Fisković 1999, str. 77-78, 81). Pierije je darovima bio obdaren u kasnim četrdesetim godinama života budući da je 490. godine pokopan kao pedesetogodišnjak (Sannazaro 1993, str. 192 Fig. 1). Do tada se već istaknuo organizacijom preseljenja romanskog stanovništva iz Norika u Italiju te je već bio imenovan, ili je upravo tada imenovan, zapovjednikom Odoakarove garde / *comes domesticorum* (Martindale 1980, str. 885, s. v. Pierius 5). Bio je to i vrhunac njegove karijere, ali prethoditi su mu morala kakva druga djela i zasluge, a darovani posjedi na Siciliji (blizu Sirakuze) i u Dalmaciji (otok Mljet) mogli bi na to upućivati: oba posjeda isturene su točke u provincijama koje su pod Odoakarom ponovno pripojene Italiji (Sicilija, 476./477., Dalmacija, 481./482.), oba su se nalazila na otocima, na morskoj obali, ali i na važnim mediteranskim plovnim pravcima. Moglo bi se pretpostaviti da je u tim dijelovima Kraljevstva u nekoj svojoj ranijoj životnoj fazi Pierije uspješno služio kralju, stekao ugled te pokazao sposobnosti i vrline iskazavši lojalnost osobito cijenjenu i dobrodošlu u vremenima ratnih prijetnji, koje su godine 488. i 489. svakim danom postajale sve izvjesnije i sve bliže italjskim granicama Odoakarova kraljevstva.

with a lavish palace in Polače in the northwestern part of the island.⁴⁹

Unlike the better known and more frequently presented political circumstances in fifth-century Dalmatia, far less has been written and recorded about the military organisation, units, weaponry or combat equipment there. Notwithstanding, given the continuity of the administrative organisation, it is evident that that manufacture for military purposes in late Roman Dalmatia probably did not differ significantly from that presented in *Notitia dignitatum*, the famous document listing the following as state factories or plants: in Salona – a factory of various kinds of weapons and combat equipment

kilometres south, in Pizzighettone, west of Cremona, as had been thought previously (Sannazaro 1993, pp. 209–213, with bibliography in fn. 95).

⁴⁹ There exists a small but respectable body of literature about the palace in Polače on the island of Mljet, which mainly dealt with the time of its origin, the reasons for its construction and the donation and the owners of this undoubtedly representative building. Only in recent times has it been possible to determine the time of its origin and construction analytically, and to shift the focus away from the matter of its exclusive connection with one and the same historical circumstances and their protagonists. For a clear survey of various earlier views with a projection of new observations and knowledge which date the building to the late third and early fourth century, see Turković 2011, pp. 211–233 = Turković 2012, pp. 73–92. The spatio-temporal context of Odoacer’s grant to Pierius has usually been left aside as less interesting, most likely due to the very small amount of useful information (Fisković 1999, pp. 77–78, 81). Pierius was endowed with these gifts in his late forties, since he was buried in AD 490 at the age of 50 (Sannazaro 1993, pp. 192 Fig. 1). By then he had already distinguished himself in organising the relocation of the Roman population from Noricum to Italy, and had already been appointed, or just then appointed, commander of Odoacer’s guard / *comes domesticorum* (Martindale 1980, pp. 885, s.v. Pierius 5). It was also the culmination of his career, but it must have been preceded by some other deeds and merits, and the donated estates in Sicily (near Syracuse) and in Dalmatia (the island of Mljet) could indicate this: both estates were forward positions in the provinces annexed to Italy under Odoacer (Sicily, 476/477, Dalmatia, 481/482), both were located on islands, on the sea coast, but also on important Mediterranean waterways. It could be assumed that in these parts of the Kingdom, in one of his earlier life stages, Pierius successfully served the king, gained reputation and demonstrated abilities and virtues by showing loyalty especially appreciated and desirable in times of war threats, which in 488 and 489 were constantly becoming more and more certain and closer to the Italic borders of Odoacer’s kingdom.

Za razliku od bolje poznatih i u izvorima češće prikazivanih političkih prilika u Dalmaciji 5. stoljeća, daleko je manje zapisano i napisano o tamošnjem vojnom ustroju, postrojbama, naoružanju ili bojnoj opremi. Razaznaje se ipak, s obzirom na kontinuitet administrativnog ustroja, da se u kasnorimskoj Dalmaciji proizvodnja za vojne potrebe vjerojatno nije bitno razlikovala od one predstavljene u poznatom spisu *Notitia dignitatum*, gdje se kao državne tvornice ili pogoni navode: u Saloni tvornica različitih vrsta oružja i bojne opreme (*Salonitana armorum*),⁵⁰ u Aspalatu, u sjevernom dijelu Dioklecijanove palače, tkaonica (*Procurator gynaecii Iouensis*),⁵¹ a u Saloni još i bojionica tkanina (*Procurator bafii Salonitani*),⁵² namijenjena između ostalog izradbi odjeće vojnika, kojoj je vjerojatno oko godine 420. pridodana i tkaonica preseljena u Salonu iz Basijane (*Bassianae*, Donji Petrovci), u istočnom dijelu kasnorimske Sirmijske Panonije (*Procurator gynaecii Bassanensis Pannoniae Secundae translati Salonis*).⁵³ Među epigrafskim spomenicima s područja Dalmacije salonitanska tvornica oružja spominje se barem dva puta: djelatnik te tvornice (*Mavrentivs fabricensis*) spominje se krajem 3. ili početkom 4. stoljeća na jednom već dulje vrijeme poznatom ulomku nadgrobnog natpisa ili sarkofaga nađenog u blizini Dioklecijanove palače,⁵⁴ a na jednom vremenski nešto kasnijem nedavno objavljenom poklopcu sarkofaga otkrivenom na području Vranjica (danas dio Splita) uklesana je posveta pokojniku, majstoru za izradbu korica mača (*Saturnino vagenari/[o]*), djelatniku te salonitanske tvornice oružja - u 6. stoljeću vjerojatno još uvijek aktivne - preminulom 541. godine.⁵⁵

Bilo bi očekivano da su korice mača kojima je pripadao okov iz Malog Mošunja, nalazišta na području kasnorimske provincije Dalmacije, također bile izrađene i sastavljene u spomenutoj salonitanskoj tvornici oružja i bojne opreme pedesetak, šezdesetak ili možda i više godina ranije. Za takvu pretpostavku nažalost nema dodatnih argumenata,

(*Salonitana armorum*),⁵⁰ in Aspalato, in the northern part of Diocletian's Palace – a weaving mill (*Procurator gynaecii Iouensis*),⁵¹ also in Salona – a fabric dyeing plant (*Procurator bafii Salonitani*),⁵² intended, among other things, for the production of soldiers' garments, to which the weaving mill from Bassiana (*Bassianae*, Donji Petrovci), in the eastern part of late Roman Sirmium Pannonia (*Procurator gynaecii Bassanensis Pannoniae Secundae translati Salonis*) was probably added around the year 420.⁵³ Among the epigraphic monuments from the area of Dalmatia, the Salonitan arms factory is referred to at least twice: an employee of that factory (*Mavrentivs fabricensis*) is mentioned at the end of the third or beginning of the fourth century on a fragment of the tombstone inscription or sarcophagus known for some time, found near Diocletian's Palace,⁵⁴ and on a somewhat later recently published lid of the sarcophagus discovered in the area of Vranjic (today part of Split) there is an epitaph to a master maker of sword scabbards (*Saturnino vagenari/[o]*), an employee of that Salonitan arms factory – probably still active in the sixth century – who died in 541.⁵⁵

It would be expected that the scabbard of the sword to which the fitting from Mali Mošunj, a site in the area of the late Roman province of Dalmatia, belonged had also been made and assembled in the mentioned Salonitan arms and combat equipment factory some fifty, sixty or maybe more years earlier. Unfortunately, there are no additional arguments for such an assumption, especially because the archaeological material from Dalmatia published so far contains no mentions of any scabbard mouthpiece fittings or any other common metal parts with which sword scabbards were equipped in the Late Roman and Early Byzantine periods. Therefore, it is also not possible to speculate and write about the appearance or shape of any possible "Salonitan" scabbard mouthpiece fitting. Moreover, the scabbard mouthpiece fitting made of gold and decorated in cloisonné-work with garnet and ivory inserts should by no means be classified as "common", so it is more or less obvious that the fitting from Mali

⁵⁰ Not. Dig. Occ. IX 22.

⁵¹ Not. Dig. Occ. XI 18.

⁵² Not. Dig. Occ. XI 66. O smještaju tkaonice i njezinim eventualnim tragovima u sjevernom dijelu Dioklecijanove palače u Splitu te o pretpostavljenom položaju salonitanske bojionice na položaju zvanom Pet mostova, v. Belamarić 2005, str. 8 -22.

⁵³ Not. Dig. Occ. XI 46.

⁵⁴ Cambi 2005, str. 138-140.

⁵⁵ Demicheli, Demicheli 2018, str. 357-364.

⁵⁰ Not. Dig. Occ. IX 22.

⁵¹ Not. Dig. Occ. XI 18.

⁵² Not. Dig. Occ. XI 66. For information on the location of the weaving mill and its possible traces in the northern part of Diocletian's Palace in Split, and on the presumed site of the Salonitan dyeing plant at the place called Pet mostova, see Belamarić 2005, pp. 8-22.

⁵³ Not. Dig. Occ. XI 46.

⁵⁴ Cambi 2005, pp. 138-140.

⁵⁵ Demicheli, Demicheli 2018, pp. 357-364.

posebice stoga što među dosad publiciranom arheološkom građom s područja Dalmacije nije moguće zamijetiti ni jedan okov usta korica, niti ijedan drugi od nekoliko uobičajenih metalnih dijelova kojima su u kasnoantičkom i ranobizantskom razdoblju opremane korice mačeva. Zbog toga također nije moguće nagađati i pisati o izgledu ili obliku nekog eventualno uobičajenog “salonitanskog” okova usta korica. Štoviše, okov usta korica izrađen od zlata i ukrašen kloazoniranjem s umetcima od almandina i bjelokosti nipošto se ne smije svrstati među “uobičajene”, pa je manje-više jasno da okov iz Malog Mošunja i ne pripada nekoj uobičajenoj kategoriji radioničkih proizvoda. O njegovoj materijalnoj vrijednosti i značenju te društvenom položaju i važnosti njegova vlasnika u sredini u kojoj je taj okov našao svog korisnika, najizravnije govore brojni primjerci srodnih kloazoniranjem ukrašenih zlatnih okova usta korica zatečeni u elitnim muškim grobovima posljednje četvrtine 5. stoljeća (i rijetkim kasnijima), otkrivenima pretežno na franačko-alamanskom području pod vlašću franačkog kralja Hilderika (458. - 481.) te njegova sina i nasljednika Klodviga (481. - 511.). Ove u većini slučajeva, ali i u proizvodnom smislu vjerojatno ranomerovinške kloazonirane okove usta korica svojedobno klasificirane kao tip Beauvais-Planig,⁵⁶ odlikuje njihov pravokutan oblik i veliko središnje ukrasno polje s cvjetnim motivom (četverolist, osmerolist), stepeničastim rombom ili svastikom (v. ovdje *Appendix*), čega na okovu iz Malog Mošunja nema. Naprotiv, na tom okovu najupadljiviji ukrasni detalj jesu glave ptice grabljivice postavljene na rubovima, bolje rečeno, par ptičjih glava; njihove se usporedbe ukrašene kloazoniranjem nalaze u Rusiji na Crnomorskom primorju (Taman) i u poprilično udaljenom Saratovskom Povolžju (Engels), no one nisu u potpunosti adekvatne, jer je jedino prva od njih okov usta korica, dok je druga zapravo krsnica mača.

Značenje prikaza ptice grabljivice, para ptica grabljivica, njihove glave ili dviju glava, tj. glava u paru, također nije jednoznačno, jer je utemeljeno osim u rimskoj tradiciji i u tradiciji istočnogermanskih doseljenika i Alana, a potom i Huna pristiglih s crnomorskog jugoistoka Europe najprije u donje Podunavlje, a potom i u Karpatsku kotlinu, Panoniju i srednje Podunavlje. Za eventualni spoj ovih tradicija, naizgled suprotstavljenih, ali međusobno

Mošunj does not belong to a common category of workshop products. Its material value and significance, as well as the social position and importance of its owner in the environment where the fitting was used, are most directly illustrated by numerous specimens of related cloisonné gold scabbard mouthpiece fittings found in elite male graves from the last quarter of the fifth century (and those rare later examples), discovered mainly in the Frankish-Alemannian area under the rule of the Frankish king Childeric (458–481) and his son and successor Clovis (481–511). These, in most cases, but also in terms of production, probably early Merovingian cloisonné scabbard mouthpiece fittings, once classified as the Beauvais-Planig type,⁵⁶ are characterised by their rectangular shape and a large central decorative field with a floral motif (quatrefoil, octofoil), the stepped rhomb or swastika (see the *Appendix* below), not present on the Mali Mošunj fitting. On the contrary, the most striking decorative detail on that fitting is the motif of bird-of-prey heads placed on the edges, or rather a pair of birds’ heads. Their comparisons, decorated in cloisonné-work, have been found in Russia on the Black Sea coast (Taman) and in rather remote Saratov Povolzhye (Engels), but they are not entirely adequate, as only the first is a scabbard mouthpiece fitting, while the latter is actually a sword cross-guard.

The significance of the depiction of a bird of prey, a pair of birds of prey, or their heads, i.e. in pairs, is also ambiguous, as it is based not only on the Roman tradition but also on the legacy of East Germanic settlers and Alans and Huns, arriving from the Black Sea area of southeast Europe first in the lower Danube region, and then in the Carpathian Basin, Pannonia and the middle Danube region. Possible combinations of these traditions, seemingly opposed but dependent on each other, required time and valid incentives. Coexistence with the Romanic population was certainly one of them, but only the clash on the Catalaunian Plains helped the warring parties to “recognise” each other on the battlefield in 451 and distinguish what separated them from what connected them. The collapse of Hunnic dominance in the Carpathian Basin, Pannonia, and the Danube region, after Attila’s death in 453, became inevitable and then ultimate. From that came a new, predominantly Germanic elite with

⁵⁶ O ovoj tipološkoj skupini, v. Menghin 1983, str. 97-98, 335-336 no. 1-17, Karta 11.

⁵⁶ For more information on this typological group, see Menghin 1983, pp. 97–98, 335–336 No. 1–17, Map 11.

ovisnih, trebalo je i vremena i valjanih poticaja. Suživot s romanskim stanovništvom zasigurno je bio jedan od tih, ali je tek sraz na Katalaunskim poljima pomogao da na bojnopolju godine 451. zaraćene strane “prepoznaju” jedna drugu i razluče ono što ih razdvaja od onog što ih povezuje, te je slom hunske prevlasti u Karpatskoj kotlini, Panoniji i Podunavlju koji je nakon Atiline smrti godine 453. uslijedio, postao neizbježan, a potom i definitivn. Iz tog je proizašla nova, dominantno germanska elita i predstavnici onih najbrojnijih i najjačih među njima. Iako i sami zasigurno opterećeni svojim naslijeđem, karakterima, taštinama i ambicijama te usmjeravani težnjama i željama za obnovom Carstva na Zapadu svesrdno poticanima od istočnorimskog cara Lava I., uspjeli su političke i vjerske antagonizame koji su ih razdvajali svesti na simboličku i ikonografsku razinu koja povezuje i spaja, relativizirajući opasnost različitosti. Postavši društvenom preokupacijom, simbolički sadržaji poput prikaza ptice grabljivice te glave ili glava ptice grabljivice materijalizirani su njihovim učestalim postavljanjem na omiljenim predmetima dnevne upotrebe, bojnoj opremi ili ukrasnim predmetima u vlasništvu elite, koju su u tome trebali dakako slijediti i ostali članovi zajednice. Pojava je to koja je u posljednjoj trećini 5. stoljeća zaživjela u Panoniji i Italiji, a u posljednjoj četvrtini 5. stoljeća već je postala uvelike prisutna kod Alamana, Tirinžana i Franaka; kod ovih potonjih pod kraj 5. stoljeća pojavila se i u jednom posve novom i neuobičajenom obliku, u arheologiji nazvanom *S*-fibula.

Posljednjoj trećini ili tek posljednjoj četvrtini 5. stoljeća imao bi pripadati i zlatni kloazoniranjem ukrašen okov usta korica s brda Kalvarije kod Malog Mošunja. To je razdoblje u kojem kasnoantičkom Dalmacijom upravljaju vojni zapovjednici, u povjesnici rado nazivani dalmatinskom dinastijom: proslavljeni zapadnorimski vojskovođa i patricij Marcellin (†468.) te njegov nećak i nasljednik, patricij, zapadnorimski car i car prognanik Julije Nepot (†480.). Uklonivši pobunjenike i jednog od Nepotovih ubojica, Dalmaciju je 481./482. godine zaposjeo Odoakar i njome vladao sve do godine 492., kad je ova najvjerojatnije bila priključena italskoj kraljevini Teodorikovih Istočnih Gota. U čijoj je pak službi bio vlasnik korica mača iz Malog Mošunja, je li bio domaći čovjek ili došljak koji je u Dalmaciju stigao kao karijerni vojnik ili kao provjereni i iskusni plaćenik, kada je i kojim povodom dobio

representatives of the most numerous and strongest among them. Though certainly burdened by their heritage, characters, vanities and ambitions, and driven by aspirations and desires for the restoration of the Empire in the West, wholeheartedly encouraged by the Eastern Roman Emperor Leo I, they succeeded in minimising the political and religious antagonisms that separated them to a symbolic and iconographic level connecting and merging them, relativising the danger of diversity. Having become a social preoccupation, symbolic contents such as depictions of birds of prey and a head or heads of birds of prey were materialised by their frequent placement on favourite items of daily use, military equipment or decorative items owned by the elites, naturally supposed to be followed by other community members. This phenomenon came to life in Pannonia and Italy in the last third of the fifth century, while in the last quarter of the same century it had already become widely present among the Alemanni, Thuringians and Franks. At the tail end of the fifth century, it also appeared among the latter in an entirely new and unusual form, known as the *S*-fibula in archaeology.

The gold cloisonné scabbard mouthpiece fitting from the hill of Kalvarija near Mali Mošunj would supposedly originate from the last third or quarter of the fifth century. This was the period when Late Roman Dalmatia was ruled by military commanders, readily called the Dalmatian dynasty in historiography: the celebrated Western Roman general and patrician Marcellinus († 468) and his nephew and heir, patrician, Western Roman Emperor and exiled emperor Julius Nepos († 480). Having done away with the conspirators and one of Nepos’s assassins, Odoacer invaded Dalmatia in 481/482 and ruled over it until 492, when it was most likely annexed to the Italian kingdom of Theodoric’s Ostrogoths. In whose service was the owner of the Mali Mošunj scabbard, was he a local man or a newcomer who had arrived in Dalmatia as a career soldier or as a proven and experienced mercenary, when and on what occasion did he receive or otherwise obtain the scabbard decorated with a gold fitting and was he left without it by accident or at some life-threatening moment to end up in some recently destroyed grave – these are but a few questions that will most likely go unanswered forever.

ili na kakav drugi način pribavio zlatnim okovom urešene korice mača i je li bez ovih ostao slučajno ili u nekom za život opasnom trenutku te, skončavši, završio u nekom u novije vrijeme uništenom grobu - samo su neka od pitanja koja će najvjerojatnije zauvijek ostati bez odgovora.

APPENDIX: Kloazonirani okovi usta korica ranomerovinškog razdoblja tipa Beauvais-Planig (tip 2)

Okove usta korica ukrašene kloazoniranjem sadrže neki od najznačajnijih grobnih nalaza post-hunskog i ranomerovinške Zapadne Europe druge polovine 5. i ranog 6. stoljeća, primjerice: Tournai u Belgiji (Hilderikov grob),⁵⁷ Pouan-les-Vallées,⁵⁸ Lavoye (gr. 319),⁵⁹ Arcy-Sainte-Restitue (gr. 1726)⁶⁰ i Beauvais-La Rue-Saint-Pierre⁶¹ u Francuskoj, Rommersheim⁶² i Flonheimu, gr. 5,⁶³

APPENDIX: Cloisonné scabbard mouthpiece fittings from the early Merovingian period of the Beauvais-Planig type (type 2)

Some of the most significant grave finds of post-Hunnic and early Merovingian Western Europe from the second half of the fifth and the early sixth centuries comprise scabbard mouthpiece fittings in cloisonné-work, for example: Tournai in Belgium (Childeric's tomb),⁵⁷ Pouan-les-Vallées,⁵⁸ Lavoye (gr. 319),⁵⁹ Arcy-Sainte-Restitue (gr. 1726)⁶⁰, and Beauvais-La Rue-Saint-Pierre⁶¹ in France, Rommersheim⁶² and Flonheim, gr. 5,⁶³ in Germany.

⁵⁷ Chifflet 1655, str. 202-203; Cochet 1859, str. 65; Behmer 1939, str. 66 Taf. VI:3a; Böhner 1948, str. 219, 234 no. 1, Taf. 40:1; Menghin 1983, str. 180 no. 1:1e, 336 no. 17; Kazanski, Périn 1988, str. 14, 16 Fig. 2:2; Böhner 1989, str. 422, Abb. 5:1, 426 no. 1; Quast 2015, str. 169 no. 10a, 191 Taf. 6:1a-d, 207 Taf. 22.

⁵⁸ Cochet 1859, str. 86, 93, 107; Behmer 1939, str. 66-67, Taf. VI:2; Böhner 1948, str. 226-227, Taf. 39:7; Salin, France-Lanord 1956, str. 67 Fig. 4-6; Menghin 1983, str. 180 no. 2:1d, 182 no. 2:1d-e, str. 336 no. 15; Böhner 1989, str. 422 Abb. 5:2, str. 427 no. 2; Vallet 2001, 73-74.

⁵⁹ Böhner 1948, str. 219, 222 no. 2, Taf. 38:2; Joffroy 1974, str. 98 Fig. 75, 130, Pl. 32:2; Menghin 1983, str. 216 no. 46:1e, 335 no. 11, 335 no. 11; Effros 2003, str. 155-156 Fig. 19; Quast 2015, str. 171 Abb. 1:4.

⁶⁰ Behmer 1939, str. 77, 82, Taf. XIV:3a-b; Böhner 1948, str. 222 no. 3, Taf. 38:3; Menghin 1983, str. 219 no. 47:1c, str. 335 no. 1; Vallet 1988, str. 49-50 Fig. 5-6; Périn 1996, str. 227 Abb. 162.

⁶¹ Danjou 1856, str. 23, Pl. 2:6; Cochet 1859, str. 98-99, 107-108; Böhner 1948, str. 219, 234-235 no. 3, Taf. 40:6; Menghin 1983, str. 217 no. 45:1b, str. 335 no. 2; Böhner 1989, str. 422 Abb. 5:3, str. 427 no. 3; Vallet 1988, str. 45-47 Fig. 1.

⁶² Böhner 1948, str. 235 no. 6, Taf. 40:4; Menghin 1983, str. 190 no. 11:1b, 336 no. 16; Böhner 1989, str. 422 Abb. 5:8, str. 427 no. 8; Menghin 1995, str. 189 Abb. 46:5.

⁶³ Behmer 1939, str. 66-67, Taf. VI:4a-b; Böhner 1948, str. 234 no. 4, Taf. 40:2; Ament 1970, str. 46-47, 55-57 (Farbtafel), Taf. 8:1, 10:1, str. 26-28, 29:9; Menghin 1983, str. 214-215 no. 43:1d, str. 335 no. 8; Böhner 1989, str. 422 Abb. 5:7, str. 427 no. 7; Hilgner 2010, str. 49 Abb. 9. Zbog krupnih razmaknutih ćelija na glatkoj pločastoj površini srebrnog pozlaćenog okova usta korica mača iz Flonheima (gr. 5) i izvedbe koja je već u starijoj literaturi bila pripisana sasanidskoj Perziji i definirana kao umetanje u pločastu podlogu (*pla-*

⁵⁷ Chifflet 1655, inter pag. 202-203; Cochet 1859, p. 65; Behmer 1939, p. 66 Taf. VI:3a; Böhner 1948, pp. 219, 234 No. 1, Taf. 40:1; Menghin 1983, p. 180 No. 1:1e, p. 336 No. 17; Kazanski, Périn 1988, pp. 14, 16 Fig. 2:2; Böhner 1989, p. 422 Abb. 5:1, p. 426 No. 1; Quast 2015, p. 169 No. 10a, p. 191, Taf. 6:1a-d, pp. 207 Taf. 22.

⁵⁸ Cochet 1859, pp. 86, 93, 107; Behmer 1939, pp. 66-67, Taf. VI:2; Böhner 1948, pp. 226-227, Taf. 39:7; Salin, France-Lanord 1956, p. 67 Fig. 4-6; Menghin 1983, p. 180 No. 2:1d, p. 182 No. 2:1d-e, p. 336 No. 15; Böhner 1989, p. 422 Abb. 5:2, p. 427 No. 2; Vallet 2001, pp. 73-74.

⁵⁹ Böhner 1948, pp. 219, 222 No. 2, Taf. 38:2; Joffroy 1974, p. 98 Fig. 75, 130, Pl. 32:2; Menghin 1983, p. 216 No. 46:1e, p. 335 No. 11, p. 335 No. 11; Effros 2003, pp. 155-156 Fig. 19; Quast 2015, p. 171 Abb. 1:4.

⁶⁰ Behmer 1939, pp. 77, 82, Taf. XIV:3a-b; Böhner 1948, p. 222 No. 3, Taf. 38:3; Menghin 1983, p. 219 No. 47:1c, p. 335 No. 1; Vallet 1988, pp. 49-50 Fig. 5-6; Périn 1996, p. 227 Abb. 162.

⁶¹ Danjou 1856, p. 23, Pl. 2:6; Cochet 1859, pp. 98-99, 107-108; Böhner 1948, pp. 219, 234-235 No. 3, Taf. 40:6; Menghin 1983, p. 217 No. 45:1b, p. 335 No. 2; Böhner 1989, p. 422 Abb. 5:3, 427 No. 3; Vallet 1988, pp. 45-47 Fig. 1.

⁶² Böhner 1948, p. 235 No. 6, Taf. 40:4; Menghin 1983, p. 190 No. 11:1b, p. 336 No. 16; Böhner 1989, p. 422 Abb. 5:8, p. 427 No. 8; Menghin 1995, p. 189 Abb. 46:5.

⁶³ Behmer 1939, pp. 66-67, Taf. VI:4a-b; Böhner 1948, p. 234 No. 4, Taf. 40:2; Ament 1970, pp. 46-47, 55-57 (Farbtafel), Taf. 8:1, 10:1, 26-28, 29:9; Menghin 1983, pp. 214-215 No. 43:1d, 335 No. 8; Böhner 1989, p. 422 Abb. 5:7, 427 No. 7; Hilgner 2010, p. 49 Abb. 9. Due to the large spaced cells on the smooth plate surface of the silver gilded scabbard mouthpiece fitting from Flonheim (gr. 5) and the design which had already been attributed to Sassanid Persia and defined as plate-inlaying in earlier literature, the fitting has been readily compared to the "pectoral" from the alleged princely tomb found in Wolfsheim near Mainz in 1870; Dalton 1902, pp. 9, 29-30 Fig. 16; Ebert 1914, pp. 57-61, Taf. IX; Adams 2000, p. 16, 55 Fig.

u Njemačkoj. Svi navedeni su iz tzv. franačke skupine mačeva sa zlatnom drškom.⁶⁴ Okovi ovih mačeva, ali i pojedinih mačeva bez zlatne drške, među kojima su i dva mača s piramidalnim jabučicama i prstenastim privjeskom *cocked hut/sword-rings* (F: Consevieux, gr. A;⁶⁵ I: Nocera Umbra, gr. 1⁶⁶) te još neki grobni i slučajni nalazi okova usta korica sa sjevernofrancusko-belgijsko-nizozemskih nalazišta kao i onih iz njemačkog Porajnja i iz jugozapadne Njemačke najčešće sadrže katkad jednostavniji, a katkad složeniji jednoredni (F: Beauvais-La Rue Saint-Pierre, Consevieux, gr. A;⁶⁷ D: Flonheim, gr.

All of them are from the so-called Frankish group of swords with gold grips.⁶⁴ The fittings of these swords, but also some others without a gold grip, including two swords with pyramidal pommels and *cocked hut / sword-rings* (F: Consevieux, gr. A;⁶⁵ I: Nocera Umbra, gr. 1⁶⁶) and some other grave and chance finds of scabbard mouthpiece fittings from sites in northern France, Belgium and the Netherlands, as well as those in the German Rhineland and southwest Germany, usually contain sometimes simpler and other times more complex single-row (F: Beauvais-La Rue Saint-Pierre, Consevieux, gr. A;⁶⁷ D: Flonheim, gr. 5, Cologne-St. Severin,

te-inlaying), okov je rado uspoređivan s “pektoralom” iz navodnoga kneževskoga grobnog nalaza otkrivenog u Wolfsheimu kod Mainza 1870. godine; Dalton 1902, str. 9, 29-30 Fig. 16; Ebert 1914, str. 57-61, Taf. IX; Adams 2000, str. 16, 55 Fig. 1 (Class II). O kasnijim iskopavanjima i novim saznanjima o tom nalazištu i nalazu “pektoral” za koji se drži da je bio dijelom sasanidske narukvice iz vremena vladavine Ardašira I. (224. - 241.), Bernhard 1982, str. 82-84 Abb. 15:2; Quast 1999, str. 705-718. Sličnu prenamjenu iz sasanidskog u merovinški ukrasni predmet doživjela je i velika središnja poliedarska jagoda na velikoj igli iz groba Arnegunde, supruge franačkoga kralja Klotara I., otkrivenog pod bazilikom Saint-Denis u Parizu, Perin 2012, str. 109-110 Fig. 78. Nešto slično moglo bi se pretpostaviti i za manje atraktivan okov pojasne kopče s alamanskoga groblja Basel-Kleinhüningen, Giesler 2007, str. 211 Abb. 216 (sredina, desno). Kako predmeta sličnih obilježja i “stila” ima još, a i nije ih malo, to bi sustavnija istraživanja ovog problema zahtijevala drukčiju analitiku i ekspertnost, a ta zasigurno nadilazi mogućnosti arheoloških opažanja.

⁶⁴ Böhner 1989, str. 426-428. Ovdje su “franačkoj skupini” pripisani još neki značajni grobni nalazi mačeva, primjerice oni iz Köln-St. Severina (gr. 205) i Planiga (gr. 1), oba bez zlatne drške, ali s kloazoniranim okovima usta korica, Strunk, Ristow 1966, str. 106, 108 Abb. 6:1-2; Menghin 1983, str. 241 no. 85:1b, str. 335 no. 10; Böhner 1989, str. 422 Abb. 5:5, str. 427 no. 5; Menghin 1995, str. 149-150 Fig. 10 (Köln); Menghin 1983, str. 224 no. 56:1d, 335 no. 14; Böhner 1989, str. 422 Abb. 5:6, str. 427 no. 6 (Planig). Pregledan prikaz stanja istraživanja mačeva sa zlatnom drškom donio je nedavno Miche 2014, str. 93-108 (s literaturom), a na neka zanimljiva opažanja i društvene aspekte rasprostiranja ovih mačeva (npr. područja bez germanskih ukopa = područja naseljena romanskim stanovništvom) svojedobno su upozorili Theuws, Alkemade 2000, str. 462-476.

⁶⁵ Evison 1967, str. 91 no. 22; Menghin 1983, str. 230 no. 66:1a; Steuer 1987, str. 209 Abb. 9, str. 233 no. 14.

⁶⁶ Evison 1967, str. 92 no. 30; Menghin 1983, str. 260 no. 113:1a-b; Steuer 1987, str. 209 Abb. 9, str. 233 no. 1b.

⁶⁷ Pilloy 1903, 466, Pl. XXXI; Pilloy 1913, str. 13-16, 35-36, Pl. A:1; Behmer 1939, str. 147, Taf. XXXIV:4a, kao nalazište spominje Laon (o. c., 202), a kao mjesto pohrane berlinski Staatliches Museum für Vor- und

1 (Class II). For more information on later excavations and new facts about this site and the “pectoral” find, believed to have been part of a Sassanian bracelet from the reign of Ardashir I (224-241), see Bernhard 1982, pp. 82-84 Abb. 15:2; Quast 1999, pp. 705-718. A similar conversion from a Sassanian to a Merovingian ornamental object had been made for the large central polyhedral bead on the large needle from the tomb of Arnegund, the wife of Chlothar I, king of the Franks, discovered under the Basilica of Saint-Denis in Paris, Perin 2012, pp. 109-110 Fig. 78. A similar assumption could also be made for the less attractive belt buckle mount from the Alemannic cemetery of Basel-Kleinhüningen, Giesler 2007, p. 211 Abb. 216 (centre, right). Given that there are more objects of few, only similar characteristics and “style”, and not a few, only, a more systematic research of this problem would require different analyses and expertise, and this certainly goes beyond the possibilities of archaeological observations.

⁶⁴ Böhner 1989, pp. 426-428. Some other significant grave finds of swords have been attributed to the “Frankish group”, for example, those from Cologne-St. Severin (gr. 205) and Planig (gr. 1), both without a gold grip, but with a cloisonné scabbard mouthpiece fitting, Strunk, Ristow 1966, pp. 106, 108 Abb. 6:1-2; Menghin 1983, p. 241 No. 85:1b, p. 335 No. 10; Böhner 1989, p. 422 Abb. 5:5, p. 427 No. 5; Menghin 1995, pp. 149-150 Fig. 10 (Köln); Menghin 1983, p. 224 No. 56:1d, 335 No. 14; Böhner 1989, p. 422 Abb. 5:6, p. 427 No. 6 (Planig). A clear overview of the state of research of swords with gold grips has recently been provided by Miche 2014, pp. 93-108 (with bibliography). Some interesting observations and social aspects of the distribution of such swords (e.g. areas without Germanic burials = areas inhabited by Romanic population) were provided by Theuws, Alkemade 2000, pp. 462-476.

⁶⁵ Evison 1967, p. 91 No. 22; Menghin 1983, p. 230 No. 66:1a; Steuer 1987, p. 209 Abb. 9, p. 233 No. 14.

⁶⁶ Evison 1967, p. 92 No. 30; Menghin 1983, p. 260 No. 113:1a-b; Steuer 1987, p. 209 Abb. 9, p. 233 No. 1b.

⁶⁷ Pilloy 1903, p. 466, Pl. XXXI; Pilloy 1913, pp. 13-16, 35-36, Pl. A:1; Behmer 1939, p. 147, Taf. XXXIV:4a, mentioned Laon as the site (Behmer 1939, p. 202), and the Berlin Staatliches Museum für Vor- und Früh-

5, Köln-St. Severin, gr. 205,⁶⁸ Rommersheim) ili pak dvoredni niz kloazoniranih ćelija (N: Lent,⁶⁹ F: Arcy-Sainte-Res-titue, Joches, gr. 2,⁷⁰ Lavoye, Pouan-les-Vallées; D: Bräunlingen, gr. 5,⁷¹ Gross-Karben,⁷² Möglingen;⁷³ I: Nocera Umbra, gr. 1⁷⁴). Znatno su rjeđi okovi s trorednim (D: Flonheim, gr. 1;⁷⁵ F: Hérouvillette, gr. 11⁷⁶), četverorednim (D: Planig, gr. 1,⁷⁷ Eich⁷⁸) ili pak s peterorednim nizom ćelija (B: Tournai).

gr. 205,⁶⁸ Rommersheim) or double-row series of cloisonné cells (N: Lent,⁶⁹ F: Arcy-Sainte-Res-titue, Joches, gr. 2,⁷⁰ Lavoye, Pouan-les-Vallées; D: Bräunlingen, gr. 5,⁷¹ Gross-Karben,⁷² Möglingen;⁷³ I: Nocera Umbra, gr. 1⁷⁴). Fittings with three-row (D: Flonheim, gr. 1;⁷⁵ F: Hérouvillette, gr. 11⁷⁶), four-row (D: Planig, gr. 1,⁷⁷ Eich⁷⁸) or five-row series of cells (B: Tournai) are significantly rarer.

Frühgeschichte (Behmer 1939, 211); Evison 1967, str. 78, 91 no. 22, Pl. XIII: a; Menghin 1983, str. 97, 173, 230 no. 66:1b, str. 335 no. 3 (Zeitgruppe "C").

⁶⁸ Nalazi iz gr. 205 samo su dijelom sačuvani jer je grob oštećen gradnjom crkvenog objekta, Strunk, Ristow 1966, str. 106-108. Za kronološke odrednice ovog nalaza i njihovu kasniju korekciju v. Menghin 1983, str. 92, 97-98, 241 no. 85:1b (Zeitgruppe C; oko 530. - 570.); Menghin 1995, str. 150 Abb. 10 (Zeitgruppe A; prije 480.).

⁶⁹ Za slučajni nalaz kloazoniranog okova usta korica iz Lenta u Nizozemskoj, Ball, Meijers 2011, str. 100-109.

⁷⁰ Baye 1880, str. 267, pl. XX:2; Böhner 1948, str. 234 no. 2, Taf. 40:5; Menghin 1983, str. 219 no. 49:1a, str. 335 no. 9; Böhner 1989, str. 422 Abb. 5:4, str. 427 no. 4.

⁷¹ Fingerlin 2001, str. 23 Abb. 5 (gr. 5; mač navodno sa zlatnom drškom); Fingerlin 2008, 64-65; Hilgner 2010, 50 Abb. 11.

⁷² Behrens 1933, str. 202 Abb. 3:13; Böhner 1948, str. 235 no. 7, str. 236 Abb. 4:2, Taf. 40:5; Jorns 1961, str. 100 Abb. 10:15, str. 101; Menghin 1983, str. 335 no. 7.

⁷³ Veeck 1931, str. 49, 227, Taf. 31:9; Ament 1970, str. 21 Abb. 2:2, Taf. 30:2; Böhner 1948, str. 236 Abb. 4:1; Werner 1958, str. 57 no. 11, Taf. 11:7; Menghin 1983, str. 34 Abb. 11:2, 335 no. 12.

⁷⁴ Pasqui, Paribeni 1918, str. 159-160 Fig. 4; Åberg 1923, str. 99 Abb. 157; Behmer 1939, Taf. XLI:7; Evison 1967, str. 92 no. 30, koja je s pravom pretpostavila da je okov usta korica stariji od mača. U kasnijim objavama okov usta korica predstavljen je bez gotovo čitave desne polovine; Menghin 1983, str. 34 Abb. 11:3, str. 260 no. 113:1e, str. 335 no. 13; Rupp 2005, str. 3, Taf. 1; Paroli, Ricci 2008, str. 478, 673; Sernagiotto 2011, str. 54.

⁷⁵ Ament 1970, str. 21 Abb. 2:1, Taf. 30:2, gdje su donesene i dimenzije ulomka (duž. 2,5 cm, šir. 1,7 cm); Menghin 1983, str. 34 Abb. 11:1; 335 no. 5.

⁷⁶ Decaëns 1971, str. 18 no. 11:2, 107 Fig. 11, 122 Fig. 26:s.11, gdje je za ovaj okov pretpostavljena sekundarna upotreba, budući da je u grobu zatečen prelomljen u dva dijela, međusobno udaljena šezdesetak centimetara (Decaëns 1971, str. 73); Menghin 1983, str. 96-97, 385 no. 8.

⁷⁷ Menghin 1983, str. 224 no. 56:1d, str. 335 no. 14; Hilgner 2010, str. 48, 76 Taf. 1:3b.

⁷⁸ Werner 1958, str. 57 no. 13, Taf. 11:12; Menghin 1983, str. 335 no. 4; Böhner 1989, str. 423 Abb. 6:2; Schäffer, Wierczorek 1996, str. 896-897 (označen kao četverored ćelija).

geschichte as the place of storage (Behmer 1939, 211); Evison 1967, pp. 78, 91 No. 22, Pl. XIII: a; Menghin 1983, pp. 97, 173, 230 No. 66:1b, pp. 335 No. 3 (Zeitgruppe "C").

⁶⁸ The finds from gr. 205 are only partially preserved because the grave was damaged by the construction of a church building, Strunk, Ristow 1966, pp. 106-108. For the chronological determinants of this find and their later adjustment, see Menghin 1983, pp. 92, 97-98, 241 No. 85:1b (Zeitgruppe C; ca. 530-570); Menghin 1995, pp. 150 Abb. 10 (Zeitgruppe A; before 480).

⁶⁹ For more information on the chance find of the cloisonné scabbard mouthpiece fitting from Lent, the Netherlands, see Ball, Meijers 2011, pp. 100-109.

⁷⁰ Baye 1880, 267, Pl. XX:2; Böhner 1948, p. 234 No. 2, Taf. 40:5; Menghin 1983, p. 219 No. 49:1a, p. 335 No. 9; Böhner 1989, p. 422 Abb. 5:4, p. 427 No. 4.

⁷¹ Fingerlin 2001, p. 23 Abb. 5 (gr. 5; allegedly, the sword has a gold grip); Fingerlin 2008, pp. 64-65; Hilgner 2010, 50 Abb. 11.

⁷² Behrens 1933, p. 202 Abb. 3:13; Böhner 1948, p. 235 No. 7, p. 236 Abb. 4:2, Taf. 40:5; Jorns 1961, p. 100 Abb. 10:15, 101; Menghin 1983, p. 335 No. 7.

⁷³ Veeck 1931, pp. 49, 227, Taf. 31:9; Ament 1970, p. 21 Abb. 2:2, Taf. 30:2; Böhner 1948, p. 236 Abb. 4:1; Werner 1958, p. 57 No. 11, Taf. 11:7; Menghin 1983, p. 34 Abb. 11:2, p. 335 No. 12.

⁷⁴ Pasqui, Paribeni 1918, pp. 159-160 Fig. 4; Åberg 1923, p. 99 Abb. 157; Behmer 1939, Taf. XLI:7; Evison 1967, p. 92 No. 30, who rightly assumed that the scabbard mouthpiece fitting was of earlier date than the sword. In later publications, the scabbard mouthpiece fitting was presented without almost the entire right half; Menghin 1983, p. 34 Abb. 11:3, p. 260 No. 113:1e, p. 335 No. 13; Rupp 2005, p. 3, Taf. 1; Paroli, Ricci 2008, pp. 478, 673; Sernagiotto 2011, p. 54.

⁷⁵ Ament 1970, 21 Abb. 2:1, Taf. 30:2, where the dimensions of the fragment were also provided (length: 2.5 cm; width: 1.7 cm); Menghin 1983, p. 34 Abb. 11:1; 335 No. 5.

⁷⁶ Decaëns 1971, p. 18 No. 11:2, 107 Fig. 11, p. 122 Fig. 26s.11, where secondary use was assumed for this fitting, since it had been found in the grave broken into two parts, some sixty centimetres apart (Decaëns 1971, p. 73); Menghin 1983, pp. 96-97, 385 No. 8.

⁷⁷ Menghin 1983, p. 224 No. 56:1d, p. 335 No. 14; Hilgner 2010, pp. 48, 76 Taf. 1:3b.

⁷⁸ Werner 1958, p. 57 No. 13, Taf. 11:12; Menghin 1983, p. 335 No. 4; Böhner 1989, p. 423 Abb. 6:2; Schäffer, Wierczorek 1996, pp. 896-897 (designated as four rows of cells).

Kod većine okova ukrašenih kloazoniranjem središnji je dio rezerviran za ćeliju u obliku četverolista koji se ondje pojavljuje ili kao središnja ćelija ukrasnog niza (B: Tournai; F: Hérouvillette, gr. 11) ili kao dominantan sadržaj središnjega četvrtastog ukrasnog polja (N: Lent; F: Beauvais-La Rue-Staint-Pierre; D: Planig, Rommersheim), karakterističnog ne samo zbog veličine nego i zbog upadljivo drukčije bijele ili bjelkaste boje umetka, kojem je ponekad pridodan još i krugoliki dodatak u crvenoj ili crvenkastoj boji (N: Lent; I: Nocera Umbra, gr. 1). U samo jednom primjeru ćelija s četverolistom ne nalazi se u sredini okova, nego lijevo i desno od središnje ćelije oblikovane poput romba stepeničastih stranica (D: Bräunlingen),⁷⁹ koji se pak kao središnja ćelija pojavljuje tek na dvama okovima (D: Eich), na jednom od njih s rombičnim dodatkom u zelenoj boji unutar romba stepeničastih stranica (D: Gross-Karben). Osim prevladavajućih četverolista i romba stepeničastih stranica kao istaknut ukras u središnjem polju zasad se pojavljuju jedino svastika okrenuta nalijevo (F: Joches, gr. 2)⁸⁰ i osmerolist s krugom u sredini (D: Möglingen), a kao ukrasni dodatak ovamo bi se vjerojatno moglo pridodati i okruglu ćeliju postavljenu u sredinu ukrasnog niza na jedinom dosad poznatom pločastom okovu raz-

In most cloisonné fittings, the central part is reserved for a quatrefoil cell either as the central cell of the ornamental series (B: Tournai; F: Hérouvillette, gr. 11) or as the dominant component of the central square decorative field (N: Lent; F: Beauvais-La Rue-Staint-Pierre; D: Planig, Rommersheim), characterised not only by the size but also by the strikingly different white or whitish colour of the insert, to which a roundish inclusion in red or reddish colour is sometimes added (N: Lent; I: Nocera Umbra, gr. 1). In only one example, the cell with the quatrefoil is not in the centre of the fitting, but to the left and right of the central cell in the form of a rhomb with stepped sides (D: Bräunlingen),⁷⁹ which in turn appears as the central cell only on two fittings (D: Eich), on one of them with a rhombic inclusion in green colour within the rhomb with stepped sides (D: Gross-Karben). Apart from the predominant quatrefoils and rhombs with stepped sides, only the swastika turned to the left (F: Joches, gr. 2)⁸⁰ and the octofoil with a circle in the middle (D: Möglingen) appear as prominent decorations in the central field. Another decorative addition that could be associated with this variety is a round cell placed in the middle of the ornamental series on the only plate fitting with spaced cells known to date

⁷⁹ Ćelija oblikovana poput romba stepeničastih stranica i ćelije s četverolistom sa svake strane središnji su ukras i na okovu pojasne kopče iz Plieniga u Bavarskoj (Giostra 2008, str. 580-581 Fig. 7; Haas-Gebhard 2010, str. 173-174 Abb. 49) te na okovu pojasne kopče (predica i trn nedostaju) iz okolice Amiens na sjeveru Francuske (Werner 1958, 55 Abb. 1:5, 58 no. 19). Sličan raspored ukrasnih motiva nalazi se na četvrtastim okovima još nekih pojasnih kopči, na kojima se, za razliku od prethodnih dviju, na mjestu stepeničastog romba u središnjem dijelu nalazi stepeničasti križ: na okovu kopče iz Acquasanta u srednjoj Italiji (Annibaldi, Werner 1963, str. 359-360, 370, Taf. 41:2; Giostra 2008, str. 580-581 Fig. 8) te na okovu kopče iz franačkoga groba otkrivenog oko 1845. godine pred vratima crkve sv. Severina (Severinstor) u Kölnu (Fremersdorf 1933, str. 76-77 Abb. 14; Kendrick 1936, str. 270 Abb. 1; Werner 1958, str. 55, Taf. 11; za iscrpnu povijest ovog nalaza v. Kidd-Päffgen 1990, str. 209-214).

⁸⁰ Svastika na oružju ili bojnoj opremi u ranomerovinškom je razdoblju rijetka, a kao primjere moguće je navesti jabučice dvaju vremenski kasnijih Ringschwerta s nalazišta u Kentu na jugoistoku Engleske: Bifrons, gr. 39 (Behmer 1939, Taf. XXXVIII:1; Evison 1967, str. 86 no. 7, 110 Fig. 7:b; Menghin 1983, str. 243 no. 89:1a); Finglesham, gr. 204 (Menghin 1983, str. 222 no. 52:1a). Mnogo je češća na ukrasnim predmetima (fibule, brakteati) i predmetima dnevne upotrebe (pojasne kopče).

⁷⁹ A cell shaped like a rhomb with stepped sides and cells with a quatrefoil on each side are also the central decoration on the belt buckle mount from Plienig in Bavaria (Giostra 2008, pp. 580-581 Fig. 7; Haas-Gebhard 2010, pp. 173-174 Abb. 49) and on the belt buckle mount (with its frame and prong missing) from the vicinity of Amiens in the north of France (Werner 1958, p. 55 Abb. 1:5, 58 No. 19). A similar arrangement of decorative motifs can be found on square fittings of some other belt buckles, with, unlike the previous two, a stepped cross in place of a stepped rhomb: on the belt buckle mount from Acquasanta in central Italy (Annibaldi, Werner 1963, pp. 359-360, 370, Taf. 41:2; Giostra 2008, pp. 580-581 Fig. 8), and on the buckle mount from the Frankish grave discovered around 1845 in front of the door of the church of St. Severin (Severinstor) in Cologne (Fremersdorf 1933, pp. 76-77 Abb. 14; Kendrick 1936, p. 270 Abb. 1; Werner 1958, pp. 5, Taf. 11; for an exhaustive history of this find, see Kidd-Päffgen 1990, pp. 209-214).

⁸⁰ The swastika was rare on weapons or combat equipment in the early Merovingian period. A few possible examples are the pommels of two later ringswords from Kent in the southeast of England: Bifrons, gr. 39 (Behmer 1939, Taf. XXXVIII:1; Evison 1967, p. 86 No. 7, 110 Fig. 7:b; Menghin 1983, p. 243 No. 89:1a); Finglesham, gr. 204 (Menghin 1983, p. 222 No. 52:1a). It was much more common on decorative items (fibulae, bracteates) and daily items (belt buckles).

maknutih ćelija (D: Flonheim, gr. 5). Manje brojna, ali u oblikovnom i ukrasnom smislu vrlo heterogena jest skupina kloazoniranih okova korica mača bez dominantnoga središnjeg polja. Gotovo svi primjerci - zasad s jednom jedinom iznimkom (D: Köln-St. Severin, gr. 205) - potječu sa sjevernofrancuskih nalazišta (Arcy-Sainte-Restitue, Consevieux, gr. A; Lavoye, gr. 319, Pouan).

Rasporedom i oblicima ćelija čak sedam okova pokazuje značajnu podudarnost, a to bi moglo upućivati i na eventualnu radioničku (?) povezanost. U tom smislu ponajprije treba upozoriti na podudarnost i okove iz Lenta u Nizozemskoj, Jochesa u Francuskoj i Gross-Karben u Njemačkoj, zatim na podudarnost i okove iz Beauvaisa u Francuskoj i Rommersheima u Njemačkoj, na što je već upozoravano,⁸¹ te sličnosti okova iz Tournaija u Belgiji i njegove pojednostavnjene i manje raskošne brončane “replike” iz Hérouvillettea u Francuskoj.⁸² Manje je izražena, ali je ipak uočljiva sličnost okova iz Flonheima (gr. 1) i okova iz Möglingena u Njemačkoj te iz Nocere Umbre u Italiji, na što je također već upozoravano.⁸³ Poneku sličnost moguće je zamijetiti i usporede li se okovi iz Planiga (gr. 1), Bräunlingena (gr. 5) i Eicha u Njemačkoj.⁸⁴

Zapažanja oslonjena na oblikovanje i raspored ćelija podupiru i mjerni podaci. Veći broj uporabljivih ćelija nerijetko je popraćen i većim brojem redova pa time i većom širinom okova, koji je time dobivao ne samo na vrijednosti nego i na upadljivosti. Kloazoniranje zastupljeno na okovima usta korica ranomerovinških mačeva dominira na primjercima tipa Beauvais-Planig, tj. na tipu 2, kako je svojedobno bio imenovan. Ove je s obzirom na brojnost ćelija, suvremene spoznaje o kloazoniranju i rijetke nove primjerke ovog tipa okova (Braunlingen, D; Lent, N), bilo potrebno dodatno analizirati, usporediti i klasificirati te ih shodno tomu izdvojiti u podtipove obilježene slovima *a-d* (**tablica 2**).

(D: Flonheim, gr. 5). Less numerous, but in terms of form and decoration very heterogeneous, is the group of cloisonné scabbard fittings without the dominant central field. Almost all specimens – with one single exception so far (D: Cologne-St. Severin, gr. 205) – originate from sites in northern France (Arcy-Sainte-Restitue, Consevieux, gr. A; Lavoye, gr. 319, Pouan).

As many as seven fittings match significantly in the arrangement and shapes of cells, which could indicate a possible workshop (?) connection. In this regard, it is first necessary to point out the correspondence and fittings from Lent in the Netherlands, Joches in France and Gross-Karben in Germany, then from Beauvais in France and Rommersheim in Germany, as already pointed out,⁸¹ and similarities in fittings from Tournai in Belgium and its simplified and less lavish bronze “replica” from Hérouvillette in France.⁸² The similarity of the fitting from Flonheim (gr. 1) with those from Möglingen in Germany and Nocere Umbre in Italy is less conspicuous, but still noticeable, which has also been pointed out.⁸³ Some similarities can also be noticed in the fittings from Planig (gr. 1), Bräunlingen (gr. 5) and Eich in Germany.⁸⁴

Observations based on the design and arrangement of cells are also supported by measurement data. A larger number of rows is often accompanied by more rows, and thus wider fittings, making them more valuable, as well as striking. Cloisonné-work represented on scabbard mouthpiece fittings of early Merovingian swords is dominant on specimens of the Beauvais-Planig type, i.e. type 2, as it used to be referred to. Given the number of cells, modern knowledge about cloisonné-work and rare new examples of this fitting type (Braunlingen, D; Lent, N), they had to be further analysed, compared, classified and accordingly divided into subtypes marked with the letters *a-d* (**Table 2**).

⁸¹ Menghin 1983, str. 97.

⁸² Osim oblika i rasporeda čak je i broj ćelija na okovu iz Hérouvillettea jednak broju ćelija unutrašnjeg troreda na okovu iz Tournaija (23 ćelije).

⁸³ Ament 1970, str. 21 Abb. 2; Menghen 1983, str. 34 Abb. 11.

⁸⁴ Hilgner 2010, str. 48, 76 Taf. 1:3b. Hilgner 2017, str. 21-22. Autorica je također upozorila na sličnosti okova na koricama mača iz Planiga i okova iz četrdesetak kilometara udaljenog Eicha, ali i na nešto manje sličan primjerak okova na koricama mača iz Bräunlingena (gr. 5) u Schwarzwald, na području u vlasti Alamana.

⁸¹ Menghin 1983, p. 97.

⁸² In addition to the shape and arrangement, even the number of cells on the Hérouvillette fitting is equal to that of the inner three rows on the Tournai fitting (23 cells).

⁸³ Ament 1970, p. 21 Abb. 2; Menghen 1983, p. 34 Abb. 11.

⁸⁴ Hilgner 2010, p. 48, 76 Taf. 1:3b. Hilgner 2017, p. 21-22. The author also drew attention to the similarities between the scabbard fittings from Planig and the fitting from Eich, some forty kilometres away, as well as to a somewhat less similar scabbard fitting from Bräunlingen (gr. 5) in the Black Forest, an area which had been under the rule of the Alemanni.

Tablica/Plate 2

Prvi red / First line: Rbr./No. - redni broj / number, D/L - dužina / length, Š/W - širina / width, cm - centimetar / centimeter, Br. / No. - broj ćelija / number of cells, D/Š - omjer dužine i širine / ratio of length and width, N C - novac / coin (L - Lav I / Leo I, Z - Zenon / Zeno). — *Metali / Metals:* AV - zlato / gold, AR - srebro / silver, AE - bronca / bronze, FE - željezo / iron — *Boje / color:* a - almandin / garnet, b - bijelo / white, z - zeleno / green — *Tehnike / Technique:* fil. - filigran / filigree, p - pojas / zone, perl. - zrnata žica / beaded border ; pz. - pozlata / gilt — *Opaske / Notes:* frag. - ulomak / fragment, g - gram / gram.

Rbr. Nalazište (država)	D/L	Š/W	Index	Br.	Metal; broj ćelija (boje)	N	Podaci iz objava
No. Site (country)	(cm)	(cm)	D/Š-L/W	No.	Metal; no. cells (color)	C	Publication data

Tip Beauvais - Planig / Tip 2 (Menghin 1983, 335-336)

Tip 2a (80-41)

1	Tournai (B)	7,34	1,6/1,7	4,448	5	AV; 76	Z	Quast 2015, 169 no. 10a (52,24 g)
2	Eich (D)	6,5	2,7	2,407	4	AV; 60 (55+4z+1b)	-	Schäffer, Wierczorek 1996, 896-897
3	Köln-St. Severin, gr. 205 (D)	5	1,4	3,571	(3)	AV; 53	-	Menghin 1983, 241 no. 85:1b
4	Planig, gr. 1 (D)	6,1	3,1	1,967	4	AE/pz; 52 (51+1b)	L	Hilgner 2010, 48 (34,6 g)

Tip 2b (40-21)

5	Bräunlingen (D)	[6,4]	[2,8]	[2,285]	2	AV; 34 (32+1+2?)	-	Fingerlin 2008, 65 (Taf.)
6	Joches, gr. 2 (F)	[7]	[1,3]	[5,38]	2	AV; 32 (30+2z)	-	Baye 1880, Pl. XX:2
7	Gross-Karben (D)	[6,2]	[1,7]	[3,645]	2	AV; 30 (28+1+1z)	-	Jorns 1961, 100 Abb. 10
8	Lent (N)	5,5	1,7	3,235	2	AV; 28 (26+1b+1a)	-	Ball, Meijers 2011, 101
9	Pouan (F)	8	2,4	3,333	2p	AV; 25, perl.	-	Menghin 1983, 180 no. 2:1d
10	Möglingen (D)	[5,2]	[1,4]	[3,714]	2	AV/FE; 25 (24+1b)	-	Ament 1970, Abb. 2:2
11	Hérouvillette, gr. 11 (F)	6,5	1,4	4,642	3	AE; 23 (16+7z)	-	Decaëns 1971, 18
12	Flonheim, gr. 1/1885 (D)	5,5	1,7	3,235	3	AV/FE; +10 (frag.)	-	Böhner 1989, 423

Tip 2c (20-11)

13	Nocera Umbra, gr. 1 (I)	[6,4]	[1,4]	[4,571]	2	AE; 18 (16+1+b?)	-	Pasqui-Paribeni 1912, 159-160
14	Arcy-Ste-Restitue, gr. 1726 (F)	6,3	1,1	5,727	2/1	AV; 17 (12+5z)	-	Vallet 1988, 50
15	Beauvais-Rue-Saint-Pierre (F)	7	1	7	1	AV; 15	-	Menghin 1983, 217 no. 45:1b
16	Lavoye, gr. 319 (F)	5,4	1,2	4,5	2	AV/FE; 12	Z	Menghin 1983, 218 no. 46:1e
17	Rommersheim (D)	5,5	0,7	7,857	1	AV; 11	-	Menghin 1983, 97, 190 no. 11:1b

Tip 2d (10-1)

18	Concevreux, gr. A (F)	5,6	1,6	3,5	1	AE/pz; 7, perl.	-	Menghin 1983, 230 no. 66:1b
19	Flonheim, gr. 5/1885 (D)	6,3	1,2	5,416	1	AR/pz; 5, perl.	-	Ament 1970, 46

Tipu 2a (br. 1-4) pripadaju četiri okova s najvećim brojem ćelija (52-76), među kojima su, a to je važno imati na umu, čak dva datirana zlatnim novcem (sl. 11:1-4). Najveći broj ćelija (72) raspoređenih u pet redova sadrži okov iz Hilderikova grobu u Tournaiju (br. 1), čiju pripadnost potvrđuje prsten s imenom tog franačkog kralja, a na vrijeme ukopa osim povijesnih podataka ukazuju solidi cara Zenona (476. - 491.),⁸⁵ kovani nakon 476. godine. Čak dvadeset i četiri ćelije manje u odnosu na prethodni okov (52/4) nalazi se na četverorednom okovu iz Planiga (br. 4) zatečenom u grobu (gr. 1) zajedno

Type 2a (Nos. 1-4) comprises four fittings with the largest number of cells (52-76). It is important to note that as many as two of them are dated based on gold coins (Fig. 11:1-4). The largest number of cells (72), arranged in five rows, can be found on the fitting from Childeric's tomb in Tournai (No. 1). Its affiliation is confirmed by a ring with the name of that Frankish king, while the time of burial is indicated by historical data and solidi of Emperor Zeno (476-491),⁸⁵ minted after 476. As many as twenty-four cells, smaller than those on the previous fitting (52/4) can be found on the

⁸⁵ Fischer, Lind 2015, str. 12, 20.

⁸⁵ Fischer, Lind 2015, pp. 12, 20.



Sl. 11. Okovi usta korica mača tipa Beauvais-Planig – tip 2a/80-41. **1** - Tournai (B), Hilderikov grob (Quast 2015, 191 Taf. 6:1a). **2** - Eich (D), gr. 2/1935 (Werner 1958, Taf. 11:12). **3** - Köln-St. Severin (D), gr. 205 (Strunk, Ristova 1966, 108 Abb. 6:4). **4** - Planig-Mainzer Str. (D), gr. 1 (Hilgner 2010, 76 Taf. 1:3b)
Fig. 11 Scabbard mouthpiece fittings of the Beauvais-Planig type sword – type 2a/80-41. **1** - Tournai (B), tomb of Childeric (Quast 2015, 191 Pl. 6:1a). **2** - Eich (D), gr. 2/1935 (Werner 1958, Pl. 11:12). **3** - Köln-St. Severin (D), gr. 205 (Strunk, Ristova 1966, 108 Fig. 6:4). **4** - Planig-Mainzer Str. (D), gr. 1 (Hilgner 2010, 76 Pl. 1:3b).

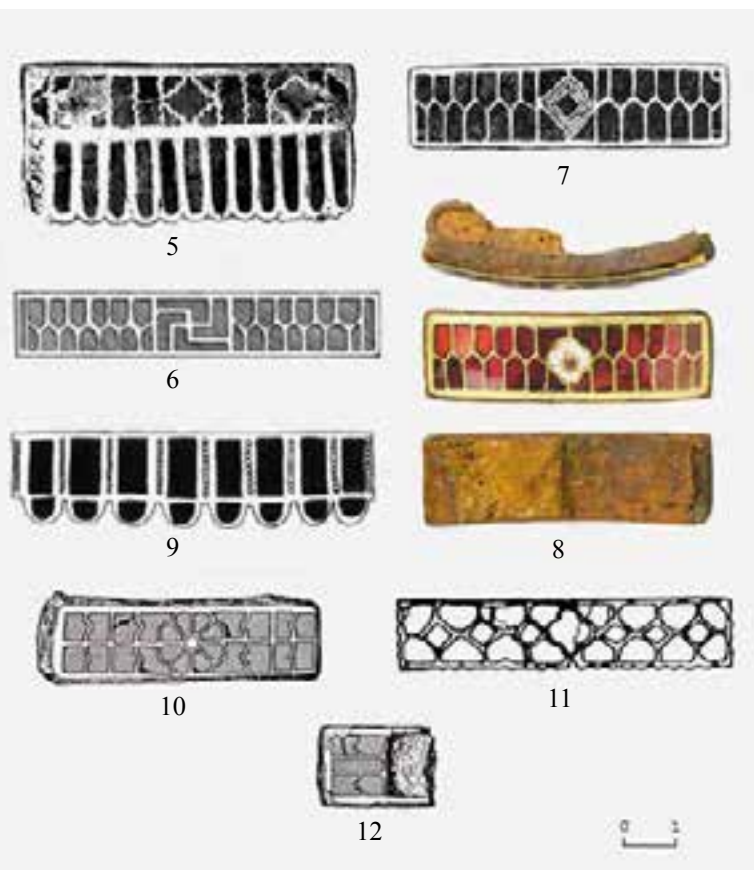
s vrlo kvalitetnom imitacijom zlatnika cara Lava (457. - 474.) kovanom prije 474. godine.⁸⁶ Rasporedom ćelija okovu iz Planiga sličan je okov iz nepunih četrdeset kilometara udaljenog Eich (60/5), (br. 2), koji je jednako brojan oblikovanjem i redovima ćelija. Uz to, slično simetrično raspoređivanje ćelija i jednak broj Ω -ćelija (12) na ovim dvama okovima dopuštaju pretpostavku da okovi iz Eich i Planiga, bez obzira što je ovaj potonji izrađen od pozlaćene bronce, mogu biti ili čak jesu bliski i povezani, kako radionički, tako i vremenski.⁸⁷ Četvrti

four-rowed fitting from Planig (No. 4) found in a grave (gr. 1) together with a high-quality imitation gold coin of Emperor Leo (457–474), minted before 474.⁸⁶ A similar arrangement of cells, equal in design and rows of cells to the fitting from Planig, can be found on the specimen from Eich (60/5), less than forty kilometres away from Planig (No. 2). In addition, a similar symmetrical arrangement of cells and an equal number of Ω -cells (12) on these two fittings allow the assumption that the fittings from Eich and Planig, regardless of the latter be-

⁸⁶ Arheološka interpretacija datira ovaj grob, nalazi-ma vrlo kompleksan, u kraj prve četvrtine 6. stoljeća (Hilgner 2010, str. 74-75) ili čak oko 530. godine (Hilgner 2017, str. 20), kako je to već ranije pretpostavljeno, Menghin 1983, str. 36, 56, 173 no. 56 (Zeitgruppe C); Martin 1989, str. 122-123, 139.

⁸⁷ Jedna novija analiza grobnih nalaza iz Planiga upozorila je na njihovu kronološku heterogenost i shod-

⁸⁶ Archaeological interpretation has dated this grave, very complex in terms of its finds, to the end of the first quarter of the sixth century (Hilgner 2010, pp. 74–75) or even around AD 530 (Hilgner 2017, p. 20), as had been similarly assumed previously, Menghin 1983, pp. 36, 56, 173 No. 56 (Zeitgruppe C); Martin 1989, pp. 122–123, 139.



Sl. 12. Okovi usta korica mača tipa Beauvais-Planig - tip 2b/40-21. **5** - Bräunlingen-Niederwiesen (D), gr. 5 (Fingerlin 2001, 23 Abb. 5). **6** - Joches (F), gr. 2 (Baye 1880, Pl. XX:2). **7** - Gross-Karben (D), grobni nalaz (Jorns 1961, 100 Abb. 10;15). **8** - Lent (N), slučajni nalazi (Ball, Meijers 2011, 101 Fig. 8:3). **9** - Pouan (F), grobni nalaz (Kazanski 1982, 33 Pl. D:3). **10** - Möglingen (D), slučajni nalaz (Ament 1970, 21 Abb. 2:2). **11** - Herouvillette (F), gr. 11 (Decaëns 1971, 122 Fig. 26/S. 11). **12** - Flonheim (D), gr. 1 (Ament 1970, 21 Abb. 1).

Fig. 12 Scabbard mouthpiece fittings of the Beauvais-Planig type sword – type 2b/40-21. **5** - Bräunlingen-Niederwiesen (D), gr. 5 (Fingerlin 2001, 23 Fig. 5). **6** - Joches (F), gr. 2 (Baye 1880, Pl. XX:2). **7** - Gross-Karben (D), grave find (Jorns 1961, 100 Fig. 10;15). **8** - Lent (N), chance finds (Ball, Meijers 2011, 101 Fig. 8:3). **9** - Pouan (F), grave find (Kazanski 1982, 33 Pl. D:3). **10** - Möglingen (D), chance find (Ament 1970, 21 Fig. 2:2). **11** - Herouvillette (F), gr. 11 (Decaëns 1971, 122 Fig. 26/S 11). **12** - Flonheim (D), gr. 1 (Ament 1970, 21 Fig. 1).

no tomu utvrdila prisutnost triju kronoloških skupina predmeta nastalih u rasponu od 40-ak godina. Najstarijoj skupini imala bi pripadati spata s pripadajućim okovima korica, Hilgner 2010, str. 65-69. Za dataciju grobnih nalaza iz Eichs (gr. 2) u vrijeme oko 500. godine Schäffer, Wiczorek 1996, str. 895-898.

ing made of gilded bronze, can be or even are close and connected, both workshop- and age-wise.⁸⁷ The fourth specimen, a grave find (gr. 205) of the scabbard mouthpiece from Cologne-St. Severin (No. 3)³ is unique not only in this group but also among all hitherto known fittings of this type, due to its hexagonal honeycomb cells with flat grinded sides, comparable in number (53) only with those on the purse-mount from the princely grave in Apahida (gr. II).⁸⁸ On the other hand, round and semicircular

⁸⁷ A recent analysis of grave finds from Planig has drawn attention to their chronological heterogeneity and accordingly identified the presence of three chronological groups of objects made over a period of about 40 years. The spatha with appurtenant scabbard fittings would belong to the earliest group, Hilgner 2010, pp. 65–69. For the dating of grave finds from Eich (gr. 2) to the period around AD 500, see Schäffer, Wiczorek 1996, pp. 895–898.

⁸⁸ For more information on this, so far the most numerous set of hexagonal honeycomb cells adorning the lower left and right parts of the purse-mount, see Horedt, Protase 1972, pp. 178–179, Taf. 32:b; Marghitsu 2001, p. 79 (Fig.), 149 No. 4.8.3.3; Oanță-Marghitsu 2008, p. 283. It should also be noted that fewer hexagonal honeycomb cells (16) cover the belt buckle mount from Breny in the north of France (Behrens 1933, p. 202, Fig. 3:10, 204; Kazanski 2002, pp. 26, 85, 93–94, 187 Pl. 43:7, p. 208 Pl. 64:3, 263 Pl. 119:4; Quast, Hartmann 2015, p. 511 Abb. 18:3), and that outside Gaul the same feature adorns the pair of shoe buckles found in the already mentioned grave from Apahida (Horedt, Protase 1972, p. 182 No. 17, Taf. 39:1–2; Marghitsu 2001, p. 149 No. 4.8.3.9). As a decorative detail or a small decorative composition, hexagonal cloisonné cells can be seen and were used: as the central decorative detail on the pair of belt buckle mounts from Pouan (Couchet 1859, 260; Salin, France-Lanord 1956, p. 72 Fig. 15–16; Kazanski 1982, p. 25, Pl. C:11; Koch 2001a, pp. 144–145 No. 4.6.3.1–2) and from the so-called Omahar's grave from Apahida, gr. I (Marghitsu, Opreanu 2001, p. 157 No. 4.9.3.3), as a tri-band decoration on the pair of fittings of horse-gear fittings from Apahida, gr. II (Horedt, Protase 1972, p. 186 No. 30, Taf. 46:3–4; Marghitsu 2001, p. 151 No. 48.4.11), as a small rounded composition in the centre of a not very lavish fitting, a chance find from the site of Brda in Split in the south of Croatia (Vinski 1968, p. 112, Pl. I:34; Buškariol 1985, pp. 87–88 No. 8, 89 Sl. 2b, pp. 93–94; Piteša 2014, p. 27 No. 3) and a somewhat more complex specimen, a chance find from the vicinity of Olbia in southern Ukraine (Carnap-Bornheim 1995, p. 151), as a dominant decorative composition on the belt buckle (Vallet, Perin 2004, p. 27; Calligaro *et alii* 2007, p. 134 Pl. VI:2) from one of the most significant early Merovingian graves discovered during the archaeological excavations in the Royal Basilica of Saint-Denis in Paris (gr. 36), in its part considered to have been added at the time of Saint Genevieve at

primjerak, grobni nalaz (gr. 205) okova usta korica iz Köln-St. Severina (*br. 3*) jedinstven je ne samo u ovoj skupini nego i među svim dosad poznatim okovima ove vrste zbog svojih šesterokutnih sačasto raspoređenih ćelija plošno brušenih stranica, brojnošću (53) usporedivih jedino s onima na okovu torbice iz kneževskoga groba u Apahidi (gr. II).⁸⁸ Na okovu iz Tournaija, naprotiv, dominiraju okrugle i polukružne ćelije (**sl. 11:1**) - gustoćom i rasporedom nezobilažna usporedba okruglim ćelijama nalazi se na obrubu zlatne patene iz Gourдона na

cells (**Fig. 11:1**) are dominant on the Tournai fitting. In terms of density and arrangement, it is inevitable to compare it with the round on the edging of the gold paten from Gourdon in the south of France⁸⁹ (**Fig. 5:2**). Therefore, it can be argued that this detail also supports the notion of Eastern Mediterranean, moreover, Constantinopolitan origin⁹⁰ of a part of the cloisonné objects discovered in Childeric's tomb. Polychromy in *type 2a* is represented only by green glass inserts (4) on the Eich fitting.

Type 2b (Nos. 5–12) comprises twice the number of fittings than the previous group, from which they differ because on average they are equipped with a smaller number of rows (more often two than three rows) and consequently with half the number of cells (23–34) (**Fig. 12:5–12**). The reduction in the number of cells led to uniformity, which in turn was attempted to be made less noticeable by increasing polychromy, but also by introducing new decorative motifs in the large central field (swastikas, octofoils). The smaller number of rows also in effect reduced the diversity of cell shapes, so that the only novelty possible to record on *group 2* scab-

⁸⁸ Za taj zasad najbrojniji skup šesterokutnih sačasto raspoređenih ćelija koji ukrašava donji lijevi i desni dio okova torbice v. Horedt, Protase 1972, str. 178-179, Taf. 32:b; Marghitsu 2001, str. 79 (sl.), str. 149 no. 4.8.3.3; Oanță-Marghitsu 2008, str. 283. Treba također podsjetiti da manje brojne šesterokutne sačasto raspoređene ćelije (16) prekrivaju okov pojasne kopče iz Brenja na sjeveru Francuske (Behrens 1933, str. 202 Fig. 3:10, str. 204; Kazanski 2002, str. 26, 85, 93-94, 187 Pl. 43:7, str. 208 Pl. 64:3, 263 Pl. 119:4; Quast, Hartmann 2015, str. 511 Abb. 18:3), a da izvan Galije isto obilježje resi par okova kopči za obuču zatečenih u već spomenutome grobu iz Apahide (Horedt, Protase 1972, str. 182 no. 17, Taf. 39:1-2; Marghitsu 2001, str. 149 no. 4.8.3.9). Kao ukrasni detalj ili pak kao manja ukrasna kompozicija šesterokutno oblikovane kloazonirane ćelije pojavljuju se i koriste: kao središnji ukrasni detalj na paru okova pojasnih kopči iz Pouana (Couchet 1859, 260; Salin, France-Lanord 1956, str. 72 Fig. 15-16; Kazanski 1982, str. 25, Pl. C:11; Koch 2001a, str. 144-145 no. 4.6.3.1-2) i iz tzv. Omaharova groba iz Apahide, gr. I (Marghitsu, Opreanu 2001, str. 157 no. 4.9.3.3), kao trokrako komponirani ukras na paru okova konjske opreme iz Apahide, gr. II (Horedt, Protase 1972, str. 186 no. 30, Taf. 46:3-4; Marghitsu 2001, str. 151 no. 48.4.11), kao manja krugolika kompozicija u središtu jednog ne odviše raskošnog okova, slučajnog nalaza s položaja Brda u Splitu na jugu Hrvatske (Vinski 1968, str. 112, Tab. I:34; Buškariol 1985, str. 87-88 no. 8, 89 Sl. 2b, str. 93-94; Piteša 2014, str. 27 no. 3) i nešto složenijeg primjerka, slučajnog nalaza iz okolice Olbije na jugu Ukrajine (Carnap-Bornheim 1995, str. 151), a kao dominantna ukrasna kompozicija na pojasnoj kopči (Vallet, Perin 2004, str. 27; Calligaro *et alii* 2007, 134 Pl. VI:2) iz jednog od značajnijih ranomerovinških grobova otkrivenih prigodom arheoloških iskopavanja u kraljevskoj bazilici Saint-Denis u Parizu (gr. 36), i to u onom njezinom dijelu za koji se smatra da je dograđen u vrijeme svete Geneviève krajem 5. stoljeća (Salin 1960, str. 182-184, 250-251, Pl. III; Perin, Calligaro 2007, str. 149 Abb. 1). Iz znamenitog skupnog nalaza iz Desana u Italiji potječe par raskošnih srebrnih, pozlaćenih i kloazoniranjem ukrašenih lučnih fibula kojima je luk što spaja glavu i nogu fibule ukrašen nizom načinjenim od sedam šesterokutnih ćelija ispunjenih almandinima (4) i zelenom pastom (3), Bierbrauer 1975, str. 264-265 Abb. 24, Tav. VI:1-2.

the end of the fifth century (Salin 1960, pp. 182–184, 250–251, Pl. III; Perin, Calligaro 2007, p. 149 Abb. 1). The famous hoard from Desana in Italy consists of a pair of lavish silver, gilded and cloisonné bow fibulae, whose bow connecting their head and foot is decorated with a series of seven hexagonal cells filled with garnets (4) and green paste (3), Bierbrauer 1975, pp. 264–265 Abb. 24, Tav. VI:1–2.

⁸⁹ The similarity of the cells on the edges of the Tournai fitting and the edging on the Gourdon paten has already been pointed out, Vierck 1974, 342ff. Abb. 12:5; Menghin 1983, p. 97. The Gourdon hoard, discovered in 1845, contained, in addition to the gold paten and chalice, another 103 or 104 gold coins (solidi and tremisses) struck under several mostly Burgundian rulers from the first decades of the sixth century, of which only a few specimens are preserved today, Lenormant 1848, p. 126; Lafaurie 1959, p. 64, Pl. VI. The fact that the paten and chalice are much earlier than the period of the Frankish invasions of Burgundy in AD 523/524 or 534, when they had probably been hidden together with the money, was pointed out by Adams 2008, pp. 424–425 showed. For information on the use of a series of round cells (11) on the lower edge of the silver fitting from Liebenau in northwestern Germany, decorated with geometric incisions, see Genrich 1969, pp. 10, 21 Abb. 6:2; Menghin 1983, p. 334 No. 15 (Type Altnerding-Brighthampton).

⁹⁰ Böhner 1989, p. 421 (“*Die östlichen Goldschmiede...*”); Arrhenius 1985, pp. 100–113; Aimone 2011, p. 486. For more on the assumed Western Roman origin of the artefacts from Childeric's grave, see Kazanski, Périn 1988, pp. 21–23.

jugu Francuske⁸⁹ (sl. 5:2) - pa se smije ustvrditi da i taj detalj podupire tvrdnju o istočnomediteranskom, štoviše, konstantinopolskom podrijetlu⁹⁰ dijela kloazoniranih predmeta otkrivenih u Hilderikovu grobu. U tipu 2a višebojnost je upotrebom umetaka od zelenog stakla (4) zastupljena jedino na okovu iz Eicha.

Tipu 2b (br. 5-12) pripada dvostruko veći broj okova negoli prethodnoj skupini, od koje se ovi razlikuju jer su u prosjeku opremljeni manjim brojem redova (češće dvored, rjeđe trored) i shodno tomu upola manjim brojem ćelija (23-34) (sl. 12:5-12). Smanjenje broja ćelija dovelo je do jednoličnosti koju se pak pokušalo učiniti manje zamjetljivom povećavanjem višebojnosti, ali i uvođenjem novih ukrasnih motiva u veliko središnje polje (svastika, osmerolist). Manji broj redova utjecao je i na smanjivanje raznovrsnosti oblika ćelija tako da je kao jedinu novinu na okovima usta korica skupine 2 moguće evidentirati tek pojavu ćelija tremoliranih stranica zastupljenu na okovu iz Bräunlingena (br. 5), jedinom primjerku ove vrste okova otkrivenom u grobu (gr. 5) na području pod kontrolom Alama-na. Unatoč spomenutoj novini taj okov je moguće povezati s okovima skupine 2a iz Planiga (br. 4) i Eicha (br. 2) te svim trima pretpostaviti nastanak u istoj zlatarskoj radionici. Njihovu srodnost potvrđuje upotreba izduženih ćelija jezičastog oblika u donjem dijelu okova (Planig) i upotreba stepeničastog romba u četvrtastom središnjem polju (Eich). Istovrsnost ćelija razlogom je za povezanost još tri-

bard mouthpiece fittings is the appearance of cells with tremolo sides, as represented on the Bräunlingen fitting (No. 5), the only specimen of this type of fittings discovered in a grave (gr. 5) in an area controlled by the Alemanni. Despite the mentioned novelty, this fitting can be associated with those of group 2a from Planig (No. 4) and Eich (No. 2). It can be assumed that all three originated in the same goldsmith's workshop. Their similarity is confirmed by the use of elongated tongue-shaped cells in the lower part of the fitting (Planig) and the stepped rhomb in the square central field (Eich). The uniformity of cells is the reason for the association of three more fittings whose decorative composition made of confronted elongated pentagonal cells is complemented by a different central decorative field: on the Lent fitting (No. 8) there is a quatrefoil made of white paste with a round inclusion in the centre; on the Joches fitting (No. 6) a swastika composed of cells with inserts made of green paste (2) and garnets (2); and on the Gross-Karben fitting a stepped rhomb made of green paste and garnets (No. 7). A similar pattern, but with predominant Ω -cells, can be seen in decorative combinations on the Möglingen fitting (No. 10), and probably on a partially preserved grave find (gr. 1) of the Flonheim fitting (No. 12). Notwithstanding, group 2b also comprises two interesting exceptions: the fitting from the Merovingian graveyard in Hérouvillette (No. 11) in northwestern France (gr. 11),⁹¹ merely a simplified version of the three-row segment in the decorative composition "copied" from the Tournai fitting (Childeric's tomb), while the fitting from the princely grave in Pouan (No. 9) is unique in its design and combination of ornaments, since it is made of alternately arranged rectangular cells with flat grinded garnets and rod-shaped transversely ribbed garnets in the upper row and spaced tongue-shaped cells with flat grinded garnets in the lower row. Rod-shaped transversely ribbed garnets are a very rare decorative detail and their appear-

⁸⁹ Na sličnost ćelija na rubovima okova iz Tournaija i obruba na pateni iz Gourдона već je upozoravano, Vierck 1974, str. 342ff. Abb. 12:5; Menghin 1983, str. 97. Ostava iz Gourдона otkrivena 1845. godine sadržavala je osim zlatne patene i kaleža još 103 ili 104 zlatnika (solidi i tremise) nekolicine pretežito burgundskih vladara iz prvih desetljeća 6. stoljeća, od kojih je danas sačuvano samo nekoliko primjeraka, Lenormant 1848, str. 126; Lafaurie 1959, str. 64, Pl. VI. Da su patena i kalež ipak dosta stariji od vremena franačkih provala u Burgundiju 523./524. ili 534. godine, kada su zajedno s novcem vjerojatno bili sakriveni, pokazala je Adams 2008, str. 424-425. Za upotrebu niza okruglih ćelija (11) na donjem rubu srebrnog okova iz Liebenaua na sjeverozapadu Njemačke ukrašenog geometrijskim rovašenjem v. Genrich 1969, str. 10, 21 Abb. 6:2; Menghin 1983, str. 334 no. 15 (tip Altending-Brighthampton).

⁹⁰ Böhner 1989, str. 421 ("Die östlichen Goldschmiede..."); Arrhenius 1985, str. 100-113; Aimone 2011, str. 486. Za pretpostavku o zapadnorimskom podrijetlu izradevina iz Hilderikova groba, Kazanski, Périn 1988, str. 21-23.

⁹¹ The scabbard mouthpiece fitting was found broken in two and converted into fibulae in a female grave. Its gender identity is evidenced by the presence of a gold pendant bracteate (of type D/IX). Accordingly, the grave is dated to the mid- or the second third of the sixth century, Decaëns 1971, pp. 17-19, 73-75, 122. For more information on the bracteate, see Axboe *et alii* 1989, 9 (No. 440), pp. 120, 323, 351, Taf. 28:440b; 29:440a; Axboe 1999, p. 145.

ju okova kojima ukrasnu kompoziciju načinjenu od nasuprotno postavljenih izduženih peterokutnih ćelija upotpunjuje različito središnje ukrasno polje: na okovu iz Lenta (*br. 8*) nalazi se četverolist od bijele paste s krugolikim dodatkom u središtu, na okovu iz Jochesa (*br. 6*) svastika sastavljena od ćelija s umetcima od zelene paste (2) i almandina (2), a na okovu iz Gross-Karbena stepeničasti romb od zelene paste i almandina (*br. 7*). Prema sličnom obrascu, ali s prevladavajućim Ω -ćelijama oblikovane su ukrasne kombinacije na okovu iz Möglingena (*br. 10*), a vjerojatno i na jednom dijelomično sačuvanom grobnom nalazu (gr. 1) okova iz Flonheima (*br. 12*). Ipak u *skupini 2b* postoje i dvije zanimljive iznimke: okov s merovinškoga groblja u Hérouvilletteu (*br. 11*) na sjeverozapadu Francuske (gr. 11),⁹¹ koji je tek pojednostavnjena inačica trorednog segmenta ukrasne kompozicije “preslikane” s okova iz Tournaija (Hilderikov grob), te okov iz kneževskoga groba u Pouanu (*br. 9*) koji je izgledom i kombinacijom ukrasa jedinstven jer je načinjen od naizmjenično poredanih pravokutnih ćelija s plošno brušenim almandinima i štapićastih poprečno narebrenih almandina u gornjem redu i razmaknutih jezičasto oblikovanih ćelija s plošno brušenim almandinima u donjem redu. Štapićasti poprečno narebreni almandini vrlo su rijedak ukrasni detalj te se njihova pojava na okovu korica mača iz Pouana⁹² i na neko-

ance on the Pouan scabbard⁹² and on several objects for other purposes from grave finds in the Apahida⁹³ can be considered an indication of their temporal and probably workshop connection. As to spaced tongue-shaped cloisonné cells in the lower zone of the Pouan fitting, the only suitable comparison is the silver, gilded, and incised scabbard mouthpiece fitting from the princely tomb in Bešeňov, Slovakia (of Altenerding-Brighthampton type),⁹⁴ attributed to the Suebi,⁹⁵ and more recently assumed to have been made in a workshop centre not too far from that site.⁹⁶ On the other hand, the pearly edge of tongue-shaped cells on the Pouan fitting, unusual and rare on scabbard fittings of Beauvais-Planig type, is an indication of the presence of yet another tradition of Late Roman goldsmiths’ workshops, or at least reliance on it, more popular in the first half and mid-fifth century, but also in use for the better part of that century.

⁹¹ Okov usta korica zatečen je prelomljen u dva dijela i prenamijenjen u fibule u ženskom grobu o čijem rodnom statusu svjedoči prisutnost zlatnog brakteata privjeska (tip D/IX), te je grob shodno tom nalazu datiran u sredinu ili drugu trećinu 6. stoljeća, Decaëns 1971, str. 17-19, 73-75, 122. O brakteatu, Axboe *et alii* 1989, str. 9 (no. 440), 120, 323, 351, Taf. 28:440b; 29:440a; Axboe 1999, str. 145.

⁹² Garscha 1936, str. 195-198, prvi je upotrebu ćelija sa štapićastim almandinima na okovu korica mača iz Pouana povezoao s onima na krsnici mača iz Altusshaima te ih usporedio s tada dostupnom arheološkom građom iz Ukrajine i Rusije. Ipak treba podsjetiti da su tamošnji štapićasti poprečno ili koso narebreni almandini sastavni dio ne okova usta korica, nego krsnica mačeva ukrašenih kloazoniranjem; npr. Dmitrijevka-Volna Voda (slučajni nalaz), Kislovodsk-Ljermontovska Skala (grobni nalaz), Djurso, gr. 479, v. Bóna 1991, str. 65-67 Abb. 22:2-4, str. 244 no. 22:2-4 (sa starijom literaturom); Périn, Kazanski 2007, str. 31 Figs. 5:2-3, 5-6. O tim “istočnim” mačevima i njihovim kloazoniranim krsnicama te tipovima, porijeklu i utjecajima, Kazanski 2001, str. 389-418; Kazanski 2019, str. 113-124. Ovdje spomenutim krsnicama treba pridodati još jednu već neko vrijeme poznatu krsnicu mača sa štapićastim koso narebrenim almandinima s nepoznatog nalazišta na jugu Rusije, Ahmedov 2007, str. 80-81.

⁹² Garscha 1936, 195-198, was the first to link the use of rod-shaped garnet cells on the Pouan scabbard fitting to those on the Altusshaim sword cross-guard and compare them with the then available archaeological material from Ukraine and Russia. However, it should be recalled that the rod-shaped or transversely ribbed garnets there are not integral parts of scabbard mouthpiece fittings, but rather of cloisonné sword cross-guards, e.g. Dmitrijevka-Volna Voda (chance find), Kislovodsk-Lermontovskaya Skala (grave find), Djurso, gr. 479, see Bóna 1991, pp. 65-67 Abb. 22:2-4, 244 No. 22:2-4 (with earlier bibliography); Périn, Kazanski 2007, p. 31 Figs. 5:2-3, 5-6. For more information on such “eastern” swords and their cloisonné cross-guards, as well as the types, origins and influences, see Kazanski 2001, pp. 389-418; Kazanski 2019, pp. 113-124. We should also mention yet another sword cross-guard, known for some time already, with rod-shaped transversely ribbed garnets, from an unknown site in the south of Russia, Ahmedov 2007, pp. 80-81. Abb. 2-3, 329-330 No. I.38.1-2; Miks 2009, 457 Abb. 42:40 (without a comment); Ahmedov 2012, p. 29 No. 19.

⁹³ The list of these objects is not particularly long: Apahida, gr. 1 (Omahar’s tomb) - belt buckle (Margithu, Opreanu 2001, p. 157 No. 4.9.3.2); Apahida, gr. 2 - belt buckle (Margithu 200, p. 75, fig. Left, p. 148 No. 4.8.3.1), pair of shoe buckles (Margithu 2001, p. 149 No. 4.8.3.9), fitting (cover?) With bird heads (Castriotta 2012, Fig. 28, according to: Horedt, Protase 1972, Taf. 34:2a); Apahida, gr. 3 - belt buckle (Oanță-Margithu *et alii* 2009, pp. 229-230, Figs. 1-2).

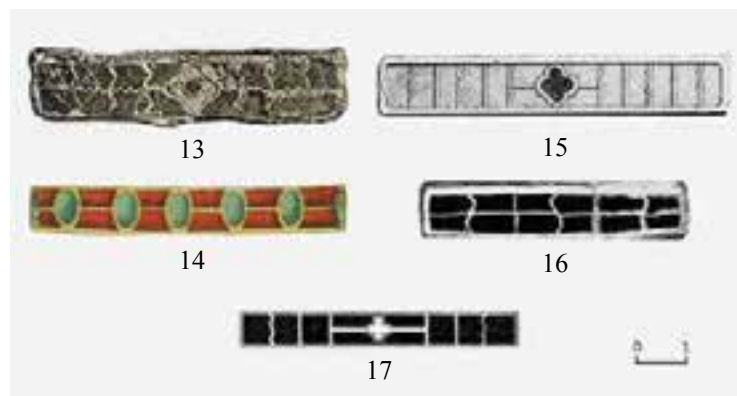
⁹⁴ Tejral 2015, pp. 334-335 Abb. 25:3. Contrary to this assertion, the “eastern” trait of the grave finds from Pouan and Bešeňov had already been pointed out by Martin 1989, pp. 122, 125-126 (group B1).

⁹⁵ Tejral 2017, p. 119.

⁹⁶ Tejral 2015, p. 349.

liko predmeta drukčije namjene iz grobnih nalaza u Apahidi⁹³ može smatrati naznakom njihove vremenske, a vjerojatno i radioničke povezanosti. Za razmaknute jezičaste kloazonirane ćelije u donjem pojasu okova iz Pouana jedina prikladna usporedba nalazi se na srebrnom, pozlaćenom i rovašenjem ukrašenom okovu usta korica iz kneževskoga groba u Bešeňovu u Slovačkoj (tip Altnerding-Brightampton),⁹⁴ za koji je, osim što je pripisan Svevima,⁹⁵ u novije vrijeme pretpostavljena izradba u nekom radioničkom središtu ne odveć udaljenom od tog nalazišta.⁹⁶ Naprotiv, naperlani obrub jezičastih ćelija na okovu iz Pouana, neuobičajen i rijedak na okovima korica tipa Beauvais-Planig, pokazatelj je prisutnosti još jedne tradicije kasnorimskodobnih zlatarskih radionica ili barem oslanjanja na nju, omiljenije u prvoj polovini i sredinom 5. stoljeća, ali prisutne i tijekom većeg dijela tog stoljeća.

Tip 2c (br. 13-17) obilježen je ne samo značajnim smanjenjem broja ćelija (11-18) nego i povećanom prisutnosti ćelija tremoliranih stranica koje ne samo da razdvajaju pojedine ćelije u redu (uspravne stijenke) nego i redove ćelija (vodoravne stijenke) (sl. 13:13-17). Središnje ukrasno polje i ovdje je prisutno i u upotrebi te se u njemu na okovima iz Beauvais-La Rue-Saint-Pierre (br. 15) i Romnersheima (br. 17) nalazi četverolist, a na grobnom nalazu okova (gr. 1) iz Nocere Umbre (br. 13) četverolist s krugolikim dodatkom u sredini - za prva dva može se s velikom vjerojatnošću pretpostaviti da su ne samo proizvod iste zlatarske radionice nego i da su nastankom približno istodobni.⁹⁷ Višebojnost



Sl. 13. Okovi usta korica mača tipa Beauvais-Planig - tip 2c/20-11. **13** - Nocera Umbra (I), gr. 1 (Pasqui, Paribeni 1918, 159-160 Fig. 4). **14** - Arcy-Sainte-Restitute (F), gr. 1726 (Moreau 1880, Pl. M). **15** - Beauvais-Rue-Sainte-Pierre (F), gr. 1 (Danjou 1856, Pl. 2:6). **16** - Lavoye (F), gr. 319 (Joffroy 1974, 98 Fig. 75). **17** - Rommersheim (D), grobni nalaz (Menghin 1983, 217 no. 45:1b - sic!).

Fig. 13 Scabbard mouthpiece fittings of the Beauvais-Planig type sword – type 2c/20-11. **13** - Nocera Umbra (I), gr. 1 (Pasqui, Paribeni 1918, 159-160 Fig. 4). **14** - Arcy-Sainte-Restitute (F), gr. 1726 (Moreau 1880, Pl. M). **15** - Beauvais-Rue-Sainte-Pierre (F), gr. 1 (Danjou 1856, Pl. 2:6). **16** - Lavoye (F), gr. 319 (Joffroy 1974, 98 Fig. 75). **17** - Rommersheim (D), grave find (Menghin 1983, 217 no. 45:1b - sic!).

Type 2c (Nos. 13–17) is characterised by not only a significant reduction in the number of cells (11–18) but also by an increase of cells with tremolo sides that not only separate individual cells in each row (vertical walls) but also rows of cells (horizontal walls) (Fig. 13:13–17). The central decorative field is also present and used here. Thus the fittings from Beauvais-La Rue-Saint-Pierre (No. 15) and Romnersheim (No. 17) have a quatrefoil, and on the grave find of the fitting (gr. 1) from Nocera Umbra (No. 13) a quatrefoil with a round inclusion in the middle. It is highly probable that the first two are not only products of the same goldsmith's workshop, but also made at about the same time.⁹⁷ Polychromy (white or green glass and garnets) is rare, but still present, and the only novelty on the Arcy-Sainte-Restitue scabbard mouthpiece fitting (No. 14) are oval cells with inserts made of

Abb. 2–3, str. 329-330 no. I.38.1-2; Miks 2009, str. 457 Abb. 42:40 (bez komentara); Ahmedov 2012, str. 29 no. 19.

⁹³ Popis tih predmeta nije osobito dugačak: Apahida, gr. 1 (Omaharov grob) - pojasna kopča (Margithu, Opreanu 2001, 157 no. 4.9.3.2); Apahida, gr. 2 - pojasna kopča (Margithu 200, str. 75, sa sl. lijevo, str. 148 no. 4.8.3.1), par kopči za obuću (Margithu 2001, str. 149 no. 4.8.3.9), okov (korica?) s ptičjim glavama (Castriota 2012, Fig. 28; prema: Horedt, Protase 1972, Taf. 34:2a); Apahida, gr. 3 - pojasna kopča (Oanță-Marghitu et alii 2009, str. 229-230, Figs. 1-2).

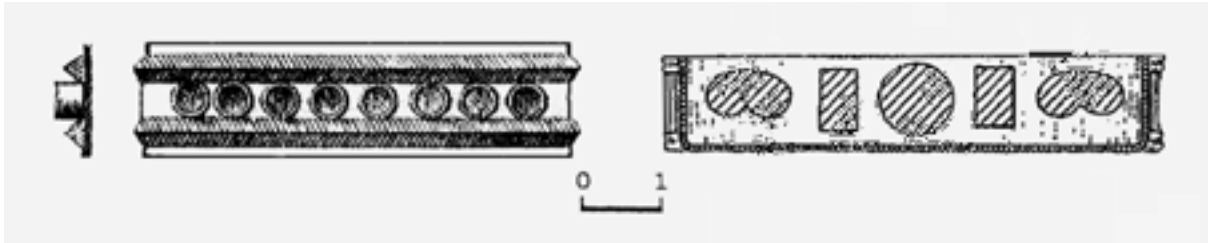
⁹⁴ Tejral 2015, str. 334-335 Abb. 25:3. Suprotno ovoj tvrdnji, na "istočno" obilježje grobnih nalaza iz Pouana i Bešenova već je ranije ukazao Martin 1989, str. 122, 125-126 (skupina B1).

⁹⁵ Tejral 2017, str. 119.

⁹⁶ Tejral 2015, str. 349.

⁹⁷ Menghin 1983, str. 97-98, 100, 173. Unatoč prepoznatoj sličnosti ovih okova, autor ih je kronološki različito oprijedijelio: jedan u skupinu A (Rommersheim), drugi u skupinu B (Beauvais). Za kronološku korekciju

⁹⁷ Menghin 1983, pp. 97–98, 100, 173. Despite the recognised similarity of these fittings, the author defined them differently in the chronological sense: one as group A (Rommersheim), and the other as group B (Beauvais). For a chronological adjustment of both fittings, see Martin 1989, p. 122 Abb. 1, pp. 126–128 (group B 3/Frankish).



Sl. 14. Okovi usta korica mača tipa Beauvais-Planig - tip 2d/10-1. 18 - Concevreux (F), gr. A (Pilloy 1913, Pl. A:1). 19 - Flonheim (D), gr. 5/1885 (Hilgner 2010, 49 Abb. 9).
 Fig. 14 Scabbard mouthpiece fittings of the Beauvais-Planig type sword – type 2d/10-1. 18 - Concevreux (F), gr. A (Pilloy 1913, Pl. A:1). 19 - Flonheim (D), gr. 5/1885 (Hilgner 2010, 49 Fig. 9).

(bijelo ili zeleno staklo i almandini) je rijetka, ali i dalje prisutna te se kao jedina novina na okovu usta korica iz Arcy-Sainte-Restituea (*br. 14*) pojavljuju ovalne ćelije s umetcima od zelene paste (5),⁹⁸ rasposredom izrazito slične onima na glavi srebrne kloazonirane lučne fibule iz Testone u Italiji za koju se i smatra da je u Italiji proizvedena.⁹⁹ Novinom se pak može smatrati pojava i upotreba duguljastih ćelija s polukružnom stijenkom na jednom od krajeva (12), zastupljena grobnim nalazom (gr. 319) okova iz Lavoyea (*br. 16*), datiranog zapadnogotskom tremisom kovanom u ime Zenona¹⁰⁰ najvjerojatnije ne prije 476. godine.

Tipu 2d (*br. 18-19*) pripadaju okovi izrađeni od pozlaćenog srebra ili bronce kojima ćelije - njih je manje od deset - ne prekrivaju čitavu prednju stranu okova, nego su, iako brojem i oblicima variraju, raspoređene uzdužno te na više ili manje jednakoj udaljenosti (sl. 14:18-19). Prostor između ćelija ra-

green paste (5),⁹⁸ in a pattern very similar to those on the head of the silver cloisonné bow fibula from Testona, Italy, considered to have been made in Italy.⁹⁹ A novelty of sorts is the appearance and use of oblong cells with a semicircular wall at one of the ends (12), represented by the grave find (gr. 319) of the Lavoye fitting (*No. 16*), dated by means of a Visigothic tremisis, struck in the name of Zeno,¹⁰⁰ probably not before AD 476.

Type 2d (*Nos. 18-19*) comprises fittings made of gilded silver or bronze, whose cells – less than ten – do not cover the entire front of the fitting, but are rather arranged longitudinally and at a more or less equal distance, although they vary in number and shape (Fig. 14:18-19). The space between the cells is flat and smooth or partially scored and profiled. Obvious differences in the design and arrangement of the cells allow sub-grouping: a) on the smooth

oba okova v. Martin 1989, 122 Abb. 1, str. 126-128 (skupina B 3/franačka).

⁹⁸ Za ovalne ćelije s umetcima od zelenog stakla na okovima torbica ukrašenim kloazoniranjem v. Périn 1996, str. 229 Abb. 164 (Lavoye, gr. 319); Rouche 1996, str. 235 Abb. 167 (Lezoux, gr. F 35); Schäfer-Wieczorek 1996, str. 398-399 Abb. 317, 895 (Planig). Česte su, ne uvijek s umetcima od zelenog stakla, i na četvrtastim okovima četvrtastih kopči, Werner 1958, str. 55 Abb. 1:5, 58 no. 18 (bijelo; okolica Amiens), 57 no. 3, Taf. 11:2 (zeleno; Acquasanta), 58 no. 17. Taf. 11:1 (zeleno; Köln-Severinstor).

⁹⁹ Bierbrauer 1975, str. 114-116, 118-119, 316-318 Abb. 35, Taf. XL:1. Budući da je usporedba ukrasa Testona - Arcy-Sainte-Restitue ondje izostala, kao zanimljivost valja istaknuti da je na glavi fibule iz Testone kolorit ćelija raspoređen suprotno onom na okovu korica mača iz Arcy-Sainte-Restitue, gdje su ovalne ćelije (6) ispunjene almandinima, a vodoravne zelenom pastom.

¹⁰⁰ Joffroy 1974, str. 91 Fig. 79:319, gdje se na slici može vidjeti AVCCC, a ne AVCC na kraju reversne legende, kako je to kasnije u tekstu navedeno (o. c., 92, 98). Pogrešnu atribuciju tremisse kovnici u Ravenni zastupao je Menghin 1983, str. 55.

⁹⁸ For more information on oval cells with green glass inserts on purse fittings decorated with cloisonné-work, see Périn 1996, p. 229 Abb. 164 (Lavoye, gr. 319); Rouche 1996, p. 235 Abb. 167 (Lezoux, gr. F 35); Schäfer-Wieczorek 1996, pp. 398-399 Abb. 317, 895 (Planig). They are also common, albeit not always with green glass inserts, on square mounts of rectangular buckles, Werner 1958, p. 55 Abb. 1:5, 58 No. 18 (white; near Amiens), p. 57 No. 3, Taf. 11:2 (green; Acquasanta), p. 58 No. 17. Taf. 11:1 (green; Köln-Severinstor).

⁹⁹ Bierbrauer 1975, pp. 114-116, 118-119, 316-318 Abb. 35, Taf. XL:1. Since it omits the comparison of Testona - Arcy-Sainte-Restitue decorations, it is interesting to note that the cell colours on the head of the fibula from Testona are arranged opposite to that on the scabbard fitting from Arcy-Sainte-Restitue, where the oval cells (6) are filled with garnets, and horizontal ones with green paste.

¹⁰⁰ Joffroy 1974, p. 91 Fig. 79:319, where AVCCC can be seen in the figure, rather than AVCC, at the end of the inscription on the reverse, as noted later in the text (op. cit., 92, 98). The erroneous attribution of the tremisis to the mint in Ravenna was favoured by Menghin 1983, p. 55.

van je i gladak ili pak dijelom izbrazdan i profiliran. Evidentne razlike u oblikovanju i rasporedu ćelija dopuštaju izdvajanje podskupina: a) na glatkoj središnjoj plohi okova iz Consevreuxa (*br. 18*)¹⁰¹ - ostatak okova izrađen od uzdužno izbrazdane pozlaćene bronce snažno profiliranih rubova u pravilnim razmacima raspoređene su cjevasto izdignute okrugle ćelije obrubljene zratom žicom s umetcima od plošno brušenih almandina (7); b) na glatkoj pločastoj površini okova obrubljenog zratom žicom iz Flonheima (*br. 19*)¹⁰² - izrađen od pozlaćenog srebra - u pravilnim su razmacima raspoređene ćelije (5) tako da je u sredinu plohe postavljena krugolika ćelija, a sa svake njezine strane po jedna u obliku uspravnog pravokutnika (četvorine) i jedna bubrežasta, položena vodoravno i okrenuta prema dolje (2+1+2). Simbolika njihovih oblika i sadržaja vjerojatno je manje ukrasna, a više apotropejska i eshatološka te upućuje na ezoteriju brojeva (7, 5) i na dualizam prvih dvaju (1 i 2), ali i na značenje kruga i četvorine kao temeljnih svezvremenskih simbola¹⁰³ kojima su pridodani bubrezi u smislu eventualnih biblijskih i ranokršćanskih vrijednosti i značenja (osjećaji, volja i svijest te rasplodna moć i suprotstavljanje nevoljama).¹⁰⁴ Evidentne morfološke razlike i simbolika sugeriraju različite utjecaje, različitu tradiciju, a vjerojatno i različito porijeklo ovih dvaju okova.¹⁰⁵

central surface of the Consevreux fitting (*No. 18*)¹⁰¹ – the rest of the fitting made of longitudinally scored gilded bronze with distinctly profiled edges at regular intervals are arranged tubularly raised round cells bordered by ground garnets wire with inserted flat-grinded garnets (7); b) on a smooth flat surface of the Flonheim fitting, bordered with beaded wire (*No. 19*)¹⁰² – made of gilded silver – the cells (5) are arranged at regular intervals so that a circular cell is placed in the middle of the surface, with one on each side in the shape of an upright rectangle (square) and one kidney-shaped, laid horizontally and facing downwards (2+1+2). The symbolism of their forms and contents is probably less decorative, and more apotropaic and eschatological, and implying the esotericism of numbers (7, 5) and the dualism of the first two (1 and 2), but also the meaning of the circle and square as fundamental everlasting symbols,¹⁰³ to which kidneys are added in the sense of possible Biblical and early Christian values and meanings (feelings, will and consciousness, as well as procreative power and strength to suffer adversities).¹⁰⁴ Patent morphological differences and symbolism suggest different influences, different traditions, and probably different origins of these two fittings.¹⁰⁵

(D. G.)

¹⁰¹ Consevreux (gr. A), Zeitgruppe C (mittelmerowingisch-theudebertzeitlich; 520./530. - 570.): Menghin 1983, str. 59, 97, 173 no. 58.

¹⁰² Flonheim (gr. 5), Zeitgruppe B (frühmerowingisch-clodwigzeitlich; 480. - 520./530.): Menghin 1983, str. 58-59, 97, 173 no. 43; Martin 1989,

¹⁰³ Chevalier, Gheerbrant 1987, str. 90-96 (četvorina), 320-324 (krug); Chevalier, Gheerbrant 1990, str. 165-169 (četvorina), 826-830 (krug).

¹⁰⁴ Chevalier, Gheerbrant 1987, str. 66; Chevalier, Gheerbrant 1990, 805 (osjećaji, volja i svijest, rasplodnost i suprotstavljanje nevoljama).

¹⁰⁵ Pojavu i upotrebu razmaknutih okruglih ćelija moguće je povezati sa slično oblikovanim ćelijama i njihovim grudičastim umetcima od stakla na četvrtastim okovima pojasnih kopči iz pretežno zapadnogotskih ženskih grobova na sjeveru Galije i u Hispaniji, gdje broj ćelija varira (1, 5, 7 i 9). Primjerci s manje od devet ćelija datirani su u posljednju četvrtinu 5. i prvu četvrtinu 6. stoljeća (Bierbrauer 1997, str. 169), odnosno otprilike u vrijeme između 490. i 520. godine (Ebel-Zepezauer 2000, str. 94, 96). O novijim zapažanjima u svezi s ovim pojasnim kopčama, koja najranije primjerke stavljaju već u treću četvrtinu 5. st. i smatraju ih "zapadnogotskima", v. Kazanski, Mastykova, Périn 2008, str. 166-167, 179, Abb. 6:1, 188 Abb. 15 = Kazanski, Mastykova, Périn 2015, str. 57-59, 74 Fig. 6:1, 83, Fig. 15.

¹⁰¹ Consevreux (gr. A), Zeitgruppe C (mittelmerowingisch-theudebertzeitlich; 520./530.-570.): Menghin 1983, pp. 59, 97, 173 No. 58.

¹⁰² Flonheim (gr. 5), Zeitgruppe B (frühmerowingisch-clodwigzeitlich; 480.-520./530.): Menghin 1983, pp. 58-59, 97, 173 No. 43; Martin 1989,

¹⁰³ Chevalier, Gheerbrant 1987, pp. 90-96 (square), pp. 320-324 (circle); Chevalier, Gheerbrant 1990, pp. 165-169 (square), pp. 826-830 (circle).

¹⁰⁴ Chevalier, Gheerbrant 1987, p. 66; Chevalier, Gheerbrant 1990, p. 805 (senses, will and sentience, procreateness and resistance to adversities).

¹⁰⁵ The appearance and use of spaced round cells can be associated with similarly shaped cells and their lumpy glass inserts on square belt buckle mounts from predominantly Visigothic female graves in northern Gaul and Hispania, where cell numbers vary (1, 5, 7, and 9). Specimens with less than nine cells are dated to the last quarter of the fifth and the first quarter of the sixth century (Bierbrauer 1997, p. 169), or approximately between 490 and 520 (Ebel-Zepezauer 2000, pp. 94, 96). For more information on recent observations regarding these belt buckles, dating the earliest specimens to the period as early as the third quarter of the fifth century and identifying them as "Visigothic", see Kazanski, Mastykova, Périn 2008, pp. 166-167, 179, Abb. 6:1, 188 Abb. 15 = Kazanski, Mastykova, Périn 2015, pp. 57-59, 74 Fig. 6:1, p. 83, Fig. 15.

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