

Byzantine Jewellery of the Hungarian Conquest Period: a View from the Balkans ¹

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It seems appropriate to begin with a clarification of the chronological period in question. The Hungarian Conquest period, a generally accepted label in Central European archaeological studies, has not gained currency in the English-speaking world. In a strict historical sense, the period spans the arrival and settlement of the ancient Hungarian tribal alliance in the Carpathian Basin between 895 and 902. Such a brief period, however, can hardly be studied or interpreted archaeologically. The term 'Hungarian Conquest period' is therefore used to denote a 70 to 150 year time-span, in part owing to the above consideration, and in part to the nature of the archaeological evidence.² In this paper, I shall focus on the Byzantine jewellery³ of this period, *i.e.* the 10th century. The first problem is the determination of what should be regarded as 'Byzantine' since it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between genuine Byzantine pieces and copies of Byzantine products made in the workshops of various fringe cultures. While the same difficulties are encountered in the Late Antique to Early Byzantine period as well, scholars studying 6th–7th century Byzantine jewellery and the archaeological heritage of the Avars settling in the Carpathian Basin are in a slightly better situation because, in addition to finely crafted pieces from the empire, there are also several series of more simple, mass-produced types.⁴ The 6th–7th century extent of the Byzantine empire too offers important clues because an ornament type known from North Africa, Syria, Asia Minor, and the Balkans can be more confidently identified as 'Byzantine' than the 9th–11th century jewellery types known solely from the Balkans and the fringes of the empire. Adding to the uncertainties of identification is a peculiar feature of the 9th–11th centuries, in contrast to Late Antiquity,⁵ in that there are few textiles, frescoes, icons or illuminated manuscripts where items of jewellery are illustrated. The few portrayals of jewellery are usually restricted to crescentic earrings, such as the ones on the two female figures appearing on the shroud of Bishop Günther,⁶ the pieces seen on the fresco portraying St Barbara in St Maria della Croce of Casaranello in southern Italy,⁷ and on the great silk hangings of Brixen and Auxerre.⁸

This is one of the main reasons that very few 9th–11th century Byzantine jewellery types appear in major studies and exhibition catalogues.⁹ Another can be sought in the 20th century history of central and south-eastern Europe, where historical studies were imbued with ethnocentrism, and historical and archaeological research often served to bolster national identities and national narratives. Allow me to illustrate the distorting influence of this ethnocentric view through a few examples. For many decades, the possibility that early medieval burials and their finds could be anything but Slavic was not even considered in the Slavic states of the Balkans. This axiom was made obvious by the very titles of the published articles, such as 'New Finds from the Slavic

Necropolis at Matičane near Priština'¹⁰ or 'Report on the Old Slavic Findspots in Macedonia'.¹¹ At the same time, southern Slavic research was fully aware of the fact that many of the jewellery types labelled Slavic could be derived from Byzantine prototypes. Those medieval wall paintings that survived the stormy centuries of Balkan history, most of which portray members of the aristocracy, show ladies wearing finely crafted Byzantine earrings. Suffice it here to mention the late type of crescentic earrings worn by the Lady Desislava on a fresco of the Bojana Monastery.¹² It is not mere chance that I spoke of an 'awareness' of Byzantine prototypes: scholars of early medieval Balkan archaeology constructed a rather peculiar model of interpretation, according to which they discussed Slavic jewellery and their Byzantine models without presenting the actual Byzantine prototypes.¹³ This can in part be explained by the then rather poor extent to which excavation reports were published, making the search for good parallels from the heartland of the Byzantine Empire fairly difficult. It must also be borne in mind that scholars of the period accepted the traditional view that exceptionally well-crafted pieces should be interpreted as genuine Byzantine products, while simpler bronze variants were their local copies. This approach contributed to the identification of simpler Byzantine jewellery types worn as part of everyday costume, whose overwhelming majority was brought to light in the Balkans and the Carpathian Basin, as Slavic products. In other words, simple, trinket-type Byzantine jewellery was, in this sense, appropriated by Slavic research and defined as a Slavic ethnic marker.

It seems instructive to briefly discuss the weakness of this approach. While there is no apparent rationale for not identifying the jewellery items recovered from Slavic burials as 'Slavic', one of the main problems in this respect is that very little is known about the region's ethnic make-up during the period in question. (To which we may add that the same holds true for several other regions too.)¹⁴ Slavic research holds that the collapse of the Byzantine *limes* in the Lower Danube region in the late 6th and early 7th centuries and the settlement of various Slavic groups in the Balkans meant that the regions over which Byzantium lost her former control automatically and immediately became Slavic, and thus the possible presence of other groups in these regions was not even considered, even though the descendants of the Late Antique population obviously remained in their homeland in most places.¹⁵ Due to the lack of reliable research in this field, very little is known about the rate of admixture between the newly arriving Slavic groups and the Late Antique population, or its extent by the 9th–10th centuries in various Balkan regions. The lack of cremation burials in the Balkans, regarded as a distinctively 'Slavic' element, is very striking (one of the most typically Slavic Balkan cemeteries is known from Olympia in Greece,¹⁶

and another, later, burial ground has been excavated at Kašić¹⁷); at the same time, the 9th–11th century cemeteries across the Balkans interpreted as Slavic share numerous similarities with the inhumation burials characterised by ‘reduzierte Beigabensitte’ typical of the descendants of the Late Antique population from the 5th century onwards in other regions. The exclusive interpretation of the post-7th century material as Slavic in the Slavic states of the northern Balkans, designed to integrate the archaeological material into the national past, is problematic because this approach not only obscures the colourful tapestry of the period, but also creates a virtually insurmountable obstacle to the better understanding of the broader cultural context. The issue of how the jewellery labelled ‘Slavic’ relates to simple Byzantine jewellery has never been explored;¹⁸ instead, the problem has been written off by speaking of the local bronze copies of Byzantine adornments in gold and silver, which in effect obscures the obvious fact that the greater part of the Byzantine Empire’s population was made up of poor people, who wore simple bronze jewellery as part of their everyday costume.¹⁹

The excavations in Corinth begun in the 1890s, yielding the cast variants of 9th–11th century north Balkan jewellery types, brought an important caveat regarding the weaknesses of this approach.²⁰ It became painfully clear that the search for the everyday variants of Byzantine jewellery did not call for the discovery of hitherto unknown prototypes of so-called Slavic jewellery because they could be found among the ‘Slavic’ jewellery from south-east Europe and the Carpathian Basin. Admittedly, the publication of the finds and findings of the excavations in Corinth in the 1950s was an exception, rather than the rule. This is still one of the main obstacles faced by current research. The publication of 9th–11th century burials and settlements lying in the heartland of Byzantium lags far behind that of the sites in the Carpathian Basin and the Balkans.²¹ It is therefore hardly surprising that archaeologists working in the Balkan states sought analogies to their finds where they had the best chances of finding them, namely in Central Europe – and the Carpathian Basin in particular – where systematic archaeological exploration had begun in the last third of the 19th century. By the late 19th century, Hungarian archaeologists had classified the enormous quantities of artefacts recovered from burials and cemeteries, and had distinguished two archaeological cultures or, better put, two archaeological horizons for the period in question: one typified by what were regarded as ‘typical ancient Hungarian graves’ characterised by weapons, costume accessories of precious metal, and horse burials, the other by humble commoners’ burials, erroneously labelled the Bjelo Brdo culture.²² The interpretative framework constructed at the time had a lasting impact on the research of the Conquest period.

A lively debate emerged on the ethnic background of the Bjelo Brdo culture at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, with most of the period’s leading scholars agreeing that the culture represented the archaeological heritage of the Slavs.²³ This interpretation was rooted in the widespread romanticising and ethnocentric thought of the 19th century. Even the best minds in Hungarian archaeology were unable to conceptualise the humble grave goods of the Bjelo Brdo culture as the archaeological heritage of the ancient Hungarians. As Ferenc

Pulszky²⁴ declared in 1891, ‘the ancient Hungarians were conquerors and not craftsmen, and thus their jewellery was made by their servants and prisoners-of-wars, and the local population found here, in a period when art was on the decline.’²⁵ This line of thought excluded even the possibility that the commoners of the Conquest period could ever be identified. In order to better understand the background to the ethnic interpretation of the Bjelo Brdo culture, we must reach back to the works of Sophus Müller, a Danish archaeologist, who had argued for the Slavic origins of S-terminalled lock-rings, one of the most common finds of the Bjelo Brdo culture.²⁶ His arguments for regarding this jewellery item as an ethnic marker of the Slavs were accepted by most European scholars at the time. József Hampel’s monumental synthesis on the archaeology of the Conquest period,²⁷ a variant of which was also published also in German,²⁸ blended Pulszky’s national romanticism and Müller’s ethnocentric views. He attributed the *Reihengräberfelder* of the Bjelo Brdo culture to the Slavs of the Carpathian Basin. The identification of the S-terminalled lock-rings with the Slavs coincided with the basic interpretational framework of emerging Slavic archaeology: in an article appearing in 1894, Professor Lubor Niederle of Prague, regarded as the founding father of Slavic archaeology,²⁹ too argued that these lock-rings should be seen as ethnic markers of the Slavs.³⁰ Niederle’s views were widely accepted among the archaeologists and historians of the Slavic-speaking lands.³¹

Another frequent approach, even in the Balkans, was the analysis of archaeological assemblages from the perspective of modern nation-states, involving the projection of the modern state’s territory and the much-desired homogeneous nation back into the past, leading to the interpretation of the archaeological material as the heritage of an early nation-state.³² This approach disregarded the well-known multi-ethnicity of eastern and south-eastern Europe, and the shifting boundaries of early medieval state formations. Since one of the priorities of archaeological research was the identification of the ancestors of modern peoples, archaeologists were reluctant to distinguish Byzantine elements. It therefore came as a genuine shock when the excavations on Late Antique sites, such as Corinth, brought to light artefact types, which had previously been categorised as Slavic or Avar.³³ The ongoing debate over the Avar or ‘barbarian’ belt buckles between the 1930s and the 1950s is very instructive in this respect.³⁴ We should at this point recall that in her book published in 1952, Gladys Davidson listed many analogous finds to the trapezoidal Byzantine belt buckles, noting that she had received information on some of the unpublished pieces quoted by her from Professor Gyula László back in 1937 – the implication being that the buckles in question could be found both in the Carpathian Basin and in Istanbul, Samos, and Laurion.³⁵ Davidson thus explored all possible options in her search for parallels in order to identify Byzantine types since the material culture of Byzantine daily life represented by these minor objects was virtually unknown.

A few years later, the interpretation of these buckles appeared to be resolved. Two articles published simultaneously in 1955, one by Dezső Csallány,³⁶ the other by Joachim Werner,³⁷ both came to the conclusion, albeit through a slightly differing approach, that these articles were Byzantine products. The two

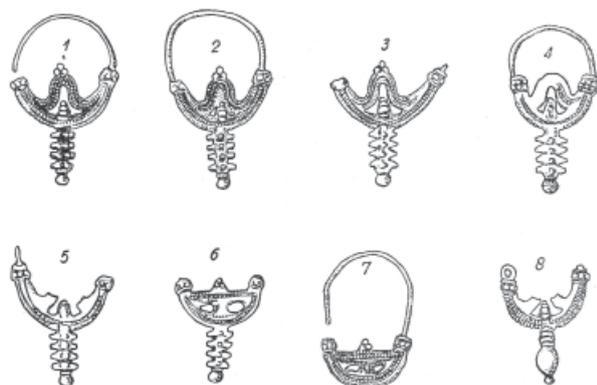


Plate 1 Jewellery of the so-called Bjelo Brdo type

approaches applied by these two scholars are suitable for describing the two analytical procedures by which the Byzantine nature of most Byzantine finds has been determined: the first, through the publication of the finds from the empire's heartland; the second, through the comparative analysis of artefacts with a wide distribution in regions on the empire's fringes.³⁸ Still, neither approach resulted in immediately turning the research of Byzantine material culture onto the right track. Half a decade later, Werner again opted for an ethnic approach and defined certain brooch types as Slavic.³⁹ The untenability of his views was noted by Dimitrios Pallas,⁴⁰ and later research too confirmed that these artefacts could hardly be regarded as ethnic markers and that some of the brooches in question can be regarded as Byzantine products.⁴¹

Slavic archaeological research remained virtually unaffected by these new findings. The 1940s were marked by a particularisation of research, rather than by the broadening of the interpretative framework. Large-scale excavations were begun at Staré Mešto in Moravia,⁴² bringing to light an assemblage of finds speaking of a strong cultural impact from a broadly interpreted Byzantine *Kulturkreis*. While acknowledging the undeniably Byzantine traits,⁴³ local scholars persistently emphasised the Great Moravian, *i.e.* Slavic nature of the finds.⁴⁴ Similar tendencies could be noted in Yugoslavian research. The first typologies and typochronological syntheses were conceived in the tradition of the Slavic ethnocentric perspective. Suffice it here to quote but a single eloquent example. The Bjelo Brdo type jewellery (Pl. 1) in the Serbian title of Mirjana Ćorović-Ljubinković's study became Slavic jewellery in the French summary.⁴⁵ Countless similar examples can be cited. Lurking in the background again were the general political events of the period: in the later 1940s, the Soviet Union adopted and proclaimed Niederle's Slavic archaeology as the official research policy, which was expected to be followed in the satellite countries too.⁴⁶ The jewellery items, which were earlier described as ornaments found in Slavic graves, produced in workshops under Byzantine influence, were now axiomatically categorised as jewellery reflecting Byzantine influence and therefore Slavic pieces. The fact that the Hungarian Béla Szőke had convincingly demonstrated the Hungarian components and poly-ethnic nature of the Bjelo Brdo culture in 1962 had little effect.⁴⁷ Even the more open-minded Slavic scholars continued to regard the culture as a predominantly Slavic phenomenon,

while their more biased colleagues simply dismissed Szőke's findings and conclusions as some 'great Hungarian dream'.⁴⁸ Interestingly enough, from this perspective Szőke's study had little impact on Hungarian archaeological research since, even after the 1960s, early medieval archaeological research was dominated by a research perspective focusing almost exclusively on eastern European finds and assemblages,⁴⁹ without any apparent interest in the south-eastern European elements of the commoners' culture. The few scholars studying these artefacts generally opted for the Slavic interpretation.⁵⁰

The breakthrough in this respect came in the 1990s, when Károly Mesterházy devoted two lengthy studies to two major groups of finds with south-east European connections,⁵¹ namely trapezoidal buckles and certain jewellery types, such as various types of earrings with four large and several smaller globular pendants, lock-rings, bracelets decorated with small loops of wire, crescentic earrings, and filigree decorated finger-rings (Pls 2–3).⁵² The title of his study is very telling: 'Byzantine and Balkan finds from 10th–11th century Hungarian burials'. Mesterházy was apparently reluctant to determine which pieces could be regarded as genuine Byzantine products and which as local, Balkan copies. A careful reading of his study reveals the dilemma he was grappling with. Discussing a variant of cast crescentic earrings, he noted that 'it is merely a question of time until variants made from precious metal are found in the more southerly regions of the Balkans'.⁵³ Elsewhere, he remarked that 'the Byzantine origins of this type can hardly be rejected on the grounds that similar pieces have not been found in Byzantium'.⁵⁴ Seeing that the bulk of the south-eastern European earrings known from the Carpathian Basin are represented by silver pieces and their cast bronze copies, Mesterházy interpreted them as Balkan imports, although he did suggest that some types were 'either imports among both the local and the Hungarian population, or pieces worn by the immigrant Slavic population'.⁵⁵ It would appear that Mesterházy was unable to entirely break free of the Slav-centred interpretation of these artefacts. A few years later, he devoted a lengthy study to the 10th–11th century trade network of the Carpathian Basin, based in part on south-east European find types, affirming again that the pieces in this category should be regarded as imports, and specifically as the imports of Balkan goods inspired by Byzantine products.⁵⁶ He supported this view by demonstrating that many pieces from the Carpathian Basin often share closer similarities with their counterparts from the Balkans than with each other.⁵⁷

A look at the finds from the Carpathian Basin from the perspective of the Balkans might contribute new hues to the overall picture painted by earlier research. In addition to searching for Balkan and Anatolian analogies to the finds, the identification of find types which lack a parallel might be useful too. Valeri Grigorov's excellent study on 7th–11th century metal jewellery from Bulgaria provides a good starting point for this exercise.⁵⁸ A closer look at his distribution maps indicates that there are hardly any 10th–11th century jewellery types which do not have their counterparts among the find assemblages from the Carpathian Basin. Even though Grigorov's data for the Carpathian Basin are rather patchy,⁵⁹ it is quite obvious that the various jewellery types have smaller concentrations in the Carpathian Basin than in the Balkans. Disregarding the various wire ornaments in the later 10th and

11th century find assemblages from the commoners' cemeteries, the remaining jewellery articles are predominantly types which have strong affinities with south-east Europe.⁶⁰ Knowing that an archaeological culture is not an entity *per se*, but a scholarly construct, its boundaries shift according to which artefacts or burial customs are – more or less justifiably or, conversely, arbitrarily – defined as its principal attributes and which are regarded as marginal phenomena. Current Hungarian research tends to relegate pieces with Byzantine and/or Balkan connections to the category of irrelevant attributes.⁶¹ Viewed from the Balkans, the Carpathian Basin is the northernmost extension of the south-east European cultural *koiné*, even if the finds from that region are mixed with types rare in the Balkans, which in a certain sense dominate the region's material culture.⁶² The relative frequency of finds with south-east European affinities is especially striking if compared to the distribution of the typical artefacts of the neighbouring regions in the Carpathian Basin. The finds of the so-called *Hacksilberfunde* horizon⁶³ and of the Köttlach culture,⁶⁴ as well as the majority of the commodities obtained during the ancient Hungarians' military campaigns,⁶⁵ occur far less frequently in the material from the Carpathian Basin than certain Balkan finger-ring types (Pl. 4).⁶⁶ It is my belief that these south-east European find types should not be regarded as

alien elements in the archaeological heritage of the Conquest period. In order to place these finds into their proper context, the issue of to what extent these finds can be regarded as culturally Byzantine must be examined.

Two striking points emerge clearly from a closer look at the artefacts traditionally regarded as Byzantine products: very few finely crafted items of precious metal with Mediterranean affinities are known from the Carpathian Basin, even though these are the types which are principally regarded as genuine Byzantine wares. At the same time, there are several Byzantine jewellery types of which not one single piece has come to light in this region.

Altogether 13 crescentic earrings, a jewellery type traditionally identified as a Byzantine product, are known from eight sites in the Carpathian Basin to date (Pl. 5).⁶⁷ The first pair of these earrings to be found played an important role in determining the type as a Byzantine import:⁶⁸ the pair from Grave 1 at Kecel was made from gold and thus fitted the simplified criteria distilled from the axiom which equated good quality pieces with genuine Byzantine products. The silver bracelets from Tiszaeszlár (Pl. 6)⁶⁹ and Szarvas (Pl. 7)⁷⁰ were identified as Byzantine goods on the same grounds. Both are hinged bracelets: the birds on the piece from Tiszaeszlár and the griffins on the one from Szarvas are alien to the decorative



Plate 2 Byzantine and Balkanic finds from 10th–11th century Hungarian burials according to K. Mesterházy's classification



Plate 3 Byzantine and Balkanic finds from 10th–11th century Hungarian burials according to K. Mesterházy's classification

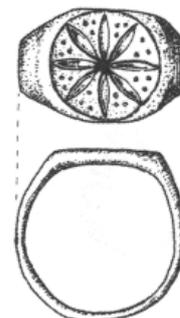


Plate 4 Byzantine-type finger-ring with widening bezel from Grave 255 at Ibrány-Esbóhalom



Plate 5 Silver earring of the crescent type



Plate 6 Byzantine-type hinged bracelet from Grave 12, Cemetery II at Tiszaeszlár–Bashalom

Plate 7 Byzantine-type hinged bracelet from Szarvas



motifs of the Conquest period. Curiously enough, no attempt was made to search for similar pieces from the Mediterranean, even though an overview of this type would have proved most instructive, seeing that comparable pieces from Byzantium, whence they originated, are generally dated to the 11th–12th centuries⁷¹ – the pieces from Hungary thus furnish evidence that the type had already appeared in the 10th century. At the same time, the silver and predominantly bronze trinkets found in addition to the finely crafted pieces could not be fitted into the concept equating good quality jewellery articles with Byzantine products. Neither should it be forgotten that the treatment of Byzantine types as Slavic, discussed above, remained unchallenged for a long time. The shortcomings and the pitfalls of both viewpoints are apparent if the cemeteries containing the burials of the Byzantine population are examined. The grave goods from the oft-analysed burial ground at Kastro Tigani⁷² included pieces made from the most common non-precious metal types, indicating that jewellery crafted from precious and non-precious metals were both commonly used in Byzantium,⁷³ and that their possession depended mostly on an individual's wealth. The examination of the jewellery types from larger Byzantine cemeteries proved this point even more forcefully. The 233 burials of the Azoros cemetery in southern Thessaly yielded a rich assortment of Middle Byzantine jewellery.⁷⁴ The finds included earring, finger-ring, and bracelet types known from the northern Balkans and the Carpathian Basin. Similarly, somewhat simpler jewellery types are known from the Greek mainland and the Greek islands too.⁷⁵ While it may be argued that these were not Byzantine, but Balkan products, there has been a steady increase in comparable finds from the empire's Anatolian regions as shown by the few publications in this field. The finds include finger-rings with a shield-shaped bezel,⁷⁶ hinged bracelets of sheet metal,⁷⁷ twisted wire bracelets,⁷⁸ and earrings decorated with wire loops.⁷⁹ There is no apparent reason to doubt that most of the comparable pieces from the Carpathian Basin were indeed simple jewellery articles used also in Byzantium.

The issue of smaller workshops supplying a particular area or region cannot be side-stepped, even though very little is actually known about these workshops. While it is quite obvious that some jewellery items represent the local variant of a particular type, it is also clear that the basic form was distributed over a fairly extensive area. What is uncertain is whether a particular variant can be equated with the activity of a workshop. To take but one example: finger-rings with a widening bezel decorated with a heraldically posed eagle, or a bird holding a leafy branch in its beak shown in profile, are known from both the Balkans and Anatolia.⁸⁰ The few published Anatolian pieces also include types, such as the ones bearing a human head, which are virtually lacking from the

Balkans.⁸¹ The activity of local workshops is reflected even more spectacularly by the presence of more variable types, especially in cases when social circumstances were conducive to the growth of workshop centres.⁸²

There are a few jewellery types, especially among the most lavish assemblages, which have not yet been found in the Carpathian Basin. These include earrings and finger-rings decorated with cloisonné enamel, whose absence from this region is all the more striking because pieces from the 10th century are known from the Balkans: suffice it here to mention the crescentic earrings of the Preslav Treasure.⁸³ The dating of the finger-ring type from the Kastro Tigani cemetery to the Middle Byzantine period seems somewhat controversial because earlier publications assigned the entire burial ground to the 6th–7th century.⁸⁴ It might be more reasonable to conclude that the cemetery has a Middle Byzantine phase.⁸⁵ An earring from one of the burials is an 8th–11th century type,⁸⁶ while the finger-ring can most definitely be assigned to the Middle Byzantine period. David Buckton has convincingly argued that cloisonné enamel was not used before the 9th century in Byzantium.⁸⁷ The bird depiction on the finger-ring is best paralleled by finds from the 9th and 10th centuries, such as a bracelet from Thessalonica,⁸⁸ the necklace and earrings of the Preslav Treasure,⁸⁹ and a pair of earrings in the British Museum.⁹⁰ The finger-ring from the Šestovici cemetery in the Ukraine (Pl. 8), the counterpart of the piece from Kastro Tigani, can likewise be dated to the 10th–11th century.⁹¹ While it might be argued that jewellery articles decorated with cloisonné enamel did not reach the Carpathian Basin owing to their cost, we admittedly know very little about the original value of these pieces. A grave assemblage from Naupaktos must be cited in this respect. One burial in the partially excavated and published cemetery yielded a broken crescentic earring decorated with cloisonné enamel, suggesting that earrings of this type were in some cases part of everyday costume. There is nothing to indicate that the graves of the Naupaktos cemetery

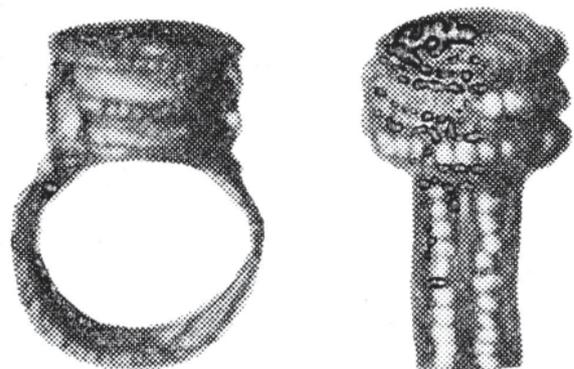


Plate 8 Byzantine finger-ring from Šestovci

uncovered to date contained the burials of high-ranking, wealthy individuals.⁹²

Basket earrings (Pl. 9) represent another jewellery type lacking from the archaeological record of the Carpathian Basin. In contrast to earlier views,⁹³ which dated the use of the type to the 6th–12th centuries,⁹⁴ we may now rightly assume that it represents a Middle Byzantine type.⁹⁵ It would appear that the 10th–11th century earrings of this type were mostly distributed in the empire’s Anatolian region. To the best of my knowledge, none are currently known from the Balkans. One possible explanation for their absence from the Carpathian Basin is that this earring type was solely distributed in the eastern Mediterranean, but not in the Balkans. The same cannot be said of the glass bracelets appearing in the 10th–11th centuries,⁹⁶ which were popular in both the Balkans⁹⁷ and Anatolia,⁹⁸ while no more than a few pieces are known from the Carpathian Basin.⁹⁹ In sum, we may say that while exquisitely crafted Byzantine pieces do appear in the archaeological record, as shown by the earring from Dunapentele (Pl. 10),¹⁰⁰ as do less elaborate jewellery items for daily wear,¹⁰¹ the distribution of 11th century types is much scantier than that of 10th century types.

Two major tasks must be resolved in order to gain a better understanding of Byzantine jewellery of the 9th–11th centuries. Firstly, there is a need for the publication of the find assemblages and their contexts from excavations conducted in the heartland of the Byzantine empire, because without this corpus of data, it is virtually impossible to distinguish genuine Byzantine pieces from their local copies.¹⁰² Secondly, it is necessary to deconstruct existing interpretations of the period’s so-called southern Slavic jewellery and to discard the former narrative on the ethnic interpretation of archaeological finds.¹⁰³

The latter seems to be the easier of the two since in this age of post-modernism, the intellectual climate favours the construction of meta-histories and the rejection of former archaeological and historical narratives. Still, the separation of genuine Byzantine articles and their copies from the Balkans and the Carpathian Basin will remain problematic even if earlier assemblages and newly excavated ones are published according to modern standards. The precise cultural

attribution of the various types, subtypes, and variants distinguished through a meticulous classification and typological study of the finds will remain a problematic issue. The construction of categories, types and typological sequences is obviously an attempt to bring some order into the world around us. However, this approach is just one of the many techniques for studying the past. The creation of well-defined clusters, while undeniably useful, is not the single means of understanding the peoples of the past, whose world was much more open in some respects, and considerably more closed in others than we are apt to conceptualise today. We must make every effort not to become ensnared by our analytical approaches. Ancient peoples hardly thought in the categories we employ today and a more fruitful approach in this respect is to try to understand them on their own terms.

Obviously, I am not against the modern analytical procedures used by our discipline. I merely wish to draw attention to the fact that when speaking of Byzantine jewellery and Byzantine cultural impacts, we tend to think in different categories than the people who actually wore these ornaments as part of their costume. This is quite natural since we can hardly place ourselves in the life and mindset of peoples who lived a thousand years ago. However, if our aim is to contextualise our observations concerning a particular artefact type – and this is, after all, one of our goals in cultivating archaeology – we can hardly ignore the people who used them. In other words, the main problem as I see it, is that many of the artefacts we label Byzantine goods were hardly regarded as such by their contemporary users living several hundreds of kilometres away from Byzantium. This label had no political or cultural relevance for them. Depending on the actual situation, an artefact of this type represented a prestige item from a distant land (or a curious, alien artefact), a copy of the prestige items used by the élite of a smaller or larger community, or, conversely, the routine use of an item used by most people around them. This primarily depended on the extent to which what we call Byzantine cultural impacts (whether genuine pieces or copies) actually affected a particular community. The contextual interpretation of the given artefact type in the recipient cultural environment obviously depended on the profoundness of the impact: the wider the distribution of an artefact type and the more it was copied, the more it tells us about the recipient culture, while the more traditional it



Plate 9 Byzantine gold earring of basket type, Athens, Benaki Museum



Plate 10 Byzantine-type earring from Dunapentelei

remained, the more it adhered to the original model, the more it reveals about the donor culture.

The bottom line of the above survey is that the lack of certain artefact types seems to be most striking. The almost complete absence of elaborately crafted, outstanding Byzantine jewellery pieces suggests that the acculturation undergone by the ancient Hungarians after their settlement in the Carpathian Basin – whose archaeological imprints have been discussed here – was a profound process. It would appear that instead of the superficial adoption or imitation of luxury items for prestige purposes, this was a process affecting everyday life in this culture. To employ a slightly bold parallel: in the same way as Byzantium politically exploited and culturally moulded into her own likeness the states of the region which Dimitry Obolensky succinctly termed the Byzantine Commonwealth,¹⁰³ there emerged a commonwealth of material culture which to a smaller or greater extent reflected Byzantium, whose members exploited this cultural heritage on their own terms. The ethnocentric, nationalistic political narratives of the 19th and 20th centuries transformed this commonwealth into a Moravian, Serbian or Hungarian narrative. One major task of 21st century research will be to identify the shared elements and the cultural dynamics of this commonwealth in order to better understand its nature and how it actually functioned.

Notes

- 1 This study is a slightly expanded version of a paper read at the conference “Intelligible Beauty”: Recent Research on Byzantine Jewellery’. In view of the complexity of the subject and its prolific literature, I have only quoted the most recent literature and, as far as this was possible, those works published in a western European language. For a comprehensive survey of the literature on 9th–11th century Byzantine jewellery, see V. Grigorov, *Metalni nakiti ot srednevekovna Bălgarija (VII–XI v.)*, Sofia, 2007; A. Bosselmann-Ruickbie’s PhD study (in print); and P. Langó’s PhD study (currently in preparation). For an excellent overview of the archaeology of the Slavic-speaking countries in the Balkans, see M. Takács, *A középkor régészete az észak-balkáni régióban - párhuzamos és összehasonlító vizsgálat* [The archaeology of the Middle Ages in the North Balkan region. A parallel and comparative analysis] (in press). I am grateful to Miklós Takács for his wide-ranging lectures, which drew my attention to many issues of north Balkan archaeology and for kindly allowing me to read his unpublished manuscript. This study was kindly supported by an OTKA grant (OTKA 72636).
- 2 For a brief overview, see P. Langó, ‘Archaeological research on the conquering Hungarians: A review’, in B.G. Mende (ed.), *Research on the prehistory of the Hungarians: A review*, Budapest, 2005, 177–80.
- 3 It seems useful to clarify the term ‘jewellery’ as used in this paper. There is no general consensus as to what artefact groups should be included in this category. In some cases, adornments applied to the belt or the costume are also included. In the case of material cultures, whose remains predominantly originate from archaeological contexts (most often from cemetery excavations), a distinction is often drawn between costume ornaments and jewellery in order to better circumscribe the circumstances (and ultimate aim) of deposition in the burial. The former generally include various costume adornments – usually made from some non-perishable material, most often metal – while the latter comprise articles used for decorating the body. Beads make up a special group of jewellery, which will not be discussed in this paper because their analysis has grown into an independent discipline with its own research techniques, among which various analytical procedures occupy a prominent place to the extent that any advances in bead studies are practically unimaginable without them.
- 4 Suffice it to quote here a single example for illustrating these difficulties. Several reviewers of a recent monograph on Byzantine objects in the material culture of the Avar period (É. Garam, *Funde*

byzantinischer Herkunft in der Avarzeit vom Ende des 6. bis zum Ende des 7. Jahrhunderts, Budapest, 2001) have pointed out that distinguishing those genuine Byzantine products reaching the Avars as ‘imports’ in the form of gifts, booty, subsidy, or trade from their local copies is still problematic: see, E. Riemer in *Trierer Zeitschrift* 65 (2002), 383–6; J. Drauschke in *Zeitschrift für Archäologie des Mittelalters* 34 (2006), 316–20.

- 5 One possible reason for the frequent depiction of jewellery in the Late Antique period has been discussed by B. Küllerich, ‘The Abundance of Nature – the Wealth of Man: Reflections on an Early Byzantine Seasons Mosaic from Syria’, in E. Piltz and P. Åström (eds), *Kairos: Studies in Art History and Literature in Honour of Professor Gunilla Åkerström-Hougen*, Jonsered, 1998, 27–31. I would like to thank László Török for calling my attention to this paper.
- 6 For an excellent photo of the figures with earrings (in particular the better preserved figure on the left) see, B. Borkopp and M. Restle, ‘Guntertuch’, in R. Baumstark (ed.), *Rom und Byzanz, Schatzkammerstücke aus bayerischen Sammlungen*, Munich, 1998, cat. no. 64, 209. The debate over the date of the shroud has flared up again: the date in the early 11th century suggested by A. Grabar (‘La soie byzantine de l’évêque Gunther à la cathédrale de Bamberg’, *Münchener Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst* 7 (1956), 7–26) and his followers (e.g. A. Geijer, ‘Bishop Gunther’s Shroud in Bamberg Cathedral: Some Marginal Notes’, in M. Flury-Lemberg and K. Stolleis (eds), *Documenta Textilia*, Munich, 1981, 156–62) was challenged in the early 1990s by G. Prinzing (‘Das Bamberger Guntertuch in neuer Sicht’, *Byzantinoslavica* 54 (1993), 218–31), who linked the making of the shroud to the Bulgarian victory of the emperor John I Tzimiskes in 971. In contrast, T. Papamastorakis (‘The Bamberg Hanging Reconsidered’, *Deltion tēs Christianikēs Archaïologikēs Etaireias* 24 (2003), 375–92) believed that the shroud could be linked to Nikephoros II Phokas’ triumphal procession of 965. M. Restle (‘Das Guntertuch im Domschatz von Bamberg’, in K. Belke, E. Kislinger, A. Külzer and M. A. Stassinopoulou (eds), *Byzantina Mediterranea*, Vienna, 2007, 547–68) refuted Papamastorakis’ arguments and seconded Prinzing’s view, who maintained his earlier standpoint (G. Prinzing, ‘Nochmals zur historischen Deutung des Bamberger Guntertuches auf Johannes Tzimiskes’, in M. Kaimakova, M. Solomon and M. Smorag Rózycka (eds), *Byzantium, New Peoples, New Powers: The Byzantino-Slav Contact Zone, from the Ninth to the Fifteenth Century* (Byzantina et Slavica Cracoviensia 5), Cracow, 2007, 123–32). Despite the ongoing debate, a date in the later 10th century is now generally accepted. In spite of the excellent conservation work on the shroud, its poor state of preservation does not allow the reconstruction of minute details, such as whether the female figure is shown wearing an earring or a temple pendant as suggested by Natalija Ristovska in her paper read at the conference. For the shroud’s restoration see, S. Müller-Christiansen, ‘Beobachtungen zum Bamberger Guntertuch’, *Münchener Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst* 17 (1966), 9–16, and *eadem.*, *Das Guntertuch im Bamberger Domschatz*, Bamberg, 1966 (the latter study was unavailable to me).
- 7 L. Safran, ‘Redating some South Italian Frescoes: The First Layer at S. Pietro, Otranto, and the Earliest Paintings at S. Maria Della Croce, Casaranello’, *Byzantion* 60 (1990), 330, fig. 9.
- 8 For these silks, see A. Muthesius, *Byzantine Silk Weaving AD 400 to AD 1200*, Vienna, 1997, 47–50, figs 14A–B, 74A, 85B with earlier literature. For another perspective see, A. Cutler, ‘Imagination and Documentation: Eagle Silks in Byzantium, the Latin West and ‘Abbasid Baghdad’, *BZ* 96 (2003), 67–72.
- 9 While there has been a welcome proliferation of exhibition catalogues presenting various collections, this has not resulted in the identification of Middle Byzantine jewellery types intended for daily use, even though some of these superb catalogues were organised around the theme of ‘Alltag/Everyday life’, at least in their title, and a few indeed included pieces worn as part of everyday costume. Most of the latter, however, dated from the Late Antique period: see ‘Profane Welt und Alltag’, in C. Stiegemann (ed.), *Byzanz: Das Licht aus dem Osten. Kult und Alltag im Byzantinischen Reich vom 4. bis 15. Jahrhundert*, Mainz, 2001, 231–364; ‘Alltag und Luxus’, in L. Wamers (ed.), *Die Welt von Byzanz – Europas östliches Erbe*, Munich, 2004, 213–367. An exceptionally large number of pieces of Middle Byzantine jewellery can be seen in the exhibition catalogue *Kathēmerinē zōē sto Byzantino*, Athens, 2002.
- 10 V. Jovanović, L. Vuksanović and N. Berić, ‘New Finds from the

- Slavic Necropolis at Matičane near Priština', *Balcanoslavica* 1 (1972), 107–11.
- 11 B. Babić, 'Report on the Old Slavic Findspots in Macedonia', *Balcanoslavica* 4 (1975), 127–38.
 - 12 For a good photograph, see J.D. Alchermes, 'The Bulgarians', in H. C. Evans and W. D. Wixom (eds), *The Glory of Byzantium. Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era, A.D. 843–1261*, New York, 1997, 320. See also the paper by Albani in this volume, pl. 2.
 - 13 For a recent example, see Ž. Tomičić's study ('O nekim vezama ranosrednjovjekovne Slavonije i Dalmacije na primjeru polumjesecolikih naušnica s privjeskom', *Starohrvatska prosvjetjeta* 30 (2003), 155–6) on a group of earrings with grape bunch pendants (Giesler's Class 15c). For Giesler's classification, see J. Giesler, 'Untersuchungen zur Chronologie der Bijelo Brdo-Kultur. Ein Beitrag zur Archäologie des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts im Karpatenbecken', *Prähistorische Zeitschrift* 56 (1981), 3–168.
 - 14 An exhaustive list of references would greatly exceed the scope of this study and I will therefore merely refer to the ongoing debate in this field: S. Brather, *Ethnische Interpretationen in der frühgeschichtlichen Archäologie* (Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde – Ergänzungsbände 42), Berlin and New York, 2004; V. Bierbrauer, 'Zur ethnische Interpretationen in der frühgeschichtlichen Archäologie', in W. Pohl (ed.), *Die Suche nach den Ursprüngen*, Vienna, 2004, 45–84; for the occasionally over-critical Anglo-Saxon attitude towards the continental (predominantly German) research tradition, see A. Gillett (ed.), *On Barbarian Identity: Critical Approaches to Ethnicity in the Early Middle Ages* (Studies in the Early Middle Ages 4), Turnhout, 2002. For a recent addition to the debate, see F. Curta, 'Some remarks on ethnicity in medieval archaeology', *Early Medieval Europe* 15 (2007), 159–85.
 - 15 It might rightly be argued that there was a marked population decline in the Byzantine Empire during the 6th century which played a major role in the transformation of the earlier settlement structure. This obviously contributed to the dominance of Slav groups in some regions, but it could hardly have led to the overall disappearance of the Romanised population. To quote but one example: in the 12th–13th centuries, a major portion of the population of Asenid Bulgaria was made up of pastoralist groups speaking a Neo-Latin tongue, who were slowly migrating northward from the more southerly regions of the Balkans: see, G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, Oxford, 1968 (2nd ed.), 403–4, esp. 404, n. 1. For a general overview of the Balkans in the 6th century, see F. Curta, 'Peasants as 'Makeshift Soldiers for the Occasion': Sixth-Century Settlement Patterns in the Balkans', in T.S. Burns and J.W. Eadie (eds), *Urban Centers and Rural Contexts in Late Antiquity*, East Lansing, 2001a, 199–217 (<http://www.clas.ufl.edu/users/fcurta/PEAS.pdf>); and *idem.*, *The Making of the Slavs. History and Archaeology of the Lower Danube Region, c. 500–700*, Cambridge, 2001b, 121–50. For another perspective, see A. Dunn, 'Continuity and Change in the Macedonian Countryside from Gallienus to Justinian', in W. Bowden, L. Lavan and C. Machado (eds), *Recent Research on the Late Antique Countryside* (Late Antique Archaeology 2), Leiden and Boston, 2004, 535–86; and *idem.*, 'Rural Producers and Markets: Aspects of the Archaeological and Historical Problem', in M. Grünbart, E. Kislinger, A. Muthesius and D. Ch. Stathakopoulos (eds), *Material Culture and Well-Being in Byzantium (400–1453)* (Veröffentlichungen zur Byzanzforschung 11), Vienna, 2007, 101–9. The difficulties in this field of research are reviewed by A. Dunn, 'The transformation from polis to kastron in the Balkans (III–VII cc.): general and regional perspectives', *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 18 (1994), 60–80.
 - 16 T. Vida and T. Völling, *Das slawische Brandgräberfeld von Olympia*, Rahden, 2000.
 - 17 J. Belošević, 'Die ersten slawischen Urnengräber auf dem Gebiete Jugoslawiens aus dem Dorf Kašić bei Zadar', *Balcanoslavica* 1 (1972), 73–86.
 - 18 One good illustration of the approach equating quality with the place of manufacture, and of how even the very possibility of the existence of simple Byzantine jewellery has been rejected out of hand, is provided by the discussion of the bronze earrings found at Boljetin by: S. Ercegović-Pavlović, 'Le dépôt des boucles d'oreilles de la fortification romano-byzantine à Boljetin sur le Danube', *Archaeologica Jugoslavica* 8 (1967), 93: 'Tous ces exemplaires des boucles d'oreilles mentionnés [Starè Mešto, etc.], y compris la paire de Mačvanska Mitrovica, ont été exécutés dans un haute technique d'orfèvrerie, soit en filigrane, soit en granulation ou combin, le plus souvent en or ou en argent. Tous ces exemplaires étaient considérés comme importation byzantine direct [...] En Yougoslavie, sans doute, les découvertes de Trilje et de Golubić, auraient représentés l'importation byzantine direct [...] Si nous opposons aux boucles d'oreilles du dépôt de Boljetin les analogies mentionnées, autant de la Yougoslavie qu'au delà de ses frontières, visuellement et à la première vue il n'y aurait pas de grandes différences dans la manière d'exécution de ces boucles d'oreilles et des boucles d'oreilles ornées, ce qui permettrait de les considérer comme Byzantines. Cependant la metal dont elles étaient faites, le cuivre et le bronze avec l'enduit mince d'étain, ne parle nullement en faveur de l'hypothèse de l'importation Byzantine quand il s'agit de ce dépôt de Boljetin'.
 - 19 For social conditions in the rural areas of Byzantium during the 10th century, based chiefly on data from the southern Balkans, see N. Oikonomidés, 'The Social Structure of the Byzantine Countryside in the First Half of the Xth Century', *Symmeikta* 10 (1996), 105–25. It is instructive to quote the data published by J.-C. Cheynet and C. Morrisson on the income and subsistence conditions of the different social groups in Byzantium: 'three levels of income can be distinguished: (1) unqualified workers who were able, over a long period, to earn at most 1 *nomisma* per month, when not unemployed; (2) qualified workers, professional soldiers, and craftsmen, who enjoyed a wide margin of income, three to ten times more than that of unqualified workers; and (3) important officials, judges or strategoi, as well as the wealthiest merchants and bankers, whose incomes differed from the first category by a factor of 150 or more': C. Morrisson and J.-C. Cheynet, 'Prices and Wages in the Byzantine World', in A.E. Laiou (ed.), *The Economic History of Byzantium. From the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century*, Washington DC, 2002, 872. Thus, if we know that one *nomisma* covered the monthly expenses of a poor family, a jewellery article equivalent to a pair of earrings weighing several *nomismata* should be treated according to its value in Byzantine society (cf. the pair of earrings from Kececi discussed below).
 - 20 See G.R. Davidson, *Corinth: results of excavations conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. Vol. 12: The Minor Objects*, Athens and Princeton N.J., 1952.
 - 21 This holds true for the archaeology of Byzantine cemeteries too. It should be recalled that the overview of Byzantine cemetery archaeology written by A. Rettner for the Byzantium exhibition held in Munich in 2004 took up no more than a single page, and included a mention of all the major burial grounds of the Early, Middle and Late Byzantine period (cf. A. Rettner, 'Grabbeigaben', in Wamers [n. 9], 380). The record is rather patchy even if the number of cemeteries mentioned by Rettner could be increased by a full list of these cemeteries. The extent to which these burials have been destroyed is reflected by the comparison of the overall number of 5th–7th century Byzantine buckles with the pieces known from burials, settlements and hoards (for a list of finds with a secure context, see M. Schulze-Dörlamm, *Byzantinische Gürtelschnallen und Gürtelbeschlüge im Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum I, Die Schnallen ohne Beschläg, mit Laschenbeschläg und mit Festem Beschläg des 5. bis 7. Jahrhunderts*, (Kataloge vor- und frühgeschichtlicher Altertümer Band 30), Mainz, 2002, 1–2).
 - 22 For an overview of this period in the history of research in English, see Langó (n. 2), 203–05; see also I. Bóna, 'Die Archäologie in Ungarn und die ungarische Landnahme', *ActaArchHung* 49 (1997), 347–9. J. Hampel did not use the label 'Bjelo Brdo': in his scheme, this horizon appeared as Group B and was for a long time termed 'Hampel B' in Hungarian research. The label 'Bjelo Brdo culture' appears to be ineradicable from the archaeological literature in spite of its multiple connotations. The choice of designation in the early 20th century was motivated by the conviction of Slavic researchers that these *Reihengräberfelder* with poor grave goods represented the archaeological heritage of the Slavs. Even though the culture's then known distribution predominantly coincided with the Hungarian-speaking regions of the Carpathian Basin (meaning that the names of the sites where the culture's finds had come to light were predominantly Hungarian), they consciously strove to choose a type site which would, by its very name, reflect the material's cultural attribution to the Slavs, finally settling on the Bjelo Brdo site, even though it lay on the fringes of the culture's distribution. (The selection of the type site can be linked to Lubor Niederle, the founder of Slavic archaeology: see Cs. Bálint,

- Südungarn im 10. Jahrhundert* (Studia Archaeologica 11), Budapest, 1991, 161.) The anachronism of projecting an ethnic interpretation of this kind onto the 10th–11th centuries was disregarded, as was the simple fact that the name Bjelo Brdo does not appear in medieval sources (unlike the two Hungarian settlements, Hagymás and Szarvas, lying at a distance of 8.5 km from each other, between which the village of Bjelo Brdo lay): see A. Kiss, 'Zur Frage der Bjelo Brdo Kultur', *Acta ArchHung* 25 (1973), 334. The unbiased line of archaeological research regards this culture as a poly-ethnic complex incorporating the burials of a political formation: first, the burials of the Hungarian Princedom and, after 1000, the commoners' graves of the medieval Hungarian Kingdom, irrespective of ethnic groups.
- 23 Langó (n. 2), 200–07.
- 24 For Pulszky and his influence on Hungarian archaeological thought, cf. Langó (n. 2), 200–02.
- 25 F. Pulszky, *A magyar pogány sírleletek* [Pagan Hungarian Graves] (Értekezések a történeti tudományok köréből 14,3), Budapest, 1891, 3.
- 26 S. Müller, 'Ueber slawische Schläfenringe', *Schlesiens Vorzeit in Bild und Schrift*, Breslau, 1877, 189–97. The distribution of this artefact type in the Carpathian Basin was mapped in 1956, based on the then known corpus of finds: A. Kralovánszky, 'Adatok az ún. S-végű hajkarikák etnikumjelző szerepéhez (Données sur les anneaux à nattes dits à extrémités en S en leur qualité d'indiquer l'ethnie)', *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 83 (1956), 206–12. The next overview of the well-datable specimens was published by K. Mesterházy, 'Az S végű hajkarika elterjedése a Kárpát-medencében', *A Debreceni Déri Múzeum Évkönyve* 1 (1973), 95–111. The most remarkable grave assemblage of the past few decades was recovered from Grave 357 of the Csekej cemetery (Čakajovce, Slovakia), which yielded an S-terminalised lock-ring and a coin of Rudolph of Burgundy (923–36) (M. Rejholcová, *Pohrebisko v Čakajovciach (9.–12. storočie). Katalog*, Nitra, 1995, 38, Tab. LVII), calling for a reassessment of the artefact's dating, whose use had earlier been assigned to the last third of the 10th century onwards. Studies on the lock-ring's regional distribution in Transylvania and County Heves suggest that the use of these lock-rings in those regions can be dated to a later period: see E. Gáll, 'S-végű hajkarikák megjelenésének ideje az Erdélyi-medencében (About the Beginning of the Spread of the S-Shaped Lock Ring in the Transylvanian Basin)', *Acta Sicula* (2007), 239–51.
- 27 J. Hampel, *Újabb tanulmányok a honfoglalási kor emlékeiről* (New studies on the antiquities of the Conquest period), Budapest, 1907.
- 28 J. Hampel, *Alterthümer des frühen Mittelalters in Ungarn I–III*, Braunschweig, 1905. The change in Hampel's perspective compared to his previous synthesis published in 1900 can be felt in this monumental work, parts of which were also published in Hungarian two years later (cf. n. 27). Writing about the 10th–12th century *Reihengräberfelder*, Hampel (*ibid.*, 32) noted that 'Aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach haben wir viele von diesen bescheidenden Grabeinlagen slawischen Bewohnern des Ungarlandes zuzuerkennen'.
- 29 For Niederle and his scholarly oeuvre, see W. Antoniowicz, *Hołd wielkości Lubora Niederlego (Homage à la grandeur de Lubor Niederle)*, Warsaw, 1948; B. Zástěrová, 'Lubor Niederle historic (Der Historiker Lubor Niederle)', *Archeologické Rozhledy* 19 (1967), 153–65.
- 30 L. Niederle, 'Bemerkungen zu einige Charakteristiken der altslawischen Gräber', *Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* 24 (1894), 39–55.
- 31 Bálint (n. 22), 161.
- 32 See M. Takács's monograph (n. 1). The main theses of the work have been summarised in another study: M. Takács, 'A nemzetépítés jegyében megfogalmazott elvárások. Kutatási célok az észak-balkáni államok középkori régészetében (Expectations of nation building. Research objectives in the medieval archaeology of the states of the Northern-Balkans)', *Korall* 7 (2006), 163–202, 302.
- 33 The impact of the finds from Corinth on Slavic archaeology is most instructive. It seems worthwhile to quote Voislav Jovanović *in extenso*, especially his remarks on the earrings from Čečen: 'Solche Ohringe werden sporadisch auf dem weiten Territorium von der Slowakei bis Korinth und vom dalmatischen Kroatien bis Dobrudscha angetrafen. Die grösste Zahl wurde auf jene Gebieten evidentiert, wo [...] die Bjelo Brdo-Kultur verbreitet war, und so gehören solche Ohringe in den Rahmen des Bjelo Brdo-Schmuckes. Doch wenn es sich um Funde solcher Ohringe auf Lokalitäten, die weit entfernt von dem Karpatenbecken sind, dem Mutterland der Bjelo Brdo-Kultur, handelt, wie z.B. die Funde aus Nordalbanien und besonders Korinth, dann könnte man in solcher Fällen diese Erscheinung aber nicht mit dem Bjelo Brdo-Einfluss erklären, sondern mit der Erzeugung einheimischer Werkstätten, die für einen weiten Verbraucherkreis einfacher Schmuck nach den Vorbildern des prunkvollen byzantinischen Schmuckes erzeugten'. (V. Jovanović, 'Über den frühmittelalterlichen Schmuck von Čečen auf Kosovo', *Balkanoslavica* 5 [1976], 136.) Similar remarks were the exception rather than the rule, seeing that Jovanović raised the possibility of Byzantine prototypes only in the case of this particular category of the finds from Čečen, and did not even consider a similar option for the other articles in the find assemblage despite the fact that their distribution showed a similar pattern. It must here be noted that the label 'Bjelo Brdo culture' was for a long time used in the broad sense owing to the many similarities between the finds from the Carpathian Basin and the northern Balkans, as well as the assumed common ethnic background: the label denoted not only the 10th–12th century archaeological assemblages from the Carpathian Basin and the neighbouring areas since the finds from the greater part of the northern Balkans were most often also lumped together here. The latter usage, however, is misleading owing to the many differences between the two regions.
- 34 For a history of earlier research and the relevant literature, see J.H. Rosser, 'A Research Strategy for Byzantine Archaeology', *Byzantine Studies/Études byzantines* 6 (1979), 153–4; E.A. Ivison, 'Burial and Urbanism at Late Antique and Early Byzantine Corinth (c. AD 400–700)', in N. Christie and S.T. Loseby (eds), *Towns in Transition. Urban Evolution in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, London, 1996, 114–20, for a broader perspective; cf. E. Riemer, 'Byzantinische Schnallen des 6. und 7. Jahrhunderts – Ein Forschungsüberblick', in B. Päffgen, E. Pohl and M. Schmauder (eds), *Cum grano salis. Beiträge zur europäischen Vor- und Frühgeschichte. Festschrift für Volker Bierbrauer zum 65. Geburtstag*, Friedberg, 2005, 269–82.
- 35 'The information concerning these unpublished buckles was given me in 1937 by Prof. Gyula László', Davidson (n. 20), 268, n. 38.
- 36 D. Čallany [Csallány], 'Památníki vizantijskogo metalloobratyvauššego iskusstva I (Les monuments de l'industrie byzantine des métaux I)', *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 2 (1954), 311–48; *idem.*, 'Památníki vizantijskogo metalloobratyvauššego iskusstva II (Les monuments de l'industrie byzantine des métaux II)', *ibid.*, 4 (1956), 261–91.
- 37 J. Werner, 'Byzantinische Gürtelschnallen des 6. und 7. Jahrhunderts aus der Sammlung Diergardt', *Kölner Jahrbuch für Vor- und Frühgeschichte* 1 (1955), 36–48.
- 38 Dezső Csallány offered an evaluation of the buckle collection purchased by Gyula Mészáros in Istanbul, which he brought with him when he returned to Hungary, while Joachim Werner discussed the buckles in the Diergardt Collection of the Römisch-Germanisches Museum in Cologne. They both provided an overview of the then known parallels to these buckles.
- 39 J. Werner, 'Slawische Bügelfibeln des 7. Jahrhunderts', in G. Behrens and J. Werner (eds), *Reinecke-Festschrift zum 75. Geburtstag von Paul Reinecke*, Mainz, 1950, 150–72 (although he identified the 'Martynovka' type mounts as Byzantine products in this study: *ibid.*, 169); *idem.*, 'Neues zur Frage der slawischen Bügelfibeln aus südosteuropäischen Ländern', *Germania* 38 (1960), 114–20. For Werner's ethnocentric approach and interpretation, see H. Fehr, 'Hans Zeiss, Joachim Werner und die archäologischen Forschungen zur Merowingerzeit', in H. Steuer (ed.), *Eine hervorragend nationale Wissenschaft. Deutsche Prähistoriker zwischen 1900 und 1995* (Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde 29), Berlin and New York, 2001, 311–415; *idem.*, 'Volkstum as Paradigm: Germanic People and Gallo-Romans in Early Medieval Archaeology since the 1930s', in Gillett (n. 14), 177–200.
- 40 D. Pallas, 'Données nouvelles sur quelques boucles et fibules considérées comme Avars et Slaves et sur Corinthe entre le VIe et le IXe siècles', *Byzantinobulgarica* 7 (1981), 306–16.
- 41 C. Katsougiannopoulou, *Studien zu ost- und südosteuropäischen Bügelfibeln*, Bonn, 1997, 28, 78–9; Vida and Völling (n. 16), 26–32; F. Curta, 'Female Dress and 'Slavic' Bow Fibulae in Greece', *Hesperia*

- 74 (2005), 129–32.
- 42 V. Hrubý, *Staré Město. Velkomoravské pohřebiště “Na Valách”*, Prague, 1955.
- 43 The various types and their chronology have been recently discussed by H. Chorvátová, ‘Horizonty byzantsko-orientálneho šperku na tzv. veľkomoravských pohrebiskách (Horizonte des byzantinisch-orientalischen Schmucks auf den sogennanten großmährischen Gräberfeldern)’, in J. Bartík (ed.), *Byzantská kultúra a Slovensko, Zborník štúdií*, Bratislava, 2007, 83–101, and Š. Ungermaň, ‘Ženský šperk staršieho veľkomoravského horizontu (Frauensmuck des älteren großmährischen Horizonts)’, *Archeologické rozhledy* 57 (2005), 707–49. For an attempt at a more realistic chronological framework, see B.M. Szöke, ‘Pannonien in der Karolingerzeit: Bemerkungen zur Chronologie des frühmittelalterlichen Fundmaterials in Westungarn’, *Schild von Steier*, Beihefte, 2008/4, 46–9.
- 44 Although it must be mentioned in all fairness that Hrubý did suggest that some might have been Byzantine imports: see Hrubý (n. 42), 244. Allow me to illustrate the difficulties of research conducted from a national perspective by quoting Bořivoj Dostál’s definition of ‘Great Moravian’ jewellery: B. Dostál, ‘Zur Datierungsfrage des grossmährischen Schmucks’, *Zalai Múzeum* 3 (1991), 81, 83, 84: ‘Als grossmährisch wird jener Schmuck bezeichnet, den man auf dem ursprünglichen Territorium Grossmährens [...] und auf einigen kurzfristig, angegliederten Regionen [...] in Flach- oder Hügelskelettgräbern mit den Kennzeichen des heidnischen Begräbnisritus finden [...]’. We have here an emphatically historical interpretation, which, obviously, cannot be rejected out of hand, if the necessary critical filters are rigorously applied. What do we know about the chronology of these jewellery articles? He continues: ‘Ich wiedmete mich ausführlicher der donauländischen Komponente des grossmährischen Schmuck und seiner Chronologie, um zu zeigen, dass sein Anfang schon in der vorgrossmährischen Zeit [...] und sein Ende in nachgrossmährischen Zeit [...] steckt[...]’. In other words, the distinctive jewellery of the state known from the historical records precedes and survives the state, after which it had been named. Moreover, ‘Ohne gemeinsame Vorkommen mit typischen grossmährischen Waffen, Reiterausrüstung und Keramik und ohne Berücksichtigung schriftlicher Quellen wäre es nicht möglich, ihn als grossmährisch zu unterscheiden’. Regarding the other component of ‘Great Moravian’ jewellery, namely the pieces bespeaking the cultural influence of Byzantium, Dostál notes that ‘Der Schmuck der grossmährischen Oberschicht, der unter byzantinischen Einflüssen entstand, kommt überwiegend (ausser traubenartigen Ohrringen) nur in den politischen Zentren vor, und im eigentlichen Mähren ist er auf das 9. Jahrhundert beschränkt’. The principle is not immediately apparent: a piece of jewellery is ‘Great Moravian’ if it came to light in an area mentioned in the written sources and identified archaeologically. However, the pieces or types in question cannot be linked exclusively to the Moravians either chronologically, spatially, or culturally since they cannot be distinguished from similar finds in neighbouring regions. In other words, what we have here is an inter-regional *koiné* coloured by local tastes. The jewellery items in question are ‘Great Moravian’ only in the sense that they had been worn by Moravians. At the same time, claims concerning the ‘impact of Great Moravian jewellery on neighbouring areas’ are culturally senseless. The oft-quoted textbook example of this outworn approach is a study by B. Dostál, ‘Das Vordringen der grossmährischen materiellen Kultur in die Nachbarländer’, in *Magna Moravia, Sborník k 1100. výročí příchodu byzantské mise na Moravu*, Prague, 1965, 361–416.
- 45 M. Čorović-Ljubinković, ‘Metalni nakiti belobrdskog tipa. Grozdolike minduše. – La parure en metal chez les slaves du sud aux IX–XI^{ème} siècles. Boucles d’oreilles à appendice en forme de grappe’, *Starinar* 2 (1951), 21–56.
- 46 Takács (n. 32), 168; Curta 2001b (n. 15), 10, 27.
- 47 B. Szöke, ‘A bjelobrdoj kultúráról – Sur la civilisation Bjelobrdo’, *Archeologičai Értesítő* 86 (1959), 32–47; *idem.*, *A honfoglaló és kora Árpád-kori magyarság régészeti emlékei* [The Archaeological Heritage of the Conquest period and the Early Árpadian Age] (Régészeti Tanulmányok 1), Budapest, 1962.
- 48 E.g. Z. Vinski, ‘O postojanju radionica nakita starohrvatskog doba u Sisku (Zur Frage des Bestehens von Schmuckwerkstätten aus der altkroatischen Zeit in Sisak)’, *Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu* 4 (1970), 86.
- 49 Csanád Bálint described this research perspective as an ‘Orient-preference’: see Cs. Bálint, ‘On “Orient-preference” in archaeological research on the Avars, proto-Bulgarians and conquering Hungarians’, in J. Henning (ed.), *Post-Roman Towns, Trade and Settlement in Europe and Byzantium I*, Berlin and New York, 2007, 545–62.
- 50 It is hardly surprising that Jochen Giesler proved to be the exception to this rule. Due to his German schooling, he remained unaffected by the research preferences of Hungarian scholarship. He convincingly demonstrated the Balkan connections of several artefact types known from the Carpathian Basin: Giesler (n. 13), 95–7. Hungarian reviews of Giesler’s study simply ignored these issues.
- 51 In the introduction to his study, Mesterházy clearly stated that he would not discuss certain jewellery types, such as rings with widening bezels, necklace pendants, pendants and crosses, which also had south-eastern European affinities (the function of these crosses in the Carpathian Basin is still debated because it is usually impossible to determine whether they were worn as religious relics or ‘jewellery’). These omissions have in part been remedied; see T. Keszi, ‘10. századi zárt lemezgyűrűk pajzs alakúan kiszélesedő fejfel, pentagramma és madár ábrázolással (Geschlossene Plattenringe aus dem X. Jahrhundert mit schildförmig ausgebreitetem Kopf, mit Darstellung von Pentagramma und Vogel)’, in Á. Perémi (ed.), *Anépvándorlaskor fiatal kutatói 8. találkozójának előadásai*, Veszprém, 1999, 1333–48; P. Langó and A. Türk, ‘Honfoglalás kori sírok Mindszent–Koszorús-dűlőn. Adatok a szíjbefűzős bizánci csatok és a délkelet-európai kapcsolatú egyszerű mellkeresztek tipológiájához (Landnahmezeitliche Gräber in Mindszent–Koszorús-dűlő. Angaben zur Typologie der trapezförmigen byzantinischen Schnallen und einfachen Brustkreuze mit südosteuropäischen Beziehungen)’, *Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve – Studia Archaeologica* 10 (2004), 386–403; P. Langó, ‘A kora Árpád-kori temetők kutatása [Research on the cemeteries of the Early Árpadian Age]’, in E. Benkő and Gy. Kovács (eds), *A magyar középkorkutatás legújabb eredményei*, in press (included in the study is a list of the 62 reliquary pectoral crosses known to the author).
- 52 K. Mesterházy, ‘Bizánci és balkáni eredetű tárgyak a 10–11. századi magyar sírletekben I (Gegenstände byzantinischen und balkanischen Ursprunges in den ungarischen Gräberfeldern des 10.–11. Jhs. I)’, *Folia Archaeologica* 41 (1990), 87–115; *idem.*, ‘Bizánci és balkáni eredetű tárgyak a 10–11. századi magyar sírletekben II (Gegenstände byzantinischen und balkanischen Ursprunges in den ungarischen Gräberfeldern des 10.–11. Jhs. II)’, *Folia Archaeologica* 42 (1991), 145–77.
- 53 Mesterházy 1991 (n. 52), 145.
- 55 *Ibid.*, 1990 (n. 52), 99.
- 55 *Ibid.*, 1991 (n. 52), 152.
- 56 K. Mesterházy, ‘Régészeti adatok Magyarország 10–11. századi kereskedelméhez [Archaeological notes on 10th–11th century trade in Hungary]’, *Századok* 127 (1993), 450–68.
- 57 Mesterházy 1991 (n. 52), 150, 168–70.
- 58 Grigorov (n. 1).
- 59 One particular variant of the rings with a widening bezel, distributed in the Carpathian Basin, is entirely lacking from his maps (Grigorov’s Type III.6; for their distribution in the Carpathian Basin, see Keszi [n. 51], 134), as is one type of crescentic earring (Grigorov’s Type V.9; for their distribution in the Carpathian Basin, cf. n. 67): only five of the eight find spots in the Carpathian Basin appear on the map, Grigorov (n. 1), Obr. 84, 55.
- 60 Disregarding the ‘classical’ artefact types of the Conquest period.
- 61 This point is best illustrated by the fact that these artefacts were virtually omitted in their entirety from the catalogue accompanying the superb exhibition organised on the 1100th anniversary of the Hungarian Conquest in the Hungarian National Museum in 1996: see I. Fodor, L. Révész and M. Wolf (eds), *The Ancient Hungarians. Exhibition Catalogue*, Budapest, Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 1996.
- 62 Such as various wire ornaments and the S-terminalled lock-rings discussed in the above, which occur sporadically in the Balkans: see Grigorov (n. 1), Obr. 1, 41; Babić (n. 11), fig. 4.
- 63 The finds of this horizon were discussed by K. Mesterházy, ‘Hacksilberfunde im Karpatenbecken’, in G. Fusek (ed.), *Zborník na počesť Bariny Bialekovej*, Nitra, 2004, 235–50.
- 64 There is no recent study on Köttlach type artefacts in the 10th–11th

- century material from the Carpathian Basin.
- 65 L. Kovács, 'Fegyverek és pénzek [Weapons and coins]', in L. Kovács (ed.), *Honfoglalás és régészet*, Budapest, 1994, 181–94; *idem.*, 'Ami a zsákmányból megmaradt [What remained of the booty]', in L. Veszprémy (ed.), *Honfoglaló őseink*, Budapest, 1997, 109–27; *idem.*, 'A kalandozások hadművészet és zsákmányának régészeti emlékei (Die Kriegskunst der ungarischen Streifzüge und die archäologischen Denkmäler ihrer Beute)', in L. Kredics (ed.), *Válaszúton: pogányság-kereszténység, kelet-nyugat*, Veszprém, 2000, 223–37.
- 66 E.g. the finger-rings with widening bezels, of which 73 pieces were known from the Carpathian Basin in the mid-1990s: see Keszi (n. 51).
- 67 Páty, Grave 41: S. Tettamenti, 'A honfoglalás és államalapítás kora [The Conquest period and the foundation of the medieval Hungarian state]', in L. Simon (ed.), *Kincseink*, Szentendre, 2000/1, 23, fig. 19; Vattina (Vatin), Grave 1: S. Borovszky, *Temes vármegye* [The royal county of Temes], Budapest, 1896, 236; Gyula-Téglagyár grave 73 and a stray find: Mesterházy 1990 (n. 52), 94, Abb. 6.9 and K. Bakay, *Honfoglalás- és államalapítás kori temetők az Ipoly mentén* (Gräberfelder an der ElpeI aus der zeit der ungarischen Landnahme und Staatsgründung) (Studia Comitatus 6), Szentendre, 1978, 179, Taf. LXIV.6; Kecel, Grave 1: N. Fettich, *Die Metallkunst der landnehmenden Ungarn* (Archaeologica Hungarica 21), Budapest, 1937, 259, Taf. CXVII.1–2; Sárrétudvari–Hízófold, Grave 136: I. Nepper, *Hajdú-Bihar megye 10–11. századi sírleletei II* (The 10th–11th century grave finds from County Hajdú-Bihar II), Budapest–Debrecen, 2002, 323, 192. kép, Szentos–Szentlászló, Grave 74: M. Széll, 'XI. századi temetők Szentos környékén (11th century cemeteries in the Szentos area)', *Folia Archaeologica* 3–4 (1941), VI. t. 13; Tiszaeszlár–Bashalom, Grave I/3: I. Dienes, 'Un cimetiére de hongrois conquérants à Bashalom', *ActaArchHung* 7 (1956), Pl. 57.8; Szeghalom–Korhány: unpublished. For the latter earring and a general discussion of this earring type, see P. Langó, 'Crescent-shaped earrings with lower ornamental band', (in press).
- 68 Fettich (n. 67), taf. CXVII. 1–2.
- 69 The graves of this cemetery have still not been published in full. For a good photo of the bracelet, see Fodor *et al.* (n. 61), 190, figs 9–11. For a general description of the cemetery and its finds, see *ibid.*
- 70 J. Kovalovszki, 'A szarvasi honfoglaláskori ezüst karperec (Das Silberarmband von Szarvas aus der Zeit der Landnahme)', *Folia Archaeologica* 12 (1960), 173–82.
- 71 E.g. E. Kypraiou (ed.), *Greek Jewellery, 6000 Years of Tradition*, Athens, 1997, 230–3, cat. nos 282–5; A. Gonosová and C. Kondoleon (eds), *Art of Late Rome and Byzantium in the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts*, Richmond, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, 1994, 74–7, cat. no. 18.
- 72 The cemetery and its graves were first published by N. Drandakes and N. Gkiolos, 'Anaskafē sto Tigani tēs Manēs', *Praktika tēs en Athenais Archaologikēs Etaireias* (hereafter *PrakArchEt*) (1980), 247–58; N. Drandakes, N. Gkiolos and K. Kōnstantinides, 'Anaskafē sto Tigani Manēs', *PrakArchEt* (1981), 241–53; N. Drandakes and N. Gkiolos, 'Anaskafē sto Tigani tēs Manēs', *PrakArchEt* (1983), 264–70. A description of the burials and a few select finds was published in German by C. Katsougiannopoulou, 'Einige Überlegungen zum byzantinischen Friedhof in Tigani auf dem Peloponnes', in E. Pohl, U. Recker and C. Theune (eds), *Archäologisches Zellwerk. Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte in Europa und Asien. Festschrift für Helmut Roth zum 60. Geburtstag* (Internationale Archäologie, Studia honoraria 16), Rahden, 2001, 461–9. A selection of the more remarkable finds and their colour photos can be found in Kypraiou (n. 71), but unfortunately without an indication of the grave numbers. Seeing that most of the grave goods are known only from their description, with photos available for a few only, Katsougiannopoulou's assessment (*ibid.*, 465) is hardly an exaggeration: 'die Vorlage des Friedhofs in Tigani sehr summerisch geblieben ist. Leider ist dies kein Einzelfall, aus dem griechischen Gebiet in byzantinischer Zeit liegen zwar Zahlreiche Grabfunde bzw. Friedhöfe vor, doch sind diese in der Regel nur sehr knapp publiziert worden'.
- 73 Drauschke (n. 4), 317, noted this in connection with this cemetery.
- 74 L. Deriziōtēs and S. Kougioumtzoglou, 'Ἐπὶ περαιβικῆ Τριπολιτῆς κατὰ τὴν παλαιοχριστιανικῆ καὶ byzantinῆ periodo (topografia – istoria – arhaiologikēs anakalypseis)', *Thessaliko ēmerologio* 48 (2005), 140–1, eik. 9, 16–22.
- 75 Cf. for example Chania: J. Albani, 'In der Hoffnung auf ewiges Leben. Grabbeigaben aus der byzantinischen und nachbyzantinischen Sammlung in Chania/Kreta', in W. Hörander, J. Koder and M. A. Stassinopoulou (eds), *Wiener Byzantinistik und Neogräzistik*, Vienna, 2004, 53–60; see also, Albani's study in the present volume.
- 76 A. Ödekan, 'The Remnants', 12th and 13th centuries. *Byzantine objects in Turkey*, Istanbul, 2007, 126–30.
- 77 *Ibid.*, 269.
- 78 Found at Tille Höyük: J. Moore, *Tille Höyük 1. The Medieval Period*, Ankara, 1983, fig. 55.3. (Unfortunately, an exact dating of the bracelet within the Middle Byzantine period is impossible owing to the lack of a stratigraphic context.)
- 79 From Amorium: C. Lightfoot and M. Lightfoot, *Amorium: an Archaeological Guide*, Istanbul, 2007, 149.
- 80 Ödekan (n. 76), 126–7.
- 81 *Ibid.*, 129–30.
- 82 A historical situation of this type can be envisioned in the broader region of the Carpathian Basin during the 9th century. The smaller centres emerging on the eastern fringes of the expanding Carolingian Empire in the Moravian Basin, Pannonia, and Dalmatia all had workshops catering to the needs of the local élite, producing artefacts in a similar style adapted to local taste. These workshops produced their own jewellery types during the Early Middle Ages, influenced in part by the repeated cultural impacts from the south: see B.M. Szöke, 'Die Beziehungen zwischen dem oberen Donautal und Westungarn in der ersten Hälfte des 9. Jahrhunderts (Frauentrachtzubehör und Schmuck)', in F. Daim (ed.), *Awarenforschung I* (Studien zur Archäologie der Awaren 4), Vienna, 1992, 862–3. For the changing views concerning the origins of a particular jewellery type, see B.M. Szöke, 'Karolinger-zeitliche Gräberfelder I–II von Garabonc–Ófalu', *Antaeus* 21 (1992), 124–9 and *idem.*, 'New findings of the excavations in Mosaburg/Zalavár (Western Hungary)', in Henning (n. 49), 412–3.
- 83 T. Totev, *The Preslav Gold Treasure*, Sofia, 1982, 52–7.
- 84 Cf. n. 72. An excellent colour photo of the ring has been published in Kypraiou (n. 71), cat. no. 197. One exception is a paper by L. Bouras, 'Four enamel rings in the Benaki Museum, Athens, and an enamel ring from the Mani', in 'The seventh British Museum enamel colloquium, on materials and techniques of enamelling (1985), Résumé of papers', *Jewellery Studies* 3 (1989), 87. I would like to thank David Buckton for calling my attention to the latter paper and for sending me the above reference.
- 85 It is difficult to fit the artefact types from the Tigani cemetery into a chronological scheme. Most of the buckles are 6th–7th century examples of the 'Corinth' type. The buckle from Grave 52, which also contained the finger-ring, can be assigned to the buckle type with U-shaped buckle plate (no photo is available of this find), whose 8th century date cannot be excluded. This would fit in with the early 8th century date of the crescentic earring (cf. n. 86). (It must be noted here that the globules typical for earrings of the Middle Byzantine period can be clearly made out on the earring's hoop, but the piece itself has a hoop and hook fastener. This type of fastener, widespread during the Early Byzantine period, survived into the next period, although it was uncommon in the case of the crescentic type in question. It seems to me that this was a feature probably characterising the early pieces of the type.) It is uncertain how the date of the cloisonné enamelled finger-ring can be harmonised with the above: one possibility is that the U-shaped buckles were late pieces surviving into the early 9th century, another is that the finger-ring represents one of the earliest cloisonné enamelled jewellery pieces. Be that as it may, this issue can only be resolved with the publication of other cemeteries. What seems certain from the dominance of Early Byzantine artefacts and the almost complete lack of classical Middle Byzantine pieces is that Grave 52 can be assigned to the latest phase of the Tigani cemetery and dated to the beginning of the Middle Byzantine period. David Buckton believes that cloisonné enamelled jewellery began to be manufactured from around 800: cf. n. 87. While a break in the use of the cemetery cannot be excluded, there is nothing to indicate such an event.
- 86 For a photo of the earring, cf. Kypraiou (n. 71), 182, cat. no. 199 (with a dating to the 6th century, N.B. Drandakes). Antje Bosselmann-Ruickbie suggested a 9th–11th century date for the earring: see A. Bosselmann-Ruickbie, 'Mittelbyzantinische Ohrhänge mit Filigran und Granulation', in Wamers (n. 9), 324. In her comment on my paper read at the conference, Yvonne Stolz mentioned that a similar

- earring, found in an 8th century context, will be published in her doctoral dissertation. I would like to thank her for this piece of information.
- 87 D. Buckton, 'Enamelling on Gold. A historical perspective', *Gold Bulletin* 15 (1982), 105; *idem.*, 'The Oppenheim or Fieschi-Morgan Reliquary in New York, and the Antecedents of Middle Byzantine Enamel', in *8th Annual Byzantine Studies Conference. Abstracts and Papers*, 35–6, Chicago, 1982, 35–6; *idem.*, 'Byzantine Enamel and the West', *Byzantinische Forschungen* 13 (1988), 235–44.
- 88 For a photo and a description of the bracelet, see Evans and Wixom (n. 12), 243–4, cat. no. 165A (S.T. Brooks), with the earlier literature.
- 89 Totev (n. 83), 40–3, 46–9, figs 6–7, 9, 11, 13 (necklace), 56–7, fig. 17 (earring).
- 90 D. Buckton (ed.), *Byzantium: Treasures of Byzantine Art and Culture from British Collections*, London, 1994, cat. no. 142 (D. Buckton). See also Albani this volume, pl. 5.
- 91 D. I. Bliffield, *Davn'orusky pam'jatniki Šestovicy*, Kiev, 1977, Tab. XXXII.1.
- 92 M. Petritakes in *Archaiologikon Deltion, Chronica* 42 (1987), 175, pin. 86; for the cemetery map, cf. *ibid.*, 174.
- 93 For a good overview of the earlier proposals for the date of basket earrings, Gonosová and Kondoleon (n. 71), 83, 95, cat. nos 22, 30 (C. Kondoleon).
- 94 Some pieces were dated even earlier, to the 3rd century: cf. A. Yeroulanou, *Diatrita. Pierced-work gold jewellery from the 3rd to the 7th century*, Athens, Benaki Museum, 1999, 277–8, cat. nos 462–4. Yeroulanou correctly noted that 'it is difficult to include them among pierced-work jewellery because the true pierced-work surfaces are minimal. Many of the holes in the surfaces are actually formed from wire, that is from small links soldered together, while others were formed by perforating the metal' (*ibid.*, 74). The technical differences between genuine Early Byzantine *opus interrasile* and Middle Byzantine openwork jewellery are hardly surprising, given the many centuries between the two.
- 95 The pieces dated to the Early Byzantine period are without exception stray finds, whose dating to the 3rd–7th centuries lacks convincing arguments. More recently found pieces with secure contexts are all Middle Byzantine; as far as I know, earrings of this type have not been recovered from Early Byzantine burials in spite of the latter's higher number: see R.M. Harrison, *Excavations at Saraçane in Istanbul I*, Princeton and Washington, 1986, cat. no. 597 (from a layer dated by a mid-10th-century coin); M. Jenkins-Madina, 'Jewelry', in G.F. Bass *et alii*, *Serçe Liman: An Eleventh-Century Shipwreck I*, Texas A&M University Press, 2004, 289–90 (from a ship dated by early 11th century coins); C. Lightfoot and E. Ivison, 'Amorium 2006', *Anatolian Archaeology* 12 (2006), 31. After finishing this manuscript, I came across Bossellmann-Ruickbie's article, which came to a similar conclusion concerning the Middle Byzantine date of the currently known basket earrings: see A. Bossellmann-Ruickbie, 'Byzantinisch, Islamisch oder 'Internationaler Stil'? Email- und Körbchenohrringe aus dem östlichen Mittelmeerraum', in U. Koenen and M. Müller-Wiener (eds), *Grenzgänge im östlichen Mittelmeerraum, Byzanz und die islamische Welt vom 9. bis 13. Jahrhundert*, Wiesbaden, 2008, 85–96.
- 96 The pieces from the Balkans and Anatolia are generally dated to the 10th century and later. An earlier use is suggested by A. Antónaras, 'Gyalina mesobyzantina brahiolai. Symbolöse themata diadosēs, paragōgēs, typologias kai hrēsēs (Middle Byzantine Glass Bracelets. Contribution to Issues of Distribution, Production, Typology and Use)', *Deltion tēs Christianikēs Archaiologikēs Etaireias* 27 (2006), 423–34. However, glass bracelets are rare finds in the Crimea before the mid-10th century and their widespread use can only be documented from the late 10th–early 11th century: V. V. Majko, *Srednevekovye nekropoli Sudakskoj doliny*, Kiev, 2007, 120. Bulgarian research too dates the type to the 10th century (B.D. Borisov, *Djadovo. Bulgarian, Dutch, Japanese Expedition I. Medieval Settlement and Necropolis (11th–12th Century)*, Tokyo, 1989, 292–3), while the pieces from Macedonia are generally assigned to the 11th century (E. Taleska, 'Prilog kon proučuvan'e na srednevekovni belezici od staklovina na teritorijata na SR Srbija, SR Makedonija i NR Bulgarija (Contribution to the investigation of the medieval glass bracelets on the territory of Serbia, Macedonia and Bulgaria)', in M. Apostolski (ed.), *Zbornik posvetenei na Boško Babić*, Prilep, 1986, 215–21). A large number of well dated pieces have recently been published from Amorium: M.A.V. Gill, *Amorium Reports, Finds I. The glass (1087–1097)* (BAR International Series 1070), Oxford, 2002.
- 97 For a brief overview of the earlier literature, see Borisov (n. 96), 290–3.
- 98 Ödekan (n. 76), 263–5 and Gill (n. 96).
- 99 One such bracelet was found in Grave 2 at Ludányhalászi–Apáti puszta: S. Pintér, 'Nógrávidéki régészeti kutatásokról [Archaeological investigations in the Nógrád region]', *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 7 (1887), 431. I would to thank Péter Langó and László Kovács for calling my attention to this piece.
- 100 I. Bóna, *Dunapentele története a honfoglalástól a 19. század közepéig a már eddig ismert, valamint újonnan bevont adatok alapján* [History of Dunapentele from the Conquest period to the mid-19th century], Dunapentele, 1997 (2nd ed.), 3 kép; Mesterházy (n. 63), Abb. 4. 1–2.
- 101 Mesterházy 1991 (n. 52), 156, fig. 6.
- 102 Byzantine archaeology as an independent field of research is hardly a well-established discipline: while several other fields of research overlap with it, none of them correlate precisely with what Byzantine archaeology should be about. Christian archaeology, focusing predominantly on the archaeology of buildings, does not include several areas of interest, and seems uncertain regarding its self-definition: see H.R. Seeliger, 'Christliche Archäologie oder spätantike Kunstgeschichte? Aktuelle Grundlagenfragen aus der Sicht der Kirchengeschichte', *Rivista di archeologia christiana* 61 (1985), 167–87. Late Antique archaeology, the other advanced field of research, while definitely witnessing a thematic explosion (reflected by the series of conferences and publications of more recent years), merely encompasses the study of the Early Byzantine period. One welcome advance is the birth of a forum dedicated to the archaeology of the Middle Byzantine period (<http://www.byzarch.bham.ac.uk/intro.htm>). Still, a number of issues raised in the 1970s and 1980s remain unresolved: see Rosser (n. 34); T.E. Gregory, 'Intensive Archaeological Survey and its Place in Byzantine Studies', *Byzantine Studies/Études Byzantines* 13 (1986), 155–75; D.W. Rupp, 'Problems in Byzantine Field Reconnaissance: A Non-Specialist's View', *Byzantine Studies/Études Byzantines* 13 (1986), 177–88; M.L. Rautman, 'Archaeology and Byzantine Studies', *Byzantinische Forschungen* 15 (1990), 137–65. The problems of 'Byzantine archaeology' are presented from an east central European perspective with a focus on the artefacts of everyday life by M. Wołoszyn, 'Byzantine Archaeology – selected problems', *Analecta Archaeologica Ressoiviensia* 1 (2006), 259–89.
- 103 For a brief analysis of Slavic archaeology employing also the criteria of Western research, see Curta 2001b (n. 15), 6–27; F. Curta, 'From Kossinna to Bromley: Ethnogenesis in Slavic Archaeology', in Gillett (n. 14), 201–18. For an overview of Slavic archaeology in the Balkans, see the studies of Miklós Takács quoted in n. 32.
- 104 D. Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth. East Europe, 500–1453*, London, 1974; for a broader perspective, see G. Fowden, *Empire to commonwealth: consequences of monotheism in Late Antiquity*, Princeton, 1993.

