The Vermand Treasure: A Testimony to the Presence of the Sarmatians in the Western Roman Empire

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THE VERMAND TREASURE is a small group of objects, primarily of gilded silver, which survive from a military burial in northern France dating from the second half of the fourth century A.D. In design and ornament the Vermand Treasure falls largely within the tradition of provincial Roman military garniture; its use of precious metals and the high quality of its execution, however, make it outstanding (Figure 1). A technical examination of the Vermand Treasure appears in Appendix 1.

The Vermand Treasure was discovered in the last quarter of the nineteenth century by a professional excavator named Benoni Lelaurain.[1] The cemetery from which it was recovered, located six kilometers from St.-Quentin in the modern village of Vermand (Aisne), originally lay beside the Celtic *oppidum* of the Viromandui. In later Roman times Vermand was a *castra hiberna* within the network of provincial border defenses and a flourishing glass-production center, located at the crossing of the roads between St.-Quentin (Augusta Viromanduorum), Amiens (Ambianum), Bavai (Bagacum), and Beauvais (Bellovacum). At the end of the third century the town seems to have gained some prominence, as well as a large influx of refugees, following the destruction of Augusta Viromanduorum by barbarian invaders.[2]

Vermand cemetery consists of three small cemeteries in use from the end of the third century to the first decade of the fifth century A.D.; it was probably abandoned following the Alanic-Vandal rampage through Gaul in A.D. 406–407.[3] The burials, believed to number more than one thousand, are both pagan and Christian.

Unfortunately, the Vermand Treasure, which came from one of the few military burials in a primarily civilian cemetery, has not survived intact. Grave robbers had previously discovered the burial, cracked the stone sarcophagus, and scattered the contents. Some grave goods, in particular the hilt of a sword, were probably pilfered by Lelaurain's workmen.[4] The six finest pieces were acquired by J. Pierpont Morgan in 1910 and donated to The Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1917 (Figures 2–12), but the majority of the objects recorded in Lelaurain's excavation report had disappeared from the Musée Lécuyer in St.-Quentin by the end of World War I. This group included an iron battle-axe head (Figure 13),[5] ten small javelin heads (Figure 13),[6] a lance head of iron inlaid with silver and copper (Figures

A list of abbreviations will be found at the end of this article.

1. Grave no. 17; Lelaurain's journal appears in Eck, pp. 21ff.
2. Historians do not agree on the relative importance of Vermand and St.-Quentin during the Gallo-Roman period.
3. The cemeteries are dated on the basis of coins and well-established typologies of provincial Roman artifacts; a gap in the archaeological record in fifth-century Gaul seems to be the rule rather than the exception; J. Dhondt, S. J. de Laet, and P. Hombert, "Quelques Considérations sur la fin de la domination romaine et les débuts de la colonisation franque en Belgique," *L'Antiquité Classique* 17 (1948) pp. 133–156.
4. The remains of the blade were found; Eck, p. 23.
5. A similar one, found at Monceau-le-Neuf (Aisne), is illustrated in Salin and France-Lanord, p. 99.
6. Length 20–25 cm.

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM JOURNAL 21

1. *Military Tomb at Vermand (Aisne)*, published in 1891 by T. Eck, *Les Deux Cimetières gallo-romains de Vermand et de Saint-Quentin*, pl. II (nos. 1, 2, 5–7 now in The Metropolitan Museum of Art). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Thomas J. Watson Library

13–15),[7] two small belt buckles with ferrets, an oval silver plaque, the fragments of a sword blade, and one or two more small bronze objects (see Figure 1, nos. 3, 4, 8).[8]

Originally believed to be Merovingian artifacts dating from the fourth to seventh centuries,[9] the Vermand Treasure was studied and reevaluated in 1951 by William Forsyth, then Associate Curator of Medieval Art at the Metropolitan Museum. The objects are at present catalogued as provincial Roman and dated to the second half of the fourth century.[10] The burial would seem to date to about the time of two adjacent graves containing coins from the reign of Valentinian I (364–375).[11]

Two of the pieces—an umbo (Figures 2, 3) and a shield grip (Figures 4, 5)—are the remains of a round shield of partially gilded red or purple leather fitted over a wooden core, which hung against the wall of the tomb outside the sarcophagus. The umbo, or shield boss, has a tall, sharply pointed cone set on a circular rim decorated with four round paste cabochons[12] imitating chalcedony. The umbo was forged from iron, covered with a thin sheet of gilded silver, and then attached to the shield with twelve silver nails arranged in four groups of three.

The grip, also of iron but covered with an ungilded silver sheet, has a long shaft and was attached to the shield with six rivets and two gilded nails. This lavish use of precious metals and the high quality of the workmanship characterize all the pieces of the Vermand Treasure in the Metropolitan Museum and are matched by the skilled organization of ornament.

7. A lance head now in the Römisch-Germanisches Museum in Cologne has been identified as the lost Vermand lance head; *Gallien in der Spätantike*, exh. cat. (Mainz, 1980) no. 271f; see note 62 below. The attribution of the Cologne lance to the Vermand Treasure was made by H. W. Böhme of the Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum in Mainz, who did not publish his reasons. However, in a communication of Apr. 8, 1986, Dr. Böhme states that the damascened inlay on the socket, the shape of the lateral animal head (as seen in a prewar [World War II?] photo), and the length of the lance head all indicate that it came from Vermand. It is worth noting that in the original description and drawing (see Figure 13) of the Vermand lance head there is no record of a twelve-faceted socket, or of damascened inlay on the socket and blade, or of a surviving shaft-strap fragment, all of which the Cologne lance head has. It is possible that the damascening, which Böhme mentions as being partially destroyed during an unfortunate restoration, was not visible at the time of excavation.

8. Eck, p. 22. In a recent exhibition catalogue a *solidus* of Arcadius, not mentioned in early records, was added to the list of artifacts found in the grave; *Gallien*, no. 271p.

9. S. de Ricci, *Catalogue of a Collection of Merovingian Antiquities Belonging to J. Pierpont Morgan* (Paris, 1910) pp. 28ff.

10. Forsyth, pp. 237–238; already, at the turn of the century, Eck, Pilloy, and Jumel had dated the find to the end of the fourth century, and for the most part European archaeologists discussed the Vermand Treasure in this context; T. Eck, "Le Cimetière gallo-romain de Vermand," *Bulletin Archéologique* (1887) pp. 184–201; J. Pilloy and A. Jumel, "Le Tombeau militaire de Vermand," *Bulletin Archéologique* (1887) pp. 213–233; idem, *Etudes sur d'anciens lieux de sépultures dans l'Aisne* (St.-Quentin, 1895) II, pp. 38–52, ill.

11. Grave nos. 19, 20; Eck, pp. 23–24.

12. Sometimes mistakenly described as oval.

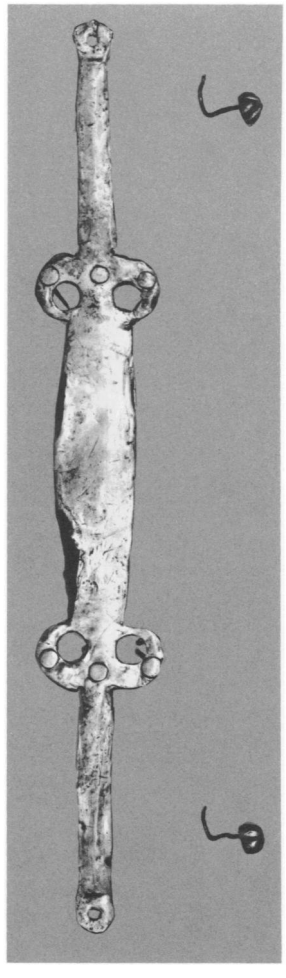
2, 3. Umbo, Provincial Roman, second half of 4th century A.D.; from Vermand (Aisne), France. Iron with gilded silver sheet, H. 16 cm., diam. 20 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 17.192.141

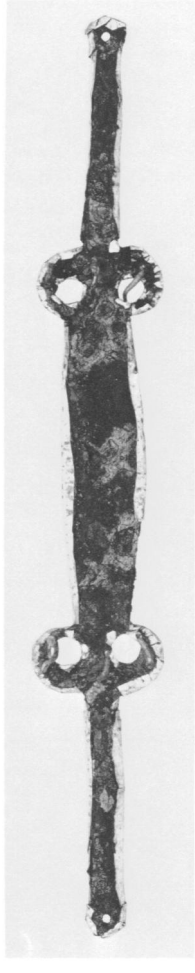
4, 5. Shield grip (front and back), Provincial Roman, second half of 4th century; from Vermand. Iron with silver sheet and gilded silver nails, L. 36.4 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 17.192.142a–c

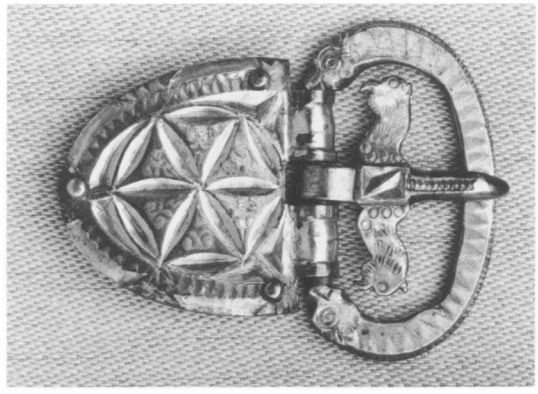
The four remaining pieces—a centurion's buckle, two decorative plaques, and a ring—are cast in silver and decorated *en suite* with *Kerbschnitt*, niello work, and gilding. Like the umbo and shield grip, the buckle is a luxury version of more or less standard military equipment. The other three objects are unusual ornaments for otherwise commonplace weapons.[13] The alternately silver, gilded, and nielloed surfaces glitter and heighten the hard, faceted effect of the *Kerbschnitt* work, a technique generally used with cheaper and less ostentatious metals (Figure 16).

The plaque buckle was intended for a fairly narrow belt (Figure 6). The plaque itself is decorated

13. The Vermand Treasure is currently divided between the Department of Arms and Armor and the Department of Medieval Art; at the time the treasure was acquired it was not clear that these four silver pieces were intended to decorate and complement military equipment.







6. Plaque buckle, Provincial Roman, second half of 4th century; from Vermand. Silver with gilding and niello, L. 5.9 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 17.192.146

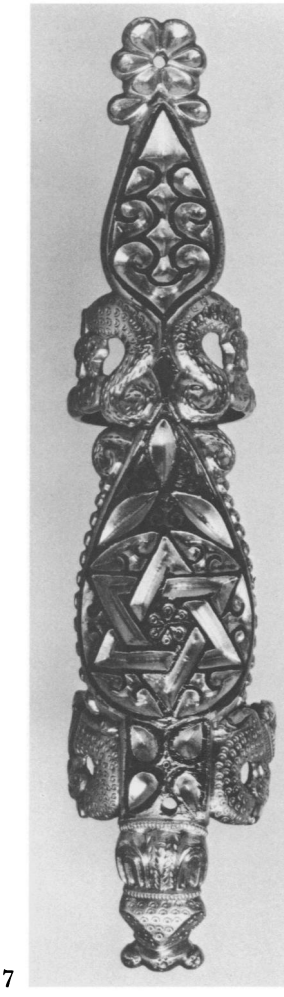
7–10. Lance-shaft plaque, Provincial Roman, second half of 4th century; from Vermand. Silver with gilding and niello, H. 12.5 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 17.192.145

with a rosette inscribed in a circle; between each of the six petals is a nielloed floral arabesque. The outer rim of the plaque and the hoop attached to it have a band of nielloed and gilded triangles. Animal heads appear on both sides of the tongue and serve as terminals for the hoop where it meets the plaque.

The first of the two decorative plaques is actually an irregular, though symmetrical, end-to-end assemblage of various shapes and motifs with two projecting rings for attachment to a lance shaft (Figure 7). Among the motifs are standard provincial Roman rosettes, spirals, arabesques, and knobs, as well as several more unusual forms. The dominant motif is a six-pointed star created by the intersection of two isosceles triangles set within a circle.[14] The connecting rings of this "plaque" are the sinuously curved bodies of imaginary dragonlike beasts,[15] decorated with a regular pattern of small circles, and at one end is a similarly dotted cicada (Figures 9, 10). The plaque, certainly the most impressive piece of the

14. Though called the "star of David" or the "seal of Solomon," it does not relate to Jewish tradition.

15. Referred to in the literature variously as lions, snakes, hippocamps, and "serpentine" animals.



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8. Lance-shaft plaque, side view

11

11. Ring mount for lance, Provincial Roman, second half of 4th century; from Vermand. Silver with gilding and niello, H. 3.5 cm., diam. 2.3 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 17.192.143

9. Lance-shaft plaque, detail showing "dragons" and six-pointed star (photo: Schorsch)

10. Lance-shaft plaque, detail showing cicada (photo: Schorsch)

12. Scabbard-slide ornament(?), Provincial Roman, second half of 4th century; from Vermand. Silver with gilding and niello, L. 9.5 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 17.192.144

de forme conique, avait été totalement recouvert extérieurement d'une plaque d'argent doré ; il possédait encore les clous coniques d'argent qui, par groupes de trois, l'assujettissaient au corps du bouclier d'un centimètre d'épaisseur, lequel avait été fait de bois ou d'osier recouvert de cuir. Entre les séries de clous, se trouvaient de fausses calcédoines ovales serties dans des caissons bordés d'un double bourrelet.

Tout près de là, toujours en dehors du coffre mortuaire, on recueillit une hache en fer, de cette forme trapue qui s'est trouvée communément dans les cimetières du IV[e] siècle, et qui diffère en cela de celles des Francs, remarquables par leur forme élancée.

Plus loin, vers la gauche, on trouva un faisceau de dix javelots en fer de 20 à 25 centimètres de

longueur, en forme de feuille de laurier et d'une conservation parfaite.

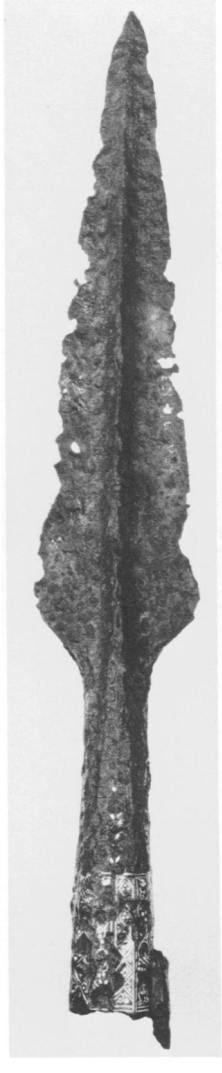
Puis une longue, large et lourde lance en fer, ayant primitivement à sa base deux têtes de lions en bronze, mais n'en laissant plus voir qu'une. Avec cette pièce remarquable se trouvait la garniture en argent doré, ciselé et niellé de la hampe, dont il ne restait que peu de traces.

L'ouverture de la caisse amena une déception : évidemment elle avait été violée et dépouillée des vases précieux contenant le menu du repas posthume qu'on devait y avoir déposé, comme cela s'est vu dans toutes les tombes voisines. Point de bague d'or, d'*aureus* pour obole à Caron, non plus que de fibules et de poignées d'épée et de poignards. On n'y recueillit que la boucle d'argent doré du ceinturon et deux autres plus petites, dorées, ciselées, niellées, sertissant des pierres fines, accompagnées de leur ferret, qui ont pu servir, soit aux chaussures, soit

13. Iron axe head, javelin head, and lance head; from Vermand, published 1902–05 by C. Boulanger, *Le Mobilier funéraire gallo-romain et franc en Picardie et en Artois*, p. 47. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Thomas J. Watson Library

14, 15. Lance head, Provincial Roman, second half of 4th century; published as from Vermand. Iron with copper and silver inlay, L. 38 cm. Cologne, Römisch-Germanisches Museum, no. D 685 (photos: Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, Mainz)

15. Lance head, detail showing twelve-faceted socket with damascened inlay



16. Belt mount, Provincial Roman, 4th century. Bronze, partially silvered, H. 7 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 57.161.2

Vermand Treasure, is a skillful synthesis of an assortment of shapes, textures, and tonal values, executed with the highest quality of workmanship.

Other than its obvious decorative value, this lance-shaft plaque quite possibly had a practical purpose. Whereas in classical antiquity lance heads were secured by inserting and riveting the wooden shaft into the socket, a barbarian innovation was to have shaft straps, iron extensions from each side of the bottom of the socket, which fitted along the sides of the shaft and were held by a metal ring.[16] The Vermand lance-shaft plaque was undoubtedly on the top of the shaft, visible at eye level when the lance was held upright, and could have served as a ring for shaft straps. In addition to making the lance head more secure, the straps would have prevented an enemy from chopping through the end of the lance when it was thrust within his reach.

The ring, intended to fit around the shaft of the lance, is cylindrical, with a squared-out section that has a nail hole for attachment (Figure 11). The ring was most likely used to attach a leather wrist loop to the grip section of the shaft, permitting a firm grasp of the weapon when it was brandished.[17] The ring is decorated with alternating bands of *Kerbschnitt* and nielloed and stamped ornament, mostly scrolls and peltalike motifs; one edge is beaded in a manner similar to the lance-shaft plaque.

The second of the two decorative plaques is rectangular, with pelta and double pelta swirls; it is pierced with three nail holes (Figure 12). It has generally been assumed that this piece also formed part of the lance-shaft decoration,[18] but since it is perfectly flat there is really no reason to suspect that it was intended to be attached to a circular shaft. Indeed, this plaque might have ornamented the scabbard slide of the deceased soldier's sword.[19] If this were the case, it would indicate that lance, belt, and sword were all parts of a garniture with matching decoration.

Kerbschnitt is a typically Roman technique whose visual effect has been likened to that of a far more monumental Roman art form, the mosaic pavement. Forsyth, in particular, advancing the theories expressed by Riegl in his studies of late Roman *Kunstindustrie*, felt that the two media were related in their tendency to reduce naturalistic forms to grids of semiabstract and abstract patterning.[20]

It has been suggested that *Kerbschnitt* work, or "chip-carving," has its origins in Germanic woodcarving technique and, more generally, that *Kerbschnitt* reflects the taste of the invading Germanic people who eventually came to serve in the Roman army.[21] While its ultimate origins remain unknown, there seems to be no doubt that the technique was adopted and widely used in late Roman times for the manufacture of centurion buckles and other military equipment for provincial troops. Because of their widespread distribution along the Rhine and Danube borders, *Kerbschnitt* pieces were in all probability not

16. Three examples of lance irons with shaft straps, two with the rings used to secure them onto the wooden shaft, are illustrated in *Gallien*, nos. 205a, 207, 224d.

17. Most writers agree that this ring belonged to the lance, but this specific function was suggested to me by Helmut Nickel, Curator of Arms and Armor at the Metropolitan Museum.

18. Forsyth, p. 237.

19. Suggested by Helmut Nickel, June 1979.

20. W. H. Forsyth, "Provincial Roman Enamels Recently Acquired by The Metropolitan Museum of Art," *Art Bulletin* 30 (1950) pp. 296–307, esp. pp. 305–306. Forsyth compares the Vermand Treasure *Kerbschnitt* pieces to several Gallo-Roman enameled vessels, on the basis of Riegl's ideas and also in terms of specific motifs; see also A. Riegl, *Spätrömische Kunstindustrie* (Vienna, 1927) pp. 291ff. In his later article, Forsyth compares the pieces to mosaic work; see Forsyth, pp. 237–238.

21. G. Behrens, "Spätrömische Kerbschnittschnallen," in *Schumacher Festschrift* (Mainz, 1930) pp. 285–294, esp. p. 285; see also Lantier, p. 393.

reserved for or preferred by Germanic peoples to the exclusion of other foreign soldiers.[22]

Kerbschnitt buckles, ferrets, and plaques were mass-produced. Behrens's study, which stressed the variety in style and quality found in *Kerbschnitt* military equipment, supports the theory that this equipment was made in several regional factories rather than in one centralized place.[23]

In his study of coins and *Kerbschnitt* work from Chécy (Loiret), Lefaurie compared a silver buckle from Chécy with another in bronze from Rouvroy (Aisne) that he felt had been cast from the same mold;[24] he also noted some similarity between these pieces and the lance-shaft plaque of the Vermand Treasure.[25] While no texts survive that explain under what conditions soldiers received *Kerbschnitt* buckles and ornaments, Lefaurie suggests that certain chapters of the *Notitia Dignitatum*, the muster role of the Roman army, indicate that the buckles were given as special compensation, and that they were produced in ateliers that worked with precious metals, and not where the iron weapons that were standard issue were manufactured.[26]

Although the "star of David" motif is not unknown in Roman mosaic pavements, scholars have connected the Vermand Treasure's star with similar six- or eight-pointed stars (created through the intersection of equal-sized triangles or squares) found on several fourth-century Roman silver plates and bowls, as, for example, on the fluted bowl from Mildenhall (Suffolk, England),[27] and on the Euticus plate and a second piece from Kaiseraugst (Aargau, Switzerland).[28] Star patterns such as these relate to Oriental religious cults that had infiltrated the Roman world in the third century.

The Vermand Treasure quite possibly came from the same atelier that produced some pieces of the Coleraine Treasure, a hoard buried in Northern Ireland in the fifth century.[29] Along with 1,506 coins dating from the reign of Constantius II to that of Honorius (337–423) were found a few fragments of late fourth-century *Kerbschnitt* gilded and nielloed silver plaques (Figure 17). Three pieces, one of which had been described as a decoration for a casket,[30] were recently published as a portion of a plaque buckle and mounts from a scabbard.[31] One of the two mounts is decorated with a six-pointed star with a rosette in the center and encircled by floral ornament identical to that on the Vermand lance-shaft plaque.

THE SARMATIAN PRESENCE

It has been suggested and also widely accepted that the Vermand Treasure, as well as several more or less similar military burials in Gaul, belonged to Germanic settlers—*laeti*, or farmer-soldiers—who came to repopulate Gaul after a series of severe raids by Germanic invaders in the second half of the third century. More specifically, it is believed that the Vermand Treasure belonged to a Frankish chief, sometimes identified as a *praefectus laetorum*, in the pay of the Roman army. However, certain aspects of the Vermand Treasure are not identifiably Gallo-Roman or Frankish but point to Eastern, that is, Asiatic, origins. The Vermand pieces, as well as others from nearby burials, indicate that the Roman border defenses at Vermand were at least partially manned by Sarmatians, an Indo-European people originally

22. Behrens, "Spätrömische Kerbschnittschnallen," map p. 286.

23. Ibid., pp. 293–294; Lantier, p. 393.

24. The Chécy buckle is now lost and only known from a drawing and measurements by Pilloy; see J. Lefaurie, "Le Trésor de Chécy," in *Trésors monétaires et plaque-boucles de la Gaule romaine: Bavai, Montbouy, Chécy*, 12th suppl. to *Gallia* (Paris, 1958) pp. 276–341, esp. pp. 302–303. According to Lefaurie, both were cast in a mold made from a lead model and the slight differences between the two are the result of varying amounts of time or care taken by the artisans whose job it was to remove imperfections from the casting.

25. Ibid., p. 312; he refers specifically to the so-called lions; earlier (p. 311) he discusses the use of niello in the Vermand and Chécy pieces, as well as on several other large- and small-scale pieces of Roman silver, as a possible indication of a common origin.

26. Ibid., pp. 303ff.; see also Salin and France-Lanord, pp. 194ff.

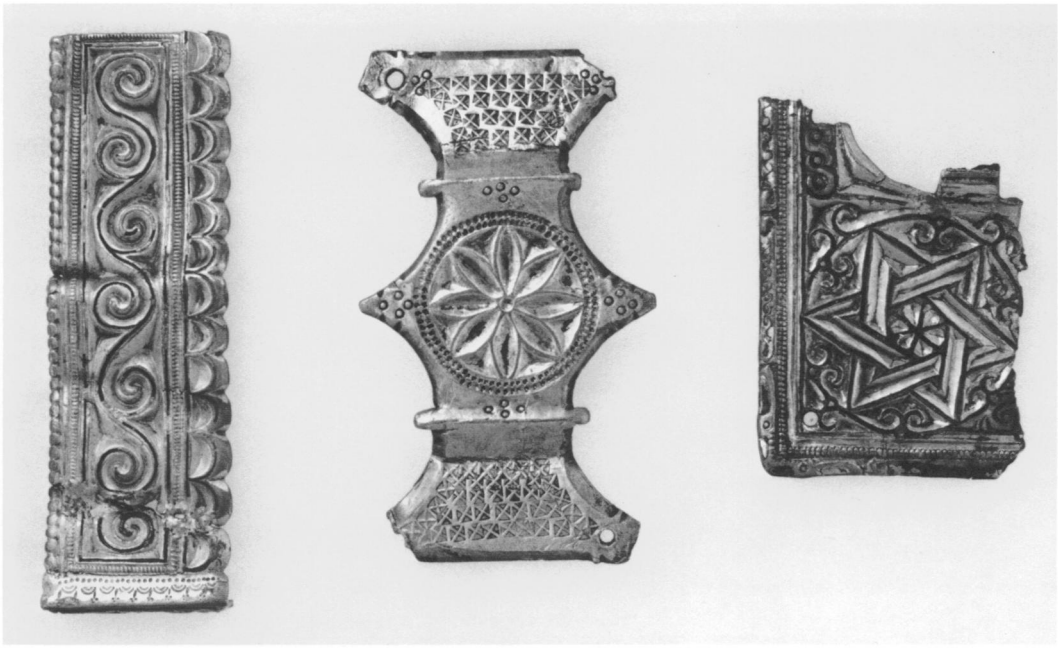
27. J. P. C. Kent and K. S. Painter, eds., *Wealth of the Roman World, A.D. 300–700* (London, 1977) pp. 3ff., nos. 66, 67; J. W. Brailsford, *The Mildenhall Treasure* (London, 1947).

28. R. Laur-Belart, *Der spätrömische Silberschatz von Kaiseraugst, Aargau*, 2nd ed. (Basel, 1963) nos. 5, 12 (see also no. 10, with "Flechtbandstern"); Kent and Painter, *Roman World*, pp. 40ff.

29. Found at Ballinrees, Coleraine, County Londonderry, and now in the British Museum; see Forsyth, pp. 238–239.

30. H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Silver Plate (Greek, Etruscan and Roman) in the British Museum* (London, 1921) nos. 206, 207.

31. Kent and Painter, *Roman World*, nos. 211–213; J. W. Brailsford, *Guide to the Antiquities of Roman Britain* (London, 1971) p. 41 and pl. IX. Brailsford felt that the strip described as a scabbard mount, perhaps for the mouth of the scabbard, had probably been an ornament band from a spear or staff. This seems most likely, since the piece is obviously a flattened-out ring; see also Forsyth, p. 238.



17. Scabbard mount(?), scabbard bridge, and buckle fragment, Provincial Roman, end of 4th century; from Coleraine, Northern Ireland. Silver with gilding and niello, L. 7.75 cm., 6.9 cm., 5.1 cm. London, British Museum, MLA 55.8–15.13, 55.8–15.14, 55.8–15.12 (photo: British Museum)

from the steppes of southern Russia.[32] Furthermore, an attribution of the Vermand Treasure to the taste or workshops of any specific ethnic group raises questions as to our ability to gauge foreign influences within the changing ethnic character of the late Roman Empire.

Gaul, settled by Celtic peoples during their great migration across Europe in the first millennium B.C., was conquered by Caesar in the first century B.C. The Celts by this time had long since given up their migratory habits and had adopted a sedentary, urbanized way of life. As raiders and merchants, the Celts had had contact with the classical world for hundreds of years and were willing recipients of Roman material and social culture, while their art always retained vital strains of their Celtic and provincial origins.

Although internally relatively stable, the Gallo-Roman territories suffered from increasing incursions of Germanic peoples from across the Rhine.[33] In upper Germany the *limes* (border fortifications) fell in A.D. 254; invaders pushed into Belgium about the year 258 and overran central Gaul between 268 and 278.[34] The *limes* were reestablished, only to be broken through again. Diocletian, in his reorganization of 293, succeeded in holding back the Germanic forces on the eastern frontier, but from 285 onwards, North Sea Germanic tribes turned to piracy, raiding the coasts of Gaul, Britain, and northern Spain.[35]

Paradoxically, the very people who preyed on the empire at the same time became part of it. Germanization began long before the invasions of the fifth century A.D. As Musset points out, the practice of repopulating imperial territories with prisoners of war is very old and was used by cultures in the Middle East from the time of the Assyrians.[36] Musset adds that the Romans engaged in this practice from the

32. This theory was suggested by Helmut Nickel; see also K. R. Reynolds, *Guide to Provincial Roman and Barbarian Metalwork and Jewelry in The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1981) pp. 4ff.

33. Even during the most stable times, border tribes from across the Rhine were in constant flux. Musset offers three reasons for these invasions of the 3rd century onwards: the weakening Roman defenses, increasing population, and, most important, a chain reaction started by the migrating Goths in the East (Musset, p. 10).

34. At the same time, Rome also had trouble with Germanic tribes in other parts of the empire; the Alemanni invaded Italy in A.D. 260 and 270, and the Goths raided Thrace, Greece, and Asia Minor. In 271 Dacia was abandoned to the Goths.

35. Musset, p. 12.

36. Ibid., p. 163.

time of Marcus Aurelius; it seems, however, that large numbers of barbarian peoples had been settled within the empire on several earlier occasions.[37]

These newcomers were generally settled as farmers, but non-Romans were also incorporated, in larger and larger numbers, into the Roman army, where in time they reached positions of rank and status.[38] Following the disruptions of the third century, Gaul received many new settlers; in the time of Constantine the Great (A.D. 306–337), an estimated one of every twenty inhabitants of the northern provinces was a barbarian or of barbarian descent.[39]

Two terms, *foederati* and *laeti*, which come down to us from various documents, refer specifically to foreign settlers within the empire who had military obligations.[40] However, our information concerning the specifics of these obligations, and the ethnicity or numbers of people they refer to, is very limited and the cause of much controversy.[41]

The term *laeti* appears for the first time in documents of the late third century;[42] unlike *foederati*, who seem to have served mostly in buffer zones along the Roman borders near their own tribal homelands (or current settlement areas) largely outside Roman military or administrative control,[43] *laeti* were resettled foreigners, living on *terrae laetorum* within the empire, who had been placed under the jurisdiction of a regional *praefectus laetorum*.[44] These *praefecti* are listed in the *Notitia Dignitatum*, which gives us an indication of where the *laeti* were stationed.[45] For the most part, historians have dated this invaluable document, known to us through various later copies, to the first half of the fifth century, but most are also in agreement that it reflects the military organization of the late fourth century as well.[46]

Laeti burials generally are recognizable because they contain weapons; for the most part, Roman and Gallo-Roman soldiers, as well as civilians, were not buried with arms.[47] Werner studied five fourth-century cemeteries (including Vermand) in France and Belgium that contained burials with weapons.[48] He identified grave goods, as well as burial practices, that he felt were characteristic of these cemeteries. While noting that the military burials contained many objects of provincial Roman manufacture, Werner stressed the ritual aspect, which he linked to Germanic practices, and concluded that the soldiers were Germanic *laeti* stationed in these regions.[49] Werner's ultimate aim was to establish that the roots of the distinctive Merovingian row-grave cemetery rituals were to be found in the practices of the Frankish *laeti* of many years earlier.[50]

Although Werner's theory is widely accepted,[51] at least two major articles have appeared that care-

37. MacMullen, see documents pp. 553–554, and pp. 555ff.

38. Particularly after the time of Theodosius; Musset, pp. 162–163; K. F. Stroheker, "Zur Rolle der Heermeister fränkischer Abstammung im späten vierten Jahrhundert," *Historia* 4 (1955) pp. 314–330.

39. MacMullen, p. 554.

40. *Coloni* were also used throughout the empire and augmented the barbarian concentration; according to most historians, however, these people did not participate in military activities.

41. Stroheker, "Zur Rolle der Heermeister," p. 314, discusses the problem of nationalistic and ethnocentric considerations that color scholarly points of view regarding the role of Germanic tribes in the late Roman Empire. Art-historical and archaeological reconstructions thrive on continuity; one must therefore take into account that when scholars seek evidence to link western Germanic peoples (Franks and Alemanni), who entered Gaul in the 4th century as farmers and soldiers, to the Merovingian culture, which appeared in Gaul in the late 5th century, they often overlook the great number and variety of ethnic groups that participated in the "barbarization" of the Roman Empire.

42. A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*, 2 vols. (Norman, Okla., 1964) I, p. 60, writes that *laeti* were mentioned by a Gallic orator in A.D. 296. *Laeti* settlements are also mentioned in panegyrics between 289 and 389, in 297 by the panegyrist of Constantius Chlorus, and in the early 4th century by the panegyrist of Constantine the Great; see also Salin, II, p. 236, and texts p. 379.

43. Jones, *Later Roman Empire*, I, pp. 611–612.

44. This was an administrative post rather than a military rank; ibid., p. 640.

45. *Not. Dig. Oc.*, XLII, l.1, "Praepositurae magistri militum praesentalis a parte peditum."

46. For a brief bibliography of important research on the *Notitia Dignitatum* see R. Grigg, "Portrait-Bearing Codicils in the Illustrations of the *Notitia Dignitatum*," *Journal of Roman Studies* 69 (1979) p. 108, n. 8.

47. Salin, II, pp. 223ff.

48. Werner, pp. 23–32, esp. p. 29; in addition to Vermand, Werner studied cemeteries at Vert-la-Gravelle (Marne), Monceau-le-Neuf (Aisne), Abbeville-Homblières (Aisne), and Furfooz (near Namur); see Salin, II, p. 240, n. 5, for a list of other *laeti* cemeteries.

49. Werner, esp. p. 30.

50. Ibid., esp. p. 22.

51. MacMullen, pp. 558–559, writes that Werner's thesis concerning the *laeti* burials is plausible but impossible to prove; as for Werner's other suggestion (concerning the continuation of *laeti* culture into Merovingian times), he feels uncertain of its

fully reinvestigate the problem and express alternative opinions. The Belgian archaeologists de Laet, Dhondt, and Nenquin together examined and disputed the validity of several of Werner's ten criteria for identifying *laeti* cemeteries.[52] They concluded that the ethnic criteria proposed by Werner were not appropriate, and that of the five cemeteries he studied, only Furfooz, near Namur, was likely to have been used by *laeti*, and for different reasons.[53] They added that Werner's thesis concerning the development of Merovingian grave culture from the fourth-century *laeti* tradition disregarded the so-called fifth-century hiatus, a geographical and chronological rupture in the occupation (as we know it from archaeology) of northeastern Gaul.[54]

The weapons from the Vermand burial, with one exception, are in themselves typically Roman,[55] though most scholars view them in terms of the later Merovingian tradition. Salin, for example, discusses several fourth-century finds from within Gaul in his various studies of Merovingian culture and industry; he classifies as type "U.4" the umbo from Vermand, together with similar pieces from Monceau-le-Neuf (Aisne) and Misery (Somme), because of their sharp point and conical form with concave sides.[56] This is one of the four variations known from Merovingian burials, but, in fact, such late examples have been found only rarely and the type is far more common among fourth-century Roman soldiers and auxiliaries.[57]

The shield grip, classified by Salin as "M.1" (*verge droit*), is one of three types found in Merovingian burials.[58] While there is certainly the possibility of tracing Roman influence in the development of Merovingian arms, there is no indication that the Vermand shield was not actually of Roman manufacture or that it shows traces of Germanic influence.

The Vermand battle-axe head (Figure 13), measuring less than 12 centimeters across, is also similar to one from Monceau-le-Neuf.[59] It is a type common among Roman soldiers and auxiliaries of this time and appears to be unrelated to the distinctive Frankish *francisca*—a throwing axe—known from early Merovingian burials.[60]

Salin describes and illustrates the Vermand lance head in *Rhin et Orient: Le Fer à l'époque mérovingienne*, but never actually discusses it in terms of the various Merovingian types and hybrid types that he carefully classifies and charts.[61] In a later article concerning finds from a cemetery at La Bussière-Etable (Haute-Vienne), Salin took the opportunity to examine the origins of the Vermand silver lance head, which is nearly triangular and originally had "hooks" ending with the heads of lions.[62] Lance heads with hooks are

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validity; see also Musset, p. 73. For studies of individual so-called *laeti* cemeteries that support Werner's thesis, see H. Roosens, *Quelques Mobiliers funéraires de la fin de l'époque romaine dans le nord de la France* (Bruges, 1962), which discusses Monceau-le-Neuf and Abbeville-Homblières; Lantier, pp. 73–401. See also J. A. E. Nenquin, "La Nécropole de Furfooz," *Dissertationes Archaeologicae Gandensis* 1 (1953) pp. 7–110.

52. S. J. de Laet, J. Dhondt, and J. Nenquin, "Les *Laeti* du Namurois et l'origine de la civilisation mérovingienne," in *Etudes d'histoire et archéologie namuroises dédiées à Ferdinand Courtoy*, 2 vols. (Namur, 1952) I, pp. 149–174, esp. pp. 150ff.

53. Ibid., p. 168; see also Nenquin, "Furfooz"; Salin, II, p. 248, n. 1.

54. De Laet et al., "Les *Laeti* du Namurois," pp. 168–169; see also Dhondt et al., "La Domination romaine," concerning the 5th-century hiatus; de Laet et al. voiced other objections, for example, that the *laeti* are known from documents more than fifty years before the so-called *laeti* cemeteries. More recently Böhner, while supporting Werner's attribution of the burials to Germanic people, felt that these people had entered the empire as loosely regulated *foederati* rather than *laeti* under a *praefectus*; see K. Böhner, "Zur historischen Interpretation der sogenannten Laetengräber," *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz* 10 (1963) pp. 139–167.

55. The ten javelin heads seem to be of little significance; they are barely mentioned by earlier writers; see de Laet et al., "Les *Laeti* du Namurois," p. 164, n. 2. Little can be said of the sword, which does not survive, other than that the deceased was particularly well equipped with weapons.

56. Salin and France-Lanord, pp. 99, 122, chart following p. 128; Salin, II, pp. 242ff.; see also C. Boulanger, *Le Mobilier funéraire gallo-romain et franc en Picardie et en Artois* (Paris, 1902–05) p. 47.

57. Salin, II, p. 328; Salin and France-Lanord, pp. 99, 122.

58. Salin and France-Lanord, p. 123, chart following p. 128.

59. Ibid., p. 99; of all remains of weapons, the axe head is the most plentiful in 4th-century Gallic cemeteries.

60. Ibid., p. 99; Salin, II, p. 241, n. 1. Salin writes: "La hâche d'armes, dont l'emploi est une coutume germanique, n'est pas la francisque" but in a footnote points out that auxiliaries recruited in the East, portrayed on the Arch of Constantine in Rome, also carry axes (Salin, II, p. 246, n. 1). Referring to the Monceau-le-Neuf battle-axe head, Salin makes the point that the position of the axe in the grave is the same as that of axes dating to Merovingian times; Merovingian *francisca* are considerably larger than Roman axe heads, measuring on average 15–18 cm.; Salin and France-Lanord, pp. 99, 104; Werner, p. 29.

61. Salin and France-Lanord, p. 100, chart following p. 128.

62. E. Salin, "Le Mobilier funéraire de la Bussière-Etable près Châteauponsac (Haute Vienne)," *Monuments et mémoires*

not Roman weapons, but are found occasionally among auxiliaries towards the end of the fourth century; they appear only rarely in Merovingian burials. Additionally, the nearly triangular shape of the Vermand and the La Bussière-Etable lance heads is unlike the "willow-leaf" shape of most Merovingian irons.[63] On the basis of his study of various grave goods, including the lance heads from La Bussière-Etable which seemingly date from before the beginning of the second century A.D., Salin concludes that the lance heads with hooks reflect the influence of eastern Germanic people who had inherited Pontic-Danubian traditions.[64]

The "Pontic-Danubian tradition" refers to the elusive Sarmatians, nomadic people who lived for many centuries in constant flux, migrating westward in tribal groups, undergoing change and renewal, and coming into contact with foreign cultures and with other Sarmatians. (For a discussion of the westward migration of the Sarmatians, see Appendix 2.) Tribes appear and disappear, and are often designated by different names at different times, in different places, by various ancient authors and chroniclers, each of whom had his own perspective or lack thereof.

Modern scholarship has yet to reconstruct this web of comings and goings; even Sulimirski, the most prominent Western scholar concerned with the Sarmatian people, can be confusing when specifying which Sarmatians he is referring to at one time or another.[65] Sarmatian art, which belongs to the so-called art of the steppes, has to a large extent been overshadowed by the work associated with the Sarmatians' earlier, wealthier, and somewhat more homogeneous cousins, the Scythians, who have been the subject of many studies and whose art is far better known in the West.

The Sarmatians were a complex of more or less closely related nomadic tribes of Indo-European stock, speaking a north Iranian language related to the Scythian tongue; they emerged from the Volga and Uralic steppe regions of southern Russia during the fifth century B.C.[66] The earliest Sarmatians were known to Herodotus as "Sauromatae," a mythical people living beyond the Scythians, born of Scythian fathers and Amazon mothers.[67]

For many centuries the various Sarmatian peoples migrated farther west as new tribes of both Iranian and Turkish (i.e., Hunnic) stock rose and asserted their strength in the eastern steppes of Kazakhstan and Soviet Central Asia. From the third century A.D. onwards, migrating Germanic tribes also played a major role in the westward movement of the Sarmatians. In time, the Goths and the Sarmatians intermarried, each adopting some of the other's cultural and artistic traditions, a development that it is crucial to consider in examining evidence of a Sarmatian presence in western Europe. Sulimirski discusses the migrations and settlements of the Sarmatians from their first emergence to their final sweep through France to North Africa in the fifth century A.D., but is silent about the appearance of Sarmatians in Gaul during the fourth century.

In the *Notitia Dignitatum*, following the listings of *praefecti laetorum*, are the so-called *praefecti Sarmatarum gentilium*, who supervised a number of settlements in Italy as well as six in Gaul.[68] This documentation has not been overlooked by historians

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publiés par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres 45 (1951) pp. 89–115, esp. pp. 93ff. Four lance heads "*à crochet*" were found there. For the Vermand lance head see Figure 13; cf. Figure 14; see note 7. These hooks were stops to prevent the lance head from penetrating too deeply, so that the weapon could be easily recovered.

63. Ibid., pp. 93, 95; called *feuille de saule*; see also Salin and France-Lanord, chart following p. 128.

64. Salin and France-Lanord, pp. 95, 114–115.

65. T. Sulimirski, "The Forgotten Sarmatians," in *Vanished Civilisations*, ed. E. Bacon (New York/London, 1963); and Sulimirski. Appendix 2 below, which offers a review of the Sarmatians' migrations and settlements, is largely based on Sulimirski's work.

66. As with so many barbarian invaders who came into contact with the Greco-Roman world, we have little information about what the Sarmatians called themselves. The later Sarmatians were, and are still, often collectively called Alans or Alani, after a large tribal group that overran western Europe in the early 5th century A.D. The other better-known tribal names of the Sarmatians include Iazyges, Roxolani, Aorsi, Siraces, Antae, and Surmatai. Sarmatian culture developed from several racially dissimilar Bronze Age cultures; this mixed character is confirmed by pictographic material and skeletal remains; Sulimirski, pp. 24–25.

67. Herodotus IV, ll. 110–117. The Sarmatians were also mentioned by Hippocrates (460–377 B.C.) and Strabo (63 B.C.–A.D. 24?).

68. *Not. Dig. Oc.*, XLII, ll. 48–70.

of the late Roman Empire, and it is generally accepted that these *praefecti* were in charge of groups of Sarmatians who were allowed into the empire under conditions similar to those governing *laeti*.[69]

Many place names in France—Sermaise and Sermoise are the most common[70]—attest to settlements of Sarmatians in the West. Owing to a lack of early textual sources, none of the Sarmatian place names appears in records (other than the *Notitia Dignitatum*) dating from before the ninth century,[71] but then mention of villages derived from Gothic, Frankish, and Alemanni settlements in France are also generally not known from the fourth to eighth centuries.[72] Names referring to Alani settlers, a Sarmatian tribal group of the fifth century, are also in evidence in France—Allaines and Alaincourt, for example—especially in the north. Bachrach suggests that these settlements were purposely established along the line of Sarmatian military settlements of earlier times.[73]

There is a lack of archaeological material of the fourth century that can be attributed to the Sarmatians in Gaul. As a rule, it is difficult to establish the ethnic identity of soldiers who receive standardized arms and equipment. For example, after their defeat on the Danube in A.D. 175, some fifty-five hundred Sarmatians were sent to Britain as cavalrymen, a condition imposed on them by their peace treaty. The *Notitia Dignitatum* twice mentions the existence of Sarmatian troops in Britain, and documentary evidence exists of a settlement of Sarmatian veterans.[74] To this day, however, only three material traces of a Sarmatian presence in Britain have been discovered.[75]

Sarmatian art is considered to have been an important factor in the development of the styles and techniques that came to characterize Germanic art during the early Migration Period, that is, about A.D. 400–600. Occasionally art historians and archaeologists hint that the influence of Pontic art was felt in the West before the fifth century and, most important, that this influence resulted from direct contact with Pontic steppe peoples living in the West. Salin gave greater emphasis to the role of Sarmatian influence in the West in his four-volume magnum opus, *Civilisation mérovingienne*, than he did in his earlier studies. He writes that the appearance of the "animal" or "Pontic" style in western Europe in the fourth century A.D. must be attributable to Sarmatians, or more generally to people from the steppes of central Europe, who were certainly among the *laeti* settled in western Europe.[76]

In a footnote, quoting Ausonius ("arvaque Sauromatum nuper metata colonis"), Salin adds that the Sarmatians cultivated the land and defended it, as did the Germanic auxiliaries, and suggests that differences in burial practices in cemeteries associated with *laeti* may reflect ethnic differences.[77]

France-Lanord studied a fourth-century cemetery at Cortrat (Loiret) and drew several parallels between certain grave goods found there and those from various sites in Pannonia, where Sarmatians had settled.[78] While the *Notitia Dignitatum* specifies that "Teutons" were living in the area of modern-day

69. MacMullen, pp. 550–551; F. Lot, *The End of the Ancient World and the Beginnings of the Middle Ages*, trans. P. and M. Leon (New York, 1931) p. 106; Jones, *Later Roman Empire*, I, p. 620; J. B. Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire*, 2 vols. (New York, 1958) I, p. 40.

70. G. Vernadsky, "The Eurasian Nomads and Their Impact on Medieval Europe," *Studii Medievali*, 3rd ser., 4 (1963) pp. 401–434, esp. p. 429; B. S. Bachrach, "The Alans in Gaul," *Traditio* 23 (1967) pp. 476–489, esp. pp. 477–478.

71. A. Dauzat and C. Rostaing, *Dictionnaire étymologique des noms de lieux en France* (Paris, 1963) s.v. "Salmaise."

72. A. H. Longnon, *Les Noms de lieux de la France* (Paris, 1920–29) 6 vols. A large section in vol. II is devoted to place names derived from barbarian tribal names and confirms this general lack of early documentation.

73. Many town names based on the tribal name Alani are clustered along the Seine and Somme rivers; since no deformed skulls, a characteristic of East Alani and Hunnish burials, were found in this area, it is possible that these sites were named after the West Alani. Deformed skulls from the 5th or 6th century have been excavated in eastern and central France; Bachrach, "Alans in Gaul," map p. 480; Sulimirski, map p. 190.

74. Sulimirski, p. 176; *Not. Dig. Oc.*, XL, l. 54.

75. Sarmatian beads and an eye shield for a horse chanfron, representations of Sarmatian cavalrymen on two grave stelae, and an inscription referring to a cavalry unit (*ala*) of five hundred Sarmatians were found respectively at Chesters on Hadrian's Wall, Chester, and Ribchester, near Lancaster; Sulimirski, pp. 175–176, fig. 66 and pl. 46. The survival of Sarmatian tradition in the Arthurian mythology of medieval Europe is discussed by H. Nickel, "The Dawn of Chivalry," in *From the Lands of the Scythians* (New York, 1974); see also idem, "Wer waren König Artus' Ritter?," *Zeitschrift für Historische Waffen- und Kostümkunde* 1 (1975) pp. 1–28.

76. Salin, II, p. 247; published after his study of La Bussière-Etable.

77. Ibid., II, p. 247, n. 1, including a critique of Werner's theories.

78. A. France-Lanord, "Un Cimetière de lètes à Cortrat (Loiret)," *Revue Archéologique*, 3rd ser., 1 (1963) pp. 15–35.

Cortrat,[79] France-Lanord cites nearby Sarmatian settlements—"*laeti* from the shores of the mid-Danube," also listed in the *Notitia*—as a source for Pannonian imports.[80]

It is most likely that Sarmatian soldiers and farmers settled at Vermand, under the direction of the "Praefectus Sarmatarum gentilium, inter Renos et Tambianos [Reims and Amiens] provinciae Belgicae secondae" listed in the *Notitia Dignitatum*,[81] to protect these strategically important crossroads.[82] A number of archaeological finds from Vermand and elsewhere supports this likelihood.

The Vermand lance head, which was discussed earlier in the context of a study by Salin, is an indication that the deceased soldier to whom it belonged was of Eastern rather than Frankish origin. There are several other clues to be found among the grave goods of his burial and in two other burials at Vermand which confirm Eastern, and perhaps more specifically, Sarmatian origins.

Although the grave goods from Vermand cemetery, and the motifs that decorate them and the Vermand Treasure, are typically Roman or Gallo-Roman, there are small details that can be considered alien. One of these is the cicada set at one end of the lance-shaft plaque.

Cicada fibulae appear without prototype in Europe and southern Russia after A.D. 300. Kühn catalogued some sixty-three fibulae and other assorted pieces (but not the Vermand Treasure lance-shaft plaque) with this motif; a few of them had been found as far west and north as England and Belgium, but the overwhelming majority (forty-five) have come from Hungary and southern Russia.[83] Unfortunately, very few of the fibulae are securely dated; they seem to range in date from A.D. 300 to 500, with isolated finds in the East until 600. The largest number probably date from 400 to 500. The fibulae Kühn discusses are generally associated with Gothic burials (presumably Ostrogoth burials, for none is known from Visigothic Spain), with at least one very notable exception: the burial of the early Frankish king Childeric at Tournai in 481.[84]

The cicada fibulae tend to show no stylistic evolution; they were made in a number of different materials and techniques, with different numbers of wings and varying proportions, as well as with differing degrees of naturalism.[85] Kühn examines the possibilities for the origin of the motif, whose variety of form and sudden appearance, as he believes, would indicate that it was borrowed from another culture.[86]

Cicada representations are known among the Egyptians and the Greeks, but were not particularly favored by the Romans;[87] Kühn concludes that the motif was imported from the Far East, where for the Chinese the cicada was probably a symbol of resurrection.[88] He suggests that it was brought to the West by a group of Sarmatians. Both the Scythians and the Sarmatians had contact with the Chinese at various times in their wanderings—witness the Chinese and Chinese-influenced bronze mirrors, as well as other imports from the East, in Sarmatian burials[89]—but the cicada is unknown in Scythian art and it was the

79. "Praefectus laetorum teutonicianorum carnunta saenoniae lugdenensis," *Not. Dig. Oc.*, XLII, l. 33; France-Lanord, "Cortrat," p. 34.

80. France-Lanord, "Cortrat," pp. 34–35.

81. *Not. Dig. Oc.*, XLII, l. 67.

82. As this article neared publication, it was brought to my attention that J. Coquelle had independently arrived at this conclusion; see *La Mémoire de Vermand*, 2 vols. (Alençon, 1985) I, p. 71.

83. Kühn, esp. map p. 91. Two enameled examples (not identified as cicadas) from Britain are illustrated in J. D. Bateson and R. E. M. Hedges, "The Scientific Analysis of a Group of Roman-Age Enamelled Brooches," *Archaeometry* 17 (1975) pp. 177–190, pl. facing p. 178, nos. 5, 9.

84. Kühn, p. 87, nos. 9, 10; of approximately two to three hundred gold cicadas with almandine inlay that were sewn onto Childeric's garment, two survive. Decorating clothing with hundreds of sewn-on small plates of precious metal is a Sarmatian practice, although Kühn does not mention this. He does, however, point out, p. 95, that the workmanship of the cicadas, as well as of the other pieces of Childeric's grave goods, is typically Pontic.

85. Ibid., p. 95.

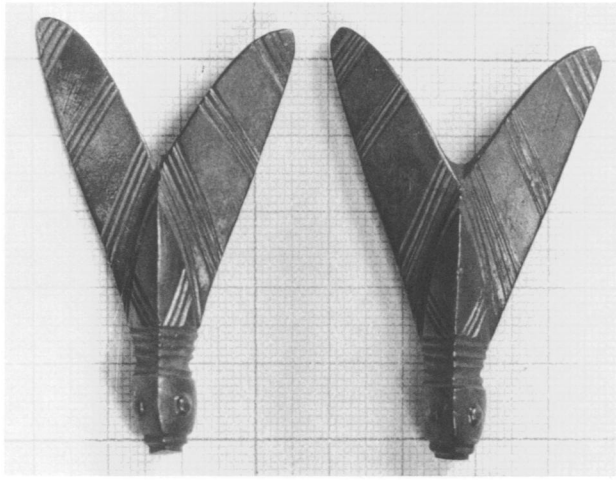
86. Ibid., pp. 85, 105.

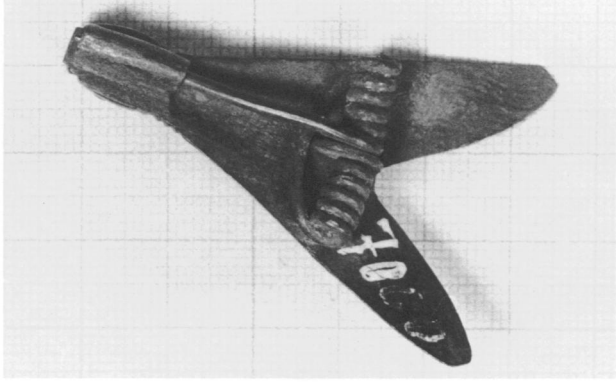
87. There do not appear to be Roman cicada fibulae, but the motif in other contexts is not unknown. Anthropomorphized cicadas, fighting, making offerings, fishing, etc., are found on Roman gems; A. Furtwängler, *Die antiken Gemmen*, 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1900) I, pl. XXIX, nos. 35–37, 41–43, pl. XLVI, no. 38; III, p. 298. Insects described as locusts or grasshoppers eating fruit, represented from the side, are seen occasionally on Roman terracotta lamps of the first centuries B.C. and A.D. (D. M. Bailey, *A Catalogue of the Lamps in the British Museum*, 2 vols. [London, 1975–80] I, pp. 344, 355, pls. 134, 139, 150; II, pp. 84, 223, 229, pl. 37, fig. 98). My thanks to Joan R. Mertens, of the Metropolitan Museum's Department of Greek and Roman Art, who referred me to these sources.

88. Kühn, pp. 101ff.

89. In addition to Chinese and Hunnic grave goods in Sarmatian burials, there is evidence of this link in the periodic mention of Sarmatian peoples in Chinese chronicles.

18, 19. Cicada fibulae, Sarmatian-Gothic, end of 4th century; from Untersiebenbrunnen (Niederösterreich), Austria. Silver, H. 5.6 cm. Vienna, Niederösterreiches Landesmuseum (formerly Kunsthistorisches Museum no. A 1219) (photos: Niederösterreiches Landesmuseum)





19. Reverse side of cicada fibula

Sarmatians who mingled with the newly arrived Goths in the Ukraine. The burials with cicada fibulae catalogued by Kühn seem to have, to a great extent, a mixed Sarmatian-Gothic character, and it is extremely difficult to make a clear-cut distinction between them (Figures 18, 19).[90]

The Vermand cicada is among the cicadas closest to the Chinese prototype; it is short and squat, with wings held close to the body, which retains some organic feeling. It is less abstract, less starkly linear than most of the other pieces found in Europe and Russia. Whether strictly Sarmatian or Gothic, the cicada indicates an Eastern element at Vermand, for the motif was uncommon among the Romans and never quite taken up by the Franks.[91]

It is fairly common for provincial Roman *Kerbschnitt* pieces to be decorated with snakes or lions; the Vermand plaque buckle, with its flat and lifeless animals on the tongue and loop, is typical of this. However, the sinuously contorted and textured dragons, curling around the back to form attachment rings for the lance-shaft plaque, do not belong to this tame variety. They go back, instead, to steppe art, to the powerful animal images of the Scythians and the Sarmatians. The round punched decoration is typical of Sarmatian metalwork, and the dragons bring to mind the dragon standards used by the Sarmatians in battle.[92]

Another indication that people from the East were buried at Vermand is confirmed by Åberg. He writes that western Europe was almost entirely untouched by eastern Germanic influences in the third and fourth centuries A.D., but cites several exceptions;[93] among them is a torque of a characteristically eastern Germanic type found at Vermand cemetery.[94] It is appropriate here to quote Sulimirski's opinion concerning another typically eastern Germanic grave find: "Most 'Gothic plate brooches' have been attributed to the Goths, even those found in areas of northern France where the presence of neither Ostrogoths nor Visigoths has been recorded, and despite the fact that the finds antedate the arrival of Goths in France."[95]

Finally, one might consider a somewhat unorthodox theory put forth by France-Lanord. Among the

90. Kühn, p. 105, writes: "Es ist [in Südrussland und Ungarn] oft nicht zu entscheiden, ob es sarmatische oder germanische Funde sind, zumal dann, wenn chinesische oder chinesisch bestimmte Spiegel zusammen mit den Zikaden gefunden wurden." He mentions specifically a find at Untersiebenbrunn (Niederösterreich) as an indisputably Gothic find (no. 4), but the site happens to be one of the examples given by Sulimirski of archaeological remains of Alans west of Hungary. Sulimirski, pp. 187–188, n. 5, writes: "The Alano-Sarmatian character of most of the finds published has not been specified."

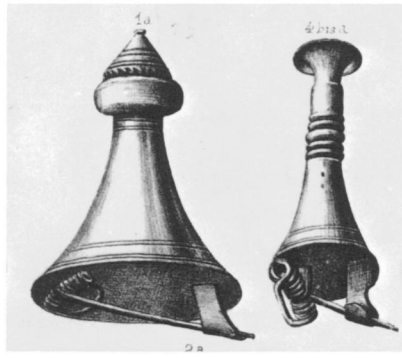
91. Kühn, pp. 95–96.

92. Nickel, "Dawn of Chivalry," p. 151; idem, "König Artus' Ritter," pp. 8–11.

93. N. Åberg, *Die Franken und Westgoten in der Völkerwanderungszeit* (Uppsala, 1922) p. 39.

94. Ibid., pp. 38–39; he does not specify which burial contained the torque.

95. Sulimirski, p. 186.



20. *Tutulus* fibulae, Provincial Roman; from Vermand (after Eck, pl. xx). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Thomas J. Watson Library

objects he studied at Cortrat are examples of the so-called *tutulus* fibula or *fibule clochette*. Similar fibulae have been found in women's graves at Vert-la-Gravelle,[96] at Vermand (Figure 20), and at several other sites. The original pair from Vermand was lost in the nineteenth century, but another pair was found at Marteville in a cemetery located one kilometer from Vermand (Figure 21).[97]

These fibulae are discussed by Werner, who considered them characteristic of Germanic *laeti* burials.[98] In fact, there appears to be no doubt that they were made in Roman factories, although many scholars believe that the form developed from Germanic prototypes.[99] A number of *tutulus* fibulae of Roman

21. *Tutulus* fibulae, Provincial Roman, second half of 4th century; from Marteville (Aisne). Silver, H. 4 cm. Vermand, Association Archéologique du Vermandois (photo: Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, Mainz)

workmanship found in Germanic lands east of the Rhine are thought to have been acquired as trade goods and booty. There has also been some speculation that the prototype comes from Dura-Europus (Syria),[100] but as in the case of the *Kerbschnitt* technique it is not the original source that is crucial, but who made the pieces and for whom.

France-Lanord relates the chiseled and nielloed decoration on the end plates of the *tutulus* fibulae to the *tamgas* of the Sarmatians and the Avars[101] (Figure 22). An example of a second type of fibula, also with these characteristic markings, was found at Vermand as well (Figure 23). Tamgas, which were adopted by certain of the Sarmatian tribes—for example, the Aorsi and the Siraces[102]—in contact with the Bosporan kingdom in the first century A.D., are believed to have been used originally as monograms for the names of Greek deities. In time, they became simplified and are thought to have been used to designate property or to protect the owner of the property (Figures 24, 25).[103]

It is not unlikely that Sarmatian artisans worked in Roman *fabricae* in Gaul, providing goods for other Sarmatian settlers. In fact, the kind of ateliers to which Lefaurie attributed the provincial Roman *Kerbschnitt* buckles and ornaments,[104] and which Salin thought were responsible for the gilded silver sheet on the Vermand umbo,[105] were manned by barbarians. In the *Notitia Dignitatum*, the overseers were

96. Illustrated in Lantier, pl. IV, figs. 4, 8, 9; see also France-Lanord, "Cortrat," pp. 19, 30–31.

97. M. Loizel and J. Coquelle, "Le Cimetière gallo-romain du Bas-Empire de Marteville," *Cahiers Archéologique de Picardie* 4 (1977) pp. 155ff.

98. Werner, pp. 25ff., esp. map p. 29. De Laet et al., "Les *Laeti* du Namurois," pp. 154, 156–157, hotly contest the Germanic "ritual" aspects that Werner attributes to the *tutulus* fibulae.

99. De Laet et al., "Les *Laeti* du Namurois," p. 30; Lantier, pp. 393ff.; Salin, II, p. 239.

100. Salin, II, p. 230, fig. 135, n. 5.

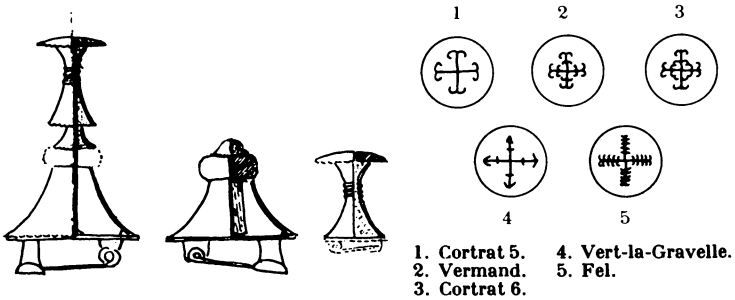
101. France-Lanord, "Cortrat," p. 15. The Avars were a Turkish people who arrived in eastern Europe in the 6th century and took up much of the surviving Sarmatian culture.

102. Very little has been written in English about tamga signs; see Sulimirski, pp. 151ff., pls. 37–40; H. Nickel, "Tamgas and Runes, Magic Numbers and Magic Symbols," *MMJ* 8 (1973) pp. 165–173; H. Jaenichen, *Die Bildzeichen der königlichen Hoheit bei iranischen Völkern* (Bonn, 1956).

103. Tamga signs survived in Polish heraldry and in the Caucasus were used in branding horses into modern times.

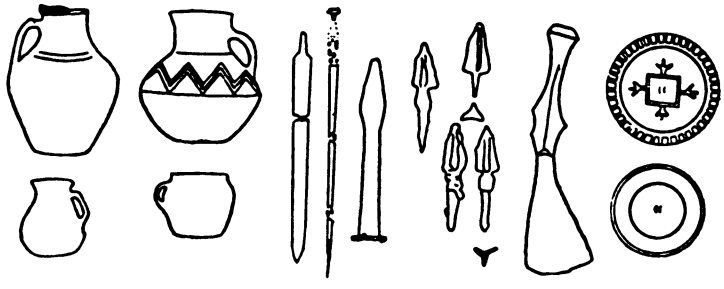
104. Lefaurie, "Trésor de Chécy," p. 332.

105. Salin and France-Lanord, pp. 194–195.



22. *Tutulus* fibulae (after France-Lanord, "Un Cimetière de lètes à Cortrat," fig. 17). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Thomas J. Watson Library

23. Fibula, Provincial Roman, from Vermand (after Eck, pl. xx). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Thomas J. Watson Library

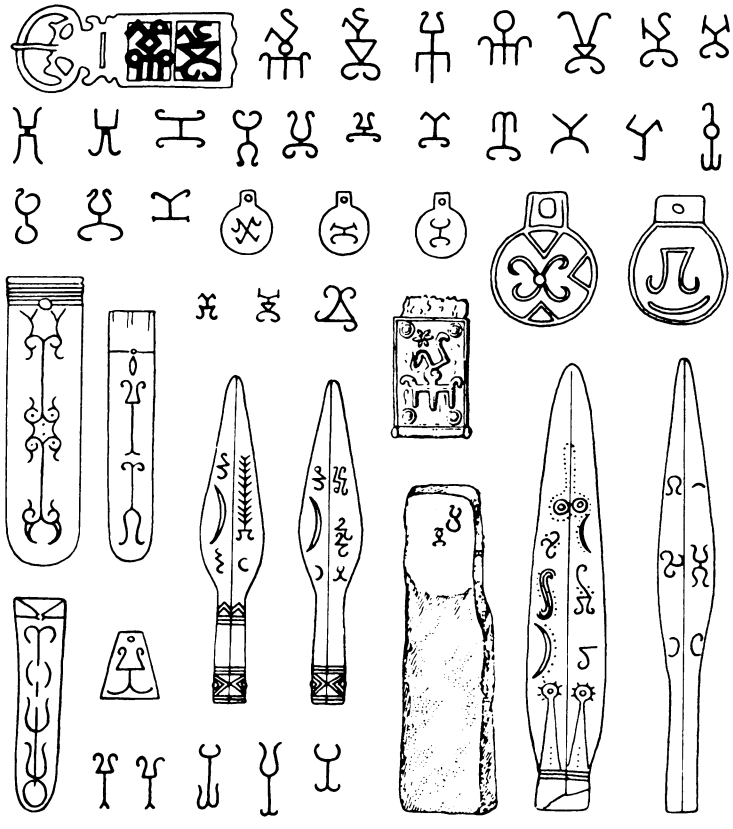


24. Grave goods from Late Sarmatian burials on the lower Volga (after Sulimirski, fig. 52). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Thomas J. Watson Library

described as "Praepositi branbaricariorum siue argentarorum," and the *fabricae* were located at Reims, Arles, and Trier.[106]

The Sarmatians who settled in northern France in the fourth century can probably be identified with the ruling "Sarmatae Ardagarantes" who sought refuge within the empire as a result of the civil war in Hungary in A.D. 332. The parallels between Gallic

25. Greek and Sarmatian tamgas, 1st–3rd centuries A.D. (after Sulimirski, fig. 55). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Thomas J. Watson Library



Sarmatian grave goods (i.e., from Cortrat) and Pannonian grave goods, the traces of eastern Germanic influences, and the strong sense of Pontic animal art all point to a people who came from Hungary, but who were relatively recent arrivals from the Pontic steppes and who had been in contact with the Goths.

We cannot discount the probability that some Goths were also present among the Sarmatians resettled in France,[107] although it seems likely, based on the *Notitia Dignitatum* listings and the toponymic

106. *Not. Dig. Oc.*, XI, ll. 74–77.

107. The *Notitia Dignitatum* lists a "Praefectus Sarmatarum et Taifalorum gentilium . . ." in Gaul; *Not. Dig. Oc.*, XLII, l. 65. The Taifales were a Germanic people, probably related to the Goths.

studies, that the Sarmatians, probably the West Alani, were the dominant element.[108]

It cannot be said for certain that the Vermand Treasure belonged to the *praefectus* listed in the *Notitia Dignitatum*,[109] though this is clearly a strong possibility. We do not know where the rest of the soldiers stationed at Vermand were buried, as the cemeteries excavated were primarily civilian.[110] Here one is confronted with the difficulty Werner faced: finding archaeological material that indicates—either by its origin or by some evidence of ritual usage—a recognizable foreign culture within the basically Gallo-Roman or provincial Roman framework whose presence corresponds to documentary evidence.

Where, for example, are the remains of the three hundred thousand Sarmatians settled in Thrace, Scythia, Italy, and Macedonia under Constantine the Great?[111] One must suppose, until new and clearer evidence is found, that the barbarians who so undermined the politics and cultural fabric of the late Roman Empire before its fall in the West in the fifth century brought few artifacts from their original homelands and quickly adopted Roman material culture; or that what they brought was not so very different from what they adopted. MacMullen concludes that *laeti* are particularly difficult to distinguish by archaeological means because the people among whom they settled had come to resemble the barbarians themselves. As a result of repeated foreign settlement and foreign trade, as well as the revivals of local barbarian culture that sporadically broke through the facade of Romanization in conquered territories such as Celtic Gaul, the Roman Empire was progressively assimilating and propagating barbarian culture.[112] And as we can see from a number of burials east of the Rhine that contain grave goods of Roman manufacture and show a typically Roman burial custom—placing an *obolus* in the deceased's mouth—the assimilation process worked in both directions. The Sarmatians, indeed, were in contact with Western civilization for many hundreds of years before they were settled in France. There are likely to have been Sarmatians among the hundred thousand "Transdanubians" settled in Moesia under Nero (A.D. 54–68),[113] and Sarmatians were probably resettled in other parts of the empire during the many years when they and the Romans fought side by side and against each other.[114]

Although, ultimately, there is little clear-cut evidence of specific ethnic settlements in Gaul during the fourth century, we cannot overlook the Pontic character of the Vermand military burial and must take it into consideration when studying the infiltration of barbarian culture in the late Roman Empire.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This paper was originally prepared in 1980 as a requirement for a master's degree at the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University. I would like to thank Dr. Helmut Nickel, Curator of Arms and Armor, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, who served as my adviser, for his continuing help and support, and Ruth Schorsch for her numerous translations. I would also like to thank Katherine Brown, Curator, Department of Medieval Art, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, for her advice and for the opportunity to examine the Vermand Treasure, and Paul T. Craddock and Leslie Webster of the British Museum for making the Coleraine Treasure available for examination. For help with the technical appendix, my thanks to James H. Frantz, Richard E. Stone, and Christopher Blair, Department of Objects Conservation, The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Technical research was supported by the L. W. Frohlich Charitable Trust.

108. *Not. Dig. Oc.*, XLII, l. 68. For the toponymic studies see notes 70–73 above.

109. Werner was presumably referring to the *praefectus* in the region between "Remo et Siluanectas" (*Not. Dig. Oc.*, XLII, l. 42) when he stated that the Vermand burial belonged to a Frankish *praefectus laetorum*.

110. Only foreign soldiers can be recognized by their weapons, because Gallo-Romans were buried without arms.

111. These settlements are mentioned in an autobiographical text, *Origo Constantini imperatoris*, one of two texts extant from the author who signed himself as Anonymus Valesianus. According to MacMullen (pp. 553–554), the number of settlers quoted in various reports is not to be taken at face value.

112. MacMullen, pp. 560–561.

113. Ibid., p. 553.

114. Salin, "Bussière-Etable," pp. 114–115.

Appendix 1

A TECHNICAL EXAMINATION OF THE VERMAND TREASURE

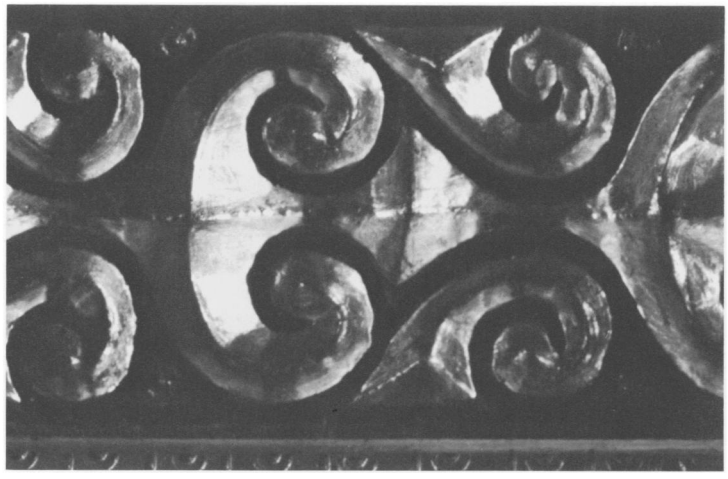
The Vermand Treasure, as it survives today, consists of four objects primarily of silver and two objects primarily of iron.

The iron pieces are the hand grip and umbo of a shield that was made of wood and leather and no longer survives. X-ray radiographs of the umbo reveal that it was forged as a single piece with all its joins forge-welded; other known examples of iron umbos are sheets forged into a cone and joined with rivets.[115] The wells containing the cabochons appear to be iron; one has cracked into four pieces. Otherwise the condition of the umbo is quite good.

A single piece of gilded silver was raised to fit over the iron umbo and was attached mechanically by cutting and folding the silver around the edge of the bottom rim. Visible on the X-rays are three extra strips of hammered metal, presumably gilded silver, that are between the silver casing and the flat rim of the iron umbo. Each strip is adjacent to a cluster of three silver nails and is associated with two holes that pierce the iron. Put in place in ancient times, the strips were intended to disguise holes in the gilded silver, made to accommodate the nails and then left open because of a change in their position.

The condition of the silver pieces of the Vermand Treasure is very good. Their front surfaces have been thoroughly, but not brutally, cleaned; occasional patches of silver chloride as well as green and red copper corrosion products are visible on the reverse sides, which are otherwise covered with a very thin sulfide film. The pieces are now lacquered to retard the formation of tarnish. The inside surfaces of the plaque buckle retain their original silver-chloride corrosion. The lance-shaft plaque has small cracks where each attachment ring meets the main part of the piece. There are occasional losses of niello.

The term *Kerbschnitt* has traditionally been considered to be a misnomer because the decoration, although probably derived from a woodcutting technique, is generally cast. Certainly this is the case for the hundreds of mass-produced bronze pieces whose surfaces, and the sharpness of whose designs, vary greatly. However, in the case of the Vermand Treasure the pieces were not mass-produced. Because of the nature of the metals, it is more practical to hammer and carve silver than bronze, and visual inspection encourages one to suppose that the Vermand Treasure was cut rather than cast.[116]



26. Scabbard-slide ornament(?) from Vermand, detail of *Kerbschnitt* work (photo: Schorsch)

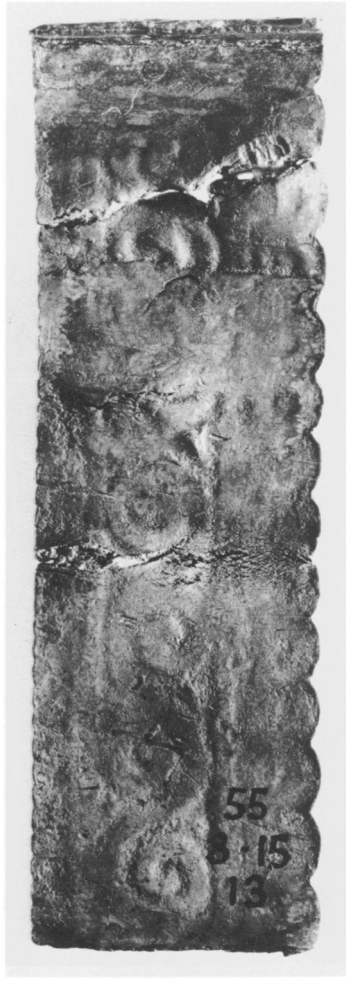
The *Kerbschnitt* decoration of the pieces is outstanding in the sharpness and depth of its faceting. Although the scabbard slide (Figure 26) is less than two millimeters thick and the plaque of the buckle perhaps half of that, their designs give the impression of far greater depth.

On all four primarily silver pieces of the Vermand Treasure and on the related fragments from the Coleraine Treasure, clear impressions of the designs are visible in low relief on the reverse side (Figures 27, 28). These could be from impressions on the back side of wax models forced into stone matrices to make lost-wax castings, but might equally be the result of pressure applied when the patterns were

115. H. Nickel, personal communication, May 1985.

116. The alloy of the scabbard slide, analyzed by energy-dispersive X-ray spectrometry, proved to be a high-purity silver.

27. Scabbard-slide ornament(?) from Vermand, detail of reverse (photo: Schorsch)



28. Scabbard mount(?) from Coleraine Treasure, view of reverse (photo: British Museum)

carved out of the metal with chisels and gouges. The latter is perhaps more likely if one considers the shallow but distinct flecked pattern on the highest parts of the impressions on the back of the Vermand scabbard slide. At first glance these appear to be impressions of a woven textile, but they are probably very blunt punch marks from a tool used to even up the back surface after the front had been worked.

These marks are not present on the reverse side of the ring mount or of the Coleraine Treasure scabbard mount, and, as one might expect, the relief on the reverse of these pieces remains higher and is more rounded. Punch marks are present in some places on the reverse side of the lance-shaft plaque, which also has many file marks.[117] It is difficult to answer the question of whether—or how much of—the *Kerbschnitt* decoration was cast, and how much of it is the result of subsequent mechanical methods. The recessed surfaces of the silver are largely obscured by gilding or filled in with niello, and the small size and precious nature of the pieces make sampling for metallographic examination infeasible.

Although no casting dendrites are visible on the back side of the ring and the two plaques, and no

117. These file marks are found on the inside of the rings and in other areas where the relief on the front was cast and not extensively hand cut.

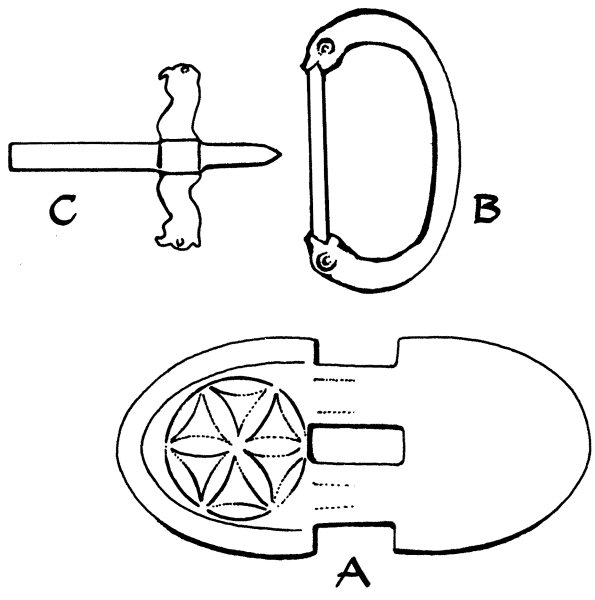
casting porosity can be found on the X-rays, these pieces seem to have been cast with the rudiments of their faceted decoration. It is possible that one-piece stone molds were used, for the lance-shaft plaque and the ring mount were certainly originally planar, then wrought into shape, joined with solder, and burnished.[118] Some traces of the joinings are visible without magnification. The cracking on the lance-shaft plaque near the rings is probably due to aging in areas particularly stressed during the hammering process.

The cast-in decoration of the pieces was heavily worked by hand; the condition of the surfaces is certainly not as cast. In X-rays, the radiopacity of the images indicates the thickness of the silver; the gilding is so thin that its presence or absence is not visible, except where one observes very thin radiopaque lines running along the bottom of facets. These are places where a very fine tool, used to sharpen the facets, has left a scratch that was subsequently filled in with gold.

A slight change of plan, most probably made in ancient times, has resulted in the hole in the middle of the scabbard slide. The holes on both ends of the plaque are accommodated in the design; they were made from the front and their burrs were removed from the reverse. The middle hole, however, has burrs on both sides, and neither of them was removed. This hole was not planned for in the design and was clearly made after the gilding was applied.

The buckle of the Vermand Treasure is assembled from three pieces: the plaque, the hasp, and the tongue (Figure 29). The plaque (A) is formed from what appears to be a wrought sheet, with one side decorated, folded over the connecting rod of the hasp (B) to form front and back plates, and held in place with three double-headed rivets. The burrs on the back side of both plates indicate that the rivet holes were punched, rather aggressively, from the front. The tongue (C) is cast and also folded over the rod of the hasp. The hasp and the tongue have punched and incised decoration.

Since the time of its excavation, the lance-shaft plaque of the Vermand Treasure has been displayed and photographed with the cicada at the top. The piece's original burial position and orientation are, of course, unknown. A plausible reconstruction of the lance places the ring mount at about the middle of the shaft and the plaque mount below the blade,



29. Parts and construction of plaque buckle from Vermand (drawing: after Schorsch)

which would correspond to eye level when the lance was held upright. The diameters of the ring mount and of the rings on the back of the plaque mount are all different. The smallest is the undecorated, ungilded ring of the plaque; slightly larger is the gilded ring of the plaque, and somewhat larger still is the ring mount (see Figure 8). This would lead one to suppose that the lance shaft was thickest in the center and tapered at both ends, and that the plaque was mounted rosette end up. If this were the case, it would be unlikely that the lance head in the Römisch-Germanisches Museum in Cologne, whose diameter is greater than that of any of the three rings, belonged to these ornaments; it may have been the head of another lance from the burial, whose wooden shaft also no longer survives.

The term *niello* describes a number of artificially produced metal or mixed-metal sulfides used as inlay for the decoration of metal. The process becomes common about the first century A.D., though unanalyzed black pasty inlays have been reported on much

118. Stone molds for buckles and other objects with *Kerbschnitt* patterns from the Roman and migration periods are well known; the question still remains as to whether they were used for the direct casting of metal or for making wax or lead models.

older objects. Despite Pliny's description of the use of copper-silver sulfides for decorating silver, Oddy, Bimson, and LaNiece found only silver sulfides in Roman works they examined.[119] A sample of niello from one of the Vermand pieces also proved to be a silver sulfide.[120] This mixture, as well as mixtures of copper and silver with sulfur, or copper alone with sulfur, has a high melting point and at working temperatures would have been pasty and difficult to apply. An innovation of the medieval period was the use of a low-melting silver-copper-lead niello for inlay of copper alloy or silver objects.

The relatively thick layer of gold on the Vermand Treasure, though not analyzed, was unquestionably applied with mercury. It was applied after the niello, which it partially covers. The gilding appears quite pale, which probably indicates that heating was prolonged and much interdiffusion between the gold and silver took place. Mercury gilding appears in the West somewhat before the birth of Christ; it is not certain whether such gilding was an independent development or whether, as some scholars believe, knowledge of the process was brought from China by a group of Sarmatians or other migrating peoples.[121] In any case, in the Roman Empire of the fourth century A.D. mercury gilding was widely used and cannot be associated with any particular cultural or technological tradition.

Appendix 2

NOTES ON THE WESTWARD MOVEMENT OF THE SARMATIANS

The so-called Royal Sarmatians, who ultimately merged with the Scythians and took over late Scythian culture and territories, were early arrivals to the Pontic steppes and flourished there from the fourth to the second century B.C. They were forced to migrate when the Iazyges, followed closely by the Roxolani and West Alani, all Sarmatian people, pressed forward from the East.

Like their Scythian predecessors, these different Sarmatian tribes maintained contact with the classical world through its trading cities on the shores of the Black Sea. The Sarmatians themselves reached the West when, between 78 and 76 B.C., the Iazyges tried to cross the Danube. They were held back by Roman forces and settled on the Hungarian plains and in east Slovakia around A.D. 20–30. During the following centuries they lived on the edge of the empire, alternately fighting with or against the Roman army.

In A.D. 175 Marcus Aurelius won a decisive victory at the Danube and the Iazyges were forced to contribute eight thousand cavalrymen to the Roman army, fifty-five hundred of whom were sent to Britain to help defend Hadrian's Wall.[122] Intermittent hostilities between the Iazyges and the Romans continued, and the former were greatly weakened by a series of seven or eight punitive expeditions undertaken by the Romans from 290 to 313, which were followed by an attack from the Visigoths (who had moved to Dacia around 260) in 321.

The Roxolani, neighbors to the east, reached the Danube delta in A.D. 20, but the majority of them moved farther on and settled in the south Rumanian plains. In 107 the Roxolani and their Dacian allies were defeated by the Romans and the Iazyges. A subsidy was granted to the losers, but when it was discontinued war broke out again. The subsidy was revived in 118 and the king of the Roxolani became a Roman vassal. The Roxolani lived in relative peace

119. W. A. Oddy, M. Bimson, and S. LaNiece, "The Composition of Niello Decoration on Gold, Silver and Bronze in the Antique and Mediaeval Periods," *Studies in Conservation* 23 (1983) pp. 29–35.

120. Elemental analysis using energy-dispersive X-ray spectrometry revealed the presence of sulfur, silver, and a minor amount of chlorine in a small sample removed from the ring; X-ray diffraction confirmed the presence of acanthite.

121. P. A. Lins and W. A. Oddy, "The Origins of Mercury Gilding," *Journal of Archaeological Science* 2 (1975) pp. 365–373, esp. p. 371 and n. 16.

122. Sulimirski, pp. 175–176; Nickel, "The Dawn of Chivalry," pp. 150–152; see also I. A. Richmond, "The *Sarmatae, Bremetennacvm Veteranorvm* and the *Regio Bremetennacencis*," *Journal of Roman Studies* 35 (1945) pp. 14–29.

until the Goths invaded Dacia. The territory was abandoned by the Romans in 271.

The movements of the Roxolani after this time are not entirely clear. During the third and fourth centuries, Sarmatians and Goths banded together and raided Roman territories south of the Danube, but the Sarmatians' tribal affiliation is not certain; the Sarmatians portrayed on the Arch of Galenius could be West Alani or Roxolani.[123] According to Sulimirski, as the Germanic Goths and Taifales tried to force the Roxolani from southern Rumania in A.D. 331, some Roxolani moved west and settled south of the Iazyges, while those who remained were pushed out by the Ostrogoths and the Huns in 377.[124]

The West Alani, also known as Aorsi, Antae, Asi, and Alanorsi, are a somewhat nebulous group who appeared in the Volga and Ural steppe regions in the fourth century B.C.[125] They reached the North Pontic steppes in the first century B.C. and took part in the great revival of Bosporan craftsmanship that developed in the first and second centuries A.D. Under pressure from the East Alani, they settled on the shores of the Pruth River in Moldavia and Bessarabia in the third century.

It seems very likely that the renewed hostilities against the empire by the Iazyges around the turn of the fourth century reflect internal tensions resulting from the arrival in Hungary of eastern Sarmatian newcomers. This theory is supported by archaeological finds, which reveal a society divided into three distinct economic classes: a lower class of indigenous agricultural Dacians, a middle class of Iazyges who had settled in Hungary in the first century A.D., and an upper class of rich foreigners whose graves contained goods from the northern Pontic steppes.[126] In A.D. 332, civil war broke out among the Sarmatians in Hungary; more than one hundred thousand people were said to have taken part. The vassal tribe "Sarmatae Limigantes" rose up against the ruling "Sarmatae Ardagarantes," most of whom were forced to take refuge within the empire and who were given land in Pannonia and in modern-day Vojvodina (Yugoslavia). The Ardagarantes were restored to their lands after Constantine defeated the Limigantes in 358, but they were massacred by the Romans in the following year as a result of another dispute.

Whereas the Limigantes would appear to be identical with the Iazyges, there is disagreement about the tribal affiliation of the dominant Ardagarantes. They have alternately been identified as Roxolani and West Alani.[127] In any case, these people, as we know from archaeological finds,[128] were in contact with the more easterly Sarmatian regions and with the Germanic Goths who arrived from the Baltic Sea coast around A.D. 200 and settled on the Pontic steppes during the third century.

Sarmatians, in particular the East Alani (with their Germanic Suevi and Vandal allies), rampaged through central and southern Gaul in the first decade of the fifth century A.D. Some settled en route, allying themselves with Rome, while others moved on through Spain and eventually to North Africa.[129] A group, reported in Narbonne in A.D. 416, resisted the invading Huns and was probably conquered by the Visigoths just after the middle of the century.

123. Sulimirski, p. 168; the arch dates from A.D. 297.

124. Ibid., p. 168; J. Harmatta, "The Sarmatians in Hungary," in *Studies in the History of the Sarmatians*, Magyar-Gorog Tanulmanyok 30 (Budapest, 1950) pp. 36–63, esp. pp. 53–54.

125. Sulimirski, pp. 84, 168ff.

126. Ibid., pp. 178ff., pls. 50–53.

127. Ibid., pp. 178ff. Harmatta, "Sarmatians in Hungary," believes them to be Roxolani. L. Barkoczi, "Transplantations of Sarmatians and Roxolans in the Danube Basin," *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 7 (1959) pp. 443–453, also considers this problem.

128. Sulimirski, pp. 53, 180.

129. Ibid., map p. 175, pp. 185ff.

ABBREVIATIONS

Eck—T. Eck, *Les Deux Cimetières gallo-romains de Vermand et de Saint-Quentin* (Paris/St.-Quentin, 1891)

Forsyth—W. H. Forsyth, "The Vermand Treasure," *MMAB* 9 (May 1951) pp. 236–240

Kühn—H. Kühn, "Die Zikadenfibeln der Völkerwanderungszeit," *IPEK* (1935) pp. 85–104

Lantier—R. Lantier, "Un Cimetière de IVe siècle au 'Mont-Auge' (Vert-la-Gravelle, Marne)," *L'Antiquité Classique* 17 (1948) pp. 373–401

MacMullen—R. MacMullen, "Barbarian Enclaves in the Northern Roman Empire," *L'Antiquité Classique* 22 (1963) pp. 552–561

Musset—L. Musset, *The Germanic Invasions—The Making of Europe A.D. 400–600*, trans. E. and C. James (University Park, Pa., 1975)

Not. Dig. Oc.—Notitia Dignitatum Occidentis, in O. Seeck, *Notitia Dignitatum* (Berlin, 1896)

Salin—E. Salin, *Civilisation mérovingienne* (Paris, 1949) 4 vols.

Salin and France-Lanord—E. Salin and A. France-Lanord, *Rhin et Orient: Le Fer à l'époque mérovingienne* (Paris, 1943)

Sulimirski—T. Sulimirski, *The Sarmatians*, Ancient Peoples and Places 73 (London, 1970)

Werner—J. Werner, "Zur Entstehung der Reihengräberzivilisation," *Archeologia Geographica* 1, no. 2 (1950) pp. 23–32