

ON THE GOLD NECKLACES AND RINGS FOUND IN VELP, NEAR ARNHEM

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With illustrations.

NOT SOLD SEPARATELY.

IN ARNHEM, WITH IS. AN. NIJHOFF. 1851.

Among the rarest discoveries recently made in our country are the gold ornaments mentioned at the beginning of this article, which are reproduced hereinafter in precise illustrations. This great rarity is the reason why we are publishing them soon and accompanying them with a brief explanatory note. We found this all the more compelling reason because an earlier report, circulated by the newspapers, had given rise to the erroneous belief that these objects were from the chivalric era or from some noble family, thus of very late origin (*). Before I proceed to clarify this, I would first like to offer my sincere thanks and appreciation to Mr. T. BRANTSEN, mayor of Reeden et al., for his cooperation in preventing these objects from being scattered or thrown into the melting pot, as well as for the opportunity he gave me to examine them accurately.

(*) See, for example, Algemeen Handelsblad, January 15, 1851.

to examine them, and, with the owner's consent, to have them reproduced under my supervision. Indeed, even if my illuminating notes were of no value, these images would still be of great importance, as they prevent science from being too severely damaged in the event of the possible loss of the original pieces, and because images of single memorials like these significantly enrich the building material of archaeology.

I will 1.) briefly report the discovery, with regard to the exact location and manner in which the objects were found, according to the finder's reports and an autopsy; 2.) describe the found objects in those details that could not be determined by the images; 3.) attempt to shed some light on their age, origin, and intended purpose.

1.

On January 16, 1851, the gardener CARRO of Velp, in the garden of Mr. J. J. JOBIUS [JORIUS], accidentally discovered eleven gold ornaments while turning the soil: neck and finger rings, all hanging from one of the large neck rings (see Fig. 1), and apparently placed in the ground deliberately, though in ancient times. The depth at which they were found was over half a Dutch ell, and they lay on the usual sandy soil of the area. This garden was formerly communal land; near the spot where the objects were found, the villagers used to collect their sand; only later was the land cultivated and transferred to private ownership. The discovery site is situated quite high and appears to have been somewhat higher in the past than it is now. Apparently, it is situated at the same elevation as the Reformed Church, which is approximately 250 yards south of it. Neither under nor around the objects was anything other than ordinary sandy soil found; no trace of burning was discovered, nor any evidence that the pieces had originally been enclosed in a cloth, box, or similar object. This is all the more certain because the entire garden and even adjacent fields were carefully turned over after the discovery, in the hope of finding something, but this effort was entirely fruitless. The precise location of this discovery is not without importance, because in 1715, in the same village, a treasure of ancient gold objects was also discovered (mentioned below), from which these ornaments receive some clarification.

2.

Of the eleven rings, only eight are depicted here, because four were similar in shape and decoration, so that three can be sufficiently identified by reference to a single illustration.

Fig. 1. Neck ring; heavy 7 lead, 7 wedges; fineness 18 carats; gold value f95.50.

Fig. 2. Neck ring; only the front part of the clasp is depicted, because the rest corresponded exactly to Fig. 1; heavy 5 lead, 7 wedges, 3 grains; fineness 18 carats; gold value f71.

Fig. 3. Neck ring; heavy 5 lead, 8 wedges, 3 grains; fineness 18 carats; gold value f72.05. There are three more of this type, which are not depicted, because their shape and decoration were completely identical to this one. Only one of these three is missing the small cluster of decorations seen on both sides of Fig. 3. The weight of one of these three is 7 lead, 3 wedges, 8 grains, the gold value f91. The weight of the second is 7 lead, 5 grains, worth 87.40 guilders in gold; the weight of the third is 8 lead, 7 wedges, 7 grains, worth 106.20 guilders in gold. All are 18-carat

fineness.

70 Fig. 4. Necklace; weight 4 lead, 1 wedge, 6 grains; fineness 18 carats; worth 51.55 guilders in gold.

Fig. 5. Spiral, as a finger ring; heavy 3 lead, 9 wedge; fineness 18 carats; gold value 48.35 guilders.

75 Fig. 6. Fragment of a ring, deliberately bent, and very likely a ring like Fig. 4 or 5. Heavy 7 wedge, 2 grains; fineness 24 carats; gold value 11.20 guilders.

Fig. 7. Finger ring, provided with an oval, hollowed-out shield, which would originally have contained an engraved stone. However, the stone was missing when it was found, and was probably already missing when the ring fell into the ground, as the finder assured me that he found nothing but sand in the hollow of the shield and searched in vain for the missing stone. This ring shows signs of having been worn extensively. Heavy 1 lead, 2 grains; fineness 24 carats; gold value 15.90 guilders.

80 Fig. 8. Finger ring, on whose square shield the bust of a warrior is deeply engraved (en crux) and surrounded by a pointed border; the warrior appears to be a barbarian, not a Roman. Weight 1 lead; fineness 18 carats; gold value f12.40.

85 This statement shows that the eleven gold rings together weighed 53 lead 4 grains, with a gold value of f652.95 (*), and that they were made of 18 carat gold, with the exception of Figs. 6 and 7, which were fineness 24 carats.

* The appraisal was done by M. C. MENTE, a goldsmith here.

90 All objects showed signs of wear, some more, some less; the finger rings Figs. 7 and 8 showed the most. The round portion of the neck rings had several small curves, which could have been caused by frequent putting on and taking off, which forced the rings to bend, or by repeated pressure from other objects that may have rested on them.

95 All were hand-worked; even the round portion of the neck rings, evident from small irregularities, has been hammered out of the band. The flat portion is three-sided on the outside; see the cross-sections in Fig. 1. b, c, and d. The decorations were stamped in, not hand-engraved, which is especially evident from their perfect uniformity. They demonstrate great taste and artistry. The circles in Fig. 6 are only on one side, which would have been the outer edge of the ring. The bust in Fig. 7 appears to have been hand-engraved.

100 The closure of the neck rings is the same on all of them; namely, an acorn-shaped eyelet (see Fig. 1a), through which a pointed button was inserted. Furthermore, the neck rings, especially at the front and on the outside, have a brownish color, from which the goldsmith charged with the appraisal concluded that they were originally deliberately colored.

3.

110 To judge the age, origin, and purpose, we have, due to the lack of inscriptions (such as coins and memorial stones), only the objects themselves as guides, and must therefore seek light from these, compared with others found elsewhere.

The eye is involuntarily drawn first to the finger ring Fig. 7, which bears a bust. One hopes that the portrait will be recognized and verified by history. But in the rough features in which that image is depicted, we have searched in vain for a known person. It is not a Roman emperor. The head is adorned with dense and small curls, or with a fur cap. On the chest and shoulders, one sees the folds of a cloak, and possibly the upper edge of a shield is indicated under his chin. He appears to be a barbarian, although I have not found the image among known barbarian princes.

120 However, one would more likely suspect him of being a barbarian than a Roman, because the specific characteristics of the Roman character and costume are lacking.

Meanwhile, the workmanship and shape of the ring itself are similar to those of Roman rings from a later period. In shape and rough workmanship, it is similar, for example, to the ring at ARNETH, Gold- und Silberwerke u. s. f., Tab. G, S. XX No.

125 152, S. 33, on whose square shield the busts of Constantinus Jun. and his wife are engraved; as well as to the ring from Louisendorf, with the inscription FIDEM CONSTANTINO, depicted in my "Memorials of the Germans and Romans, etc.," pl. XVI, 6-8, and to another from the same region, exactly identical to the latter, in the possession of Mr. P. C. G. GUYOT in The Hague (*). But I would consider our Velp ring to be from even later than the Constantinian period. This is prompted by the consideration of the gold treasure found in the same village in 1715, which included coins from the period of the

135 (*) Mr. GUYOT's ring was found in the vicinity of Kleve in 1850 and is so excellently preserved that it could be considered new. Since two finger rings have now been found, completely identical, including the inscription, and from the same region, one may assume that

they were donated by one of the Constantinians.

municipal commanders, probably of barbarian auxiliaries, were given, as was very common, especially in that period.

Constantinians were, and later ones too, the youngest of the tyrant John, whose last coin (MEDIobarbi, p. 537) is from the year 425. This golden treasure, not unimportant for elucidating our ornaments in general, may be briefly mentioned here, especially because it is little known and can only be known incompletely from written works in Dutch. Some reports about it can be found in ENGELBERTS, *Aloude staat*, IV. 336; G. VAN HASSELT, *Arnhemsche Oudheden*, IV. 1-3; REUVENS AND WESTENDORP, *Antiquities*, III. 148, where mention is also made of STARING, in the *Verh. der Haarlemsche Maatschappij*, XI. 451 (1822); IS. AN. NIJHOFF, *Wandelingen in de Omstreken van Arnhem*, 5th ed., p. 107, where KILIAAN, *Etymol. voce thunderstone*, was also mentioned; but the most voluminous and contemporaneous documents can be found in G. CUPER, *Lettres de critiques etc.*, Amsterdam 1742, 4°, p. 179, and in the *saggi di Dissertat. Accadd. di Cortona*, tom. IV. p. 255 sqq. (Roma 1743, 4°), *Dissert. YI**, sopra alcune medaglie d'oro, divisa in tre letterse, due di GISBERTO CUPERO ed una di Mr. FRANCISCO BIANCHINI.

In both of the latter works, there are also two images of medallions by Honorius and Galla Placidia, rounded up from that treasure (*). The following report is taken from these documents.

At Laar(\$), in Velp, in 1715, workmen and soldiers, while digging and leveling a barren and hilly piece of pastureland (sterile prato), belonging to a tobacco merchant, discovered this treasure.

(*) ARNETH, who in his *Gold- und Silberw.*, p. 7, cites this Velp gold treasure as one of the most important gold discoveries in Europe, and who cites the *Lettres de critiques* l. c. as his source, incorrectly named Velperg as the discovery site, instead of Velp, and listed Cuper GISBERT as the describer, instead of the renowned scholar GISBERT CUPER.

(\$) Laar, ed. Lár ~ dwelling, house; see GRAFF, *althochd. Sprachschatz*, II, 143; cf. MEIJER *Zurich. Ortsnamen* S. 10 (1849); and L. P. C. VAN DEN BERGH, *Krit. Woordenb. der Ned. Myth.*, p. 124.

While he wanted to improve it into tobacco land, a gold treasure was found with a gold value of 10,000 to 12,000 guilders. It consisted of a necklace (collier), bracelets (brasseletten), coins, and medallions. Everything lay in the loose earth, but the necklace and bracelets were laid in a circle; the center of this circle was covered with medallions, which had decorative borders and were placed next to each other in such a way that they formed a kind of floor, five of these medallions being attached to the necklace (*). On these medallions, the smaller gold coins were placed side by side. The finders immediately divided the treasure, made off with it, and sold the majority to goldsmiths, who threw it into the melting pot, so that the combined find has never been seen by any connoisseur or enthusiast. Meanwhile, Cuperus had the privilege of viewing another thirty of the gold coins found in Arnhem and even purchasing two of them, one by Honorius and one by Valentinian; the others he had seen belonged to Constantine the Great and his sons, to Valens, Gratian, and other emperors of the time, as well as one by John. He also saw a few more medallions in Arnhem, specifically one by Honorius and one by Galla Placidia (\$). According to the information of Cuperus (who cites Baron Van Spaen of Biljoen as an informant), the brasselets and the necklace

(*) For examples of how such medallions hung on the necklaces, see the *Hist. Ant. Mittheilungen* of the Society of Antiquities in Copenhagen, pages 97-98, fig. 1, and in Arneth l. c. Table G. L., p. 8.

(\$) Both of these were published in the aforementioned treatises. The medallion of Honorius was then in the possession of Mayor De Groot of Arnhem, and that of Galla Placidia was with Baron Van Spaen of Biljoen. Later, the Galla Placidia came into the collection of Mr. Van Damme; see Engelberts l. c., and from there passed into the Royal Collection in The Hague; see J. C. De Jonge, *Notice*, p. 99.

have melted down. ENGELBERTS, on the other hand, reports that the necklace "is still kept as a baptismal ornament by a certain family." ENGELBERTS had not seen it with his own eyes, nor did he describe it or name the family; but his assurance seems beyond doubt. If it were still kept by any family, they would certainly oblige science by reporting it (*). ENGELBERTS also reported that Mr. VAN DAMME from the same area (Velp) owned an unusually large medal of Constantine the Great, which, however, had not been attached to the gold necklace, as well as a heavy gold finger

ring, or ring, decorated with inlaid figurines of the early Christians (and?) with a sapphire stone, depicting the Empress Helena. From this report, one seems to infer that these objects also came from Velp. Regarding the discovery site, Het Laar, we read in CUPER's account that some, because of the mounds that had formerly been in that field, had thought this golden treasure came from a burial ground. However, CUPER considered this improbable because, according to him, not the slightest trace of a burial ground was found during the demolition of the mound where these objects lay, and because burial with treasure was no longer common among the Romans at that time.

We agree with CUPER on this point; But we must not fail to note that it has not been proven that the treasure was hidden there by the Romans, and that barbarians at that time were indeed in the habit of burying it with their deceased treasures. —

(*) But it probably no longer exists. After all, the aforementioned Mr. Brantsen told me that he had only a vague idea that the necklace had been in his family, but that it had been converted into currency during the French occupation.

From these statements, one may conclude without presumption that the gold discovery at Laar dates from the first half of the fifth century, because the youngest coins were from the beginning of the fifth century. And this is the reason why we have raised the suspicion that our gold ornaments date from a slightly later period than that of the Constantines. Indeed, both gold discoveries may well be considered simultaneous or nearly so, since Laar is only 10 minutes away from the site where our objects were found, and because neither find yielded any traces of burial, but rather that they were deliberately buried in the ground and not lost by chance.

The finger ring, Fig. 8, which originally contained an engraved stone, is so strikingly similar in form and workmanship to Roman finger rings that we need not cite any examples for comparison. However, the situation is different with the other ornaments, particularly the neck rings. These do not correspond in either form or ornamentation to the Roman ones we know. At first glance, one might even suspect that they were rather head rings, diadems; after all, their shape is somewhat similar to that of some diadems from classical antiquity: see, for example, the illustrations in CAYLUS, Recueil, I. partie 4, ri. LXXXV, 4; MONTFAUCON, Antiq. expliq. III Pl. XX. and XXV, and BOLDETTI, i cimiteri etc. p. 526. Mr. HIIDEBRAND, supervisor of the Museum of Antiquities in Copenhagen, who (28 August) saw the drawings of our Velp ornaments here, also recently told me that gold diadems of a similar shape had been found in Sweden, which were suspected there of being of Eastern origin. Meanwhile, these Swedish diadems were so different from ours that they were closed at the back and open at the front (perpendicularly cut) and therefore elastic. However, our Velp rings cannot be mistaken for diadems, because the wide, flat portion of the clasps runs counter to the back closure, so that if they were used as diadems, they would not lie flat against the forehead, but would injure the head with the sharp point of the front; whereas, placed around the neck, they fit very effectively with the flat front against the breastbone, and the decorated portion is therefore visible to everyone. This purpose is beyond doubt, and if any doubt remains, it will disappear upon consideration that similar rings have been found elsewhere fastened around the necks of corpses. However, these rings found elsewhere are few in number and extremely rare. They were found in a region that has so far been little explored for comparative archaeology, and we are all the more willing to mention them because they are the only examples from all antiquity (at least as far as I know) that closely resemble our Velp neck rings.

In Livonia, east of the Baltic Sea, DR. F. KRUSE, the tireless researcher of monumental antiquity, has recently conducted many excavations, particularly in burial mounds of the oldest inhabitants there. He shared his findings in the work "Necrolivonica," published in Petersburg in 1842. There, Tab. 4, fig. N. (cf. p. 7 of the text), one finds a bronze neck ring depicted, found in an old grave at Aschenraden and still attached to the skeleton's neck. This neck-ring is remarkably similar in shape to ours (namely Figs. 1, 2 and 3); it is, like ours, hammered out on three sides at the front, while the rest is round. It differs only in that the ornaments are not entirely the same, and that the closure is not exactly at the back, but on the right side of the neck. On the wide front, there are also some bronze clasps, which are almost shaped like spoons from ancient hair tongs (tweezers). This last detail, however, does not detract from the similarity in the least, because according to Kruse's reports, such neck rings without clasps have also been found in Livonia. At Ronneberg, in an old grave, he discovered two such neck rings, one above the other, around the neck of a male skeleton; these are depicted at the top of Table 27, fig. 8. A neck ring was found at Kerklingen, in Kurland, and at the top of Table 27, fig. 8. 41, fig. 3, depicted, is decorated on the front, on the wide part, with a

275 decoration that completely resembles the triangular decorations of our rings; but
this neck ring is rope-shaped at the back. Furthermore, what KRUSE reports regarding
the decorations on the Aschenrade antiquities is noteworthy. These decorations
generally consisted of circular eyelets (sometimes one eyelet with a double outline,
sometimes two single eyelets below and one above), zigzags, and small squares. Such
decorations are also found on our rings. Regarding the rarity of these objects, KRUSE
280 states that he had never encountered a ring similar to the Aschenrade one, neither in
Germany nor in Scandinavia. This testimony is significant coming from an antiquarian
with as much experience as KRUSE. We permit ourselves to add only that we are not
aware of any such neck rings from Britain (*), France, and Belgium (\$), while the
classical art

285 (*) In this connection, I must also note that, according to ARNETH I. c., a gold torque, broad
on one side like a diadem, was found in Cornwall in 1783, depicted in LYSONS, Magna Britt.
III. p. CCXXI, and a bronze one, depicted in the Archaeologia, XIV, 94. But the rings
mentioned in those works bear very little resemblance to ours.

290 (\$) It should be noted that this by no means denies that the Germans, Britons, and Celts
living in those countries generally did not wear neck rings. The opposite is well known; there
is ample evidence for this, which can be found from ancient writers and monuments; We will,
however, save this discussion for another occasion, as we must now concentrate on brevity and
will only touch upon the most necessary points that serve as clarification here.

295 works from Greece and Italy (including the Etruscans) offer no comparison other than
the aforementioned, rather inconspicuous, diadems (*). The evidence will undoubtedly
have demonstrated the extreme rarity of these objects; even rarer than the
Aschenraden by KRUSE, insofar as these were made only of bronze, while ours, on the
300 other hand, are made of gold.

The few explanations KRUSE has provided regarding the origin and age of the
Aschenraden rings cannot be of any use to us, as they consist only of quotations from
ancient Nordic and Russian authors, relating to the use of neck rings in general and
dating back no further than the eleventh century. KRUSE may have judged his
305 Aschenraden objects to belong to that late medieval period, although he doesn't
explicitly say so. However, if he were of that opinion, our Velp neck rings would
certainly lead him to a different conclusion.

310 * A small, flat, diadem-shaped gold finger ring, found near Wijk bij Duurstede and now in the
Museum of Antiquities here, may be compared from afar. This one is decorated on the outside
with triangular figures, provided with eyelets, and enclosed in a pointed edge; it is open at
the narrow end and therefore elastic, unlike the aforementioned Swedish diadems, although in
those cases the opening was on the wide side. This Wijk finger ring was judged by the Swedish
antiquarian, Mr. HILDEBRAND, to belong to the fifth century. For the shape of this Wijk ring,
315 compare the arm ring in WORSAAE, Dänemarks Vorzeit, p. 46, and for the decoration, p. 47.

Regarding the specific tribe from which they supposedly originated, KRUSE also offers
no clues. But if the graves he found at Aschenraden belong to a people indigenous
there, then in our view they belonged to a Nordic tribe, for it is plausible that the
320 peoples who formerly lived close to the eastern coast of the Baltic Sea (specifically
its southern part) were of the same tribe as those on the western coast, which now
belongs to Sweden. According to MONE, Gesch. des Heidenth., I.7,66, the Livonians,
Ehstlanders, and Kurlanders were attributed to the Finnic lineage; but regarding the
oldest peoples on the Baltic coasts, see especially Grimm, History of the German
325 Language, p. 716 A.D.

The neck ring Fig. 4, which consists entirely of round, hammered gold wire, must be
attributed a similar origin due to its similar closure and similar gold content. We
will not dwell on this in detail; it is apparently of the simplest type; but it was
possible that it originally held ornaments; at least, the completely round clasp is
330 very suitable for this, and such round neck rings, with objects hanging from them,
have sometimes been found (*).

The heavy spiral ring Fig. 5, which could have been used as a finger ring, although
its size and weight must have somewhat hindered the free movement of the finger,
seems, like the previous one, not to be Roman, but barbarian in origin or purpose.
335 One could argue against this that the Romans in the later imperial period took the
luxury of wearing many and heavy finger rings to great lengths, and that they
sometimes covered all their fingers, up to the top, with them without taste; see
QUINTILIAN. XI, 3, MARTIAL. XIV, 123, and especially XI, 59, where he lashes Zoilus
with bitter mockery.

340 (*) For example. in Normandy; see the yearbooks of the Societé des antiquaires de Normandie,
1827-1828, pl. 20 No. C. Tombeaux Gaulois-Romains.

345 Zoile, quid tota gemmam praecingere libra
Too juvat et miserum perdere sardonycha?
Annulus iste tuis fuerat mode cruribus optus,
Non eadem digitis pondera conveniunt.

350 But spiral finger rings as heavy as ours are not known to me from the Romans, neither
in figurines nor in originals. On the other hand, they have been found among
Germanic-Nordic objects. We will mention only one example, which offers the greatest
resemblance to our ring. In 1833, a gold treasure was discovered in Fühnen,
consisting of arm rings, brasselets, cloak hooks, medallions, etc., together weighing
355 8 pounds 7 lead (Nordic weight); among these was a heavy, solid gold spiral finger
ring, similar to ours; see the illustration in the Hist. Antiq. Mittheilungen der
Societät für Nord. Allerth., Table V, 13, compare the text S. 92-97. This Fühnen ring
is only slightly shorter than ours, and tapers at both ends; But it was possible that
our Velp ring had originally been somewhat thinner at both ends, and that those ends
had been removed for commercial use (see below). It is also worth noting that the
360 medallions with which the Fühnen ring was found were barbaric imitations of coins of
Constans and other successors of Constantine the Great, and that the learned Nordic
reporter correctly concludes that this gold treasure, which was of Nordic
manufacture, must be dated to the fifth century. (*)

365 (*) Germanic gold spiral finger rings found in Meklenburg, see mentioned and illustrated in
the Frederico-Franciscum, Table XXIII, 1,4, 6-8, compare the text of LISCH, Table 137, 138,
and LISCH, in the Jahrb. für Meklenb. Gesch. u. Alterth., W, 269, 270; and in the Holstein,
b[j] RHODE, Holst. Cimbr. antiq. Rom. p. 137, fig. 1, 4, pp. 142-143, fig. 2, 3. All these
rings, however, are noticeably thinner and finer than the Fühnen and our Veluws rings.

370 This similarity with Germanic-Nordic rings is no less striking in the decorated
fragment Fig. 6. For among the Fühnen objects were four similar broken and bent
pieces of rings (some spiral-shaped), which were roughly hung together like a chain;
see the illustration in the aforementioned Mittheilungen, Tab. V. Fig. 15. The
375 publisher quite rightly characterizes these as "broken, bent, and linked rings, for
the purpose of trade" (trade and circulation). Ring money was in use among many
ancient peoples, not only among the Norwegians, but also among the Celts, and even
among the Hungarians; see for brevity's sake SCHREIBER, Taschenb. für Gesch. u.
Alterthümer in Süddeutschland 1840, and Nachtrag in den Jahrg. 1841, p. 401.

380 From what has been presented thus far, the following conclusions may be drawn.
1. The gold ornaments found in Velp, in terms of their antiquity, can most likely be
dated to the first half of the 5th century.

2. The large rings were men's neck rings; one person could wear more than one at a
time (one over the other). are. This may also clarify why the rings are so bent and
385 dented; after all, men would have handled them more roughly than women tend to; and
if these men were warriors, as is likely, then the rings could also have been bent by
weapons that may have pressed against them.

3. The smaller rings were finger rings; due to their size and weight, probably also
men's; while the spiral ring and the curved fragment would also have been intended to
390 be cut into pieces during trade, purchase, or exchange.

4. Most rings exhibit a non-Roman, barbarian style in shape and decoration, and in
this respect most closely resemble objects from the north, found on the coasts of the
Baltic Sea.

5. The non-Roman character of the rings does not yet allow us to conclude with
395 certainty that they were made by barbarians; for it was possible that they were made
by Romans in a barbarian style and given by the Romans as gifts to barbarians to gain
their favor, reward their loyalty, or buy off their threats; of which numerous
examples from that period are found in history. (*)

6. The earlier discovery, in the same village, of a treasure of Roman coins,
400 medallions, etc., might reinforce the idea that the ones found now were also made by
Romans. But it was also possible that the previously discovered treasure had been
plundered by Roman barbarians, or captured in victory and temporarily stored there.
In this case, one should not draw any conclusions from this regarding the Roman
production of our ornaments.

405 7. The similar manner in which both treasures were buried in the ground, and the
proximity of the two discovery sites, lead to the conclusion that both treasures were
buried simultaneously, or on the same occasion and by the same people, or by people
of the same people. -

410 I think I should refrain from making any conjectures regarding the specific tribe
that made our ornaments

(*) How dependent the Romans were on the bat baron at that time, and what extorted gifts cost them, is important evidence of the testimony of SALVIANUS Massiliensis (from the fifth century), the governor. Dei, VI. 211, p. 129 (edit. Brem. 1688). For the rest, we refer to
 415 GIBBON, Gesch. des Röm. Weltreiches, uebers. von SPORSCHIL, Leipzig 1840, Th. VII. Chap. LVI. P. 4-90, where the main sources are cited.

buried in the soils. Too large a field lies open here. What peoples from the North, East, and West did not harass the Roman Empire in the first half of the fifth
 420 century! The increasingly sinking Western empire was alternately assaulted and undermined by Getae, Gepids, Avars, Quadi, Alans, Suevi, Wandals, Franks, and Huns, sometimes friendly to each other (*). Aetius, a Scythian by birth (\$), who matured under the Hunnic tents, having risen to the head of the Western empire (433-454), spent twenty years solely delaying its fall by defending it against barbarians, while
 425 in numerous battles in Gaul (†) he subdued the Franks on the Rhine and the Burgundians (**). I hope to return to this subject in due time and to be able to recommend a specific conjecture. For now, I will only permit myself the observation that no traces of a battle fought there have yet been found in the vicinity of Velp. Even in the unfortunate forest, I have searched in vain for undoubted burial mounds.
 430 A single funerary urn, reportedly discovered earlier at the Essop (\$\$), and the few remains of an old burial, which I excavated in a hill in the spring of this year in the so-called Stadsbosch near Arnhem, above Valkenhuizen, prove too little (††). The Germanic graves in Apeldoorn are somewhat distant.

(*) See JORNANDES, the reb. Gethsemane, c. 34; MERODAS, Panegy. cn. CORIPUS, de laudibus Justin. min. (Corp. Scriptt. Byz. edit. BEKKER) passim; compare GIBBON l. c. VII.
 (\$) According to REN. FRIGERIDUS. He was actually born in Dorestena in Moesia; see the note on MERODAS l. c. p. 15.
 (†) "Galliam bis quinos certamina traxit in annos
 440 And senior post bella redit". MERODAS l. c. p. 16, vs. 147.
 (**) See GIBBON l. c. VII. chap. 35 S. 3 u. i.
 (\$\$) IS. AN. NIJHOFF, Walks in the vicinity of Arnhem 5th edition, bl. 108.
 (††) G. VAN HASSELT collected on his estate Daalhuizen near Velp, besides rare Roman coins,
 445 also urns or coffins and javelins (frameae)", as NIJHOFF, t. a. pl. p. 89, according to oral information from Mr. VAN HASSELT, but neither their number nor Neither the type nor the discovery sites are known, so no conclusions can be drawn from them.

The simplicity of the contents and the lack of weaponry suggest that it dates back to
 450 the fifth century and not to having been killed in battle (*). It is possible that those who buried these treasures in the Velp soil fled from the left bank of the Rhine to the right, the Germanic one, and considered their temporary preservation safe at this isolated spot between the Rhine and the IJssel. All this does not deny the possibility of what has been suspected regarding the previously discovered gold
 455 treasure: that it was part of an imperial treasure; but even in such a quantity, it would certainly not have been recovered by order of an emperor, who would have provided better clothing, but rather should be considered stolen, as looted.

Leiden, September 15, 1851.

460 POSTSCRIPT.

After the above had already been largely printed, I found, in my work, Neues
 vaterländ. Archiv – von SPIEL, fortgesetzt von SPANGENBERG, B. IV. Heft 1 S. 184
 465 (Lüneburg bei Herold 1823, 8°), which is rare in our country, a report concerning the discovery of a golden treasure in Hanover, not mentioned elsewhere as far as I know, and which included a collar that seems to have had some similarity to our Velp treasure and also belonged to around the same time. We

(*) Regarding the Apeldoorn graves, see my essay: Ancient Germanic and Frankish Antiquities in Apeldoorn, in these Contributions, D. VII, pages 320 et seq.

I will include that report here, also in the hope that it may help to elicit a more accurate and illustrated description of this treasure, or an indication of where it
 475 can be found? The aforementioned report is by Dr. KOELER of Zelle and reads as follows: "On May 31 (1823), the treasurer CLAUS BÖSCHEN of Mulsuwer Wiede, in the office of Dorum of the Wursten district, near the Hollseler forest, in the Heidestatt region, while cutting sods, found a gold ornament belonging to an old leader from the past, just below the surface of the ground. It is most likely to be mistaken for a necklace and weighs about half a pound. Where it is somewhat wider, a few small half-
 480 moons have been added for decoration. At the same location, five ancient Roman coins were found, all fitted with eyelets and which appear to have hung from the thin end

of the necklace. On them are the names of ANASTASIUS and VALENTINIANUS, and repeatedly the words victor and victori (VICTORINUS?). On one, which appears to be the oldest and is already quite worn, there is a head with the inscription RESTITVTOR REIPVBLICAE and below the head ANT ... S. If this is to be called ANTONIUS, the piece would be older than the Christian era. Each coin weighs slightly more than a ducat, and the goldsmith declares it to be 24-carat gold. Four of them and the collar were purchased by the court or the Landstuba, and these pieces of antiquity will probably be offered to the government, for the Museum in Göttingen or for another public collection. The collar is broken in two, and it appears to have been hooked together on one side and attached to the other by two sliders (Schieber), which are still present.

December 17, 1920 – In Westerkappeln (Westphalia), a clay vase containing 37 gold coins was found in a field during digging. The broken vase was carelessly discarded, but later, at the site where it was found, a ring with three stones and a worked piece of solid gold were found. The large, heavy coins are of Roman origin and represent an important numismatic asset.

August 12, 2007, GOLD TREASURE FROM VELP APPEARS TO BE PARTLY IN MOSCOW!
The early medieval Velp Gold Treasure, looted from Berlin by the Red Army in 1945, is located in the Pushkin Museum in Moscow. This was reported by Jos Bazelmans, head of research at the Rijksdienst (National Service for the History of the Netherlands). for Archaeology, Cultural Landscapes and Monuments (RACM). He recently saw the treasure, excavated in 1851 and sold to Germany a few years later, prominently featured in the catalog of an exhibition on Merovingian art at the Moscow museum. The fact that this has only now become known is entirely due to a degree of political openness to the West by former President Vladimir Putin. The treasure now has two sides: archaeologically very interesting for the Netherlands, but also historically charged! This is also historically interesting because the reason the treasure is in Moscow relates to the outcome and history of World War II. The treasure was taken in crates from Berlin to Moscow by Russian troops in 1945, as one of the means of reparation for all the enormous damage the Germans had caused in Russia. Because the treasure was purchased by the Germans in the Netherlands at the time, the Netherlands will never be able to claim the objects. The Germans are negotiating with the Russians about restitution or, for example, the creation of replicas. This issue, even 65 years later, remains very sensitive. The Municipality of Rheden has already contacted the Pushkin Museum in Moscow, purely with the intention of updating each other on the current state of affairs. There are plans to send a Dutch research team to Moscow under German supervision for further investigation. More to come!
Dutch archaeologists want to dig up the treasure and study the hoard, said Emeritus Professor of Archaeology Tjalling Waterbolk on Thursday, because it resembles other gold treasures from the Netherlands, such as the Beilen hoard he excavated in 1955. Bazelmans has asked the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science to arrange for a Dutch archaeologist to study the hoard in Moscow. The Velp hoard was originally larger and, in addition to these medals, also consisted of a large number of gold coins, bracelets, neck rings, and a gold chain. Only the coin jewelry has been preserved.

530 THE VELP TREASURE; GISBERT CUPER, FRANKS AND ROMANS

Speaker: Drs. P. Beliën.
The hoard discovered in Velp in 1715 is one of the most spectacular treasure finds ever made in the Netherlands. The lecture will discuss the discovery of the hoard and what subsequently happened to the gold from the find. After this, we'll take a step back in time, to the beginning of the fifth century AD. This was the period when the treasure was entrusted to the earth. We'll try to answer the question of how the gold ended up in Velp and who owned it.
Gold objects have been found in two locations in Velp. The gold hoard, found at the former Villa den Heuvel, can be admired either partially or entirely in Moscow. A second find containing gold objects is said to have been sold to Paris. Nothing more is known about this. All in all, a very international treasure story!

Germanic Necklaces

In 1916, four solid gold necklaces were discovered on the floodplains of the Gelderse IJssel near Olst. They were made around 400 AD from melted solidi. Solidi, the plural of the Latin solidus, are late Roman gold coins. Precious metal jewelry was highly valued in Germanic society. In the British epic Beowulf (8th century), the author speaks approvingly of the generosity of a king who showers the best warrior with royal gifts.

550 The Olst hoard is not unique; similar finds have been made elsewhere in the Netherlands. For example, in 1955, five gold neck rings and a bracelet were discovered in Beilen. This hoard also contained 22 coins. More than a century earlier, in 1850, a neck ring and a coin were already known from this site, but were subsequently lost. The Beilen neck rings are also thickened in the middle and bear 555 typical Germanic decorative motifs. It has been calculated that more than one hundred solidi must have been melted down for the six pieces of jewelry from the Beilen hoard. The Beilen hoard is now on display at the Drents Museum in Assen. Other sites where such remarkable jewelry has been found are Rhenen, near the early medieval burial ground, and Velp. Part of the latter gold hoard, discovered in 1751, 560 is in the National Museum of Antiquities: two medals, crafted into medallions, minted in Ravenna around 425. The Velp hoard was originally larger and, in addition to these medals, also consisted of a large number of gold coins, bracelets, neck rings, and a gold chain. Only the coin ornaments have been preserved. The gold hoards share the fact that they were buried at the end of the 4th century or 565 the beginning of the 5th century. The reason for the burial of such valuables cannot be determined with certainty. In any case, these objects must have belonged to prominent Germanic chieftains who maintained contacts with the Roman Empire. They may have received the gold as a reward for services rendered to the Romans, such as participation in military operations. For example, the Germanic tribes who protected 570 the Roman Empire's border from their own kind undoubtedly received generous payments, in gold. A centurion may also have received Roman gold in exchange for a promise not to engage in hostilities against the Romans. The great political unrest, internal strife, and invading plunderers during the period of the migrations may have led the owner to hide his treasures. Perhaps he 575 himself participated in military expeditions and therefore had to find a safe hiding place for his valuables. Perhaps he was unable to unearth the hidden treasure afterward, for example, because he had been killed in action. If no other survivors were informed, the location of the treasure was forgotten. 580 Recently, another possible reason for burying such valuables has been suggested. The gold treasures may also have been used as offerings to appease the gods, or to gain their support in turbulent times. Splendid offerings of prestigious neck rings (symbols of worldly power) and other gold objects conferred prestige on the ?? 585 and whom the gods honored so princely. The gold treasures from the late 4th and early 5th centuries, found both north and south of the Rhine, certainly reflect the unstable political situation of this period. Moreover, these riches demonstrate the Romans' desire to defy the threat to their empire from external invasions through alliances. Quite a few gifts would have been necessary to improve relations with 590 Germanic chieftains and maintain the alliances. Ultimately, it was to no avail, because in 406, Germanic tribes finally crossed the Rhine border, marking the end of Roman rule in the Netherlands.

Кулаков В.И.

595 **Римские наградные гривны из Велпа (Нидерланды)**

В 2003 и 2005 гг. в рамках выполнения договора между Институтом археологии Российской академии наук и Государственным Музеем изобразительных искусств им. А.С. Пушкина автору этих строк выпала честь работать по теме «Научный анализ и каталогизация 600 западно-европейских находок IV-VII вв. н.э. из собрания ГМИИ им. А.С. Пушкина».

Необходимо отметить доброжелательную помощь, непременно оказывавшуюся мне в ходе этой непростой работы со стороны директора Государственного Музея изобразительных искусств им. А.С. Пушкина И.А. Антоновой, заведующего Отделом Искусства и археологии Древнего 605 мира, хранителя коллекции В.П. Толстикова, а также помощника заведующего Отделом по хранительской работе, заведующего Сектором Античного искусства О.В. Тугушевой. Пользуюсь случаем высказать мою глубокую благодарность этим коллегам.

В процессе разборки группы находок, ранее хранившийся в фондах Музея Древней и Ранней истории (Берлин, дворец Шарлоттенбург), а ныне находящихся в фондах ГМИИ им. А.С. Пушкина, моё внимание привлёк комплекс, состоящих из семи золотых гривен (Кулаков В.И., Толстиков В.П., 2007, с. 278, 279). Этот комплекс входил в состав клада, найденного в 1851 г. в южной части Нидерландов (провинция Гельдерланд), в историческом регионе Северный Брабант. Кроме гривен, в составе депозита обнаружены 615 два перстня со щитками, спиральное кольцо и петля проволоочная, изготовленные из золота. Клад был случайно обнаружен во время сельскохозяйственных работ в саду в окрестностях селения Велп (Velp), которое расположено к востоку от города Арнхайм

(Arnhem), при впадении реки Ийссель (IJssel) в один из рукавов дельты р. Рейн – в Недер Рийн (Nederrijn = голл. «Нижний Рейн»)), на правом берегу последнего (рис. 1). Гривны были проданы находчиком (?) и оказались на рынке художественных произведений (антикварном ?) в г. Лейдене. Там они в 1852 г. были приобретены для Королевского музея в Берлине (ныне – Музей Древней и Ранней истории) (Менгин В., 2007, с. 42 и опубликованы в Нидерландах (Janssen, 1852, p. 161-180). Типологическая принадлежность находки (инвентарь погребения или клад) долгие десятилетия оставались не ясными. Известно лишь, что в начале весны 1945 г. этот комплекс вместе с остальными более чем 700 золотыми музейными экспонатами был депонирован в бункере (третий этаж 7-этажного комплекса противовоздушной обороны Люфтваффе – Fleckturm «Zoobunker») в районе Берлинского зоопарка и 4 мая того же года передан представителям Красной Армии (Bertram M., 1995, S. 16). Оказавшийся в английской зоне оккупации Берлина Fleckturm Zoobunker представители Великобритании позднее получили уже без музейных экспонатов. Информация, связанная с комплексом гривен из Велпа, интересна и заслуживает специального рассмотрения ввиду уникальности упомянутых музейных экспонатов (рис. 2). В европейской археологии известны золотые шейные украшения (die Halsringe), именуемые «гривны типа Велп» и происходящие из:

2. (здесь и далее – №№ по карте на рис. 2). Ниймеген, Нидерланды (Nijmegen, Holland) – фасетированная гривна со штемпельным орнаментом;
3. Ренен, Нидерланды (Rhenen, Holland) – 2 фасетированные гривны весом 85 и 55 г со штемпельным орнаментом, одна из гривен имеет пластину со вставками из гранатов (?), фрагмент плоской гривны с надписью «ER.E.F(ecit)V(uncial=136,44 г)Proclu(s) (Roes A., 1947, p. 186);
4. Ольст, Нидерланды (Olst, Holland) – 4 фасетированные гривны (die Facettenhalsringe), три из которых имеют штемпельный орнамент, их вес достигает 22 карата золота;
5. Байлен, Нидерланды (Beilen, Holland) – 4 фасетированные гривны со штемпельным орнаментом, гривна из 8-гранного дрота, свёрнутая до размера браслета, 1 фасетированный браслет со штемпельным орнаментом, вес гривен – 43,2 г, 66,9 г, 67,8 г, 80,8 г, 93,4 г, всего их вес составляет 100 солидов из расчёта веса одного позднеримского солида 4,55 г), в составе клада – 23 солида (?) эпохи правления Гонориуса и другие римские монеты;
6. Ёстрих-Летмате, Германия (Ostrich-Letmathe, Deutschland) – фасетированная гривна со штемпельным орнаментом, браслет из дрота с круглым сечением, с расширяющимися концами и со штемпельным орнаментом;
7. Вестеркаппель, Германия (Westerkappeln, Kr. Tecklenburg, Deutschland) – фасетированный браслет со штемпельным орнаментом, римские монеты, чеканенные в 337-378 гг. н.э.

Все перечисленные выше гривны в западноевропейской археологии принято считать происходящими из единой мастерской (оттиски штемпелей их декора вполне идентичны). Гривны считаются ранговыми знаками вождей германских дружин конца IV – начала V в. или его первой половины, сопутствующие гривнам в кладах монеты интерпретируются как римский donatium/stipendium германским наёмникам («цена крови»). Клады с гривнами типа Велп трактуются как жертвы богам отдельных германских племён (указаны на рис. 1) низовий Рейна (Steuer H., 2006, S. 120-123). Используя представившуюся возможность непосредственного осмотра и фиксации гривен из Велпа был создан каталог этих находок. В нём гривны выступают под номерами фондового хранения в ГМИИ им. А.С. Пушкина (далее – ГМИИ). Номера хранения в фондах Музея До- и Протоистории (Берлин) даны в скобках.

Каталог гривен из Велпа

Аар 1479 (II 3694) – гривна золотая (проба 800°), разм. 14,9x14,1 см, вес 41,52 г (9 солидов), изготовлена из дрота, имеет застёжку в виде крючка и 8-видной петли. Петля спаяна из гнутого конца дрота гривны. В тыльной части дрот гривны имеет диам. 1,9 мм, в лицевой части – 3,1 мм. Сечение дрота по всему периметру гривны круглое, в пределах петли застёжки – миндалевидное. Эта гривна, как и остальные предметы из комплекса, найденного у пос. Велп, имеет дрот волнистых очертаний. Это – результат распрямления дрота, поступившего в 1945 г. в ГМИИ смятым. На рисунке в первой публикации этой гривны она имеет уплощённо-овальную форму (рис. 2, 8). Однако искривлённость дрота гривны видна и на этом рисунке. Соответственно, гривны были найдены смятыми, что прямо указывает на характер комплекса – клад, компоненты которого были смяты для большей компактности клада и удобства его сокрытия.

Аар 1478 (II 3689) – гривна золотая (проба 750°), разм. 17,5x14,4 см, вес 76,77 г (17 солидов), является имитацией гривен и браслетов типа «с расширенными концами». Эти концы у этой и последующих гривен из Велпа не разделены. Гривны надевались так, чтобы их широкая уплощённая часть (в сечении имела вид весьма плоского треугольника с усечённой вершиной) находилась на груди их хозяина. Тыльная половина обода гривны имеет вид дрота. Он ещё на уровне восковой литейной модели был уплощён на лицевой

- стороне и приобрёл видимость соединённых расширенных концов гривны. Гривна украшена оттисками штампа (чекана). Гривна Aар 1478 – единственная из гривен клада в Велпе, расширенная часть которой покрыта оттисками 4 различных видов штампов (рис. 3) целиком, что находит полную аналогию в гривне из Ренен (Rhenen). Гривна имеет форму ассиметричного, вытянутого вправо овала.
- 690 Aар 1477 (II 3692) – гривна золотая (проба 800°), разм. 19,2x15,7 см, вес 57,32 г (12,6 солидов), однотипна гривне Aар 1478. Гривна Aар 1477 – единственная из гривен из Велпа, имеющая особую композицию декора. Она состоит из поперечных линий чеканного орнамента, вытянутых горизонтально вправо и влево от центра широкой лицевой части
- 695 гривны. Линии оттисков штампа завершаются стреловидными фигурами (рис. 3, 4). Гривна, как и остальные гривны из Велпа, имеет застёжку в виде крючка и 8-видной паяной петли.
- Aар 1474 (II 3690) – гривна золотая (проба 800°), разм. 18,8x13,6 см, вес 58,05 г (13,8 солидов), однотипна гривне Aар 1478. Эта и последующие гривны декорированы
- 700 стандартно при помощи ромбоидальной композиции, образованной оттисками различных штампов и разделённой полосой из оттисков полукруглых и угольчатых штампов (рис. 2, 3). На пограничных участках при переходе с дрота к пластине гривны её плоскость украшена локальной группой оттисков штампов.
- Aар 1475 (II 3693) – гривна золотая (проба 800°), разм. 24,3x16,7 см, вес 85,43 г (18,8 солидов), однотипна гривне Aар 1478, по орнаменту – аналогична Aар 1474. На
- 705 пограничных участках при переходе с дрота к пластине гривны её плоскость украшена локальной группой оттисков штампов.
- Aар 1476 (II 3691) – гривна золотая (проба 800°), разм. 18,8x14,4 см, вес 70,25 г (15,4 солида), однотипна гривне Aар 1478, по орнаменту – аналогична Aар 1474.
- 710 Aар 1473 (II 3688) – гривна золотая (проба 800°), разм. 24,3x16,7 см, вес 73,73 г (16 солидов), однотипна гривне Aар 1478, по орнаменту – аналогична Aар 1474. На пограничных участках при переходе с дрота к пластине гривны её плоскость украшена локальной группой оттисков штампов.
- 715 Типологизация гривен из Велпа усложнена редкими для *Barbaricum* видами их формы и орнамента. В кладах, представленных на рис. 1, обнаружены сходные гривны и браслеты, изготовленные из золота. При этом гривна из Ёстрих по орнаменту и параметрам является
- 720 типологически полной аналогией шейным украшениям из Велп (Aар 1474, Aар 1475, Aар 1476, Aар 1473). Браслет из Ёстрих имеет в своей лицевой части реальные, а не мнимые (как на гривнах) утолщения, украшенные чеканным орнаментом типа гривен из Велпа (Radig W., 1939, S. 109, Abb. 108).
- Дротовая гривна Aар 1479 вполне типична для различных германских и балтских древностей второй четверти I тысячелетия н.э. К сожалению, именно эта типичность не
- 725 позволяет осуществить точную культурно-этническую идентификацию этого предмета. Ясно лишь, что, обладая самыми малыми среди гривен из Велпа размерами (14,9x14,1 см), эта гривна непосредственно примыкала к шее своего хозяина. Судя по стёртости (скорее – полировки) ношение гривны Aар 1479 было долговременным. Кстати, этого нельзя сказать
- о других гривнах из клада в Велпе. Все они, в особенности гривна Aар 1478, не несут
- 730 значительных следов употребления. Края лицевых пластин гривен настолько остры, что о них можно порезаться. При этом эти края в ряде мест несут следы механических воздействий (поперечные вмятины), являющиеся, скорее всего, следствием сминания гривен при их депонировании.
- Особенности формы лицевой части гривен (рис. 3, 4) позволяет полагать в данном случае
- 735 имитацию гривен и браслетов с расширенными концами. Такие детали убора (браслеты типа Kolbenring, поздний вариант – тип Szentendre) являлись у членов древнегерманского «героического общества» символами власти «варварских» principes III-VI вв. н.э. (Lund Hansen U., 1998, S. 348). Также они могли отмечать членов семей из состава «варварской» аристократии.
- Несмотря на то, что гривны из Велпа имитируют детали «варварского» убора, особенности
- 740 их формы и декора, приёмы изготовления гривен (следы волочения дрота, аккуратная расковка лицевых частей гривен, разнообразные формы штампов, чётко выдержанные орнаментальные композиции) позволяют уверенно причислять их к продукции провинциально-римских мастеров. Указание на типологическую принадлежность уникальных
- 745 гривен (включая дротовую) из Велпа содержится в особой 8-видной форме петель их застёжек. Доказано, что гривны такими петлями появляются на рейнском лимесе Империи около середины III в. н.э. (Stjernquist B. 1955. p. 137) и являются прототипами для шейных украшений с так называемыми «грушевидными» замками.
- Особый интерес вызывает декор гривен из Велпа. Он представлен композициями из
- 750 оттисков круглых, полукруглых и треугольных штампов. В старой немецкой историографии они относятся к декору типа *eingestempelte Ornamente*, нанесённого одиночными пуансонами (рис. 5, №№ 1-4, 6, 7, 17 и 18 в нижней части рисунка). Как правило, они характерны для скандинавских древностей ранней фазы эпохи Великого переселения народов. На север Европы они поступили непосредственно из римских провинций.

- Показательно, что для прусского материала стиля *Sosdala*, позднего относительно скандинавских пуансонных декоров, упомянутые формы штампов не характерны (Aberg N., 1919, 47, 49). В исторической Пруссии орнамент стиля *Sosdala* существует на фазах C2/D2 (возможно – с фазы D1), на Неманском правобережье – на фазах C2/D1. В эти регионы Балтии обычай наносить такой декор на металлические детали воинского убора принесли с собой вернувшиеся на родину (?) ветераны (пешие воины-ауксиларии и кавалеристы), служившие в римских войсках на рейнском или на дунайском лимесе (Кулаков В.И., 2006, с. 64, 65).
- Клад из Велпа обнаружен как раз в одном из районов эвентуальной дислокации этих «варварских» подразделений на службе Рима. К сожалению, на закате Империи иными войсками она уже не располагала. Поэтому, в частности, ясно, почему форма гривен из Велпа ориентируется на образцы престижных германских украшений, характерных исключительно для «варварской» дружинной элиты.
- Гривны из Велпа не обладают орнаментов в стиле *Sosdala*, типичными для которого являются звёздные композиции. Зато на одной из этих гривен представлен оттиск миндалевидного штампа со слабым углублением в центре (рис. 4, Aар 1478, по краям каждого из оттисков треугольного штампа). Аналог этого штампа представлен на пряжке из Бриже (Briza, Bez. Litomerice) в Чехии (Tejral J., 2001, S. 40), типичной для древностей горизонта Унтерзибенбрунн (Untersiebenbrunn), относимых в Центральной Европе к фазе D2 (ок. 380/400–ок. 440/450 гг. н.э.) (Kazanski M., Koch U., 2001, S. 85). Такие углубления создавали эффект плоского рельефа у изображений, на самом деле изготовленных гравировкой, акцентированной точечным штампом. Этот орнаментальный приём, представленный, в частности, на обломке серебряного блюда из клада В в Млотечно (тип Eggers 115), появляется, судя по этой находке, ещё на фазе B1 (Кулаков В.И., 1998, с. 99) и являются древнейшим предшественником декора гривен из Велпа и, соответственно, орнамента стиля *Untersiebenbrunn*.
- Отсутствие следов деградации орнамента на гривнах из Велпа позволяют датировать их началом этого горизонта. Не исключено, что орнамент на гривнах – своеобразная предтеча декора стиля *Untersiebenbrunn*. В целом приведённые аргументы позволяют предварительно отнести гривны из Велпа ко времени ок. 370–400 гг. н.э.
- Само происхождение декора *Untersiebenbrunn* чрезвычайно интересно и нуждается в развёрнутом искусствоведческом анализе. Пока можно предполагать, что этот тип орнамента является финальной формой развития декора деталей провинциально-римского воинского снаряжения и должен находится в конце типологического ряда, начатого в эпоху Юлиев-Клавдиев декором в стиле *Opus interrasile*, продолженном в эпоху «солдатских» императоров уплощённым рельефом, углублённые части которого со временем теряли свою глубину. В конечном итоге утратившие навыки своих предшественников, мастера эпохи заката Империи, слабо помнив о необходимости изготовления на своих изделиях неких углублённых частей, стали имитировать их скоплениями различных штампов. Издалека изделия с таким декором (стиль *Untersiebenbrunn*) производили впечатление предметов со стёртыми, еле видными остатками рельефных изображений. Мода на протяжении веков (в том числе – современная) даёт серию примеров сходной утраты первоначального смысла декора или же предмета убора при его долговременном изготовлении (превращение цилиндра в кепи, мутация джинсов как рабочей одежды в бессмысленно затёртый аксессуар «от кутюр»).
- Если вопросы типологии и хронологии гривен из Велпа решаемы с привлечением сходных по признакам предметов материальной культуры *Barbaricum* конца IV в. н.э., то семантическое значение этих предметов можно раскрыть лишь с привлечением сугубо римских аналогий, причём – довольно ранних.
- Перед выяснением семантики интересующих нас гривен следует попытаться установить принципы их ношения. Вотивный характер этих гривен явно исключается, ибо со времени Миланского эдикта (313 г. н.э.), проведения Никейского собора (325 г.) и неудачной попытки воссоздания отеческих культов при Императоре Юлиане «Отступнике» (355–363 гг. н.э.) христианская религия стала господствующей в Империи. Принесение драгоценных даров римским богам в конце IV в. н.э. уже не было возможно.
- Слабые следы стёртости присутствуют почти у всех гривен (кроме Aар 1479 и Aар 1478) в верхней части расширения в центре их лицевой стороны. Можно предполагать факт ношение всех этих гривен одновременно, причём так, что гривны с меньшим диаметром находились поверх гривен с большим диаметром и, соответственно, частично их перекрывали. В соответствии с этим принципом проведена реконструкция схемы ношения комплекса гривен из Велпа (порядок гривен показан на рис. 6). В этом комплексе своими крупными параметрами выделяются две нижние гривны – Aар 1475 и Aар 1476. Они явно рассчитаны для расположения на предплечье. Остальные гривны, обладающие математически убывающими параметрами, составляют в схеме ношения некую цилиндрическую фигуру. Иными словами, эти гривны покрывали собственно шею своего хозяина. Пространство, образовавшееся между тыльными частями трёх нижних гривен и четырёх верхних гривен (рис. 6), могло быть заполнено, например, шейным платком. Эта неременная деталь убора римского

- легионера могла выгодно оттенять сияние золота гривен и оберегать шею их хозяина от натирания острыми гранями гривен. Несмотря на внушительный вид всего комплекса гривен, их ношение всех вместе ввиду их незначительного веса, было вполне достижимым.
- 825 Упомянутый выше феномен возрастания параметров гривен в значительной мере дублируется их весовыми значениями в следующей последовательности, реализованной в характерной для римского времени мере веса, использовавшейся при ювелирных работах – в скрупулах (1,137 г):
- 830 Перед выяснением семантики интересующих нас гривен следует попытаться установить принципы их ношения. Вотивный характер этих гривен явно исключается, ибо со времени Миланского эдикта (313 г. н.э.), проведения Никейского собора (325 г.) и неудачной попытки воссоздания отеческих культов при Императоре Юлиане «Отступнике» (355-363 гг. н.э.) христианская религия стала господствующей в Империи. Принесение драгоценных
- 835 даров римским богам в конце IV в. н.э. уже не было возможно. Слабые следы стёртости присутствуют почти у всех гривен (кроме Аар 1479 и Аар 1478) в верхней части расширения в центре их лицевой стороны. Можно предполагать факт ношение всех этих гривен одновременно, причём так, что гривны с меньшим диаметром находились поверх гривен с большим диаметром и, соответственно, частично их перекрывали.
- 840 В соответствии с этим принципом проведена реконструкция схемы ношения комплекса гривен из Велпа (порядок гривен показан на рис. 6). В этом комплексе своими крупными параметрами выделяются две нижние гривны – Аар 1475 и Аар 1476. Они явно рассчитаны для расположения на предплечье. Остальные гривны, обладающие математически убывающими параметрами, составляют в схеме ношения некую цилиндрическую фигуру. Иными словами,
- 845 эти гривны покрывали собственно шею своего хозяина. Пространство, образовавшееся между тыльными частями трёх нижних гривен и четырёх верхних гривен (рис. 6), могло быть заполнено, например, шейным платком. Эта неременная деталь убора римского легионера могла выгодно оттенять сияние золота гривен и оберегать шею их хозяина от натирания острыми гранями гривен. Несмотря на внушительный вид всего комплекса
- 850 гривен, их ношение всех вместе ввиду их незначительного веса, было вполне достижимым. Упомянутый выше феномен возрастания параметров гривен в значительной мере дублируется их весовыми значениями в следующей последовательности, реализованной в характерной для римского времени мере веса, использовавшейся при ювелирных работах – в скрупулах (1,137 г):
- 855 Аар 1479 – 36,52 скрупул
Аар 1477 – 50,41 скрупул
Аар 1474 – 51,05 скрупул
Аар 1476 – 61,78 скрупул
Аар 1473 – 64,84 скрупул
- 860 Аар 1478 – 67,84 скрупул
Аар 1475 – 75,13 скрупул
- Разумеется, не полностью кратные значения веса гривен в римской весовой системе зависит как от возможных ошибок изготовителей этих предметов, так и от
- 865 микроскопических утрат (царапин, трещин и проч.), со временем искаживших заданный в древности вес гривен. Однако более наглядно выглядит весовая стопа, разделяющая гривны:
- Между Аар 1477 и Аар 1474 – 0,64 скрупул, то есть 1/40 унции (в унции – 24 скрупулы)
Между Аар 1474 и Аар 1476 – 10,73 скрупул, то есть 1/5 унции
- 870 Между Аар 1476 и Аар 1473 – 3,06 скрупулы, то есть 1/12 унции
Между Аар 1473 и Аар 1478 – 2,68 скрупулы, то есть примерно 1/12 унции
Между Аар 1478 и Аар 1475 – 7,6 скрупул, то есть 1/6 унции
- Если между указанными выше гривнами видна довольно чёткая римская двенадцатеричная стопа, то дротовая гривна Аар 1479 весит в римской весовой системе 36,52 скрупул и не
- 875 обладает кратным различием (стопой) ни с одной из остальных гривен комплекса. Это прямо свидетельствует об изготовлении этих гривен в мастерской, в которой работали мастера, неукоснительно придерживавшиеся римской весовой системы. Напротив, творец дротовой гривны Аар 1479 (вес – 9 солидов) указанной системы не придерживался и ориентировался на более грубую весовую стопу солидов, популярную в Barbaricum. Не
- 880 столь чётко выглядят золотые пробы гривен, исчисляемые в основном значением 800°. Лишь самая крупная, с лицевой стороны орнаментированная полностью гривна Аар 1478 имеет золотую пробу 750°.
- Интересно сравнение последовательности гривен по нарастанию их метрических и весовых параметров. Их динамика в целом совпадает в следующем виде:
- 885 По возрастанию метрических параметров По возрастанию весовых параметров
Аар 1478 Аар 1474
Аар 1477 Аар 1473
Аар 1477 Аар 1476
Аар 1474 Аар 1478

890 Aар 1473 Aар 1475
Aар 1476 Aар 1475

Важен вопрос поло-возрастной и социальной принадлежности хозяина гривен из Велпа. Обычай ношения гривен как украшения шеи римлянами и римлянками не только не использовался на всём протяжении римской истории, но и считался для них чуждым. Не следует забывать о том, что носители традиции использования гривен (лат. *torques*) кельты, позднее – германцы, являлись традиционными противниками Рима. Тем не менее (скорее – благодаря этому атрибуту «варваров», воспринимавшемуся римлянами как трофей – Махлаук А.В., 2006, с. 328) в римской армии гривны наряду с браслетами и фалерами (нагрудные бляхи) в начале нашей эры стали знаками отличия для рядовых легионеров. Уже в эпоху Августа на надгробии центуриона первой когорты XVIII легиона Марка Целия, погибшего в 9 г. н.э. в битве в Тевтобургском лесу и похороненного у Ксантена (Нидерланды), видны наградные браслеты (рис. 7), привязанные тканевыми жгутами к наплечным пластинам панциря. Шею центуриона украшала наградная витая (тордированная ?) гривна. Если в эпоху ранней Империи наградные гривны крепились замками на тыльной части шеи, то в середине – второй половине IV в. н.э. такие шейные награды на своей лицевой части имеют утолщения, имитирующие расширенные концы гривны. Они украшают шеи телохранителей (лат. *singularis*) Императоров Констанция II (рис. 8) и Феодосия I Великого (рис. 9), представленных на серебряных блюдах, хранящихся в музеях Санкт-Петербурга и Мадрида. Кстати, именно императоры единолично могли вручать (видимо – и утверждать) награды не только «офицерам», но и рядовым солдатам (лат. *caligae*) легионов (Махлаук А.В., 2006, с. 324). Такие гривны застёгивались на тыльной стороне шеи воина (рис. 5,1). Точно так же устроены и гривны из Велпа. Очевидно, этот принцип использовался и в ранней Византии, наследовавшей часть римских воинских обычаев. Правда, в эпоху Юстиниана I Великого его телохранители, судя по мозаике из базилики Сан Витале в Равенне, носили гривны с медальонами на лицевой стороне. При этом медальоны либо украшались вставками камней, либо декорировались эмалью. Пример таких гривен имеется в кладе в Ренен. Обнаруженная на оборотной стороне этой плоской детали гривны подчёркивает важность её весового значения, соответствующего, очевидно, приказу о данной награде. Таким образом, типологическая линия развития римских наградных гривен-*torques* в первой половине VI в. прерывается. Уже с эпохи Принципата в римской армии существует традиция множественных награждений – *dona militaria*. Фалеры вручались отличившимся в бою легионерам в комплексе из 6-и и более металлических или даже стеклянных блях, соединённых ремнями для крепления на груди воина (на доспехах). Гривны при награждении сопровождалась браслетами (рис. 10,2). В нашем случае процесс сложения комплекса наградных гривен можно попытаться реконструировать следующим образом. Воин, обладавший своей персональной дротовой гривной, указывающей на его «варварское» (возможно – германское) происхождение, за некий подвиг был награждён одиночной гривной Аар 1478. Её лицевая пластина полностью покрыта чеканным орнаментом. Неорнаментированными остались боковые и тыльная дротовые части гривны, скрывавшиеся плащом. Далее происходит следующее награждение, также – одиночной гривной Аар 1478 (рис. 3). Правда, мастер, видимо, осведомлённый о вторичности этой награды, украшает на этой гривне лишь часть лицевой стороны. Остальная поверхность её лицевой пластины частично скрыта более ранним награждением – гривной Аар 1478 и не нуждается в декорировании. С таким же принципом экономии своей работы этот же (или другой ?) мастер подошёл к третьей, уже множественной награде – четырём гривнам Аар 1473, Аар 1474, Аар 1476 и Аар 1475. Прямой связи между весами этих гривен в виде стопы скрупул не отмечается (см. выше). Упомянутые четыре гривны стереотипно снабжены симметричными сериями треугольных композиций из оттисков штампов в центральной части лицевой пластины гривны. Это третье награждение, выделяемое эвентуально и характерное для воинских традиций Рима (Колобов А.В., 1999, с. 67), могло стать для воина последним воздаянием за его подвиги во славу Рима. Учитывая находки аналогичных гривен в Ёстрих и в других пунктах бассейна Нижнего Рейна, можно выдвинуть предположение о существовании в конце IV в. н.э. на рейнском лимесе стандартных золотых наградных гривен. Ввиду некоей внезапной ситуации или сам воин депонировал свои награды вместе с персональной гривной, или (что предпочтительней) некий противник Рима, повергнув в схватке этого героя, сорвал с него и *dona militaria*, и личную гривну, сокрыв это уже на правом, германском берегу р. Рейна. Вместе с этими предметами, соединявшимися, очевидно, петлёй из обрывка золотого дрота (рис. 2,6), оказались в земле и золотых два перстня со щитками. Эти предметы римского ювелирного искусства (на щитке одного из перстней – профильное изображение Императора /?/ – рис. 2,7) могли также входить в состав инвентаря известного римского воина. Трактовать эти перстни в качестве наград (как и явно «варварский» спиральный перстень – рис. 2,5) не представляется возможным. Ещё со времён Юлия Цезаря враги стремились позаимствовать у поверженного легионера его ценные и по материалу, и по общественному статусу награды (Кован Р., 2005, с. 28,

29). Отметим, что и в последующих войнах, включая Вторую Мировую войну, солдаты многих европейских армий проявляли особое внимание к наградам врага, считая их престижными трофеями и первым делом пополняя им свои мешки и ранцы. Такие трофеи на рубеже IV-V вв. при прорыве рейнского лимеса попали в руки воинов различных племён и осели в земле на их родине (рис. 1).

Как уже отмечалось выше, уникальная форма гривен из Велпа не позволяет найти им близкую аналогию в римском и «варварском» археологическом материале позднеантичного времени. Это является результатом чрезвычайной редкости находок римских наградных гривен, которые весьма высоко ценились как их обладателями, так и врагами Рима. Автору этих строк известна лишь одна из немногих находок сходной *dona militaria*. Это – фрагмент гривны из Карнунтума на дунайском лимесе. Гривна представляла собой фрагмент кольцевидно изогнутой пластины, заканчивавшейся грушевидной в плане застёжкой. На этой пластине ещё на стадии создания восковой матрицы была нанесена рельефная латинская надпись, от которой сохранился лишь фрагмент «*felices tun...*». Возможно, полностью надпись должна выглядеть как «*felices Tungri*» и упоминать представителя германского племени тунгров (совр. Бельгия), составлявших во II-III вв. н.э. I пограничную алу тунгров в провинции Дакия (Roes A., 1947, p. 181). На внутренней стороне гривны слабо видно руническое (?) граффити (Beninger E., 1934, Taf. 300,6). Как гривны типа Велп, так и гривна из Карнунтума – плоские, но производят впечатление массивных предметов и при этом не обременительны при их ношении.

Итак, ясна принадлежность гривен типа Велп – *dona militaria*. В современном антиковедении сложилось мнение о том, что «в эпоху Антонинов (II в.) начинается вытеснение *dona militaria*, включая браслеты и ожерелья (= гривны – К.В.), чисто материальными методами стимулирования отличившихся воинов...» (Колобов А.В., 1999, с. 71). В позднем Риме, кроме того, наградами служили золотые медальоны с надписями, возмечивавшими подвиги защитников Империи (Махлаук А.В., 2006, с. 331). Находки из Велпа показывают факт существования во всяком случае одной из разновидностей *dona militaria* – гривен-*torques* в эпоху битвы при Адрианополе. Памятники искусства V-VI вв. содержат изображения наградных (статусных ?) гривен у имперских воинов развитой фазы эпохи Великого переселения народов. Длинные волосы у телохранителей Феодосия I Великого и Юстиниана I Великого (традиция древнегерманских дружинников-*capillati*) справедливо позволили трактовать их как германцев (Fuchs S., 1943, S. 150). Ношение ими (тем более – в присутствии Императора) гривен указывает на то, что они не исполняют здесь роль языческих по происхождению украшений, а являются знаками отличия воинов, своей храбростью завоевавших право составлять ближнее окружение Императора. Мнение о культурно-этнической и социальной принадлежности гривен из Велпа недавно высказано директором Музея Древней и Ранней истории (Берлин) Проф. Др. Вильфридом Менгином. Он считает, «... что клад из Фельпа принадлежал одному из франкских вождей, взявших на себя со второй половины IV в. в качестве федератов Рима границ Империи на участке между Маасом и Шельдой» (Менгин В., 2007, с. 42). Приведённая выше серия доказательств свидетельствует, напротив, о том, что:

1. Гривны из Велпа изготовлены в конце IV в. н.э. провинциально-римскими мастерами.
 2. Эти предметы являются не украшениями и, тем более, не статусными аксессуарами статусного/сакрального достоинства «варварских» королей, а являются римскими воинскими наградами *dona militaria*.
 3. Гривны из Велпа по статусу относятся к наградам, традиционно выдававшихся в римских легионах воинам рядового состава (*caliga*), в эпоху битвы при Адрианополе набравших преимущественно из «варваров». Члены командного состава легионов, к которому мог принадлежать в легионах некий франкский король (по версии В. Менгина), в позднеимперское время представлялись к награждению почётными знамёнами и копьями (*vexilla et hastae*) (Махлаук А.В., 2006, с. 329).
- Таким образом, становится явной ошибочность выводов о принадлежности гривен из Велпа, сделанных берлинским коллегой, специалистом по двулезвийным мечам эпохи раннего средневековья.
- Местоположение клада гривен из Велпа соответствует северной части рейнского лимеса (рис. 1). 31 декабря 406 г. Галлия впервые подверглась с востока мощному наступлению «варваров», среди которых были представители племён гуннов, вандалов, аланов, свевов и бургундов (Perin P., Feffer L-Ch., 1987, p. 80). Это нашествие, для многих из его участников ставшее последней битвой, могло не миновать и одного из воинов рейнского лимеса, охранявшего в составе одной из ауксилиий или же отряда воинов-*limitanei* беспокойную имперскую границу. Этот воин (скорее всего – военачальник) пал на защите римских рубежей, его награды и перстни стали добычей некоего германского «варваров», переместившего свои трофеи в землю поблизости от места битвы на лимесе, скорее всего, в жертву отеческим богам. Менее чем через столетие, в начале эпохи правления конунга Хлодвиг (в 481 или 482 гг.) данный участок бывшей имперской территории будет

окончательно оккупирован франками (Perin P., 1995, p. 252).

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Сокращения:

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- Подписи к рисункам к статье В.И. Кулакова «Гривны горизонта Унтерзибенбрунн из Велпа (Нидерланды)»:
- Рис. 1. Распространение гривен типа Велп на римском лимесе (по: Steuer H., 2006, Abb. 24 с добавлениями автора): а – клад с гривнами типа Велп; b – единичная находка гривны типа Велп.
 - 1075 Рис. 2. Клад, найденный в 1851 г. в Велпе (по: Janssen L.J.F., 1852, p. 162).
 - Рис. 3. Гривны из Велпа (Северный Брабант, Нидерланды) (Gelderland!).
 - Рис. 4. Орнамент на гривнах из Велпа.
 - Рис. 5. Варианты звёздчатых фигур и виды отдельных штампов, характерные для стилей Сёсдала и Унтерзибенбрунн (по: Aberg N., 1919, S. 43, 44).
 - 1080 Рис. 6. Гривны из Велпа: порядок их расположения на шее воина.
 - Рис. 7. Надгробие центуриона первой когорты XVIII легиона Марка Целия, погибшего в 9 г. н.э. в битве в Тевтобургском лесу и похороненного у Ксанта (Нидерланды) (Duitsland!) и реконструкция битвы (по А. Мак-Брайд).
 - 1085 Рис. 8. Блюдо Констанция II из склепа в имении Гордиковых на горе Митридат (Керчь).
 - Рис. 9. Телохранители Феодосия I Великого из Мадридского музея.
 - Рис. 10. Римские воинские награды: 1 – реконструкция наградных гривен и браслетов по воинским надгробиям (по: Maxfield V.A., 1981, p. 89); 2 – надгробие Ц. Вибиуса Мацера (эпоха Августа) с наградными короной, фалерами, копьями, гривнами и браслетами (по: Maxfield V.A., 1981, fig. 5).
 - 1090 Рис. 11. Телохранители Юстиниана I на мозаике из базилики Сан-Витале (Равенна)

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1115

V.I. Kulakov.

Roman Award Torques from Velp (Netherlands)

1120 In 2003 and 2005, as part of an agreement between the Institute of Archaeology of the Russian Academy of Sciences and the A.S. Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, this author had the privilege of working on the topic "Scientific Analysis and Cataloging of Western European Finds from the 4th-7th Centuries AD from the Collection of the A.S. Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts."

1125 I would like to acknowledge the generous assistance I received throughout this challenging work from I.A. Antonova, Director of the A.S. Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts; V.P. Tolstikov, Head of the Department of Ancient Art and Archaeology and Curator of the Collection; and O.V. Tugusheva, Assistant Head of the Department for Custody and Head of the Sector of Ancient Art. I take this opportunity to express my deep gratitude to these colleagues.

1130 While sorting through a group of finds previously housed in the collections of the Museum of Ancient and Early History (Berlin, Charlottenburg Palace) and now housed in the collections of the Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, my attention was drawn to a complex of seven gold grivnas (V.I. Kulakov, V.P. Tolstikov, 2007, pp. 278, 279).

1135 This complex was part of a hoard discovered in 1851 in the southern Netherlands (province of Gelderland), in the historical region of North Brabant. In addition to the grivnas, the deposit also included two rings with shields, a spiral ring, and a wire loop, all made of gold. The treasure was discovered by chance during

1140 agricultural work in a garden near the village of Velp, which is located east of the city of Arnhem, at the confluence of the IJssel River with one of the branches of the Rhine delta - the Nederrijn (Dutch: "Lower Rhine"), on the right bank of the latter (Fig. 1). The torcs were sold by the finder (?) and ended up on the art (antique) market in Leiden. There, in 1852, they were acquired for the Royal Museum in Berlin

1145 (now the Museum of Ancient and Early History) (Mengin V., 2007, p. 42) and published in the Netherlands (Janssen, 1852, pp. 161-180). The typological affiliation of the find (burial inventory or treasure) remained unclear for many decades. It is only

1150 known that in the early spring of 1945, this complex, along with more than 700 other gold museum exhibits, was deposited in a bunker (the third floor of the 7-story Luftwaffe anti-aircraft defense complex - Fleckturm "Zoobunker") in the area of the Berlin Zoo and on May 4 of the same year was handed over to representatives of the

Red Army (Bertram M., 1995, p. 16). Fleckturm, which ended up in the British occupation zone of Berlin was later the UK representatives received the Zoobunker without the museum exhibits.

The information related to the Velp torc complex is interesting and deserves special consideration given the uniqueness of the aforementioned museum exhibits (Fig. 2). European archaeology is aware of gold neck ornaments (die Halsringe), referred to as "Velp-type torcs," originating from:

2. (hereinafter, numbers according to the map in Fig. 2). Nijmegen, Netherlands (Nijmegen, Holland) - a faceted torc with a stamp ornament;

1160 3. Rhenen, Netherlands (Rhenen, Holland) - two faceted torcs weighing 85 and 55 g with a stamp ornament; one of the torcs has a plate with garnet inserts (?), a fragment of a flat torc with the inscription "ER.E.F(ecit)V(uncial=136.44 g)Proclu(s)" (Roes A., 1947, p. 186);

4. Olst, Netherlands (Olst, Holland) - 4 faceted torcs (die Facettenhalsringe), three of which have a stamp ornament, their weight reaches 22 karat gold;

1165 5. Beilen, Netherlands (Beilen, Holland) - 4 faceted torcs with a stamp ornament, a torc made of an octagonal dart, rolled to the size of a bracelet, 1 faceted bracelet with a stamp ornament, the weight of the torcs is 43.2 g, 66.9 g, 67.8 g, 80.8 g, 93.4 g, their total weight is 100 solidi (based on the weight of one late Roman solidus of 4.55 g), the hoard contains 23 solidi (?) from the reign of Honorius and

- 1170 other Roman coins;
6. Ostrich-Letmathe, Germany (Ostrich-Letmathe, Germany) - a faceted torc with a stamped ornament, a bracelet made of round wire with flared ends and a stamped ornament;
7. Westerkappen, Germany (Westerkappen, Kr. Tecklenburg, Germany) - a faceted
1175 bracelet with a stamped ornament, Roman coins minted in 337-378 AD.
- All of the above-mentioned torcs are generally considered by Western European archaeologists to have originated from a single workshop (the stamp impressions of their decoration are quite identical). Torcs are considered to be rank insignia of
1180 Germanic warlords of the late 4th - early 5th centuries or the first half of the 5th century; coins found in hoards accompanying torcs are interpreted as Roman donatium/stipendiums for Germanic mercenaries ("blood price"). The hoards of torcs of the Velp type are interpreted as offerings to the gods of individual Germanic tribes (shown in Fig. 1) of the lower Rhine (Steuer H., 2006, pp. 120-123).
1185 Using the opportunity to directly examine and record the torcs from Velp, a catalog of these finds was created. The torcs are listed under their storage numbers in the Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts (hereinafter referred to as the Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts). Storage numbers in the collections of the Museum of Pre- and Protohistory (Berlin) are given in parentheses.
- 1190 **Catalogue of Velp Torcs**
- Aar 1479 (II 3694) - gold torc (800° fineness), dimensions 14.9x14.1 cm, weight 41.52 g (9 solidi), made of wire, with a hook-and-eye clasp. The loop is soldered from the bent end of the torc's wire. The diameter of the wire on the back is 1.9 mm, and on
1195 the front - 3.1 mm. The wire is round around the entire perimeter of the torc, and almond-shaped within the clasp loop. This torc, like other items from the assemblage found near the village of Velp, has a wavy shaft. This is the result of straightening the shaft, which arrived at the Pushkin Museum in a crumpled state in 1945. In the drawing in the first publication of this torc, it has a flattened oval shape (Fig. 2.8). However, the curvature of the torc's shaft is also visible in this drawing. Accordingly, the torcs were found crumpled, which directly indicates the nature of the assemblage—a hoard whose components were crumpled for greater compactness and ease of concealment.
- Aar 1478 (II 3689) is a gold torc (750° fineness), measuring 17.5x14.4 cm, weighing
1205 76.77 g (17 solidi), is an imitation of torcs and bracelets of the "widened ends" type. These ends of this and subsequent torcs from Velp are not separated. Torques were worn so that their wide, flattened portion (in cross-section, it resembled a very flat triangle with a truncated apex) rested on the wearer's chest. The back half of the torque's rim resembles a dart. Even at the wax casting stage, it was flattened
1210 on the obverse, taking on the appearance of the connected, widened ends of the torque. The torque is decorated with stamp impressions (coinage). The Aar 1478 torque is the only torque from the Velp hoard whose widened portion is entirely covered with stamp impressions from four different types of stamps (Fig. 3), a feature completely analogous to the Rhenen torque. The torque is shaped like an asymmetrical, right-
1215 elongated oval.
- Aar 1477 (II 3692) - gold torque (800° fineness), size 1800 mm. 19.2x15.7 cm, weight 57.32 g (12.6 solidi), identical to the Aar 1478 grivna. The Aar 1477 grivna is the only one of the Velp grivnas with a unique decorative composition. It consists of transverse lines of chased ornamentation, elongated horizontally to the right and
1220 left from the center of the wide obverse of the grivna. The lines of the stamp impressions end in arrow-shaped figures (Figs. 3, 4). The grivna, like the other Velp grivnas, has a clasp in the form of a hook and a soldered figure-8 loop.
- Aar 1474 (II 3690) - gold grivna (800° fineness), size 18.8x13.6 cm, weight 58.05 g (13.8 solidi), similar to the Aar 1478 grivna. This and subsequent grivnas are
1225 decorated in a standard manner using a diamond-shaped composition formed by the impressions of various stamps and divided by a band of semicircular and charcoal stamps (Figs. 2, 3). At the border sections, when transitioning from the rod to the grivna plate, its surface is decorated with a local group of stamp impressions.
- Aar 1475 (II 3693) - gold grivna (800° fineness), size 24.3x16.7 cm, weight 85.43 g (18.8 solidi), identical to the Aar 1478 grivna, similar in ornamentation to the Aar 1474. At the border sections, when transitioning from the rod to the grivna plate, its surface is decorated with a local group of stamp impressions.
- Aar 1476 (II 3691) - gold grivna (fineness 800°), dimensions 18.8x14.4 cm, weight 70.25 g (15.4 solidi), identical to the Aar 1478 grivna, similar in ornamentation to the Aar 1474.
- 1235 Aar 1473 (II 3688) - gold grivna (fineness 800°), dimensions 24.3x16.7 cm, weight 73.73 g (16 solidi), identical to the Aar 1478 torx, similar in ornamentation to Aar

1474. At the borderline sections where the torx transitions from the drot to the torx plate, its surface is decorated with a localized group of stamp impressions.

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The typology of the Velp torxes is complicated by their shapes and ornamentation, which are rare for Barbaricum. Similar torxes and bracelets made of gold were discovered in the hoards shown in Fig. 1. Moreover, the Östrich torx, in its ornamentation and dimensions, is typologically identical to the neck ornaments from Velp (Aar 1474, Aar 1475, Aar 1476, Aar 1473). The Östrich bracelet features real, not imaginary (as on torcs) thickenings on its face, decorated with a chased ornament similar to the torcs from Velp (Radig W., 1939, p. 109, Abb. 108).

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The Aar 1479 drot torc is quite typical of various Germanic and Baltic antiquities from the second quarter of the first millennium CE. Unfortunately, it is precisely this typicality that prevents a precise cultural and ethnic identification of this object. It is only clear that, with the smallest dimensions of the Velp torcs (14.9x14.1 cm), this torc was worn directly against the neck of its owner. Judging by the wear (more likely polishing), the Aar 1479 torc was worn for a long time.

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Incidentally, the same cannot be said of the other torcs from the Velp hoard. All of them, especially the Aar 1478 torc, show no significant signs of use. The edges of the torcs' faceplates are so sharp that they can cut one's skin. However, in some places, these edges bear traces of mechanical impact (transverse dents), which are most likely the result of

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The crumpling of the torceniums during their deposit.

The shape of the torceniums' faces (Figs. 3, 4) suggests that these are imitation torceniums and bracelets with widened ends. Such headgear (bracelets of the Kolbenring type, a later variant of the Szentendre type) were symbols of the power of the "barbarian" principes among members of the ancient Germanic "heroic society" in the 3rd-6th centuries AD (Lund Hansen U., 1998, p. 348). They could also identify members of families from the "barbarian" aristocracy.

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Although the Velp torcs imitate details of "barbarian" attire, the distinctive features of their shape and decoration, as well as the manufacturing techniques used (marks of wire drawing, careful hammering of the torc faces, varied stamp shapes, and precisely maintained ornamental compositions), allow us to confidently attribute them to provincial Roman craftsmen. The typological identity of the unique torcs (including the wire torc) from Velp is indicated by the distinctive 8-shaped loops of their clasps. It has been proven that torcs with such loops appeared on the Rhine limes of the Empire around the mid-3rd century AD (Stjernquist B. 1955, p. 137) and serve as prototypes for neck ornaments with so-called "pear-shaped" clasps.

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The decoration of the Velp torcs is particularly interesting. It is represented by compositions of impressions from round, semicircular, and triangular stamps. In old German historiography, they are classified as *eingestempelte Ornamente*, a type of decoration applied by single punches (Fig. 5, Nos. 1-4, 6, 7, 17, and 18 in the lower part of the figure). As a rule, they are characteristic of Scandinavian antiquities of the early phase of the Great Migration Period. They arrived in northern Europe directly from the Roman provinces. It is significant that the aforementioned stamp forms are not characteristic of Prussian Sosdala style material, which was later than Scandinavian punch decorations (Aberg N., 1919, 47, 49). In historical Prussia, Sosdala style ornamentation exists in phases C2/D2 (possibly from phase D1), and on the right bank of the Neman, in phases C2/D1. The custom of applying such decoration to metal parts of military attire was brought to these Baltic regions by veterans (auxiliary foot soldiers and cavalrymen) who had served in the Roman armies on the Rhine or Danube Limes (Kulakov V.I., 2006, pp. 64, 65) upon returning home (?).

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The Velp hoard was discovered in one of the areas where these "barbarian" units were likely deployed in the service of Rome. Unfortunately, by the end of the Empire, it no longer had any other troops. Therefore, it is particularly clear why the shape of the Velp torcs is based on prestigious Germanic jewelry, characteristic exclusively of the "barbarian" warrior elite.

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The Velp torcs do not feature Sosdala-style ornamentation, typical of which are star-shaped compositions. However, one of these torcs bears the impression of an almond-shaped stamp with a slight depression in the center (Fig. 4, Aap 1478, at the edges of each of the impressions of a triangular stamp). An analogue of this stamp is presented on the buckle from Briža (Bez. Litomerice) in the Czech Republic (Tejral J., 2001, p. 40), typical of antiquities from the Untersiebenbrunn horizon, attributed in Central Europe to the D2 phase (c. 380/400 - c. 440/450 AD) (Kazanski M., Koch U., 2001, p. 85). Such depressions created the effect of flat relief on images that were actually made by engraving, accentuated by a dot stamp. This ornamental technique, represented, in particular, on a fragment of a silver dish from hoard B in Mlotechno (Eggers type 115), appears, judging by this find, as early as

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phase B1 (Kulakov V.I., 1998, p. 99) and is the earliest precursor to the decoration of the Velp torcs and, accordingly, to the Untersiebenbrunn style ornamentation. The absence of traces of ornamental degradation on the Velp torcs allows them to be dated to the beginning of this horizon. It is possible that the ornamentation on the torcs is a unique precursor to the Untersiebenbrunn style decoration. Overall, the presented arguments allow us to tentatively date the Velp torcs to a time of ca. 370-400 AD.

The origin of the Untersiebenbrunn decoration itself is extremely interesting and requires a comprehensive art historical analysis. For now, it can be assumed that this type of ornament represents the final form of development in the decoration of provincial Roman military equipment and should be located at the end of a typological series that began in the Julio-Claudian era with decoration in the *Opus interrabile* style, continued in the era of the "soldier" emperors with flattened relief, the recessed parts of which lost their depth over time. Ultimately, having lost the skills of their predecessors, the craftsmen of the twilight of the Empire, having little memory of the need to create certain recessed parts on their products, began to imitate them with clusters of various stamps. From a distance, products with such decoration (the Untersiebenbrunn style) gave the impression of objects with erased, barely visible remnants of relief images. Fashion over the centuries (including modern) provides a series of examples of a similar loss of the original meaning of decoration or an object during its long-term production (the transformation of a top hat into a cap, the mutation of jeans from workwear into a pointlessly worn haute couture accessory).

While the typology and chronology of the Velp torcs can be resolved by incorporating similar objects from the Barbaricum material culture of the late 4th century AD, the semantic meaning of these objects can only be revealed by incorporating purely Roman analogies, and quite early ones at that.

Before clarifying the semantics of the torcs in question, we should attempt to establish the principles of their wearing. A votive nature for these torcs is clearly excluded, since from the time of the Edict of Milan (313 AD), the Council of Nicaea (325 AD), and the unsuccessful attempt to recreate the patristic cults under Emperor Julian the Apostate (355-363 AD), Christianity became dominant in the Empire. Offering precious gifts to the Roman gods was no longer possible by the end of the 4th century AD.

Faint traces of wear are present on almost all the torcs (except Aap 1479 and Aap 1478) at the top of the widened center of their obverse. It can be assumed that all these torcs were worn simultaneously, with the smaller-diameter torcs placed on top of the larger-diameter torcs, partially overlapping them.

According to this principle, a reconstruction of the wearing pattern of the Velp torc complex has been conducted (the order of the torcs is shown in Fig. 6). In this complex, the two lower torcs – Aap 1475 and Aap 1476 – stand out due to their large dimensions. They were clearly designed to be worn on the forearm. The remaining torcs, with decreasing dimensions, form a cylindrical figure in the wearing pattern. In other words, these torcs actually covered their owner's neck. The space created between the backs of the three lower and four upper torcs (Fig. 6) could have been filled, for example, with a neck scarf. This essential part of a Roman legionary's attire could have complemented the shine of the torcs' gold and protected the wearer's neck from chafing from the torcs' sharp edges. Despite the impressive appearance of the entire torc set, wearing them all together was entirely feasible due to their light weight.

The aforementioned phenomenon of increasing torc parameters is largely duplicated by their weight values in the following sequence, expressed in the scruple (1.137 g), a unit of weight typical of Roman times used in jewelry.

| | |
|------|---------------------------|
| | Aar 1479 – 36.52 scruples |
| | Aar 1477 – 50.41 scruples |
| | Aar 1474 – 51.05 scruples |
| 1365 | Aar 1476 – 61.78 scruples |
| | Aar 1473 – 64.84 scruples |
| | Aar 1478 – 67.84 scruples |
| | Aar 1475 – 75.13 scruples |

Of course, the non-exact multiples of tornine weights in the Roman weight system depend both on possible errors by the makers of these items, and on microscopic losses (scratches, cracks, etc.), which distorted the appearance over time. The weight of the hryvnia, as defined in ancient times. However, the weight stop dividing

the hryvnias is more visually clear:

1375 Between Aar 1477 and Aar 1474 - 0.64 scruples, or 1/40 of an ounce (there are 24 scruples in an ounce).

Between Aar 1474 and Aar 1476 - 10.73 scruples, or 1/5 of an ounce

Between Aar 1476 and Aar 1473 - 3.06 scruples, or 1/12 of an ounce

Between Aar 1473 and Aar 1478 - 2.68 scruples, or approximately 1/12 of an ounce

1380 Between Aar 1478 and Aar 1475 - 7.6 scruples, or 1/6 of an ounce

1385 While a fairly clear Roman duodecimal foot is visible between the above-mentioned grivnas, the Aar 1479 drot grivna weighs 36.52 scruples in the Roman weight system and does not have a multiple difference (foot) with any of the other grivnas in the complex. This clearly indicates that these torven coins were produced in a workshop staffed by artisans who strictly adhered to the Roman weight system. In contrast, the creator of the Aar 1479 torven coin (weight: 9 solidi) did not adhere to this system and relied on the coarser solidi weight unit popular in Barbaricum. The gold fineness of the torven coins, generally measured in 800°, is less clear. Only the largest

1390 torven coin, Aar 1478, fully ornamented on the obverse, has a gold fineness of 750°. It is interesting to compare the sequence of torven coins according to their increasing metric and weight parameters. Their dynamics generally coincide as follows:

| | By increasing metric parameters | By increasing weight parameters |
|------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1395 | Aar 1478 | |
| | | Aar 1474 |
| | Aar 1477 | |
| | | Aar 1473 |
| 1400 | Aar 1477 | |
| | | Aar 1476 |
| | Aar 1474 | |
| | | Aar 1478 |
| | Aar 1473 | |
| | | Aar 1475 |
| 1405 | Aar 1476 | |

The question of the gender, age, and social class of the owner of the Velp torceniums is important. The custom of wearing torceniums as neck ornaments by Roman men and women was not only not used throughout Roman history but was also considered alien to them. It should not be forgotten that the bearers of the tradition of using

1410 torceniums (Latin: torques) - the Celts, and later the Germans-were traditional adversaries of Rome. Nevertheless (more likely due to this "barbarian" attribute, which was perceived by the Romans as a trophy - Makhlayuk A.V., 2006, p. 328) in the Roman army, grivnas, along with bracelets and phalerae (chest plaques), became

1415 insignia for ordinary legionaries at the beginning of our era. Already in the era of Augustus, on the tombstone of the centurion of the first cohort of the XVIII legion Marcus Caelius, who died in 9 AD in the Battle of the Teutoburg Forest and was buried near Xanten (Netherlands), award bracelets are visible (Fig. 7), tied with fabric

1420 cords to the shoulder plates of his cuirass. The centurion's neck was adorned with an award twisted (tortured?) grivna. If in the era of the early Empire award grivnas were fastened with clasps on the back of the neck, then in the middle - second half of the 4th century AD. Such neck awards have thickenings on their front, imitating the widened ends of a torc. They adorn the necks of the bodyguards (Latin: singularis) of the Emperors Constantius II (Fig. 8) and Theodosius I the Great (Fig.

1425 9), depicted on silver dishes kept in the museums of St. Petersburg and Madrid. Incidentally, it was the emperors who could personally present (apparently, approve) awards not only to "officers" but also to ordinary soldiers (Latin: caligae) of the legions (Makhlayuk A.V., 2006, p. 324). Such torcs were fastened on the back of the warrior's neck (Fig. 5.1). The torcs from Velp are constructed in exactly the same

1430 way. Apparently, this principle was also used in early Byzantium, which inherited some of the Roman military customs. True, during the reign of Justinian I the Great, his bodyguards, judging by a mosaic in the Basilica of San Vitale in Ravenna, wore torcs with medallions on the obverse. These medallions were either adorned with stone inlays or decorated with enamel. An example of such torcs is found in the Rhenen

1435 hoard. The flat detail found on the reverse of this torc emphasizes the importance of its weight, which apparently corresponded to the decree for this award. Thus, the typological development of Roman award torcs (torques) in the first half of the sixth century is interrupted.

1440 Early on, the Roman army had a tradition of multiple awards - dona militaria - since the Principate. Phaleres were awarded to legionaries who distinguished themselves in

1445 battle as a set of six or more metal or even glass plaques, connected by straps for
fastening to the warrior's chest (or armor). When awarded, torcs were accompanied by
bracelets (Fig. 10.2). In our case, the process of putting together a set of award
1450 grivnas can be reconstructed as follows. A warrior, who possessed his own personal
drot grivna, indicating his "barbarian" (possibly Germanic) origin, was awarded a
single Aar 1478 grivna for a certain feat. Its front plate is completely covered with
chased ornamentation. The side and back drot parts of the grivna, hidden by a cloak,
remained unadorned. Then comes the next award, also a single Aar 1478 grivna (Fig.
1455 3). However, the master, apparently aware of the secondary nature of this award,
decorates only part of the front side of this grivna. The rest of the surface of its
front plate is partially hidden by an earlier award - the Aar 1478 grivna - and does
not require decoration. With the same principle of economy in his work, the same (or
another?) master approached the third, already multiple special award - four grivnas
1460 Aar 1473, Aar 1474, Aar 1476, and Aar 1475. There is no direct connection between the
weights of these grivnas in the form of a stack of scruples (see above). The four
aforementioned grivnas are stereotypically provided with symmetrical series of
triangular compositions of stamp impressions in the central part of the grivna's
obverse plate. This third award, possibly distinguished and characteristic of Roman
1465 military traditions (Kolobov A.V., 1999, p. 67), could have been the warrior's final
reward for his exploits for the glory of Rome. Considering the finds of similar
grivnas in Oestrich and other locations in the Lower Rhine basin, it can be
hypothesized that standard gold award grivnas existed on the Rhine limes at the end
of the 4th century AD. Due to some unexpected situation, either the warrior himself
1470 deposited his awards along with his personal grivna, or (more likely) some enemy of
Rome, having defeated this hero in combat, tore off both his dona militaria and
personal grivna, hiding them on the right, German bank of the Rhine. Along with these
objects, apparently connected by a loop made from a fragment of a gold dart (Fig.
2.6), two gold rings with shields were also found in the ground. These pieces of
1475 Roman jewelry (on the shield of one of the rings is a profile image of the
Emperor /?/ - Fig. 2.7) could also have been part of the inventory of an unknown
Roman warrior. It is impossible to interpret these rings as awards (like the clearly
"barbarian" spiral ring - Fig. 2.5). Ever since the time of Julius Caesar, enemies
have sought to steal the awards of a defeated legionary, valuable both in terms of
1480 material and social status (Cowan R., 2005, pp. 28, 29). It is noteworthy that in
subsequent wars, including World War II, soldiers in many European armies paid
particular attention to the enemy's awards, considering them prestigious trophies and
first adding them to their poles and knapsacks. Such trophies, during the
breakthrough of the Rhine limes at the turn of the 4th and 5th centuries, fell into
the hands of warriors from various tribes and were deposited in the soil of their
homelands (Fig. 1).

As noted above, the unique shape of the Velp torcs prevents any close parallels from
being found in Roman or "barbarian" archaeological material from the late antique
1485 period. This is due to the extreme rarity of finds of Roman award torcs, which were
highly prized by both their owners and Rome's enemies. The author of these lines is
aware of only one of the few finds of a similar dona militaria. This is a fragment of
a torc from Carnuntum on the Danube limes. The torc was a fragment of a ring-shaped
curved plate, ending in a pear-shaped clasp. A relief Latin inscription was applied
1490 to this plate during the wax matrix creation stage, of which only a fragment,
"felices tun...", has survived. It is possible that the full inscription was intended
to read "felices Tungri" and refer to a representative of the Germanic Tungrian tribe
(modern Belgium), who constituted the first border ala of the Tungrians in the
province of Dacia in the 2nd-3rd centuries AD (Roes A., 1947, p. 181). On the inside
1495 of the torc, runic (?) graffiti is faintly visible (Beninger E., 1934, Taf. 300.6).
Both the Velp-type torcs and the torc from Carnuntum are flat, yet they give the
impression of being massive objects and are not burdensome to wear.

Thus, the torcs of the Velp type are clearly related to dona militaria. Modern
1500 classical studies have come to the conclusion that "in the Antonine period (2nd
century), the dona militaria, including bracelets and necklaces (= torcs - K.V.),
began to be supplanted by purely material methods of rewarding distinguished
warriors..." (Kolobov A.V., 1999, p. 71). In late Rome, gold medallions with
inscriptions extolling the exploits of the Empire's defenders also served as awards
1505 (Makhlayuk A.V., 2006, p. 331). Finds from Velp demonstrate the existence of at least
one type of dona militaria - torques - during the Battle of Adrianople. Artwork from
the 5th and 6th centuries contains images of award (status?) torques worn by imperial
warriors during the developed phase of the Great Migration Period. The long hair of
the bodyguards of Theodosius I the Great and Justinian I the Great (a tradition of

- 1510 ancient Germanic capillati warriors) has justifiably led to their interpretation as Germanic (Fuchs S., 1943, p. 150). The fact that they wore torcs (especially in the presence of the Emperor) indicates that they do not serve as pagan jewelry, but are insignia of warriors whose bravery earned them the right to be part of the Emperor's inner circle.
- 1515 The opinion on the cultural, ethnic, and social origins of the Velp torcs was recently expressed by Professor Dr. Wilfried Menghin, Director of the Museum of Ancient and Early History (Berlin). He believes that "...the Velp hoard belonged to one of the Frankish leaders who, from the second half of the 4th century, assumed control of the Empire's borders between the Maas and the Scheldt as Roman foederati" (Mengin V., 2007, p. 42). The above series of evidence, on the contrary, suggests that:
- 1520 that:
1. The Velp torcs were made at the end of the 4th century AD by provincial Roman artisans.
 - 1525 2. These objects are not jewelry, and certainly not status accessories of the status/sacred property of "barbarian" kings, but are Roman military awards, dona militaria.
 3. The Velp torcs are considered awards traditionally issued to rank-and-file soldiers (caliga) in the Roman legions, who were recruited primarily from among the "barbarians" during the Battle of Adrianople. Members of the legionary command staff, to which a certain Frankish king may have belonged (according to V. Mengin), were presented in late Roman times with honorary banners and spears (vexilla et hastae) (Makhlayuk A.V., 2006, p. 329). Thus, the erroneous conclusions about the origin of the Velp torcs drawn by a Berlin colleague, a specialist in early medieval double-edged swords, become clear.
 - 1530 The location of the Velp torc hoard corresponds to the northern part of the Rhenish Limes (Fig. 1). On December 31, 406, Gaul was subjected for the first time to a powerful attack from the east by "barbarians," including representatives of the Huns, Vandals, Alans, Suevi, and Burgundians (Perin P., Feffer L-Ch., 1987, p. 80). This invasion, which was the final battle for many of its participants, could have easily taken its toll on one of the warriors of the Rhenish Limes, guarding the volatile imperial border as part of one of the auxilia or a detachment of limitanei warriors. This warrior (most likely a military leader) died defending the Roman borders; his awards and rings became the loot of a certain Germanic "barbarian," who buried his trophies in the ground near the site of the battle on the limes, most likely as a sacrifice to the ancestral gods. Less than a century later, at the beginning of the reign of King Clovis (in 481 or 482), this section of former imperial territory would be finally occupied by the Franks (Perin P., 1995, p. 252).
 - 1535
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- Abbreviations:**
- 1595 M. - Moscow; St. Petersburg - St. Petersburg
- Figure captions for V.I. Kulakov's article "Torques of the Untersiebenbrunn Horizon from Velp (Netherlands)":
- Fig. 1. Distribution of Velp-type torcs on a Roman limes (after: Steuer H., 2006, Abb. 24 with additions by the author): a - hoard of Velp-type torcs; b - single find of a Velp-type torc.
- 1600 Fig. 2 A hoard found in 1851 in Velp (after Janssen L.J.F., 1852, p. 162).
- Fig. 3. Torques from Velp (North Brabant, Netherlands) (Gelderland!).
- Fig. 4. Ornamentation on the torcs from Velp.
- Fig. 5. Variations of star-shaped figures and types of individual stamps characteristic of the Sødal and Untersiebenbrunn styles (after Aberg N., 1919, pp. 43, 44).
- 1605 Fig. 6. Torques from Velp: their order of arrangement on the warrior's neck.
- Fig. 7. Tombstone of Marcus Caelius, a centurion of the first cohort of the XVIIIth legion, who died in 9 AD. in the Battle of the Teutoburg Forest and buried near Xanten (Netherlands) (Duitsland/Germany!) and a reconstruction of the battle (after A. McBride).
- Fig. 8. Dish of Constantius II from the crypt at the Gordikov estate on Mount Mithridates (Kerch).
- 1610 Fig. 9. Bodyguards of Theodosius I the Great from the Madrid Museum.
- Fig. 10. Roman military awards: 1 - reconstruction of award torcs and bracelets based on military tombstones (after: Maxfield V.A., 1981, p. 89); 2 - tombstone of C. Vibius Macer (Augustus era) with award crown, phalerae, spears, torcs, and bracelets (after: Maxfield V.A., 1981, Fig. 5).
- 1615 Fig. 11. Bodyguards of Justinian I on a mosaic from the Basilica of San Vitale (Ravenna)
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