

## **THE RECEPTION OF LATE ANTIQUITY IDEOLOGY BY BARBARIAN COMMUNITIES IN CENTRAL EUROPE**

In the 3rd century in the Roman Empire a deep economic crisis occurs<sup>1</sup>. Its result is also a crisis of ideology, which manifestation is initially persecution and then official legalization of Christianity by Constantine the Great in 313<sup>2</sup>. In the 3rd century lived also the philosopher Plotinus, who had questioned the classical idea of beauty based on symmetry, proportion and harmony. He decided that it came down not only to set of elements but also to their quality. In addition the beauty was influenced by works of art spiritual values<sup>3</sup>. An implementation of Plotinus' programme was Early Christian and Byzantine art, but painting of these features was already established in the 1st century AD<sup>4</sup>. So we can say that the paradigm of art changed - it was supposed to present an inner beauty and ideas, from which it comes.

It seems that changes in the European Barbaricum (today's Central and North Europe) are correlated and largely caused by processes within the Roman Empire. Relations between these zones are an example of a dependency of peripheral areas on the central ones<sup>5</sup>. These relations are typical for areas with highly varying degrees of economic development. In such systems peripheral areas both economically, politically and ideologically dependent. And these areas are more affected by a crisis occurring in the central zone<sup>6</sup>. It seems that such a process took place in the 3rd and 4th centuries, at least so are seen political changes occurring in this period<sup>7</sup>. It can be also assumed that in the areas

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<sup>1</sup> Cary M., Scullard H. H. *Dzieje Rzymu, vol. 2* (Warszawa, 1992), 333-366

<sup>2</sup> Cary, Scullard, *ibid.* 416-423.

<sup>3</sup> Tatarkiewicz W. *Historia filozofii. t. I, Filozofia starożytna i średniowieczna* (Warszawa, 1970), 372-373.

<sup>4</sup> Tatarkiewicz, *ibid.* 378

<sup>5</sup> Cunliffe B. *Greeks, Romans and Barbarians. Spheres of interaction* (London, 1988), 199-200.

<sup>6</sup> Braudel F. *Kultura materialna, gospodarka i kapitalizm XV-XVIII w., vol. III, Czas świata*, (Warszawa, 1992), 27-30. Wallerstein I. *Analiza systemów-światów* (Warszawa, 2007), 27, 33-34, 129-130.

<sup>7</sup> see Dobesch G. 'Das 3. und 4. Jahrhundert n. Chr. Als Zeit einer politischen Krise im Barbaricum' in J. Terjral (ed.) *Das mitteleuropäische Barbaricum und die Krise des rö-*

inhabited by barbarians new ideas from the Empire spread. Apart from changes of material culture a significant example of this is slow adoption of Christianity by the Goths and other Germanic tribes<sup>8</sup>. It should be noted, however, that population of peripheral areas accepted ideas and products from the central zone selectively, often with a certain delay, and gave them its own features.<sup>9</sup>

The transformation of the world perception during the Migration Period manifested by changes of culture, becomes more clearly visible by contrasting it with the Roman Period. The analysis was carried out assuming that a style “as a way of making something”<sup>10</sup> is expressed by various media<sup>11</sup>. Thus, comparing following elements of culture it can be expected to observe repetitive paradigms. This assumption corresponds to P. Bourdieu’s concept of habitus, i.e. ways of seeing and classifying the world and a structure resulting from them<sup>12</sup>. Around the turn of the eras in the areas of European Barbaricum a cultural system was created. Its basic paradigm is “modularism”<sup>13</sup>. A principle that the whole is composed of repetitive elements became dominant. This phenomenon is particularly clearly perceptible in the Elbe circle and in the Przeworsk culture. For houses planning a repetitive measurement unit was used (0.715 m). The whole was created with repetitive modules: a rectangle with sides of 3 x 4 units long and a square with side of 3 x 3 units long. Such structures were recorded in Poland and in the Czech Republic (Fig. 1: a, b, c; 2: a, b). The pottery decoration was performed in a similar manner. It was dominated by geometric patterns, mostly rectangular motifs, less frequently the triangular ones that created repetitive modules (Fig. 3: a, b). There was also noted that the ornamental patterns were made by rouletting. In this technique decoration consisted of small prints (dots) that made up decorative motifs (Fig 3: b).

Some forms of burial rites also suggest a domination of modular thinking. This principle is expressed by tombs’ construction in form of rectangular

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*mischen Weltreiches im 3 Jahrhundert* (Brno, 1999), 7-18.

<sup>8</sup> Zuchold G. ‘Die Herausbildung des Christiantums’ in B. Krüger (ed.) *Die Germanen, Geschichte und Kultur der germanischen Stämme in Mitteleuropa, vol. II*, (Berlin, 1983), 279-287, figs. 63, 64. Strzelczyk J. *Goci. Rzeczywistość i legenda* (Warszawa, 1984), 102-109. Strzelczyk J. *Wandalowie i ich afrykańskie państwo* (Warszawa, 1992), 138.

<sup>9</sup> Rowlands M. ‘Centre and periphery: a review of a concept’ in M. Rowlands, M. Larsen, K. Kristiansen (ed.) *Centre and periphery in the ancient world*, (Cambridge, 1990), 1-11. Kadrow S. *U progu nowej epoki. Gospodarka i społeczeństwo wczesnego okresu epoki brązu w Europie Środkowej* (Kraków, 2001), 37-38, fig. 3.

<sup>10</sup> Hodder I. ‘Style as historical quality’ in M. Conkey, Ch. Hastorf, (ed.) *The uses of style in archaeology*, (Cambridge, 1990), 44-51 at 45.

<sup>11</sup> Uspieński B. Strukturalna wspólnota różnych rodzajów sztuki (na przykładzie malarstwa i literatury), in *Semiotyka kultury* (Warszawa, 1977), 181-212.

<sup>12</sup> Bourdieu P. *Reguły sztuki. Geneza i struktura pola literackiego*, (Kraków, 2007), 454.

<sup>13</sup> Gralak T. *O możliwościach rozpoznania pradziejowych jednostek miary długości na podstawie szerokopłaszczyznowych badań wykopaliskowych*, *Przegląd Archeologiczny*, 2009/57, 73-97. Gralak T. ‘Analiza metrologiczna reliktyw budownictwa z wczesnego okresu wpływów rzymskich z osady w Polwicy 4, 5 i Skrzybniku 8, w powiecie oławskim na tle związków z południowymi partiami kręgu nadłabskiego’, in *Kultura Przeworska. Odkrycia Interpretacje Hipotezy*. (in print 2013).

ditched features encountered in the early Roman Period in the Przeworsk culture and in the Elbe circle (Fig 1: d, 2: c). Hence, their layout was based on the same element which was used in pottery decoration and plans of houses.

A remark of Tacitus suggests that in the early Roman Period agricultural areas also had a modular structure and individual plots had similar size:

*Land proportioned to the number of inhabitants is occupied by the whole community in turn, and afterwards divided among them according to rank. A wide expanse of plains makes the partition easy. They till fresh fields every year ...*<sup>14</sup>

Such a space perception is confirmed by findings of accurately separated plots of land – so called Celtic fields, mainly used in pre-Roman period in northern areas of Barbaricum<sup>15</sup>.

The same paradigm is also perceptible in manner of jewellery making. In the case of the Wielbark culture goldsmithing (developing in northern Poland), the main decorative techniques are filigree and granulation<sup>16</sup>. Both consist in composition and adding successive elements (Fig. 4). In the case of so-called Zakrzów/Sacrau fibulae: A 164 and A 184<sup>17</sup> from the late Roman Period apart from filigree and granulation also a construction elements' multiplication was noticed. The fibulae were provided with two or three long springs, although for technical reasons completely sufficient was one short spring (Fig 5: a).

The principle that the whole is composed of repetitive elements also influenced political organization. Germanic and Slavic peoples described in ancient and medieval sources were characterized by so-called segmental structure. A tribe and its institutions created different territorial groups, each with the same organizational form reflecting the whole<sup>18</sup>. This pattern corresponds to the alleged organizational form of the Przeworsk culture population in Poland in the early Roman Period. It would have been the Lugian Federation (*Lugiorum Nomen*) described by Tacitus<sup>19</sup>, which included several tribes<sup>20</sup>.

This way of the world perception, which started to vanish in the late Roman Period, was presented also by Plotinus:

<sup>14</sup> Tacitus, *Germania* 26, after Gaius Cornelius Tacitus, 'De Origine et situ Germanorum' in *The complete works of Tacitus: The annals. The history. The life of Cnaeus Julius Agricola. Germany and its tribes. A dialogue on oratory*. Trans. A. J. Church and W. Jackson Brodribb (New York, 1942).

<sup>15</sup> Hedeager L. 'Empire, frontier and the barbarian hinterland: Rome and northern Europe from AD 1-400', in M. Rowlands, M. Larsen, K. Kristiansen (ed.) *Centre and periphery in the ancient world* (Cambridge, 1990), 125-140 at 133-137.

<sup>16</sup> Wołagiewicz R. 'Zagadnienie stylu wczesnorzymskiego w kulturze wielbarskiej' in F. Lachowicz (ed.) *Studia Archeologica Pomeranica* (Koszalin, 1974), 129-152 at 135-136.

<sup>17</sup> Almgren O. *Studien über die Nordeuropäischen Fibelformen der ersten nachchristlichen Jahrhunderte mit Berücksichtigung der provinziäl-römischen und südrussischen Formen*, Mannus – Bibliothek, Nr 32 (Leipzig, 1923).

<sup>18</sup> Modzelewski K. *Barbarzyńska Europa* (Warszawa, 2004), 347-356.

<sup>19</sup> Tacitus, *op. cit.* *Germania* 42-43.

<sup>20</sup> Kolendo J. 'Źródła pisane w badaniach nad strefami kulturowymi i etnicznymi Europy środkowej w okresie rzymskim' in T. Malinowski, (ed.) *Problemy kultury wielbarskiej*, (Słupsk, 1981), 65-78 at 70-71. Kolendo J. 'Mapa etniczna środkowoeuropejskiego Barbaricum. Swebia i Lugiowie w Germanii Tacyta' in P. Kaczanowski, M. Parczewski, (ed.) *Archeologia o początkach Słowian* (Kraków, 2005), 103-118 at 110-111.

*Almost everyone declares that the **symmetry of parts towards each other and towards a whole**, with, besides, a certain charm of colour, constitutes the beauty recognized by the eye, that in visible things, as indeed in all else, universally, the beautiful thing is essentially symmetrical, patterned.<sup>21</sup>*

The same author, however, postulated the rejection of the paradigm that the whole is built of repetitive parts. He proposed a new one based on need for unity and shaping. Thus, the internal structure ceased to be relevant:

*We hold that all the loveliness of this world **comes by communion in Ideal-Form**. All shapelessness whose kind admits of pattern and form, as long as it remains outside of Reason and Idea, is ugly by that very isolation from the Divine-Thought. And this is the Absolute Ugly: an ugly thing is something that has not been entirely mastered by pattern, that is by Reason, the Matter not yielding at all points and in all respects to Ideal-Form. (...)*

*This, then, is how the material thing becomes beautiful- **by communicating in the thought that flows from the Divine**.<sup>22</sup>*

*So with the perceptive faculty: discerning in certain objects the **Ideal-Form which has bound and controlled shapeless matter**, opposed in nature to Idea, seeing further stamped upon the common shapes some shape excellent above the common, **it gathers into unity** what still remains fragmentary, catches it up and carries it within, no longer a thing of parts, and presents it to the Ideal-Principle as something concordant and congenial, (...).<sup>23</sup>*

The new way of the world perception was accepted by the barbarians. An example may be the most popular metal parts of costume, i.e. the fibulae. These objects in the Roman Period are decorated by successive adding following elements. This applies both to individual parts, like in the case of so-called Zakrzów/Scrau fibulae the springs' number was multiplied. There were also used decorative techniques which consisted in adding elements - granulation and filigree. During the Migration Period instead the fibulae became cast as one item. Individual components such as an end of spring or a plate covering them lost the construction purpose and became only decorative elements. Filigree and granulation decoration were abandoned as well. Thus, many elements were replaced by a single object (Fig. 5: b).

Similar changes also occur in perceptions of space. According to L. Hedeager in Scandinavia during the 1st and the 2nd century AD, the system of so-called Celtic fields was systematically abandoned in favour of more intensive (wider) use of land, including grassland. This results in a centralized settlement, manifesting itself in construction of larger houses and concentration of power over a given territory. The process increases in the 2nd-4th century and in consequence leads to a hierarchical society.<sup>24</sup>

In the late Roman Period in the areas inhabited by population of the Przeworsk culture a change in manner of dwellings' planning occurred. Layout

<sup>21</sup> Plotinus Ennead I.6, On Beauty 1, after Plotinus Ἐννεάδες, *The six Enneads of Plotinus*. Trans. S. Mackenna and B. S. Page, (Chicago, 1952).

<sup>22</sup> Plotinus, *op. cit.* Ennead I.6, On Beauty 2.

<sup>23</sup> Plotinus, *op. cit.* Ennead I.6, On Beauty 3.

<sup>24</sup> Hedeager 1990, *op. cit.* 133-137.

of post-holes does not allow to distinguish repetitive measurement units nor building modules (Fig. 6: a-e). Generally it can be described as abandoning the regularity. At the beginning of the Migration Period also start to appear so-called long houses<sup>25</sup>, a prime example of which are finds from Konarzewo, Poznań district<sup>26</sup> (Fig. 6: f, g). A profound transformation of pottery decoration style also occurs. A wheel-made pottery appears and a new form of decoration is primarily a variety of wavy lines (Fig. 3: d-e). Rectangular motifs become rarer. It seems that both of these phenomena prove changes in space perception and organization. Both in the case of construction as well as pottery decoration abandoning of “modularism” is perceptible. The meaning of these changes describes another quotation from Plotinus:

*On what principle does the architect, when he finds the house standing before him correspondent with his inner ideal of a house, pronounce it beautiful? Is it not that the house before him, the stones apart, is the inner idea stamped upon the mass of exterior matter, the indivisible exhibited in diversity?*<sup>27</sup>

A specific manifestation of shaping was body deformation. In the case of barbarian peoples it concerns mainly deformed skulls of infants. This custom came to Europe from the steppes of Asia along with nomadic tribes - the Sarmatians and foremost the Huns. The fact that it was accepted by Germanic people<sup>28</sup> shows that these communities were mentally ready to adopt it. Among the Huns were also known face self-injury incidents.<sup>29</sup> These phenomena have analogies and prototypes in the Mediterranean circle - already around the turn of the eras there appeared techniques of spiritual exercises consisting in asceticism and mortification<sup>30</sup>. An ostentatious example of acceptance of deformation and destruction of body is the cult of martyrs<sup>31</sup>. It creates the realization of the founding myth of the Christian religion, i.e. the death of Christ:

*If any one wisheth to come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross and follow me. For whoever shall wish to save his life, will lose it; and whoever shall lose his life for my sake, will find it*<sup>32</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Michałowski A. *Budownictwo kultury przeworskiej* (Poznań, 2011), 211.

<sup>26</sup> Schuster J. ‘Długie domy na późnorzymskiej osadzie w Konarzewie koło Poznania. Przyczynek do badań nad budownictwem kultury przeworskiej w okresie rzymskim’ in A. Jaszewska (ed.) *Z najdawniejszych dziejów. Grzegorzowi Domańskiemu na pięćdziesięciolecie pracy naukowej*, (Zielona Góra, 2012), 427-460.

<sup>27</sup> Plotinus, *op. cit.* Ennead I.6, On Beauty 3.

<sup>28</sup> Werner J. *Beiträge zur Archäologie des Attila – Reiches* (München, 1956), 17, 93. Hackenbeck S. ‘Hunnish’ modified skulls: physical appearance, identity and the transformative nature of migrations’ in H. Williams and D. Sayer (ed.) *Mortuary Practices and Social Identities in the Middle Ages*, (Exeter, 2009), 64-80.

<sup>29</sup> Iordanis, *Getica* 127, after Iordanis ‘De origine actibusque Getarum’ in T. Mommsen (ed.) *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores Antiquissimi* 5, pars prior, (Berlin, 1982).

<sup>30</sup> Kaczmarek T. ‘Idealny życia pustelniczego w IV w.’ in F. Drączkowski, J. Pałucki (eds) *Wczesnochrześcijańska asceza, Zagadnienia wybrane*, (Lublin, 1993), 59-71.

<sup>31</sup> Longosz S. *Niektóre aspekty teologii męczeństwa w literaturze wczesnochrześcijańskiej*, Tarnowskie Studia Teologiczne, 1979/VII, 49-74 at 52-57.

<sup>32</sup> Matthew 16: 24-25, *The Holy Bible*. Translated by Samuel Sharp (Edinburgh, 1883).

The meaning of these activities presents also Tertullian: (...) *to destroy death by death, to dissipate killing by killing, to dispel tortures by tortures, to disperse punishments by punishments, to bestow life by withdrawing it, to aid the flesh by injuring it, to preserve the soul by snatching it away.*<sup>33</sup>

A similar attitude was also expressed in the Neoplatonic description of the world presented by Plotinus :

*The bodily Kind, in that it partakes of Matter is an evil thing.*<sup>34</sup>

*Again since the one face, constant in symmetry, appears sometimes fair and sometimes not, can we doubt that beauty is something more than symmetry, that symmetry itself owes its beauty to a remoter principle?*<sup>35</sup>

The above quotation clearly shows that beauty depends on a „remoter principle“ - the question is what it is? An answer contain following fragments of Plotinus' work:

*(...) and what is the secret of the beauty there is in all that derives from the soul?*<sup>36</sup>

*Then again, all the virtues are a beauty of the soul, a beauty authentic beyond any of these others; but how does symmetry enter here? The soul, it is true, is not a simple unity, but still its virtue cannot have the symmetry of size or of number: what standard of measurement could preside over the compromise or the coalescence of the soul's faculties or purposes?*<sup>37</sup>

*The beauty in things of a lower order-actions and pursuits for instance – comes by operation of the **shaping Soul** which is also the author of the beauty found in the world of sense.*<sup>38</sup>

*And the soul includes a faculty peculiarly addressed to Beauty- one incomparably sure in the appreciation of its own, never in doubt whenever any lovely thing presents itself for judgement. Or perhaps the soul itself acts immediately, affirming the Beautiful where it finds something accordant with the Ideal-Form within itself, using this Idea as a canon of accuracy in its decision.*<sup>39</sup>

It seems that the element that grants the beauty to the matter is the soul. Its presence is also one of key elements that determine the internal structure of the world, individual objects and human bodies. It becomes the basic paradigm of description and understanding of reality. The belief that there is something more than just the matter is therefore expressed by a specific affirmation of the soul. Thus, its presence will be emphasized in many human creations. The only question is how the soul was represented. Already among the earliest information on the soul contained in works of Greek philosophers of classical period, there is a remark that soul moves in rotation:

<sup>33</sup> Scorpiace, 5, after Tertullian 'Scorpiace, Antidote for a scorpion's sting' trans. S. Thelwall, in A. Roberts, and J. Donaldson (eds), *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. 3, (Edinburgh, 1993).

<sup>34</sup> Plotinus, *op. cit.* Enneada I, 8, On the Nature and Source of Evil, 4.

<sup>35</sup> Plotinus, *op. cit.* Ennead I.6, On Beauty 1.

<sup>36</sup> Plotinus, *op. cit.* Ennead I. 6, On Beauty1.

<sup>37</sup> Plotinus, *op. cit.* Ennead I. 6, On Beauty1.

<sup>38</sup> Plotinus, *op. cit.* Ennead I. 6, On Beauty 6.

<sup>39</sup> Plotinus, *op. cit.* Ennead I. 6, On Beauty 3.

...the Demiurge bent the straight line into a circle; this single circle he divided into two circles united at two common points; one of these he subdivided into seven circles. All this implies that the movements of the soul are identified with the local movements of the heavens.<sup>40</sup>

We must identify the circle referred to with mind; for it is mind whose movement is thinking, and it is the circle whose movement is revolution, so that if thinking is a movement of revolution, the circle which has this characteristic movement must be mind.<sup>41</sup>

(...) the reason for which God caused the soul to move in a circle can only have been that movement was better for it than rest, and movement of this kind better than any other.<sup>42</sup>

A similar view presented also Plotinus:

But whence that circular movement? In imitation of the Intellectual-Principle.<sup>43</sup>

The Soul exists in **revolution** around God to whom it clings in love, holding itself to the utmost of its power near to Him as the Being on which all depends; and since it cannot coincide with God it **circles** about Him.<sup>44</sup>

It seems that this idea of soul was the reason for using ornamental motifs in the form of circles, and above all of spirals. They become very popular during the Migration Period. They are placed on everyday objects: fibulae, buckles etc. (Fig. 5: b, c).

Another way to describe the relationship between the soul and the body is weaving:

Next for the suggestion that the Soul is **interwoven** through the body: such a relation would not give woof and warp community of sensation: the interwoven element might very well suffer no change: the permeating soul might remain entirely untouched by what affects the body- as light goes always free of all it floods- and all the more so, since, precisely, we are asked to consider it as diffused throughout the entire frame. Under such an interweaving, then, the Soul would not be subjected to the body's affections and experiences: it would be present rather as Ideal-Form in Matter.<sup>45</sup>

It seems that these descriptions of the soul's attributes are the reason of appearing of the so-called knot motif, very popular during the Migration Period. It occurs on brooches, buckles and even pottery (Fig. 7: a, b, c). It should be emphasized that the earliest knot motif appears in the Roman Empire. It is also a popular pattern (a guilloche knot) used in mosaics.<sup>46</sup>

During the Migration Period in the barbarian areas much more frequently than in earlier periods different types of objects made of gold appear. This phe-

<sup>40</sup> Aristotle, On the soul, I, 3, after Aristotle "De Anima. On the Soul" Trans. J. A. Smith in *The complete works of Aristotle*, vol. I, (ed.) J. Barnes. (Princeton, 1984).

<sup>41</sup> Aristotle, *op. cit.* On the soul, I, 3

<sup>42</sup> Aristotle, *op. cit.* On the soul, I, 3

<sup>43</sup> Plotinus, *op. cit.* Ennead II, 2, The heavenly circuit, 1.

<sup>44</sup> Plotinus, *op. cit.* Ennead II, 2, The heavenly circuit, 2.

<sup>45</sup> Plotinus, *op. cit.* Ennead I, 1, The animate and the man 4.

<sup>46</sup> Swift E. *Style and Function in Roman Decoration. Living with Objects and Interiors* (Bodmin, 2009), 44, 51, figs. 2: 5, 7, 8, 10.

nomenon is characteristic especially for the period of domination of the Huns (phase D2), which is associated with tributes provided by Byzantium<sup>47</sup>. It seems, however, that this was not the only reason. This metal was believed to possess specific spiritual values:

*So, we may justly say, a Soul becomes ugly- by something foisted upon it, by sinking itself into the alien, by a fall, a descent into body, into Matter. The dishonour of the Soul is in its ceasing to be clean and apart. **Gold is degraded when it is mixed with earthy particles; if these be worked out, the gold is left and is beautiful, isolated from all that is foreign, gold with gold alone.***<sup>48</sup>

According to this quotation use of this metal was a representation of one of the desirable features of the soul – the purity.

At the end of the late Roman Period beads made of precious stones start to appear<sup>49</sup>. During the Migration Period the phenomenon picks up and they are very frequently used as decorative elements of everyday objects<sup>50</sup>. It seems that this phenomenon can also be associated with ideology changes. This is indicated by a fragment from the work of Plotinus:

*The beauty of colour is also the outcome of a unification: it derives from shape, **from the conquest of the darkness inherent in Matter by the pouring-in of light**, the unembodied, which is a Rational-Principle and an Ideal-Form.*<sup>51</sup>

It seems that light shining through stones represents a victory over the matter, clearly indicates an existence of other, immaterial form of being. Moreover, precious stones reflect light, which can also be interpreted in the same way. Probably also specific shaping of objects (cuboctahedron beads, faceted shield bosses) was to obtain light reflections (Fig. 7: d-g). It is possible that for similar reasons barbarian tribes accepted geometric illusionistic representations. They usually occur on brooches' bows. The patterns applied imitate motifs known from Roman mosaics<sup>52</sup>. In this case optical illusions may indicate an existence of something more than just the matter.

Another comparison that describes properties of soul is an imprint of a seal or stamp:

*(...) **there is in our souls a block of wax**, in one case larger, in another smaller, in one case the wax is purer, in another more impure and harder, in some cases softer, and in some of proper quality. (...) Let us, then, say that this is the gift of Memory, the mother of the Muses, and that whenever we wish to remember anything we see or hear or think of in our own minds, **we hold this***

<sup>47</sup> Tyszkiewicz L. A. *Hunowie w Europie. Ich wpływ na Cesarstwo wschodnie i zachodnie oraz na ludy barbarzyńskie* (Wrocław, 2004), 136-138.

<sup>48</sup> Plotinus, *op. cit.* Ennead I. 6, On Beauty 5.

<sup>49</sup> Tempelmann-Maczyńska M. *Die Perlen der römischen Kaiserzeit und der frühen Phase der Völkerwanderungszeit im mitteleuropäischen Barbaricum*, Romisch-Germanische Forschungen, 43. (Mainz, 1985), 89.

<sup>50</sup> see Quast D. *Schmuckstein- und Glasschnalen des 5. und frühen 6. Jahrhunderts aus dem östlichen mittelmittelmeer und dem "Sasanidenreich"* Archäologisches Korespondenzblatt 1996/26, 333-345.

<sup>51</sup> Plotinus, *op. cit.* Ennead I. 6, On Beauty 3.

<sup>52</sup> Swift 2009, *op. cit.* 11-12, fig. 1: 1-5.



*wax under the perceptions and thoughts and imprint them upon it, just as we make impressions from seal rings; and whatever is imprinted we remember and know as long as its image lasts...*<sup>53</sup>

*If, then, we have to give a general formula applicable to all kinds of soul, we must describe it as the first grade of actuality of a natural organized body. That is why we can wholly dismiss as unnecessary the question whether the soul and the body are one: it is as meaningless as to ask whether **the wax and the shape given to it by the stamp are one**, or generally the matter of a thing and that of which it is the matter.*<sup>54</sup>

Stamp marks appear on pottery already in the late Roman Period, during the phase C2<sup>55</sup>. In the Przeworsk culture they occur mainly on storage vessels<sup>56</sup>. They are definitely more numerous during later phases of the Migration Period (Fig 8: a-d). At a cemetery from the Merovingian Period in Schretzheim in Germany about 80 types of stamps were distinguished<sup>57</sup>. It is characteristic a great diversity of patterns. This suggests that what was important was the technique itself, not the representation.

Also at the end of the Roman Period, but especially in phases D1 and D2 a decoration of metal objects with use of punch develops. This technique appears in the whole Barbaricum. Also in this case prints made by punch create very different motives<sup>58</sup> (Fig. 8: e-f). Hence, it is evident that also in the case of metal objects the technique itself was important. Therefore, it is very likely that in both cases the aim of decoration made in this manner was to show the relationship between soul and body.

Other elements of material culture also suggest a deep ideological transformation, including a kind of discovery and fascination with soul. It is pointed out that emergence of the animal style<sup>59</sup> is linked with Hunnic influences and religion of the Huns - the shamanism. Probably it strongly influenced Germanic tribes who accepted some of its components<sup>60</sup>. It seems that this may consider beliefs in a possibility of leaving the body by the soul and its incarnation in an animal body<sup>61</sup>. In this respect it corresponds with the Christian religion because one of its essential elements is the belief in an immortal soul. It seems that the Barbaricum communities found attractive the ideologies in which human body was only a "container" for an other "real" being.

<sup>53</sup> Plato, Theaetetus 191DE, after Plato, *Theaetetus*, *Sophist*. Trans. H. N. Fowler (Harvard 1921).

<sup>54</sup> Aristotle, *op. cit.* On the soul, II, 1

<sup>55</sup> Wołagiewicz R. *Ceramika kultury wielbarskiej między Bałtykiem a morzem Czarnym* (Szczecin, 1993), 22, map 32.

<sup>56</sup> Godłowski K. Materiały do poznania kultury przeworskiej na Górnym Śląsku (cz. II), *Materiały Starożytne i Wczesnośredniowieczne* 1977/4, 7-237 at 162.

<sup>57</sup> Koch U. *Das Reihengräberfeld bei Schretzheim*, *Germanische Denkmäler der Völkerwanderungszeit* 13, (Leinen, 1986), 146-147.

<sup>58</sup> Salin B. *Die altgermanische Thierornamentik*, (Stockholm, 1936), figs. 358-361.

<sup>59</sup> Gąssowski J. *Prahistoria sztuki* (Warszawa, 1994), 179-180.

<sup>60</sup> Hedeager L. *Iron age myth and materiality. An Archaeology of Scandinavia ad 400-1000* (London and New York, 2011), 194-211

<sup>61</sup> Hedeager *ibid.* 61-80.

It seems that during the Migration Period perception of a space divided into sections completely disappears. It becomes homogenous - it does not create a structure consisting of modules. On the other hand, it seems that an idea that it can be freely changed and shaped prevails. It is interesting that in the same way human body was perceived. As described above, such ideas were expressed by different media, which positively verifies the hypothesis of their existence.

To summarize: beauty is a representation of idea, i.e. soul. This task can be realized by:

- shaping (space, material objects, human bodies)
- choice of material (gold, precious stones)
- use of motifs and techniques considered representations of soul (circles, spirals, knots, seal imprints, illusionistic representations, light reflections).

The art of "barbarians" in the Migration Period constitutes therefore a deliberate and consistent message .

*Translated by Tomasz Borkowski*

Томас Гралак

ПРИХВАТАЊЕ КАСНОАНТИЧКЕ ИДЕОЛОГИЈЕ ОД ВАРВАРСКИХ ЗАЈЕДНИЦА  
У ЦЕНТРАЛНОЈ ЕВРОПИ

У касно римском периоду и периоду раних миграција одиграле су се значајне промене у култури варварских народа централне Европе. Чини се да су ове промене у великој мери инспирисане Римским царством. Процес трансформације варварске материјалне културе изненађујуће је сличан променама у схватању лепоте које описује Плотин у Енеадама. На варварским територијама такве промене почеле су да буду приметне од трећег века, али је овај процес интензиван у четвртм веку, а нарочито у периоду миграција. Могуће је приметити радикалну промену просторне организације и дизајн свакодневних предмета. У рано-римском периоду, основни принцип је да се целина састоји од елемената који се понављају. Такође се често користе модулари системи. Ово укључује начин изградње кућа, распоред поља, композицију орнамената и конструкцију предмета за лично украшавање (брошеви, огрлице, итд). Преовлађују правоугаони и троугласти геометријски мотиви; штавише, ова уметност је скоро у потпуности нефигуративна. Модуларне структуре су такође видљиве у погребним обредима. У касно римског периоду и периоду миграција почели су да доминирају криволинијски мотиви. Појављују се бројни прикази људи и животиња, који, међутим, никада нису реални. Тако, они се могу третирати као остварење Платинове идеје, оно што је важно јесте суштина комуникације. Парадигма просторне организације и изградње објеката такође се мењала, елементи који се понављају постали су нечитки. Најважнија је целовитост (облик, форма) понекад са сложеном унутрашњом структуром. Ове појаве су у ствари читљиве у свим аспектима материјалне културе. Идеолошка трансформација вероватно је такође повезана са новим стилем. Ово је јасно показано променама погребних обреда. Утицај хришћанства је такође очекиван. ова религија је прихваћена од стране многих варварских племена, укључујући Готе и Вандале. С друге стране, Хуни су са собом донели шаманизам. Заједничка карактеристика ових религија је веровање у постојање бесмртне душе. Чини се да је ово веровање значајно утицало на уметност и материјалну културу тог времена.

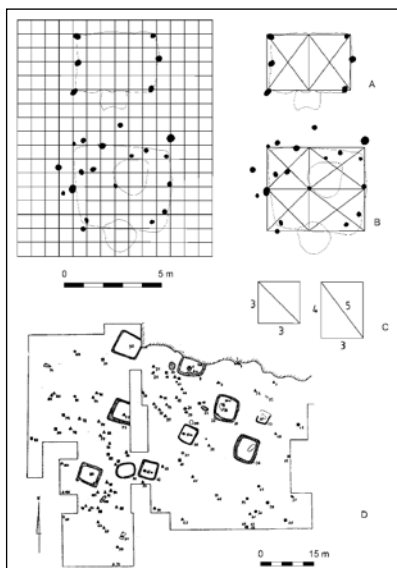


Fig. 1. Plans of buildings: A – Polwica 4, Poland, P4/753, B – Polwica 5, Poland, P5/1365, on the graph with grid of 0.715 m, C determined construction modules, D Kryspinów, Poland, plan of cemetery with square ditches. A, B C after T. Galak 2009 (as in note 13) fig. 15; D after K. Godłowski, R. Madyda, *Kraków-Kryspinów (A cemetery from the La Tène and the Roman period), Recherches Archeologiques de 1975 (Kraków 1976), 27-33, fig. 3.*

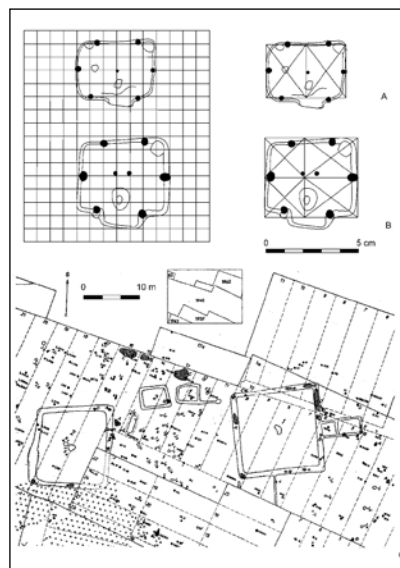


Fig. 2. Plans of buildings: A – Křepice XI, Czech Republic, B – Blučina I, Czech Republic, on the graph with grid of 0.715 m, C Třebusice, Czech Republic, plan of cemetery with square ditches. A, B draw T. Galak, after E. Droberjar, *Studien zu den germanischen Siedlungen der älteren römischen Kaiserzeit in Mähren, (Praha, 1997), fig. 14*; C after K. Motyková-Šneidrová, *Das Fortleben latenezeitlicher Traditionen im verlauf der Älteren römischen kaiserzeit in Böhmen, in Ausklang der Latène-Zivilisation und Anfänge der germanischen Besiedlung im Mittleren Donaugebiet, (Bratislava, 1977), 239-238, fig. 1.*

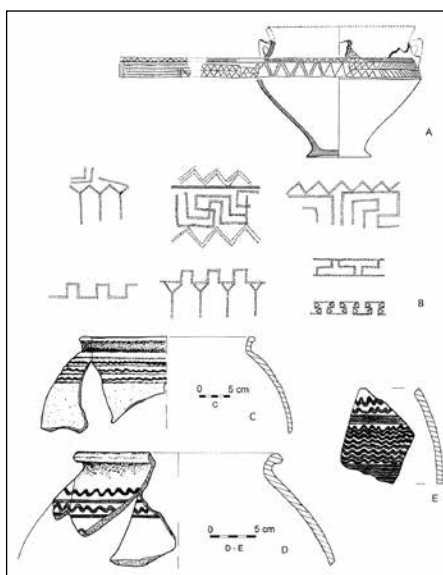


Fig. 3. Ornamental motifs from pottery of the Przeworsk culture and Elbe circle from early roman period. A Młodzikowo, Poland, gr. 172, B Moravia region, Czech Republic (selection). Pottery from late Roman and early migration period from site Polwica 5, Poland, C feature P5/3428, D feature P5/3428, E ar P5/50-60. A after A. Dymaczewski *Cmentarzysko z okresu rzymskiego w Młodzikowie, pow. Środa, Fontes Archaeologici Posnanienses, 1958/7-8, 179-433, fig. 300: 4, cca 1/7, B after E. Droberjar 1997, fig. 25, C-E draw K. Ślipko-Jastrzębska.*



Fig. 4. Metal jewellery of Wielbark culture from early roman period: A Kowalewko 12, Poland, gr. 211, B Weklice 7, Poland, gr. 252, C Kowalewko 12, gr. 156, D Kowalewko 12, gr. 377. A-D after Skorupka T. *Jewellery of the Goths, Adornments and articles of attire, Exhibition catalogue, photographs M. Kuraskiewicz, (Poznań, 2004), nr. 151 – 3,8 cm, 63 – 3,9 cm, 114 – 5,5 cm, 157- 3,6 cm.*

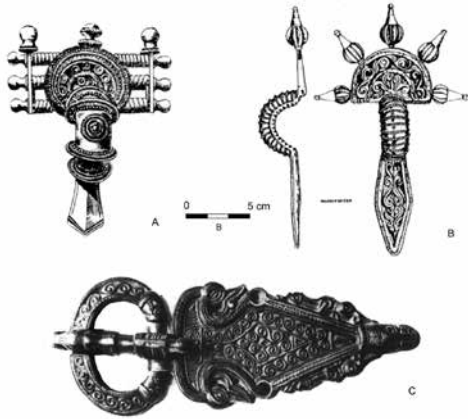


Fig. 5. A Wrocław-Zakrzów, Poland, gr. II, B Świelino, Poland, C Konarzewo, Poland. A after T. Kolnik, *Honosne spony młodszej doby rzymskiej na Slovensku, Slovenská Archeológia*, 1964/12, 409-446, cca 1/3 B after K. Godłowski *Okres wędrówek ludów na Pomorzu, Pomorania Antiqua*, 1981/10, 65-129. C after M. Mączyńska, *Schylkowa faza kultury przeworskiej, Kultura przeworska* 1999/3, 25-54, fig. 14: 1.

Fig. 7. A Lužice, Czech Republic, B Zamość, Poland, C Andernach, Germany. Shield bosses with a high, dome-like vertically faceted cover: D Dobrodzień-Rędzina, Poland, E-F Musov, Czech Republic. G Cuboctahedron glass beads. A after Z. Klanica, S. Klanicová, *Das longobardische Gräberfelder von Lužice (bez. Hodonin), in J. Tejral (ed.) Longobardische Gräberfelder in Mähren I*, (Brno, 2011), 225-312, fig. 122: 12. B after R. Madyda-Legutko, *The buckles with imprint ornamentation, Wiadomości Archeologiczne* 1978/43, 3-16, C after R. Seyer, *Die Entwicklung der germanischen Kunst, in Die Germanen* (as in note 8), 205-248, fig. 44a, cca 1/2, D after J. Szydłowski 1974 *Trzy cmentarzyska typu dobrodzieńskiego, Rocznik Muzeum Górnośląskiego w Bytomiu, (Bytom, 1974), fig. XCIII, CLXVII/f, E-F after J. Tejral *Zur Chronologie der frühen Völkerwanderungszeit in mittlerem Donauraum, Archaeologia Austriaca*, 1988/72, 223-304, fig. 5: 1, 2, cca 1/10, G after M. Tempelmann-Mączyńska (as in note 49), fig. 2, cca 1/2.*

Fig. 8. A Tumiany, Poland, catalogue of stamps from pottery. Vessels decorated with stamp ornament, B Tumiany, Poland, C Piwnice, Poland, D, Opole-Zakrzów, Poland, E belt buckle, Piwnice, Poland, F catalogue of imprint ornamentation from metal objects. A, B, C after T. Baranowski, W. A. Moszczyński, *Ceramika zdobiona ornamentem stempelkowym z osady w Tumianach, woj. Warmińsko-Mazurskie (z badań 1970-1977) in Ceramika bałtyjska. Tradycje i wpływy* (Białystok, 2009), 155-165, fig. 1, 4, 5, D after K. Godłowski, *Materiały do poznania kultury przeworskiej na Górnym Śląsku (cz. II), Materiały Starożytne i Wczesnośredniowieczne*, 4/1977, 7-237, fig. 39: 1, E after R. Madyda-Legutko (as in fig. 7: b), F after Salin (as in note 58), figs. 358-361.

Fig. 6. Polwica 4, 5, Poland, plans of buildings: A P4/341, B P5/1970, C P5/3663, D P5/3120, E P5/2593. F Konarzewo, Poland, plans of buildings: F house 7, G house 17. F, G after J. Schuster (see footnote 26), fig. 10, 18.

