

On the Social Status of Some Gold Finds
Dated to the 4th-7th Centuries
from Today's Bulgarian Lands

Oksana Minaeva,
Department "History of Culture"
The New Bulgarian University, Sofia

The period between the 4th and the 7th centuries in the Balkan peninsula is marked by turbulent economic and political changes alongside with attacks, raids and movements of different groups of migrating peoples. This picture is characteristic also for the whole frontiers of the former Roman Empire from the East to the West, where Germanic peoples and peoples of the East European Steppes took part in the melting and producing of new unions, kingdoms and states. In this generally called Migration period it was of high issue for the newly formatting barbarian societies and rulers that certain symbols, images and signs of power to be invented or the old ones to be incorporated into new expressions of power. Sometimes sets of images, symbols, and oral or written formulae of titles should be invented anew, in other ways, they were to be taken in their ready-made Roman form and used but reinterpreted in a barbarian contextual surrounding. The use of Roman gold along the limes within the Barbarian *gentes* as a major means of expression and artistic media in the ruler's ideology and iconography of power is a matter of surplus studies.¹ The finds south from the Lower Danube fit into the same picture though with certain peculiarities. Much has been done on the studies of the period of 4th-7th c. in today's Bulgarian lands in regard to their historical setting, attribution, typology, chronology and their complex milieu.² The items chosen for discussion in this article are known very well to the researchers. The reason for their consideration here once again is to distinguish them among the other finds of the period in question and to reassess more clearly their ideological importance.

I. Short description of the finds and their parallels

I.1. Finds from the Early Christian tomb at village Reka Devnya

The unearthing of the tomb and its specific features of architecture and placement close to an Early Christian cemetery are known from the publication by D. Dimitrov.³ (**Plate 1.**) The finds include a gold fibula, a gold belt-end-plaque, a buckle, a cylindrical piece, defined as an amulet, small glass vessels and a lamp used in the funeral rite. According to the remains of

paintings in the tomb which have been compared to examples from necropolis of Serdica, the tomb is dated to the end of the 4th c. The same date is given to the whole burial.

The fibula is of the cross-like type with onion heads of the terminating ends. Its length is 8,6 cm, width 7,4 cm. It is gilded and with niello. This type is represented in many examples from today Bulgarian lands, already enumerated in literature. It deserves mentioning beside the Late Antique context of these fibulae their existence in places, related to Migration people such as, for example, the Goths *foederatae*. The fibulae from Tuida and Kailaka⁴ are dated in the 4th-early 5th c. in the same way as items from today's Rumania and Hungary. **(Plate 2.)** Cross-bow fibulae terminating with onion-like heads were worn on the Roman *pallium* already in the 3rd century. **(Plate 3.)** A piece from Ostropataka, Slovakia⁵ was the insignia of a high officer in the 4th c., and a number of such items were given predominantly to the barbaric officers in the Roman army as a sign of status and prestige. **(Plate 4.)** However, it is also common in 5th c. context as is the Childeric grave (AD 482), the treasure of Regio Emilia and the complex from Apahida II, the so called Omharus grave, dated before or shortly after the year AD 453.⁶

The gold belt end is made of two sheets assembled with rivets. A rim surrounds the inner surface decorated with woven golden thread imitating filigree. One central thread divides the field and curled threads stem from it like a leaf ornament. The whole technique – hammered gold sheet with application of woven thread like filigree - is a definitely an old Roman technique. Examples in belts discussed either as Sassanian or Byzantine, and attributed to the 6th century, even early 7th c. point that the find from Devnya can be seen as an in-between knot of the chain of such a development. On the other side we know the application of such techniques in the earlier stages of the culture of the Goths, which is looked as a feature acquired most probably after their contacts with the culture of the limes. Besides, the further use in Langobardic examples in Italy which are related from one side to Byzantine culture and to another side to Earlier Merovingian gold jewelry of the 5th-6th c. makes the picture of the dating of the Devnya belt more intriguing, posing the question of a somewhat later date than the end of 4th c. **(Plates 5., 6., 7., 8.)**

The gold buckle hints to the same question of dating. The buckle finds similarities in its shape among items between the wide range of 4th to even 7th centuries (for example, in Byzantine pieces from Italy), however, its shape and simplified form point to earlier Roman date of 4th

to 5th c., taking into consideration the pieces from Kailaka, dated in the same period. The comparison with the belts and their appliquéés, after the fashion of the Roman *cingulum*, shows the variety of rectangular buckles, while the kidney shape could be traced as more dispersed in the Eastern Roman empire and especially along the Northern Black sea coast.⁷ Numerous finds attributed to Sarmathians, Huns and Alans point that this shape was more appreciated there and was probably produced by workshops in these areas. The future continuation of the “kidney” type with Christian signs and drawings, but of a lower mass production quality material of bronze, as seen in Byzantine examples, shows that it was a part of the common fashion and production of the 5th-6th century repertoire. Judging from this point, the buckle could be dated a little later than the accepted 4th century dating of the tomb – most probably, in the beginning or the middle of the 5th c. The cylinder piece, interpreted as an amulete, finds parallels in early Byzantine production pieces, their number being attributed from the 4th to the 6th-7th and later centuries⁸.

Up to now the dating of the find is attributed to the end of the 4th c. and it is related to the Early Christian surrounding, because of the nearby found grave with a coin of Valentinian. Judging by the fact that the fibula was used along the Roman limes among Germanic people that assumed it as a sign of prestige and that the buckles are attested among finds of Sarmatian, Ostrogothic and Hunnic context could we suppose that the find might also be considered as connected with Migration peoples? The parallel with Kailaka, Plevna and Sadovets⁹ should turn the suppositions to this direction, as it will be discussed further down in the text.

I.2. The Gold neckring from Varna

Numerous necklaces have been attributed to the item from Varna. **(Plate 9.)** One gold neckring from the Metropolitan Museum of Art – 5th c. said to come from Kerch. **(Plate 10.)** It is made of a single rod, thicker at the center and narrow at the ends. Both ends are twisted to form a hook and a loop at the base of each terminal.¹⁰ Some other comparisons include the item from a family grave at Untersiebenbrunn, Austria, probably belonging to an Ostrogothic man¹¹, an item from a grave of a Hunnic prince at Szeged-Nagyszekszos¹², an item from Pietroasa, Rumania interpreted as Ostrogothic royal treasure¹³ **(Plate 11.)**, and items from Kerch, Hospital street, from tomb excavated 1904¹⁴ It is obvious that comparable neckrings are known to come from: a) both Ostrogothic and Hunnic graves, b) both from women’s and

men's graves, c) both found in graves and in treasures. The concentration of finds is between the Danube and the Prut rivers.

The Varna torque has a certain peculiaritie that distinguishes it from the above mentioned parallels. First, it is very massive, and second, it differs from other neckrings, which usually become thinner at the end-points, or in some cases are made of woven thick thread. With its ends made thicker and larger at the fringe it is more common to the shape of the so called Kolbenrings¹⁵. In this respect it can be compared to the bracelets of Malaya Perescepina¹⁶. **(Plate 12.)** The date of 5th –6th c. seems to be quite wider. Judging by the function (a question that will be discussed later) an earlier date can be suggested.

I.3. Find from the place Izvor at the village of Kosharevo, region of Pernik.

The find consist of a sword, one round disc with almandine, one sheath with incrusted almandines and a buckle¹⁷. **(Plate 13.)** The sword finds similarities with complexes from Eastern and Central Europe connected with Germanic, Sarmato-Alanic and Hunnish background. **(Plates 14., 15., 16.)** The male grave from Lebeny-Hungary, **(Plate 17.)** where a sword is placed with buckles for foot, found *in situ*, the bigger one being used for a belt, and the so called “prince” grave (“Fürstengrab”) from Blucina, Czech republic, with a spata and a Kolbenring show that the objects belonged to barbarians of German surrounding but on Roman service¹⁸. Referring to the disc with cloisonné and the buckle, the two items both seem closer to finds from grave, known as the “tomb of Messaksoudi” at Kerch, Ukraine (after the name of the amateur researcher who dug in 1918 in antique Panticapeus, the capital of the Bosphorus kingdom, the finds being sold a few years after to the Louvre Museum). The grave presents furnishing with a sword, round fitting for the sword griff and buckles for horse harness. Since the grave is furnished also with a wreath-band of a Sarmatian military aristocracy warrior, it is dated to the last quarter of the 4th c.¹⁹. Some other swords and sword sheath and griff appliquéés such as the sword from Pannonhalma (Hungary)²⁰ **(Plate 14.)** and sword plaques from Szeged-Nagyszeksos (dated to the second third of the 5th c.)**(Plate 18.)** mark the well known spread of such Hunnish graves with swords further west²¹.

The date given to the sword with parts of polychrome decoration ranges throughout a wide period of time between 5th and 6th c., even to the 7th c., as it is the dating of the swords of the Migration period. The same refers to finds of polychrome belt fittings from Sadovets, which contribute to the still barely low in number cloisonné worked items, especially for warrior's

belts. These items are highly speaking of the culture on the Balkans, related to the Migration peoples that have come here as foederati and lived for a certain timespan here²². However, even if we suppose the laying of the sword as a sign of high rank, which has not been worn and used but was only shown as an insignia, its date could not be later than the end of 5th or beginning of the 6th c. This coincides with the political picture and the historical events on the Balkans when combined forces of Goths and Huns made their raids.

I.4. The treasure from Varna

The treasure was found outside the territory of the ancient city of Odessos. It contains several items of gold jewelry made in different techniques²³. The bracelet is made in openwork technique, with use of pearls and green enamel. **(Plate 20.)** The scrolling is rendered in filigree while triangular clusters of box-settings with green glass or pearls as inlays represent leaves and grapes. The circular section is made in another concept of triangular shaped cloisonne design around a large central pearl. The reverse is decorated with a bird inside an octagon in repousee. The usually given parallels are the bracelet from Dumbarton Oaks Collection dated to the 4th c. **(Plate 21.)** and the pair kept in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (coll. J.Pierpont Morgan), **(Plate 22.)** from the hoard of Karavas, Cyprus, known as the second Cyprus or Lambousa treasure from the late 6th c., i.e.- the later years of Justinian rule (527-565), or after him²⁴. The band of the diademe is worked in the technique of *opus-interrasilie*. **(Plate 19.)** As it is well known, the technique can be seen on even earlier than the expected date of the treasure. It is an interesting fact that the pattern of the execution of Varna diademe is closer to the pattern covering the footplate of the gold fibula in Childeric's grave.²⁵ The necklace is made of arranged golden beads and small triangular plates on a thread. To each of the golden beads wire, long about 2 cm, is soldered, which holds hanging pearls and semi-precious stones. All these objects in the treasure are considered as remarkable examples of the Early Byzantine jewelry, especially made in big centers like Constantinople. However, the necklace with stones and triangle small plates finds similarities with such from Crimea – for example –in a woman's grave with polyhedral earrings, where small triangular plates of gold (so called “gorodki”) are found, and another from the treasure of Teshkliburum (excavations at Mangup in 1978, dated to the 4th-7th c., Ostrogothic?²⁶). The other part of the treasure - a cross and plates for a belt - are made in cloisonnee technique, which is also dispersed in the Early Byzantine period, but more widely in Central and Western Europe among the newly forming societies of the Migration peoples in the 5th and 6th c. **(Plate 23.)**

This arouses difficulties in the dating the treasure, usually defined in the wide period between 5th-6th c.

We know that under Heracleios (610-624) Odessos was ruined and ceased its existence, thus the treasure should be hidden before this period, and the *terminus ante quem* is ca AD 600/610. In order to date the pieces of Varna treasure more exactly it is necessary to compare and place them with other women's jewelry found in treasures or graves of the period in question. Most of the researchers are inclined to connect it with the age of Justinian (527-565) on the basis of the comparison of the bracelets with Early Byzantine jewelry. As for the pieces in cloisonné technique in Varna treasure are concerned the most adequate comparisons should be the jewelry of elite finds in Early Medieval Europe. One such example for comparison comes from the grave of the Frankish queen Arnegunde, identified by a signet-ring (She died in 561 and was buried at the Abbey of St. Dennis, between 580/590, but some pieces of the burial inventory could be dated before AD 550). Yet another pieces of a woman's hoard can be considered as close similarities to Varna treasure – the so called hoard from Reggio Emilia. The latest coin from the hoard of Reggio Emilia is a solidus from Basiliscus and Marcian, which gives a *terminus post quem* of AD 476 for its concealment, the year which Odoacer deposited Romulus Augustus. The author points the similarity of the cross of Regio Emilia with such from a tomb of a Germanic person under church of St. Laurentius in Rom from the beginning of the 6th c. This concerns the biconical loop with granulae at both ends of the rim, as it is in Varna cross and the crosses from Sadovets, and the pattern of decoration of the onion-like fibula which is nearly the same as the diademe from Varna²⁷. A third high status woman's jewelry exhibits the Domagnano treasure²⁸, dated to the end of 5th-early 6th c., belonging to an Ostrogothic princess. **(Plate 24.)**

For a more exact date between the 5th-6th c. there should be pointed one element of decoration of the cross, unnoticed so far by the researchers. Here it should be noted that the back of the cross from Varna is decorated with a special well elaborated motif of a rosette of four petal-leaves like a cross. The same quadrifoil is seen on the necklace from Olbia, interpreted as an example of Constantinopolitan cloisonné work, that has parallels in West and in Scandinavia²⁹. In this respect, there should be also pointed out that the same quadrifoil motif we see on the vessels from treasure of Sutton Hoo (either before 600 -or 625) with stamps of Anasthasius-(491-518) **(Plate 26.)**. Thus, if we consider the above stated similarities with Reggio Emilia (to repeat again - concerning the opus interrasile technique and the pattern of

the onion-like fibula, which is seen on the Varna diademe, as well as the byconical loop of the cross) and the similarities with Olbia necklace in the decorative motive on the reverse which is typical for the production of Anastasius (491-518), we can suggest a possible date of about end of the 5th-beginning of the 6th c. at least of some of the pieces from the treasure.

Referring to the question to whom the treasure belonged it is obvious that the jewelry was of a possession by a rich noble woman. In the treasure can be traced two different traditions – one is the Byzantine jewelry tradition and the other the cloisonné tradition used in Byzantine as well as Migration peoples' objects. Since cloisonné technique is characteristic of both Germanic and Hunnish tradition, it is difficult to detect the ethnical affluence of the treasure, but the supposition of a “barbarian princess” being the owner of the treasure gains more followers.

II. Discussion of the function and symbolism of the finds in cloisonné

II.1. The question of polychrome style

The technical aspects of the garnet cloisonné have been discussed in a number of publications supported by scientific research and experiments. Most generally it is characterised by large and heavy garnets cut from templates in different patterns: stepped, cross, rhomboid, etc. Recent investigations showed that the use of granates was known in the Ancient times from the East, the center of distribution being Cartage, while most granates coming from India and Ceylon, by the route through Iran, Africa, Egypt.³⁰ However, the defining of the chemical consistence of the stones and the geographical areas of their origin did not contribute to the problematic question of the area and cultural milieu where the polychrome style emerged, neither to where the specialized workshops were within different periods of time.

Here the different suggestion of the researchers on the question of origin of the style will be repeated in order to see once again the possible relations with different regions and cultures that are accentuated by the authors. Generally the theories can be reduced to several cultural areas 1) Byzantium and Constantinople as the center, may be other workshops along the Black sea coast and Alexandria; 2) Late Roman production in Bohemia which was exploited by the Romans and then by the Huns, and after that perhaps Franks of the Merovingian period; 3) the Sarmathian, Hunnish Alan milieu in the Black Sea Northern Area 4) primarily after Sassanian influence in the Georgian late antique milieu of the Alans.

The first cultural area is Byzantium and Constantinople as the center, since much skill in cutting and gliding of the stones is required, which could have been done only by masters used to work with gem stones like those of Byzantium. B. Arrhenius supposes that to Constantinople belong the pattern of bishop Paternus with stamps of Athanasius, the rectangular gold pattern with the same type of cloisonné, found at Gourdon, France with a chalice and Byzantine solidi. The garnet work from Apahida and from Childeric's grave is originally of Byzantine manufacture. In the case of the sword from Childeric's grave, the lower guard seems to have been remounted to fit a Germanic design.³¹

The second cultural area that urged the production of garnet cloisonné is suggested to be the cultural area of Pannonia. According to J. Teirral, since cloisonné belonged to objects related to high military officers of Rome (as was the fibula from Szylagy Somlyo-Simleul Silvanieu) there was probably a Pannonian workshop working on the commission of the emperor. Roman factories in Pannonia seem to have continued working into the 4th c. and played an important role in the gift exchange between the Roman state administration and the army. The industry might have probably been developed along the limes³².

Another center of origin and dissemination of cloisonné is sought in the culture of Northern Caucasus and Crimea. In fact some researchers relate this exceptionally as the style label of the Huns, which appeared first among the Huns in Northern Black sea coasts and Kazakhstan steppes. Ambroz says that the cloisonné appeared as a style in the realm of the Huns on the northern Black sea coast and then was dispersed to Kazakhstan and the West.³³ In the latest years yet new ideas aroused around the time and place of origin of the technique. After the publications of M. Shchukin and I. Bazan, who, being against the Hunnish label of the technique, underlined the importance of the use of the technique as earlier as the 3rd c. in Sarmatian-Alan tomb in Georgia and in other objects of about AD 350 in Georgia and Abkhazia, it became obvious that the Sassanians (the cup of Chusroes) did contribute also to the development of this technique³⁴.

This enumeration of the regions and the cultures that pretend to be the autochthonous milieu for the emergence and spread of the cloisonné shows that the 5th c. gold, especially when worked with garnets, marks a dissemination of high prestige fashion. It was actually spread with the raids of the Huns far to the West and after the battle of Nedao, and for this reason it has become the ethnical label of the Huns. However, the technique was meant to high status

personalities and the right to carry granates was achieved since the time of Galiens (260-268), as already pointed by B. Arrhenius. Garnets were also appreciated among the Sassanians and Iberia in the time of Shapur I – after 260-ies, but this does not mean that it was a Sassanian technique. Thus, the polychrome style has a complex emergence somewhere in East, in the areas of Mediterranean, Asia Minor, and the Black sea. What is most important is that the polychrome style is related to higher social status, if not only to royalty and the beholder of the supreme political power. Thus the polychrome style is not an ethnical but a high social status and rank marker.

Judging from this point, the polychrome examples from today's Bulgarian lands, that have been discussed above, fit very well in the whole picture of the time of 5th-6th c. cloisonné high status objects found in treasures (with both male and female character) and in the so called “princely graves” of high status warriors, chieftains and administrative officials of Barbarian origin. We may suppose then that the grave with sword from Kosharevo, region of Pernik, can also be interpreted as an “elite” grave, as well as the treasure from Varna – a “princess” grave? The similarities with objects and pieces from predominantly “royal” treasures and graves do give certain grounds. The counterparting with polychrome finds from other sites in Bulgaria will prove the existence of an aristocratic stratum of the culture in the Balkans during the 5th-7th c. which was shared among peoples of the Migration period besides the steady persistence of the Byzantine culture at this time. Thus it must be concluded that the technique of garnet cloisonné is not simply a fashion, but a social phenomenon and it in itself points not simply to a high rank and status level but to the highest possible strata of power or the supreme power.

II.2. The question of the finds as a social status marker and symbol

Except the objects from the treasure of Varna which represent female high status or “royal” jewelry, the other gold objects mention above are related to male sphere of cultural objects serving as signs and symbols. They were in circulation as a result of complex cultural interrelations on the Balkans of different peoples like the Germanic Goths, Heruli, or Steppe Huns and the local Roman administrative, political and cultural background. As mentioned by the Antique authors in AD 483 the Ostrogoths receive lands in the provinces *Dacia Ripensis* and *Moesia Inferior* and in the same year Teodoric settles in Novae as his residence. Not all Goths leave the Balkan provinces with Theodoric in AD 488, remainig, as evidenced by Jordanes (*Getica* #292) and others such as Anastasius (491-518) in later times. The traces of

invasions, short living stays or longer settlements of *foederatae* and all different social and cultural implications are reflected in finds like the discussed above³⁵. However, their function as a marker of social status makes them exceptional on the background of other similar pieces in technique and practical use.

The gold fibula

In the literature the example of the Devnya find of the fibula and the buckle have been discussed as a possession of a high Roman or Romanized official and worn on the *pallium*, since the fibula became a sign of rank in the Roman administration. The usual comparison is made with the representation of the rich Roman nobleman on the walls of his tomb at Silistra, where a servant is carrying his palium decorated with such a fibula. The silver treasure from Chausevo- with coins Alexander Severus (222-235), thus, it is dated to the middle or second half of 3rd c. Inside the onion-like fibula and gold torque and silver torques and silver bracelets and a ring with inscription – name of the officer Aurelius Decimus – Most often warrior's awards for good service were (*donna militaria*) – *torques and armillae*³⁶. It is well known that the bow-cross onion fibula was the awards for service in the Roman army and administration. Such awards are known to present among the barbarian chiefs at service in the Roman army. The comparisons with the grave from Ostropataka where we find a Vandal chieftain with Roman insignia in German context, man's grave from Lebeny – also German context and the most meaningful presence of fibula among the furnishment of Childeric's grave (482)³⁷ speaks that this kind of fibula was used also as insignia before the own people of the chieftain, not only as a gift and sign of appreciation as *dona militaria*. We might have to think whether the find from Devnya was not related to such symbolism. From here - with Werner's assumption that the golden fibula with onion-shaped terminals found in Childeric's grave and probably worn on a chlamys (cloak) was originally a gift from the emperor. There is a historical evidence of Childeric's relations with Byzantium in AD 463/9 in which years he must have been appointed a Roman official.³⁸ Strikingly enough there is no surplus of representations of Roman emperors with such kind of fibulas, including also that of Szilagy-Somlyo with the onyx, since its ways of attachment is based on the cross-bow onion fibulas. Pictorial representations of Roman officials wearing such fibulas are not supported by archaeological evidence. The material evidence supports the spread of such items vastly and predominantly in Germanic milieu. The finds from Childeric's grave are therefore, a good example of what an emperor of the East Roman empire could offer a high ranking Germanic chieftain in the 5th c. But it was given in connection to duty only to Roman service! And the

same refers to Apahida cross-bow onion-terminating fibula, it must have belonged to the “prince” in service to the Romans. Thus the rich Germanic graves display Roman pieces and they seem to be more significant than as *donna militaria* – they are *insigniae* of high status. In conclusion we suppose that the buried person in Devnya might have been on a Roman service and might have been of a Germanic origin.

The torque

The application of our find to the mentioned circle is important in order to mark and state that these lands were part of the common fashion. Gold neckrings of the Migration period can be traced to Germanic fashion of the second third and first quarter of the 4th c. as demonstrated in rich “princely” graves with heavy gold neckrings in *Germania libera*.³⁹ Moreover, the tradition goes further earlier to the Celtic tribes and religion – the neck ring from Gundestrup and the closer to it cultural circle where neckrings have an even longer history is the Steppes – Scythians and Thracians.⁴⁰ It is the place here to remind also of its symbolism of the circle and encirclement in Indo-European mythology and ritual, as well as in the ruler’s iconography of Asia Minor. The original Indo-European background, as shown in Vedic texts, points to the symbolism of bond, linkage and bound relations of submission and loyalty besides the correspondence to the body and cosmos-relation in the rituals of *purushamedha*. One zone of the body, marked heavily and laid down with strong symbolism is the place around the neck and the shoulders. This place is very vulnerable. The death by hanging does not let the liquids flow out of the body and for this reason it is used at sacrifice. In the Indo-European mythological symbolism the torque marks the same symbolism of the cosmos-body structure and the most vulnerable points together with the same symbolism of the sacrificial rites, especially of that of hanging.⁴¹ And it is not without any sense to interpret the so-called Kolben-rings as signs of loyalty to the ruler or the leader among the Germanic warrior society and that Kolben-ring and neckring are close in the similar meaning of loyalty. Both types – arm-ring and neck-ring - are reported to be given as *donna militaria*. However, the inauguration of an emperor used to be by the neck-ring-or torque, especially during the late Roman age and the so-called warrior-emperors. The Sasanian example with ring shows that it could also be interpreted in its equality to the wreath. In the Roman army they were incorporated as a part of the system of rank. According to Zosimus the royal military force of Theodosius the Great (379-395) wore gold neckrings, awarded by the emperor, not to forget that the inauguration of the emperor was made with this sign.⁴² This sign of dignity, however, belonged to the Germanic and the Hunnic tribes, but it was given by the Roman (Byzantine)

emperor to reconfirm the high status of the person already gained among his own indigenous people and culture.

An interesting aspect of the spread of torques is always noticed by the researchers, i.e. their equivalence to calculation measures and value. The weight of the necklace expressed the personal ownership of unusual amount of precious metal, corresponding to a large number of gold coins. In relation to the Roman solidus (weighing 4,54g in the 5th c.) the Metropolitan neckring wears about 22 and a half of such coins, the one from Nagyszekszos – approximately 100 coins, while the Varna neckring weights about 230 coins! It is a quite a meaningful illustration of the accumulated gold among the barbarian peoples, taken as large gifts and allowance given by Theodosius I (379-95) and Theodosius II (408-450) to the Huns, and circulating around the second and third quarters of the 5th c., especially after the battle of Nedao.

The sword

The meaning of the sword as insignia is related to the warrior's aspect of the ruler's power.⁴³ However, the swordmanship as well as the horsemanship, according to the researchers, was involved among the Germanic tribes within the Roman sphere under the so called "Oriental" influence of the Steppes carried by the Sarmatians. Whatever the explanations of the bog-deposits of weapons – swords, spears, etc, in the North during the Late iron Age are, they show that still the sword was not viewed as the personal possession and expression of the power of the ruler-chieftain-warrior. Later on, with the incursion of the Huns further west, and the development of the warrior-like societies around a group/groups of prominent warriors, the sword did become a marker of the higher power. That the sword of Childeric was especially made for him after the Germanic fashion is shown by the difference of the cloisonne paste between the sword and the other cloisonne fittings in the grave. On the other hand the rite of putting the sword next to the warrior in the so called row-graves "Rheiengräbern"⁴⁴ show that a new class-stratum of soldiers has been formed in the society. A similar social development is detected in some Crimean chamber-graves⁴⁵. Judging from this point of view and from the grave burial rites and finds from the cemetery at the village of Kosharevo, near Pernik, Bulgaria where the sword was discovered, it can be proposed that settlements and cemeteries of groups from the Migration peoples of Germanic origin in today's Bulgarian lands shared the same social living and social practices as their people in Central and Western Europe. The excavations which started for a settlement suddenly hit upon this

cemetery. It is then highly possible that in this case to have not only a high ranking warrior grave but a grave of a chieftain, since cemeteries usually show ranking in the placement.

In conclusion we may accept that the discussed gold objects – the fibula, torque and the sword – are not simply social status markers but served as **insigniae** of a special group of people belonging to the Germanic ethnical context. Comparing with places of the Goths *foederatae* we can see other similar signs that fit into one complex of symbolism of power. For example – at Novae the Germanic finds are discovered in the cemetery outside the walls where 83 graves have been unearthed, all according the Christian rite. They display not a rich grave inventory, but many gold objects and among them a gold hand-ring with widening terminating ends such as the so called Koelbenring – a typical insignia of the hired Gothic warrior in the last fourth of the 4th century and later on. Such Kolbenrings come also from Sadovets⁴⁶.

The discussed Devnya fibula, Varna torque and Kosharevo sword fit to chronological and status symbols complexes (graves or/and treasures) in Sarmathian-Alan, Hunnish and in Germanic milieu. The friendly to Rome chieftains "reiks" are accepted by the Romans as "duces" or "princes", acting as "klients" to the Roman imperial administrative system⁴⁷. These Migration peoples used the symbolism of power as "imitatio imperii" in order to confirm their power in the indiginous group of people. Thus they used the Roman signs of rank as their own expression of status and power. In their own way they are kings, but serving on behalf the Roman state. It is especially in such graves and hoards related to *foederatae* that fibula and torques are to be found as meaningful **insignia**, however, noticeable is that in finds like Ostropataka and Szylagy-Somlyo, weapons are lacking⁴⁸.

One question, which is here difficult to be laid down in full, is the ratio of gold male and female insigniae such as the discussed Varna torque, Devnya fibula and Kosharevo sword to the contents of the grave inventory in other graves and treasures in Bulgaria from this period. Much is done, but still, in order the scale of importance of insigniae in graves and treasures referring the Bulgarian lands in 4th-7th c. to be defined, there should be taken other aspects such as the relations between hoards, treasures and graves, the clarifying of the social status of the graves or the spatial distribution of the insigniae geographically and historically within the period⁴⁹. As pointed above, the Bulgarian finds exhibit close similarities to "royal" graves and treasures, chieftains or princely graves (Fuerstengrabern) and warrior's graves

(Rheingraeber and chamber graves). The royal graves such as the one of Childeric in Tournai contains among other insignia a signet ring with the mirror image inscription of *CHILDERICI REGIS.*, the same as the grave from Apahida II, where a signet ring with the inscription Omharus is placed, besides weapons, fibula, etc⁵⁰. Comparing our finds with the inventory in the known European sites of the 4th-7th c., it becomes obvious that the our insignia are common not for the royal and princely complexes but for the elite, aristocratic warrior stratum of the society. However, it is difficult to state with certainty the ethnical attribution of our finds, since the insignia represent a matter of status, not of ethnical affiliation.

In conclusion, as a result of the comparison of the fibula from Devnya, the torque from Varna, the sword from Kosharevo and the treasure from Varna with finds in graves and treasures in Eastern and Western Europe during the Migration period there can be made several suppositions referring their function and social status:

- a) All male gold objects represent insigniae which are common for the elite and aristocratic warrior stratum of society.
- b) The fibula from Devnya can be considered as an insignia of an officer on a Roman service, who might be possibly of Germanic origin.
- c) At first glance, the torque from Varna can be considered as insignia of an officer on Roman service, who might be possibly of Germanic origin. However, its heavy weight and the fact that it is found together with ingots speaks of other functions such as being a "royal" or "princely" treasure (as accumulated gold, worked out in a special insignia), or/and serving in some special kinds of rituals of legalization of power – such as inauguration, confirmation of the acquired lands by ritual deposition in land or marriage-contract.
- d) The sword from Kosharevo is representation of the elite warrior culture in Europe in the 4th-7th c. Its equality in function and status among Sarmato-Alan-Hunnish and Germanic does make its ethnical attribution difficult. The burial ritual in the cemetery with the use of fire, which points to certain Germanic features of the find. The use of cloisonne, on the other side, points both to Germanic, Ostrogoth or Hunnish attribution of the sword. Especially in the second half of the 5th c. the warrior's culture and weaponry of the Ostrogoths and that of the Huns, is difficult to distinguish, and there could be marked certain features of decoration of the pieces of the sword more closer to Hunnish examples in Crimea and Northern Black sea coast.

e) Regarding the treasure from Varna, it is more plausible to consider it not only an Early Byzantine jewelry treasure, belonging to a high status noble woman, but a part of bigger "royal" or "princely" treasure. The treasure is *equal to regnum and populum*, in the words of Gregory of Tour. The taking of the treasure from the hands of the enemy means conquering the enemy court, the "state", the people. The accumulated treasure (memory of the state) goes with the legal owner, usually the widow, by marriage-contract to the new owner and ruler. How is Varna treasure placed in this picture? We can not detect the persons historically involved in the possession of these precious objects. But they well fit to be female insigniae of a princess (either of Ostrogothic origin in relation with the Germanic cultural traces that are being discovered and researched more and more in the region of Varna and Northeast Bulgaria, or Hunnish?).

References:

1. **Heather, P.**, *The Goths*. Blackwell, 1996, pp.167-179 on years 376-484; **Heather, P., J. Matthews**, *The Goths in the Fourth Century*, Liverpool Univ. Press, 2003; **Schultz, H.**, *Tools, Weapons and Ornaments: Germanic material culture in Pre-Carolingian Central Europe 400-750*. Brill, 2001; **Wolfram, H., Daim, F.**, (Hrsg.) *Die Völker an der mittleren Donau im fünften und sechsten Jahrhundert*. Wien, 1980.
2. **Filov, V.**, Римското съкровище от Николаево. – *Известия на Българското археологическо дружество* (Bulletin de la Société Archéologique, 4, 1915, 1-4)
Герасимова, В. Готите и Филипопол през втората половина на V век, с. 73-76 - В: **Милев, Р.**, (Съставител) *Готите и старогерманското културно-историческо присъствие по българските земи*. Balkan media, 2003; **Станев Ал.** Източногермански паметници от епохата на Остготското присъствие на Балканите – В: **Милев, Р.** (Съставител) *Готите...*, 2003, с. 78; **Ковачева, Т.**, Готското археологическо наследство в Плевенския край. - В: **Милев, Р.**, (Съставител) *Готите...* 2003, с.93-98.
3. **Димитров, Дим. Ил.**, Раннохристиянската гробница от с. Река Девня. – *Известия на Варненското Археологическо Дружество*, книга XI, 1960, р.97-100.
4. **Станчев, Ст., Чангова, Й., Петков, Хр.**, Некрополът от местността „Кайлъка” при Плевен. – *Археология*, 1961, N1, с. 32-35; Щерева, И., Вачева, Д., Владимирова, Д., *Туида – Сливен. Разкопки и Проучвания*. XXVIII, С., 2001.

- 5. Perin, P., Wieczorek, A.** (Hrsg.) *Das Gold der Barbarenfürsten. Schätze aus Prunkgräbern des 5th Jahrhunderts n. Chr. zwischen Kaukasus und Galien.* Theiss, Stuttgart 2001, p. 93.
- 6. Deppert-Lippitz, B.** A Late Antique Gold Fibula in the Burton Y Berry Collection. – In: *Ancient Jewelry and Archaeology.* Indiana University Press, Bloomington and Minneapolis, 1996, 235-234.
- 7. Pirling, R.** Ein frankisches Fürstengrab aus Krefeld-Gellep – Nachdruck aus *Germania* 42, 1964, 188-216; **Ibidem,** Römische Gräber mit barbarische Einschlag auf den Gräberfeldern von Krefeld-Gellep, In: **Vallet, Fr., Kazanski M.,** (Eds) *L'armée Romaine et les barbares du IIIè au VIIè siècle.* 1993, p.109; **Stiegemann, Chr.,** (Hrsg). *Byzanz. Das Licht aus dem Osten. Kult und Alltag im Byzantinischen Reich vom 4. bis 15. Jahrhundert.* Katalog der Ausstellung, Verlag Philipp von Zabern, Mainz, Padeborn, 2001.
- 8. Ross M. C.,** *Catalog of the Byzantine and Early Medieval Antiquities in The Dumbarton Oaks Collection,* Washington, D.C., 1965, vol. II, cat. 179-K.
- 9. Welkow, I.,** Eine Gotenfestung bei Sadovretz (Nordbulgarien) – *Germania*, XIX Taf. 10
- 10. Inciser G. Damm,** Huns and Goths: Jewelry from the Ukraine and Southern Russia. - In: *From Attila to Charlemagne. Arts of the Early Medieval Period in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.* Yale Univ. Press, 2001.
- 11. Perin, P., Wieczorek, A.** (Hrsg.) *Das Gold der Barbarenfürsten. Schätze aus Prunkgräbern des 5th Jahrhunderts n. Chr. zwischen Kaukasus und Galien.* Theiss, Stuttgart 2001, p. 108.
- 12. Germanen, Hunnen und Awaren. Schätze der Völkerwanderungszeit.** Ausstellungskatalog, Nürnberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Verlag, 1987, pp.163-66.
- 13. Harhoiu, R.** *The 5th c. AD Treasure from Pietroasa, Romania in the light of recent research,* BAR, 1977.
- 14. Zasetzkaja, L.P.,** Относительная хронология позднеантичного и раннесредневекового Боспорского некрополя (конец IV-нач. II в.) – Археол. Сборник Государств. Эрмитажа, 30, 1990, 97-106.
- 15. Werner, J.,** Der Goldene Armreif des Frankenkönigs Childerich und die germanischen Handgelenkringe der jüngeren Keiserzeit. *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 14, 1980, 1ff.
- 16. Werner, J.,** *Der Grabfund von Malaja Perescepina und Kuvrat, Kagan der Bulgaren.* Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, n.s.vol.91, München, 1984.
- 17. Даскалов, М., Трендафилова, К.,** Некрополът от времето на готското присъствие по българските земи в м. Извор. – В: **Милев, Р.,** (Съставител) *Готуме...* 2003, с.97.

- 18. Perin, P., Wiczorek, A.** (Hrsg.) *Das Gold der Barbarenfürsten. Schätze aus Prunkgräbern des 5th Jahrhunderts n. Chr. Zwischen Kaukasus und Galien.* Theiss, Stuttgart 2001, p. 166.
- 19. Perin, P., Wiczorek, A.** (Hrsg.) *Das Gold der Barbarenfürsten. Schätze aus Prunkgräbern des 5th Jahrhunderts n. Chr. Zwischen Kaukasus und Galien.* Theiss, Stuttgart 2001, p.101; **Vallet, F., Beck, F., and M. Kazanski.** La riche tombe de Kerch de Musee Antiquites nationales.-*Antiquites Nationales*, 20, 1988, 63-81.
- 20. Daim, F.,** (Hrsg.) *Reitervölker aus dem Osten. Hunnen und Awaren.* Ausstellungskatalog. Schloss Halbturn, 1996, Kat. N. 4.222.
- 21. Seipel, W.,** (Hrsg.) *Barbarenschmuck und Römergold. Der Schatz von Szilagy Szomlyo,* Wien 1999; **Vallet, Fr.** A propos des tombes a épées d'apparat de la Rue-Saint-Poerre (Oise) et d'Arcy-Sainte-Restitue (Aisne). – *Neue Archéologie de Picardie* 1988, 3-4, pp. 45-56.
- Fettich, N.,** La trouvaille de tombe princière hunnique a Szeged-Nagyszeksos. - *Archaeologia Hungarica*, Bdp., 32, 1953, pp. 171-174.
- 22.** On the Early Germanic swords see **Menghin, W.,** *Das Schwert im frühen Mittelalter,* Stuttgart, Konrad Theiss Verlag, 1983, pp. 311-313; about Sadovets see also **Bierbrauer, V.,** Zu chronologischen, soziologischen und regionalen Gliederung des ostgermanischen Fundstoffs des 5. Jahrhunderts in Südosteuropa. - In: **Wolfram, H., Daim, F.** (Hrsgs.) *Die Völker an der mittleren und unteren Donau im fünften und sechsten Jahrhundert.* Oesterr. Akad. Wiss. Phil.-Hist. Klasse, Denkschr. 145, 1980.
- 23. Димитров, Д. Ил.,** Ранновизантийското съкровище от Варна. – *Известия на Варненското Археологическо Дружество*, XIV, 1963, 65-79. **Obcharov, D.,** *Fifteen Treasures from Bulgarian Lands.* Sofia, 2003.
- 24. Deppert-Lippitz, B.,** Late Roman and Early Byzantine Jewelry – In: **Katharine Reynolds Brown, Charles T. Little, Dafydd Kidd,** (Eds.) *From Attila to Charlemagne Arts of the Migration period, Contribution by the Metropolitan Museum of Art,* 2001, p.72.
- 25. Deppert-Lippitz, B.,** Late Roman and Early Byzantine Jewelry ... op. cit., p.70.
- 26. Werner, Th.** *Archaeologische Schätze aus drei Jahrtausend.* Ausstellungskatalog, Heidelberg, 1999, Kat. No 104, p. 163, ill. 76, and ill. 69, p. 151.
- 27. James, E.,** Burial and Status in the Early Medieval West - In: *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th Ser. Vol. 39, 1989 (1989), pp. 23-40 (about Queen Arnegunde); on Reggio Emilia see **Bierbrauer, V.,** *Die ostgotischen Grab und Schatzfunde in Italien.* Bibliotheca degli Studi Medievali, Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, vol. 7, Spoleto, 1975, p. 204-7, pp. 302-309, pl. 32-35.

- 28. Menghin, W.**, The Domagnano Treasure. – In: **Katharine Reynolds Brown, Charles T. Little, Dafydd Kidd**, (Eds.) *From Attila to Charlemagne Arts of the Migration period, Contribution by the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, 2001, p.132-138.; **Curletti, M. G; Della Porta, C.** *I Goti a San Marino: Il Tesoro di Domagnano*, Electa, 1995; **D. Kidd**, Il tesoro di Domagnano. In: *I Goti a San Marino*, Milan, 1995.
- 29. Arrhenius, B.**, Connections between Scandinavia and the East Roman Empire in the Migration period – In: **Austin, D., L. Alcock**, (Eds.) *From the Baltic to the Black Sea Studies in Medieval Archaeology*, One World Archaeology 18, pp.119-136.
- 30 Farges, Fr.** Mineralogy of the Louvres Merovingian garnet cloisonné jewelry: Origin of the garnets of the first king of France. - *American Mineralogist*, volume 83, 1998, pp.313-330.
- 31. Arrhenius, B.**, *Merovingian garnet jewelry*, Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien. Göteborg 1985, 102; Ibidem, Garnet Jewelry of the Fifth and Sixth Centuries – In: **Brown, K., Kidd, D. and Ch. T. Little**, (Eds.) *From Attila to Charlemagne. Arts of the Early Medieval Period in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*. Yale Univ. Press, 2001, p.214.
- 32. Tejral J.**, Die spätantiken militärischen Eliten beiderseits der norisch-pannonischen Grenze aus der Sicht der Grabfunde. - In: *Germanen beiderseits des spätantiken Limes* (eds. T. Fischer, G. Precht, J. Tejral). Brno, 1999, p. 217–292.; **Tejral, J.** Zur Chronologie und Deutung der südöstlichen Völkerwanderungszeit Mitteleuropas. – *Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseums*, 1987,11-46; *Barbarenschmuck und Römergold: Der Schatz von Szilágysomlyó* : eine Ausstellung des Kunsthistorischen Museums Wien und des Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum Budapest, 1999.
- 33. Ambroz, K.** Bospor. Hronologija rannesrednevekovyh drevnostej. *Bosporskij sbornik* 1, 1992, 6-108. Zasetskaja, L.P. M. 31-49. Id. 1990; 1990, 97-106.)
- 34. Scukin, M. Igor Bazan** 1995 L'origin du style cloisonné de l'époque des grandes migrations. In: Vallet, Fr., M. Kazanski, (Eds.) *La noblesse romaine et les chefs barbares du III^e au VII^e siècle*. Musée des Antiquités Nationales et Ass. Fr. d'Archéologie Mérovingienne, 1995, p.63-69.
- 35. Budanova, V.P.** *Готы в эпоху великого переселения народов*. М., 1990, ibidem, *Варварский мир эпохи переселения народов* М., 2004. **Whitbey, M.** *Rome at war AD 293-696*. Osprey Publishing, 2002; **Gencheva, E.** The Gothic presence in Novae (achievements and Problems) – In: Milev, R. *The Goths and the Old Germanic presence in the Bulgarian lands*, p.63-68 also Sadovets **Bierbrauer, V.**, Zu chronologischen, soziologischen und regionalen Gliederung des ostgermanischen Fundstoffs des 5. Jahrhunderts in Südosteuropa.

- In: **Wolfram, H., Daim, F.** (Hrsgs.) *Die Völker an der mitleren und unteren Donau im fünften und sechsten Jahrhundert*. Oesterr. Akad. Wiss. Phil.-Hist. Klasse, Denkschr. 145, 1980.
- 36. Gencheva, E.**, Funkcia i prednaznachenie na predmetite ot srebarното sakrovishte ot Chaushevo, *Arheologia*,1, Sofia, 1996, pp. 34-38.
- 37. Kazanski, M. and P. Perin** Le Mobilier Funéraire de la Tombe de Childeric: Etat de la Question et Perspectives – in *Révue Archéologique de Picardie*, no 3-4, (1988), pp.13-43.
- 38.** On fibula as insignia see **Schmauder, M.**, Die Onyxfibel aus Szylagysomlyo und die gruppe der sogenannten Keiserfibeln. - In: **Seipel, W.**, *Barbarenschmuck und Römergold. Der Schatz von Szilagysomlyo*. Ausstellungskatalog, Wien, 1999, 123 ff.; **Werner, J.**, Neue Analysen des Childerichsgrabes von Tournai. – *Rheinische Vierteljahrbblätter*, Bonn, 1971, N 35, pp. 43-46; **Deppert-Lippitz, B.**, Late Roman and early Byzantine Jewelry – In: **Katharine Reynolds Brown, Charles T. Little, Dafydd Kidd**, (Eds.) *From Attila to Charlemagne Arts of the Migration period, Contribution by the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, 2001, p.70.
- 39.** Gold neckrings in Germania-libera often go together with the type Kolbenring -**Werner, J.**, Der Goldene Armring des Frankenkönigs Childerich und die germanische Handgelenkkringe der jüngere Keizerzeit - *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 14, Münster1980, S.,1-49.
- 40. Kaul, Fl., Marazov, I.**, *Thracian Tales on the Gundestrup Cauldron*, Amsterdam, Najade, 1991; **Megaw, R.**, *Celtic Art. From its Beginnings to the Book of Kells*. London. 1989; **Nylén, Erik**, Guldringen från Havor och den stora silverkitteln från Gundestrup: iakttagelser vid en resa till Svarta havets västra kust – In: *Fornvännen*, Journal of Swedish antiquarian research, The Royal Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities, 1967, 50-52.
- 41. Lamm, Jan Peder**, Der Ring der Götter. - In: *Iconologia Sacra: Mythos, Bildkunst und Dichtung in der Religions- und Sozialgeschichte Alteuropas*, Festschrift für Karl Hauck zum 75. Geburtstag, Hrsg.von Hagen Keller und Nikolaus Staubach, 1994, pp.118-123; **Nylén, E.** Sagan om ringarna. *Fornvännen*, 91. Stockholm., 1996; **Nylén, E.** Die jüngere vorrömische Eisenzeit Gotlands. K. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akad. Stockholm. 1956.
- 42. Hauck, K.**, Halsring und Ahnenstab als herrscherliche Würdenziechen. – *Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historiae*, Stuttgart, 13, no1, pp. 145-212 and Inciser Guercai Damm, Huns and Goths. Jewelry from the Ukraine and Southern Russia – In: **Katharine Reynolds Brown, Charles T. Little, Dafydd Kidd**, (Eds.) *From Attila to Charlemagne Arts of the Migration period, Contribution by the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, 2001, p. 104 and p.103.

- 43. Nickel, H.** About the sword of the Huns and the “Urepos” of the Steppes. – *Metropolitan Museum Journal*, vol. 7, 1973.
- 44. Ilkjær, J.**, Das Mooropfer von Illerup Ådal - Der Stand der Bearbeitung im Jahr 1994. In: **C. v. Carnap-Bornheim** (Hrsg.), *Beiträge zu römischer und germanischer Bewaffnung in den ersten vier nachchristlichen Jahrhunderten*. Kolloquium Marburg (Lublin/Marburg 1994) 233-248; **Biborski, M.**, Römische Schwerter mit Verzierung in Form von figürlichen Darstellungen und symbolischen Zeichen. In: **C. v. Carnap-Bornheim** (Hrsg.), *Beiträge zu römischer und germanischer Bewaffnung in den ersten vier nachchristlichen Jahrhunderten*. Kolloquium Marburg (Lublin/Marburg 1994), 109-135; **Dierkens, A., Perin, P.** Death and burial in Gaul and Germania, 4th-8th century. – In: **Webster, L and M. Brown**, *The Transformation of the Roman World AD 400-900* Univ.of Cal. Press, 1997, pp.79-83.
- 45.** *Les sites archéologiques en Crimée et au Caucase durant l'antiquité tardive et le haut Moyen- Age*, Leiden ; Boston : Brill, 2000.
- 46. Gomolka-Fuchs, G.**, Ostgermanische Föderaten im spätrömischen Heer. Hinweise in der materiellen Kultur auf die ethnische Zusammensetzung der bevölkerung vom 4.-6. Jahrhundert in Nordbulgarien - In: **Fr. Vallet et M. Kazanski**, (Eds.) *L'Armée Romaine et les barbares du IIIe au VIIe siècles*. 1993, p.355-360; **Gomolka-Fuchs, G.**, Die Kleinfunde vom 4.-6. Jh., in Iatrus. – In: *Iatrus-Krivina. Spätromische Befestigung und frühmittelalterliche Bsiedlung 2*, Schriften zu Geschichte und Kultur der Antike, Berlin, 1982, 1991; **Табакова-Цанова, Г.**, Късноантичният некропол в местността Стражата край Плевен. – *Известия на националния Арх. Музей*, 1981, 3, 173-184; **Welkov, I.** Völkerwanderungszeitliche Grabfunde aus Bulgaria. - *Germania*, 1942, 26, pp. 48-50; **Генчева, Е.**, Готското присъствие в Novaе (постижения и проблеми). – В: **Милев, Р.**, (Съставител) *Готите и старогерманското културно-историческо присъствие по българските земи*. Balkan media, 2003, с., 63-68; **Хараламбиева, А.**, Две готски фибули от западния некропол на Одесос –ИИМВарна, 28 (43), 1992, 137-143.
- 47. Tejral, J.**, Die spätantiken militärischen Eliten beiderseits der norisch-pannonischen Grenze aus der Sicht der Grabfunde. In: *Germanen beiderseits des spätantiken Limes* (eds. **T. Fischer, G. Precht, J. Tejral**). Brno, 1999, p. 217–292; **Tejral J.**, Die Verbündeten Roms nördlich des pannonischen Limes und Ihre Nobilität während der Spätantike. – In: **Fr. Vallet, M. Kazanski**, (Eds.) *La Nobless Romaine et les chefs barbares du IIIe au VIIe siècle*, Musee des Antiquites Nationales, 1995, p.139.
- 48. Kiss, A.**, Die “barbarischen” Könige des 4.-7. Jahrhunderts im Karpatenbecken als Verbündeten des Römischen bzw Byzantinischen Reiches. – In: **Fr. Vallet, M. Kazanski**,

(Eds.) *La Nobless Romaine et les chefs barbares du IIIe au VIIe siècle*, Musée des Antiquités Nationales, 1995, p.182.

49. Kossak, G., Prunkgräber. Bemerkungen zu Eigenschaften und Aussagewert. In: G. Kossak, G. Ulbert (Hrsg.) *Studien zur vor- und frühmittelalterlichen Archäologie.I. Festschrift f. J. Werner zum 65 Geburtstag*. München 1974, 3-33 – on the scale of insigniae in burials. Also see warrior's grave from Pouan - In: **Perin, P., Wieczorek, A.** (Hrsg.) *Das Gold der Barbarenfürsten. Schätze aus Prunkgräbern des 5th Jahrhunderts n. Chr. Zwischen Kaukasus und Galien*. Theiss, Stuttgart, 2001, p.126; **Gomolka-Fuchs, G.**, Ostgermanische Föderaten im spätrömischen Heer. Hinweise in der materiellen Kultur auf die ethnische Zusammensetzung der bevölkerung vom 4.-6. Jahrhundert in Nordbulgarien - In: **Fr.Vallet et M. Kazanski**, (Eds.) *L'Armée Romaine et les barbares du IIIe au VIIe siècles*. 1993, p.355-360.

50. Mueller-Wille, M., Royal and aristocratic graves in Central and Western Europe in the Merovingian period. – In: *Vendel Period Studies. 2*, Statens Historiska Museum, Stockholm, 1983.

51. Hardt, M., Die Schätze europäischer Könige und Fürsten in ersten Jahrtausend. Berlin, Akademie Verlag, 2004.; **Dumanov, B.**, Archaeology of the late antique treasures south of the lower Danube. Common directions – In: Сборник в чест на Александър Фол., 2003; **Menghin, W., Springer, T., Wamers, E.**, (Hrsg.) Germanen, Hunnen und Awaren : Schätze der Völkerwanderungszeit : Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nürnberg, 12. Dezember 1987 bis 21. Februar 1988 : Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte der Stadt Frankfurt am Main.

List of plates

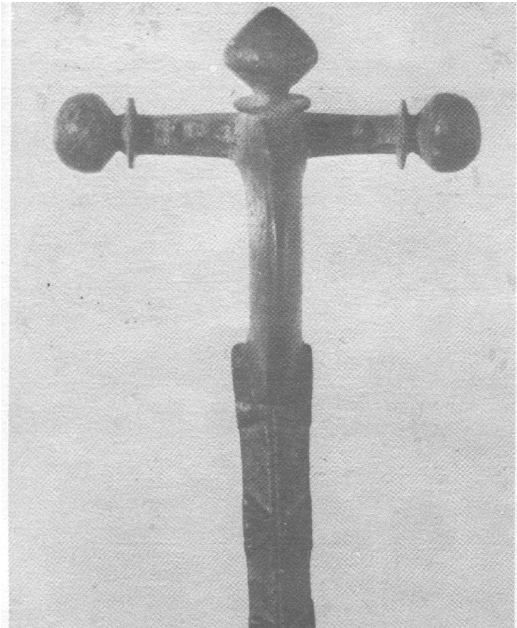
1. Finds from Devnya. Varna Museum, end of 4th c.
1. Cross-bow fibula from the Early Byzantine fortress of Tuida (Sliven, Bulgaria), 4th-5th c.
2. Cross-bow fibula from Metropolitan Museum of Art, ca.430.
3. Treasure of a Vandal prince. Osthropataka. Kept in Museum of National History, Hungary, ca. beginning of 4th c.
4. Gold fittings for a belt from Riggisberg. Abegg Foundation, 6th-7th c. Sassanian or Byzantine?
5. Gold fittings. Roemisch-Germanische Zentralmuzeum, Mainz, allegedly from Amlash, Iran, Sassanian.6th c.
6. Fittings for a sword-handle, Grave 1782, Krefeld-Gellep.
7. Disc brooch, Metropolitan Museum of Art, gold, Langobardic, ca AD 600.
8. Neck-ring. Varna. Gold, 5th-6th c.
9. Neck-ring, Metropolitan Museum of Art, East Germanic, AD 400-500.
10. Neck-rings from Pietroasa. 5th c.
11. Bracelets from the treasure from Malaya Pereshchepina. Second half of 7th c.

12. Finds from village of Izvor, Bulgaria. 5th-6th c.
13. Sword from Pannonhalma. Hunish, First half of the 5th c.
14. Finds from the burial of Childeric (+482) at Tournai.
15. Buckle. Gold, cloisonné. Metropolitan Museum of Art. Frankish, 5th-6th.
16. Buckles. Gold, cloisonné from Lebeny, Hungary, First half of 5th c. after Das Gold of barbaren Fuersten p. 105.
17. Appliques for sword, belt and horseharness. Szeged-Nagyszekszos Hunnish- 1st half of the 5th c. after Das Gold of barbaren Fuersten p.128.
18. Diadem from the treasure from Varna 4th-5th c.
19. Bracelet from Varna Treasure.
20. Bracelet from Dumbarton Oaks 4th century.
21. Bracelet from Metropolitan Museum 5th-6th c.
22. Cross from Varna treasure.
23. Domagnano treasure. Late 5th c.
24. Silver plate decorated with females holding ribboned ring of investiture. Sassanian, Riggisberg. Abegg Foundation.
25. Silver dish from the Sutton-Hoo Treasure. Byzantine, with stamps of Anastasius (491-518).

Plates:



26. Finds from Devnya. Archaeological Museum Varna, end of 4th c.



2. Cross-bow fibula from the Early Byzantine fortress of Tuida (Sliven, Bulgaria), 4th-5th c.



3. Cross-bow fibula from Metropolitan Museum of Art, ca.430.



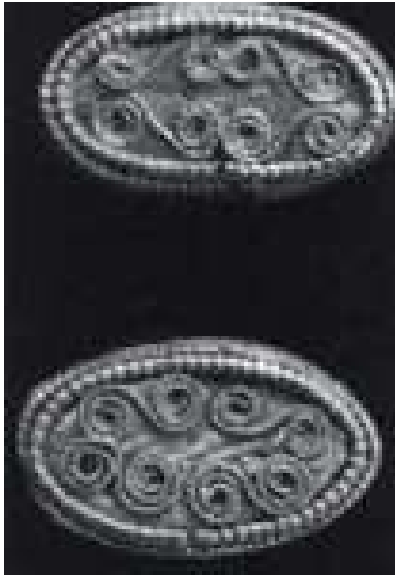
4. Treasure of a Vandal prince.
Osthropataka. Kept in Museum of National History, Hungary, ca. beginning of 4th c.



5. Gold fittings for a
belt from Riggisberg. Abeg Foundation, 6th-7th c. Sassanian or Byzantine?



6. Gold fittings.
Roemisch-Germanische Zentralmuseum, Mainz, allegedly from Amlash, Iran, Sassanian. 6th c.



7. Fittings for a sword-handle, Grave 1782, Krefeld-Gellep.



8. Disc brooch, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, gold, Langobardic, ca. AD 600.



9. Neckring. Varna. Gold, 5th-6th c.



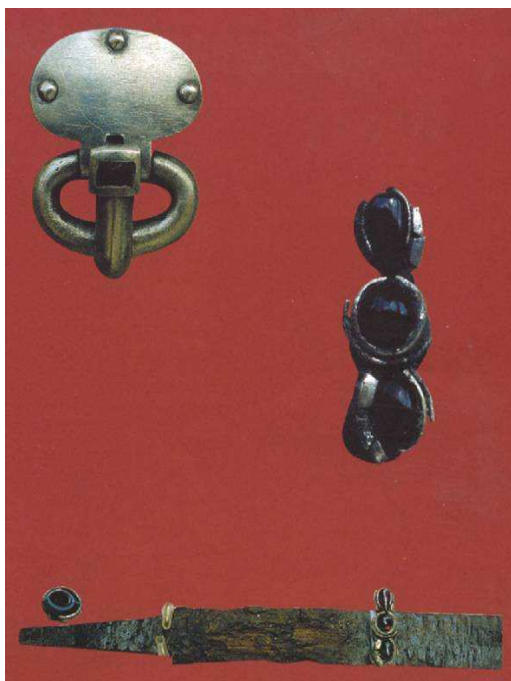
10. Torque, Metropolitan Museum of Art, East Germanic, AD 400-500.



11. Torque from Pietroasa with inscription. 5th c.



12. Bracelets from the treasure from Malaya Pereshchepina. Middle or second half of 7th c.



13. Finds from village of Izvor, Bulgaria. 5th-6th c.



14. Sword from Pannonhalma. Hunish, First half of the 5th c.



15. Finds from the burial of Childeric (+482) at Tournai.



Frankish, 5th-6th.

16. Buckle. Gold, cloisonné. Metropolitan Museum of Art.



17. Buckles. Gold, cloisonné from Lebeny, Hungary, First half of 5th c. after Das Gold of barbaren Fuersten p. 105.



18. Appliques for sword, belt and horseharness. Szeged-Nagyszekszos Hunnish- 1st half of the 5th c. after Das Gold of barbaren Fuersten p.128.



19. Diadem from the treasure from Varna 4th-5th c.



20. Bracelet from Varna Treasure.



21. Bracelet from Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, DC. - 4th century.



22. Bracelet from Metropolitan Museum 5th-6th c.



23. Cross from Varna treasure (Face and back).



24. Item from Domagnano treasure. Late 5th c.



25. Silver plate decorated with females holding ribboned ring of investiture. Sassanian, Riggisberg. Abegg Foundation.



26. Silver dish from the Sutton-Hoo Treasure. Byzantine, with stamps of Anastasius (491-518).